



**“Fort Collins E-X-P-A-N-D-S”
The City’s Postwar Development
1945-1969**

Prepared by:

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Prepared for:

Advance Planning Department
City of Fort Collins

Colorado State Historical Fund
Project 08-02-031

June 2011



HISTORITECTURE L.L.C.
architectural history | preservation planning | digital preservation media



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On the cover. Subdivisions blossomed in Fort Collins after World War II. (*Fort Collins Public Library C00144*)

INTRODUCTION

The City Expands

Great prosperity followed great sacrifice. In August 1945, through unequalled dedication and ingenuity, the United States emerged victorious from World War II. Moreover the country had obtained a level of military, political, and economic power the likes of which the world had never seen. In contrast to the isolationist strategy of the previous decade, the United States embraced its new position with determination. Through war-weary eyes, the American people looked ahead with a sense of pride, confidence, and consensus that enabled them to develop astounding technological innovations and reach new highs in industrial productivity. Although it would take a few years for the country to settle into peacetime, the future would not disappoint those who sought prosperity.

As in most communities throughout the country, the postwar mood in Fort Collins was one of unbridled optimism. In 1946 the Chamber of Commerce adopted the slogan "Fort Collins E-X-P-A-N-D-S," a campaign area businesses and the local newspaper supported wholeheartedly. But this was more than just a convenient marketing tool. The verb "expand," in all its meanings, very much defined Fort Collins in the postwar era. The word's Latin root, *expandere*, means literally to spread out, an apt description of Fort Collins's geographical transformation in the second half of the twentieth century. Other meanings of expand express the city's demographic, political, and economic changes following World War II as it rose to become one of state's biggest cities and the preeminent me-

tropolis in northern Colorado:

- Become larger in size or volume or quantity;
- Exaggerate or make bigger;
- Grow vigorously; and
- Increase the influence of.

The community hoped for a bright and prosperous future, with promises of plenty of water and electricity from the Colorado-Big Thompson project. Businesses grew, car dealerships proliferated, banks offered good interest rates on consumer loans, and shoppers had access to plenty of new consumer goods. Major highway projects were underway, Colorado A&M was bursting at the seams with new students, and great masses of people moved into the once quiet foothills town. From a quaint agricultural town with a population of 12,251 people in 1940, the city more than doubled in size by 1960. Aggressive and farsighted developers built thousands of homes in planned subdivisions on land previously used as farms and ranches. The center of town, along with new shopping and business facilities, homes, churches, and schools gradually spread southward.

This historic context explores the important themes that not only influenced but also resulted in postwar development of Fort Collins between 1945 and 1969. To set the stage, the context begins with a discussion of Fort Collins at the close of World War II. The chapters that follow explore important themes related to these improvements, both in the built envi-



Figures i.1 and i.2. The war had many in Fort Collins looking to the future with hope. (Fort Collins Local History Archives, H22996 and H23002)

ronment and in necessary infrastructure; the dramatic postwar transformation of Colorado A&M to Colorado State University; the role of recreation and religion in postwar Fort Collins; the tremendous residential building boom and how the phenomena of American postwar subdivision patterns

were expressed locally; and the importance of local business development to fuel the city's economic growth. Each chapter traces the variety of ways in which postwar Fort Collins was the very epitome of "expands."

CHAPTER 1

Preparing to Expand: Fort Collins at the End of World War II

When World War II came to a close in August 1945, residents of Fort Collins rejoiced. Sons and daughters, husbands and wives, friends and neighbors would soon be returning home and the future—postponed in service to the nation—could at last begin. A total of 4,428 residents of Larimer County enlisted in the armed forces during the war; 98 gave their lives.¹ While the fighting raged on year after year, Fort Collins residents invested in war bonds, participated in Civil Defense drills, collected scrap metal, saved cooking grease, purchased food with ration coupons, and curtailed their automobile use. Some boarded a bus for Cheyenne each day to attach machine guns and instruments to B-17 and B-24 bombers at the Boeing plant. Others held jobs in small manufacturing plants making plastic goods and parachutes or put their hands and backs into agricultural work. Like people in communities from coast to coast, they made good use of the things they had, listened to radio updates about the war, displayed service stars in the windows of their homes, and prayed for the safe return of loved ones and a swift end to the war. And, like people across the nation, the people of Fort Collins wondered what life would be like when the fighting was over.

The armed services too were concerned about life after the war. The Army's Division of Information and Education published forty-two pamphlets between 1943 and 1945 as part of their G.I. Roundtable series. The purpose of these publications was "to increase the effectiveness of the soldiers and

officers as fighters during the war and as citizens after the war." Pamphlet topics ranged widely from geopolitical relations to domestic cultural and economic concerns. As a whole, the pamphlets offered an uncomplicated vision of the postwar world, "essentially free of minorities, where women happily moved out of the factories and back into the kitchen, and where America would largely dominate the world stage."²

The pamphlet entitled, "What will your town be like?" focused on the mythical community of "Hometown" and went to great lengths to reassure soldiers there would be ample jobs for them once they returned from the front, unlike the economic catastrophe that followed World War I. It highlighted the work of the National Committee for Economic Development, a group of American businessmen established in 1942 for "the single purpose of encouraging sound and aggressive post-war planning." It also featured case studies from around the country, providing evidence of the work being accomplished in advance of the soldiers' return. However, the authors admitted:

The dents of war are deep. Some of the men who checked out at the Draft Board won't be back. Others will return to different communities. The "same old job" will be waiting for some, while others will have new skills and new desires to try their hand at something else—perhaps to go into business for themselves.... A lot of new houses need building to

catch up with the records at the marriage license bureau. Down at the bank there are new savings accounts; and packets of war bonds are hidden away... These savings will pay for many an individual’s “post-war plans” that, when they have all been put into effect, will make Hometown a much different place from what it was on December 7, 1941.³

Unlike other American cities that witnessed increases in manufacturing and the erection of new worker housing, Fort Collins did not experience significant wartime changes. Initially soldiers returned to a city where lilacs still lined the streets, people still rode trolleys to work, and the Aggies still played football on Saturdays in the fall. The city’s economy was based predominantly upon agricultural supply and processing. The advent of irrigation in 1860 had brought water from the Cache la Poudre River to the arid prairie and enabled farmers to grow hay, alfalfa, potatoes, cabbage, onions, and, at the turn of the century, sugar beets. The Great Western Sugar Company factory in Fort Collins transformed sugar beets into “white gold” each fall. Farmers also raised crops to feed sheep and cattle, readying them for market. This heritage of cattle ranching made Fort Collins a natural place for rodeos and horse shows, and the Fourth of July parade and rodeo were always high points of the summer.

In addition to agriculture, business related to education, tourism, professional services, service-related industries, and some manufacturing contributed to the city’s economy. Most notably, Fort Collins was home to the Colorado Agricultural and Mechanical College, or Colorado A&M, a land-grant institution established in 1870. The community was predominantly white, with a small Hispanic population who were primarily agricultural workers. Located between Denver and Cheyenne,

Wyoming, and situated a few short miles from the foothills, Fort Collins residents enjoyed all the recreation the mountains offered: fishing, hunting, camping, skiing, and hiking.

Stressing how little Fort Collins had changed since 1941, the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, Lodge No. 804, placed a full-page “tribute and welcome to service men who can now return” in the August 18, 1945, issue of the local newspaper. This pronouncement had the same reassuring tone as the G.I. Roundtable publication. Accompanied with images of Fort Collins High School, Colorado A&M, and Poudre Canyon, the Elks claimed:

The old town is just as you left it, brothers. All the things you’ve been fighting for are just the same.... The lights still shine in the drug store of an evening. The cars still park along the main stem. You can still wake up at night and hear the echoing whistle of the through-freight. And though the floodlights turn off a little earlier in the filling station than they used to, there’s still someone there to wipe your windshield off while the gas pump rings up the fare. Baseball and double-features, chicken on Sunday, and the church where you worshipped...all these are just the same, too, brothers—and all the sights and sounds and, most of all, the FRIENDLINESS that go to make up this American town—Fort Collins—your hometown.⁴

The Elks anticipated the time when each returning soldier would “step off the train in uniform with...campaign ribbons, tanner, stronger, leaner, perhaps a bit taller...” and “hang up those khakis or blues in the closet, resume your place among us and take up the good American life just as you left it.”⁵

As the war wound down, Fort Collins began its transfor-

mation in both big and subtle ways. In May 1945 the name of the local newspaper, the *Fort Collins Express-Courier*, changed to the more modern-sounding Fort Collins *Coloradoan* and became a daily paper. In addition, efforts were underway both to resume work on the Colorado-Big Thompson Project and to complete Horsetooth Reservoir. And the city braced for a pop-

ulation boom. Colorado A&M furiously prepared for an influx of new students. Developers planned new subdivisions to host new families. Churches and businesses constructed additions. All of these changes heralded a great modernization of the Choice City as it prepared to expand.

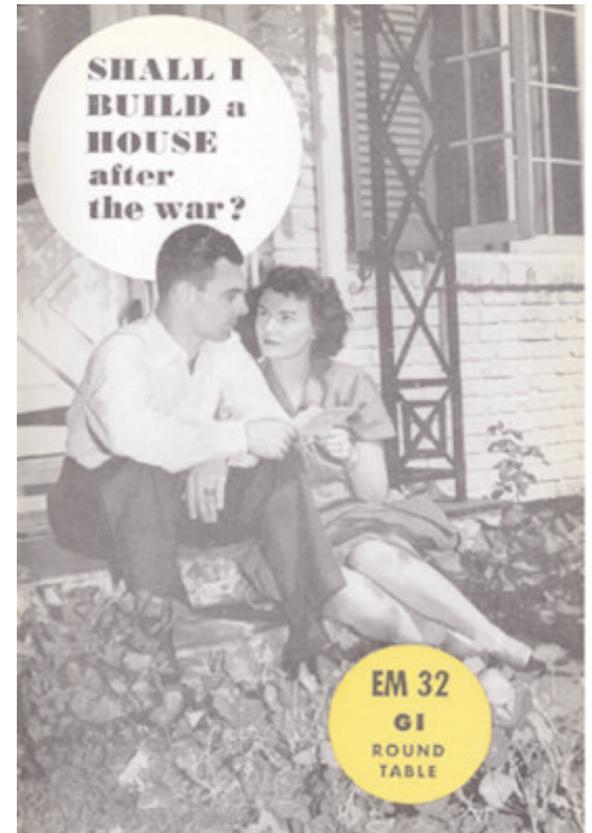


Figure 1.1. Pamphlets in the G.I. Roundtable series were developed to ease the transition of former soldiers back into life on the home front.

CHAPTER 2

The Community Expands: Buildings and Infrastructure

Once World War II was over and won, returning GIs were ready to start new lives and, for a large segment of this population, that meant moving to a new region of the country. “From 1945 to 1970 more than 30 million people moved beyond the Mississippi, the most significant redistribution of population in the nation’s history.” During the postwar period Americans “discovered” the West. They identified with the pioneer spirit of the original European settlers of this region and, in that way, enhanced its mystique and lure. At the same time, popular culture embraced all things western, especially John Wayne movies, singing cowboys, and numerous television programs set in the Wild West. For the postwar generation, moving west became synonymous with achieving the American Dream. Many found their way to a sleepy cow town and college town at the foot of the Rocky Mountains—Fort Collins.⁶

At the end of the war, big changes were afoot in the city. Major community infrastructure improvements, such as enhancements to highways, water supply and storage, and the electrical transmission network had been planned since the 1920s, but economic depression delayed completion. Now with federal government support and plentiful funding, these projects could be completed—and just in time. Between 1940 and 1960 the number of residents more than doubled, rising from 12,251 in 1940 to 14,937 in 1950 and 25,027 by 1960. The period of most rapid growth occurred between 1951 and 1957.

The city coped with this growth by following modern planning practices: adopting new planning and zoning ordinances and creating a municipal planning department to address issues associated with land annexation for both residential and commercial expansion. Hoping to attract new residents, the City and Larimer County also improved facilities—including a new courthouse, modern city hall, and an expanded hospital. Thus between 1945 and 1969, Fort Collins transformed from a rural, small town into a modern city.

Roads

After World War II, highway building was a top priority in Fort Collins as it was in other communities across the nation. President Dwight D. Eisenhower signed legislation in 1956 that literally paved the way for an American obsession with the automobile and the freedom of movement cars increasingly symbolized. The highway funded through this legislation depended, however, upon a number of studies written over several decades. The 1938 Federal-Aid Highway Act commissioned a feasibility study of a six-route transcontinental toll road system, but concluded there was insufficient volume to pay for such roads. It recommended instead a system of inter-regional free highways that used existing roads where possible. The study also proposed new concepts in highway design, including controlled access, beltways, and elevated or depressed thoroughfares in urban areas. These ideas and others



Figure 2.1. Road construction projects, like this one on Highway 14 in July 1967, fueled the Fort Collins economy after World War II. (*Fort Collins Local History Archives, C01343*)

were based in part on Norman Belle Geddes' "Futurama" exhibit at the 1939 New York World's Fair, which offered the American public their first glimpse at an efficient super-highway system. In 1941 President Franklin D. Roosevelt commissioned the Bureau of Public Roads to study again the need for and design of a national road system. The resulting report identified the demand for roughly 39,000 miles of highways, calling attention to the importance of the location of urban freeways and their potential to affect future development.⁷

Implementation of these and other plans started with passage of the 1944 Federal-Aid Highway Act. This law empowered state highway departments to develop a 40,000-mile, interregional roads system. Road building projects, including those originally initiated prior to the Great Depression and World War II, provided much-needed employment for thousands while the nation's industries converted to peacetime production. The Colorado Department of Transportation (CDOT) looked to start twelve projects mothballed during the war and an additional fifty-three new projects. Immediate postwar road building projects included north-south routes along Highways 85 and 87. These roads stretched from the border with Wyoming through Greeley, Fort Collins, Denver, Colorado Springs, Pueblo, and Walsenburg to the Raton Pass at the New Mexico state line. CDOT also looked to complete Highway 50 from Pueblo through La Junta and Lamar to the Kansas border. The federal government provided 75 percent of the funding for strategic net highways and 50 percent for primary and secondary highways, with Colorado raising the remaining funds.

In Fort Collins residents were eager for work to begin widening bridges and paving portions of Highway 287, completing sections of the Denver-Cheyenne Highway, and im-

proving Colorado Highway 14 from Sterling through the Poudre Canyon. Good roads were essential to the area's vitality. An ever increasing volume of goods, material, and manufactured items were transported to and from the area by trucks; school buses carried students from outlying areas; shoppers traveled to Fort Collins from distant farms and ranches; and tourists passed through the city on their way to the mountains.

While the intent of the 1944 legislation was clear, funding specifically for the interstate system was not available even after the passage of the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1952. With Congress providing just \$25 million in 1954 and 1955, funding was insufficient to build a nationwide highway network. Adequate funding was not secured until passage of the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956. This comprehensive legislation changed the name of the highway system to the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways, identified dedicated funding sources, and adjusted the way highway funds were apportioned to states. Federal funding paid for 90 percent of a nationwide highway system expanded to 41,000 miles and all roads were required to meet a new national design standard. Throughout the postwar period road construction—federal interstates, state highways, and local streets—was important to commercial, residential, and community expansion. In 1965 Interstate I-25 was continuous from Walsenburg to the Colorado-Wyoming border, providing Fort Collins residents easy access to cities and towns along the Front Range. The federal government further expanded the interstate system in 1968 to a total of 42,500 miles.

The repairing, improving, and building of roads and bridges across the country occurred only slightly ahead of a tremendous rise in automobile ownership and use. Lack of

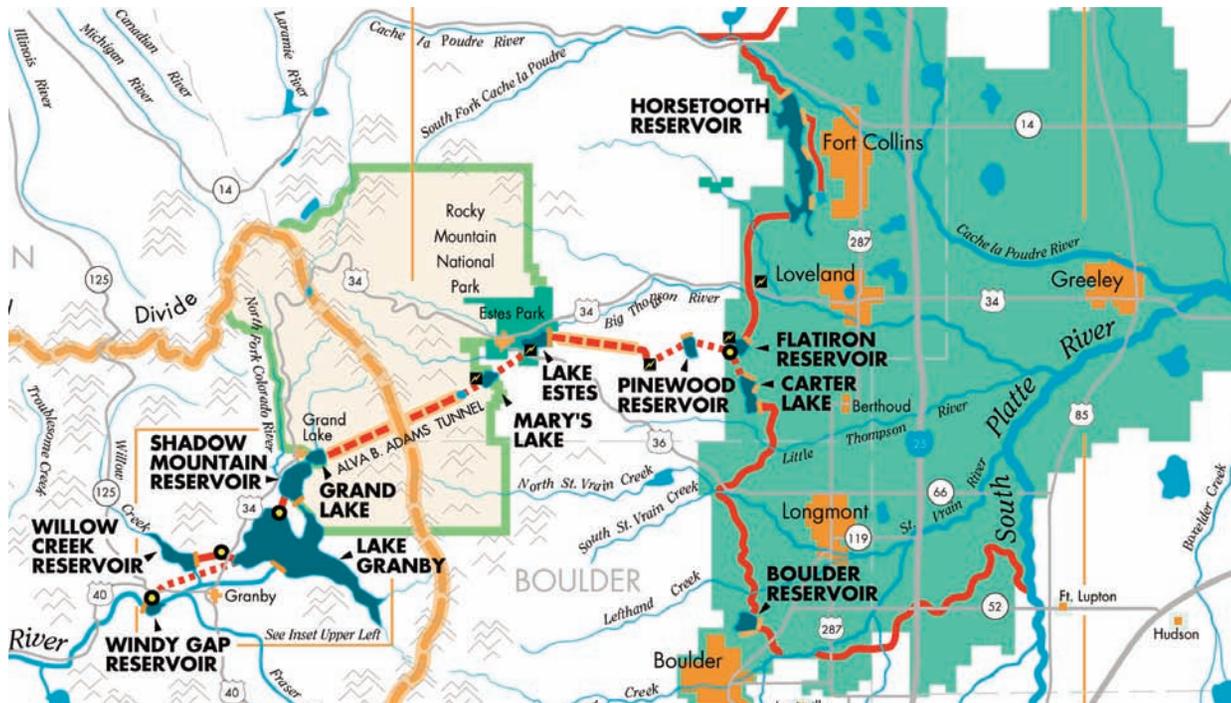
money during the Great Depression and wartime rationing forced most Americans to retain cars they already owned, fixing them as needed rather than buying new. In 1945 the average automobile was eight years old. However, purchasing a new car became nearly as much a part of the American dream as new homeownership. In 1945 automobile registrations totaled 26 million, a number that rose to 63 million by 1961.⁸

Water and Power

With the federal government providing funding for road construction, communities shifted their focus to other infrastructure needs to facilitate postwar growth and development. As with other Front Range cities, lack of water and electrical power in Fort Collins forestalled such expansion. Plans to address this issue had been in progress since the 1930s. A citi-

zens' group aided by Colorado A&M president Charles Lory, a longtime advocate of efficient use of water in Colorado, submitted a report in 1934 to the Bureau of Reclamation explaining the continued threat of drought and its effect on agriculture in the region. In 1937 the Bureau approved a plan to divert water from the west-flowing Colorado River at Grand Lake to the east-flowing Big Thompson River. The Colorado-Big Thompson Diversion Project was underway in 1938: however, like all new building not associated with war production, after the 1941 strike on Pearl Harbor, construction ceased.

Work on the project resumed in 1946 and the promise of water fueled plans for the growth of both agriculture and industry in Northern Colorado. According to the *Coloradoan*, "...with the Big Thompson Diversion Project completed, electric power will become available to Fort Collins alone greater



Map 2.1. The Colorado-Big Thompson Project addressed concerns of agriculture, industry, and cities alike. (Northern Colorado Water Conservancy District)



Figure 2.2. Stanley R. Case was one of the men directing Fort Collins' postwar expansion. (Fort Collins Local History Archives, M32057)

than the amount now used by the entire state of Colorado." On July 21 and 22, 1949, the Bureau completed Soldier Canyon and Horsetooth dams. The resulting Horsetooth Reservoir boasted a capacity of 151,800 acre-feet. The reservoir began receiving water in 1951 and reached capacity in 1953. On January 1, 1953, the *Coloradoan* announced "Big T Job Top Event for 1953" and proclaimed "...nothing short of a revolution in Congress or the blast of an atomic bomb is likely to prevent completion of nearly all phases of the Colorado-Big Thompson irrigation and power system." The project was capable of bringing about 310,000 acre-feet of Colorado River water to irrigate about 700,000 acres of farmland in the Northern Colorado Water Conservancy District. The \$160 million project also intended to provide about 250,000 horsepower of electricity for use in homes and industries in Denver and throughout northern Colorado.⁹

Despite the completion of the Colorado-Big Thompson project, assuring residents, business owners, and potential developers that the city's electrical grid and water supply were adequate for postwar growth remained a challenge. After all, Fort Collins had been engaged in a contentious battle with the Public Service Company of Colorado since 1932, first in an effort to obtain lower rates and then in to gain municipal independence. This situation was finally resolved in the city's favor in 1935 and in May Fort Collins created the Electric Utility Department. Yet by the 1940s the city's demand for electricity began encroaching upon its capacity; between 1940 and 1945 consumption of electricity in the city increased by 25 percent, despite adding only 300 new consumers. In response, the power plant added another boiler and generator. Population growth and an explosion in the number of electrical appliances per capita during the postwar years continued to in-

crease the demand for electricity.

Two men were largely responsible for securing the power and water necessary to sustain the area's postwar growth and success. Guy Palmes, a registered civil engineer, was working in Raton, New Mexico, as head of that city's municipal electric system when he accepted the job as manager of the Fort Collins utility. Palmes held the position until 1938, when he was named City Manager; he also managed the utility department during the war due to severe manpower shortages. Stan Case, who interned with Palmes while a student in electrical engineering at Colorado A&M, was an able assistant in the development of the city's power system. The relationship between Palmes and Case proved fortuitous for the city: upon graduating in 1940 Case left Fort Collins for Pittsburgh to accept a position with Westinghouse, served in the Army Signal Corps during the war, and returned to the Fort Collins area in 1946. Back from the war, Case consulted with the City and assisted with long-range planning for future power needs.

As a result of Palmes and Case's commitment to improving infrastructure, the city was able to take advantage of business and industrial opportunities while accommodating a population that doubled between 1946 and 1960. Voters approved a bond issue in 1949 to finance a fourth generator and in 1952 a new cooling tower was added. Fort Collins began to participate in federal power pooling in 1955 through the Bureau of Reclamation, adding hydroelectric to its existing resources of coal, oil, and gas.

Palmes and Case were also dedicated to the aesthetics of their community, and Fort Collins was one of the first communities in the nation to install utilities underground. The concept of underground utilities was based upon materials and engineering developed and used successfully during the war

The pair tested these wartime innovations in two postwar subdivisions. The first was Circle Drive, a relatively compact residential development established in 1946 and located east of the college campus. The name of this area referred to its distinctive circular street plan. Circle Drive, because it was small in size, received its electricity from existing overhead wires surrounding the area with only the secondary transmission lines placed underground. Unfortunately, when Circle Drive was under construction, the cable needed for the project was not yet available to the public. Palmes, always resourceful, located military surplus cable and the project was completed successfully. Case and Palmes continued to refine their methods. The second subdivision where they tested the undergrounding of utilities was Carolyn Mantz. This new housing area, immediately north of the college campus, was developed in 1953. Here Palmes and Case were able to place the transformer plus both the primary and secondary transmission lines beneath the surface.

The undergrounding of utilities represented an important improvement in both Fort Collins and elsewhere. From a financial standpoint, the system was easier and less costly to maintain since lines were not subject to damage from storms and tree limbs, and poles no longer had to be replaced. Aesthetically, eliminating both poles and tangles of electrical lines created a pleasing, minimalist, even pastoral appearance attractive to both developers and homebuyers. Faced with high initial expenses for undergrounding utilities but keen to attract development, Palmes arranged for the City to subsidize these costs. Instead of charging developers the full sum of approximately \$500 per residential unit, an expense likely to be passed on to new homeowners, Palmes assessed developers just \$50. This tactic helped to attract a number of new housing

developments to Fort Collins. In 1968 the city adopted an ordinance requiring all new subdivisions to feature underground utilities exclusively.

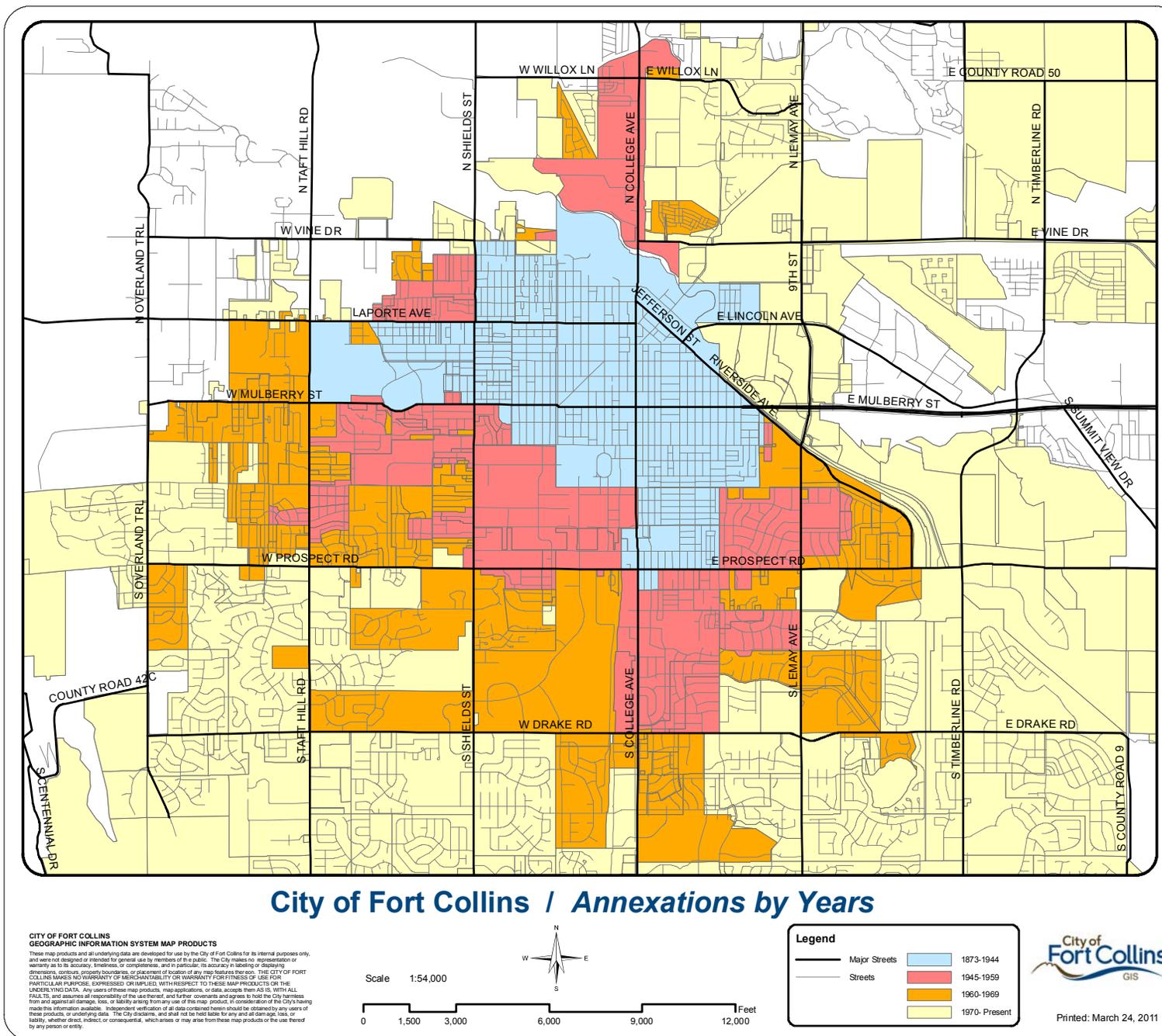
Planning and Zoning

Local businessmen, too, were interested in modernizing the city. In the midst of regional and local efforts to secure adequate water and power to fuel future development and anticipating the need to provide more housing and services for returning GIs, the Fort Collins Chamber of Commerce held its annual meeting to elect officers on August 8, 1945. Three of the speakers at this event were Dr. Floyd Cross—professor, prominent veterinarian, and Chairman of the Draft Board—and Chamber of Commerce directors Clayton W. Watkins and Walter B. Cooper. The topic of the evening was planning for the postwar future in Fort Collins.

Dr. Cross observed it was now necessary for all types of leaders in Fort Collins to work together in order to propel the city into the future. He identified the inadequacies of the Larimer County Courthouse and described the 60-year-old building as “still like it was when I was a boy—except that it’s more decrepit.” He asserted his belief the community should exhibit “...enough spirit and determination to tear the old place down and build a new one.” Cross made equally pointed comments regarding the condition of Fort Collins City Hall. He also worried about the growing issue of juvenile delinquency—a constant fear of postwar consensus culture—suggesting the Chamber provide winter recreational opportunities for children to combat higher incidences of vandalism and other issues during that particular season.¹⁰

Watkins presented a Chamber budget of \$15,000 for 1946. This figure represented a significant increase, the esti-

Map 2.2. After World War II, the City of Fort Collins annexed many post war neighborhoods. (City of Fort Collins GIS)



mated amount necessary to address the numerous inquiries for community betterment he had received from prospective residents and businessmen. Citing interest in the area as a result of the Colorado-Big Thompson Project, Watkins noted, “We need a few more attractive stable industries and the payrolls that go with them.” He also asserted the need to update many shops and other buildings to present a more modern appearance and suggested additional tourism development. In closing, Watkins remarked, “A community never stands still: it either goes forward or it goes backward.”¹¹

Cooper echoed many of the same themes from the speeches both Cross and Watkins made. He spoke about the need for new shops and services in Fort Collins, commenting shoppers would not hesitate to spend their money in towns offering both the facilities and goods they wanted and urging the city to be ready to take advantage of these consumer demands. He too believed Chamber members should devote more time and money to securing new businesses and industries.

The types of improvements Cross, Watkins, and Cooper advocated required not only Chamber of Commerce participation but also a well-developed planning infrastructure at the City. The origins of city planning predated the postwar period—the City of Los Angeles was the first U.S. community to enact a zoning ordinance in 1909—but in the face of tremendous postwar growth and the resulting commercial and residential development, such regulations were increasingly necessary to dictate the appropriate placement of often competing developments. Fort Collins enacted its first zoning plan in 1929, developing six categories of sanctioned land uses: three residential, two commercial, and one industrial. Given the general lack of development during the 1930s and 1940s,

there was little need for zoning enforcement until the postwar period; the Fort Collins zoning board was not created until 1954. This body dealt with annexations that expanded the city boundaries and dramatic subdivision development during the postwar period and beyond.¹²

Fort Collins annexation statistics show the years from 1951 to 1957 as a key period in the city’s postwar expansion. Between 1925 and 1950 the City made only four annexations totaling 18 acres. However, during the 1951-57 period there were twenty-seven annexations of 1,388 acres. And those trends continued after 1957. The *Coloradoan* reported the city doubled in size between 1948 and 1959, reaching just over six square miles. This same article labeled 1959 as Fort Collins’ “boomingist’ year yet, in annexation, in construction, and possibly in population.” The value of construction in 1959 was nearly double of the previous year with approximately \$9 million in building permits issued. Of the total of 1,000 permits issued, 299 were for single-family houses. According to a 1961 *Coloradoan* article, the city made a total of seventy-five annexations between 1948 and 1961 and these additions increased the total area of the city from 1,900 acres to 4,068 acres during the 13-year period.¹³

Changes to zoning and planning infrastructure were part of larger changes within Fort Collins municipal government. Although voters were initially reluctant, City officials recognized the need for a more efficient system to manage the issues facing the community and appointed Guy Palmes to the position of city manager. By 1954, after active involvement from the local chapter of the National League of Women Voters, the citizens of Fort Collins approved a new city charter in a special election. This charter established a council-manager form of government, placing ultimate responsibility for city

administration in the hands of the city manager, an individual who answered to the city council and attended all council meetings but possessed no vote at these sessions. The new charter also enlarged the city council from three to five members and gave this body authority to appoint the mayor.

By the early 1950s pressure from continued population growth and commercial expansion highlighted the inadequacies of the city's existing 1929 zoning ordinance. In 1953 Palmes recommended city council adopt a new zoning ordinance so Fort Collins could address the realities of postwar prosperity. He recognized the municipality's role as a "college city, a trading post for our vast agricultural and ranch country" and reminded council of its responsibility to provide for "our homeseeker population, and our expanding industrial and commercial possibilities." He envisioned collaboration with the county government to reserve "space outside the City Limits for garden homes, estates, and protection of our flight entrance to the Airport," advocating the new ordinance cover distances three to four miles from the current Fort Collins boundaries.¹⁴

In his summary, Palmes clearly identified the problems at hand, anticipated future growth, and presented a logical plan for managing city expansion:

With the overall picture mapped out, it will be possible to develop a plan for streets, highways, storm and sanitary sewers, electric, gas, and telephone facilities as well as future collection entrances for garbage and rubbish removal. Some of our areas as now planned and mapped are wonderful as to economic land use but provide no space for the above-mentioned services. We, so far, have had fair locations for schools, parks, and playgrounds for the

children and adults in our city, but some provision must be made in all new additions for around 10 percent of land use for public purposes. Convenient locations, as we expand, should be zoned for neighborhood drug stores and groceries, as well as space for small parks, playgrounds, and grade schools.¹⁵

Palmes made a number of recommendations, addressing the future for both residential and commercial development. He advocated a few single-family areas remain in the older section of the city and four- or five-bedroom homes permit 'roomers,' but to avoid converting too many of the large, older homes into rooming houses in order to retain the neighborhood character and sustain property values. Palmes noted the proximity of the college to these neighborhoods and stressed the need to use residential space to its fullest potential. He recognized the demand for small rental properties for young married couples, older people, or other families with just two members and suggested special zones of two-family houses. Palmes advocated not only a study of existing and future tourist courts, motels, and trailer camps, but also stringent regulations on sanitary, health, and fire hazards for such facilities.

The recommendations for the new zoning ordinance included an element not addressed in previous regulations: the need for adequate parking. To relieve on-street parking congestion, Palmes suggested requiring all residential developments to supply at least one off-street parking space for each dwelling unit. He also advocated new commercial areas outside of downtown provide ample off-street parking, more than enough spaces to meet the expected volume of customers. Palmes urged the new zoning ordinance support good growth and preserve the aesthetic qualities of the city. Despite his best

intentions, Palmes's efforts to revise the city's 1929 zoning ordinance neither accurately gauged the accelerated community growth nor adequately addressed the effects of such expansion. In 1958 the City considered comprehensive planning rather than simple revisions to the zoning ordinance.

The federal government, too, recognized the role of sound city planning to protect federally insured mortgages. The Housing Act of 1954 addressed the government's interest in developing well-planned residential neighborhoods and redeveloping communities. Title IV, Section 701 of the act provided urban planning grants to communities with populations of less than 25,000. The City, through the Colorado State Planning Division, secured grant funds to enlist the services of Denver community planning consultant Harold Beier.

Beier produced a set of reports covering virtually every facet of the city, from history and character to economic base and physical features. The final document in the series was a comprehensive report summarizing the City's strengths and weaknesses and providing strategic planning guidance. Beier noted: "Most development of land has occurred in the unincorporated fringe area adjacent to the city where a potable water supply was available" and cautioned such unplanned development would prove problematic when the demand for better roads, electric, water, and sewer services arose. Additionally, Beier claimed this kind of poor development resulted in depressed property values. He chided:

The development of land in the City and fringe areas has reached a ridiculously low state of planning in recent years. The narrow streets—to thirty foot right of way widths, little or no consideration to the alignment or extension of existing streets—with unnecessary and uncalled for 'jogs' and 'cul-de-sacs,' and

apparently little or no consideration being given to the direction of the streets—where they will go, who they will serve, how they fit into the overall development of the City or even a neighborhood let alone the broader regional or county development as a whole—has had a noticeable depressing effect on the quality of the various areas of the City and its environs.¹⁶

The City had recently adopted a policy of not providing water connections to properties outside the city limits, a strategy Beier found crucial for stopping such inappropriate, unplanned growth.

According to Beier the city's wide streets represented one of its greatest assets. He identified the width, alignment, and direction of the streets (particularly College and Mountain avenues) as the most important aspect of the original town plat. He claimed such wide rights of way "may have been the salvation of the downtown business area...[since] they provided wide sidewalks for pedestrian movement, plenty of street width for diagonal parking of cars at the curbing...and more than sufficient land width for the movement of vehicles."¹⁷

Beier's analysis of the city's existing development practices illustrated the need for organized planning. He noted the original city plan established 100-foot lot widths but eventually that width was halved, a pattern he found counter-productive to modern development. He agreed with local officials' assessment that permitting large-scale development on very small lots represents "selling the community short" and reminded Fort Collins leaders the buying public wanted more yard space, a better house, and lower densities. He suggested making the minimum residential lot wider but trimming the depth to 120 to 140 feet, rather than the existing 190 feet,

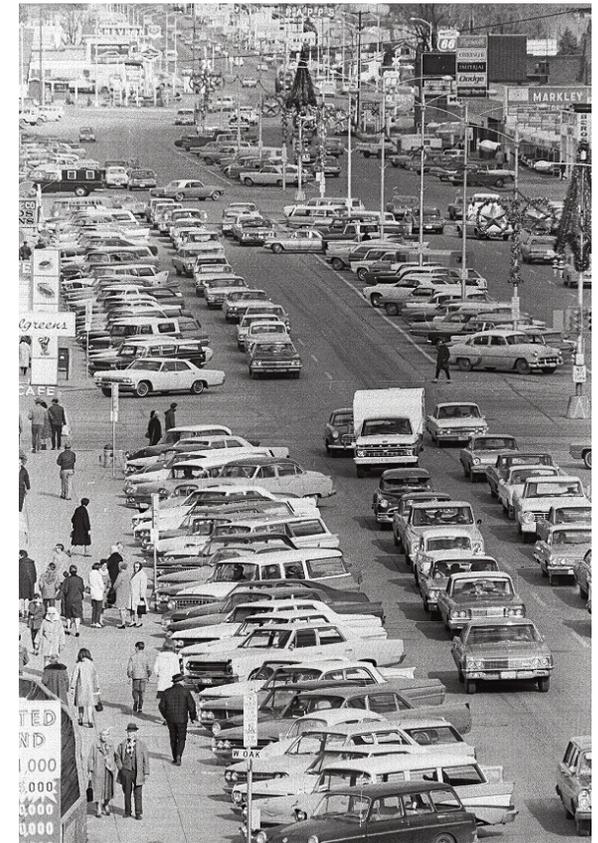


Figure 2.3. According to planning consultant Beier, Fort Collins's wide city streets were one of its greatest assets. (Fort Collins Local History Archives, C01484)



Figure 2.4. Planning was critical to creating a modern city to serve the expanding population. (Fort Collins Local History Archives, C00142)

since new homes no longer featured barns or garages at the rear. Beier also encouraged discontinuing the outdated practice of subdividing parcels into straight-line or rectangular plans. The suggestions he made were in keeping with practices prevalent in large postwar residential subdivisions and were intended to streamline the planning process for such developments.¹⁸

Finally, Beier advocated the role of community planning to discourage monotonous residential suburbs. He admitted, "fine houses and well arranged lots do not by themselves constitute good planning unless they are part of a functioning whole." Beier encouraged planning neighborhoods which function "as an integrated group of dwellings and associated public, commercial and other facilities" rather than "block after block of identical houses at uniform cost." He expressed opinions in keeping with a modern planning ethos, which believed well-designed physical surroundings positively influenced residents: Good architecture and site planning can do much to help a group of houses become a neighborhood. Interesting street patterns, good spatial relationships between them and other neighborhood uses—all aid in the development of a well-knit social entity. A well-designed neighborhood strengthens association between residents and promotes a feeling of 'belonging.' Through close associations with mutual problems, through working together for such common goals as better schools and playgrounds or improved streets and lighting, a neighborhood spirit develops. Thus a planned neighborhood is not a formula embodying rigid engineering requirements which the land planner must follow, but rather a combination of sound and logical principles for functional living, giving the developer freedom of design, the builder freedom of imagination, and the homeowner freedom from

the monotony of speculative housing.¹⁹

For approximately four years after Beier submitted his reports, the City of Fort Collins wrangled with a variety of issues related to the principles of city planning as they existed at the time. They adjusted the zoning ordinance, particularly provisions related to subdivision development and parking. Beier was retained as the City's planning consultant for a period of time and experienced periodic frustration with city council's failure to adhere consistently with the subdivision regulations the body had adopted. Beier may have been experiencing the cultural and social changes at work in Fort Collins as the city traded its image as a sleepy cow town run by a small handful of powerful men into a more progressive reality where interests diversified, more individuals became involved in decision making, and, eventually, a few women joined the government.

In the early 1960s the city's phenomenal and continued growth highlighted the need for further changes to existing planning regulations, particularly those portions related to subdivisions, traffic management, controlled annexation, and recreation planning. Using funds from a second urban planning grant, the City hired the firm of Saco R. DeBoer & Company, nationally renowned planning consultants from Denver, to develop a comprehensive plan. The DeBoer Plan was not well-received and was generally dismissed as being too comprehensive. Nevertheless, the reports DeBoer developed while researching its plan were critical for future planning endeavors.

The League of Women Voters played an essential role in moving the issue of city planning forward during this period. In 1962 the League, represented by Fort Collins chapter president Marcile Wood, requested city council form a citizen's planning committee. The League believed such a committee was necessary based upon the findings of their own planning

studies. They wanted the proposed committee to consider not only the League planning work but also the efforts of others, namely S.R. DeBoer's reports, the downtown businessmen's committee traffic study, and a proposed new zoning ordinance. According to Wood, "careful planning and wise zoning would encourage stabilization of land uses, protection of attractive residential areas, establishment of traffic patterns, and other benefits to the community economy and tax policies."²⁰

The League's request was granted and the Citizen's Advisory Planning Committee was formed in December. The committee bylaws stated the purpose of the organization: "general cooperation with the Planning and Zoning Commissions in Larimer County and especially with the Fort Collins City Planning and Zoning Board in a continuing study of the problems of planning for the community, to improve and opportunity for the expression of community views, and to recommend official action, based on these studies."²¹ The committee's first order of business was to study proposed zoning measures in both the city and the county. A subcommittee of the advisory group evaluated these new proposals, reporting back to the full committee at the end of December. The short time frame, which included the Christmas holidays, made a complete study difficult. However, subcommittee chairman Thomas McComb Jr. noted the group identified serious problems in the proposed ordinance: various contradictions, exemptions for municipal buildings, lack of provisions for upscale residential districts, no distinctions between fraternity houses and boarding houses, and overly-broad zoning classifications.²²

Dorothy Udall, vice-chair of the Citizen's Committee on Planning and Zoning, wrote on January 18, 1963, to Dennis O'Harrow, Executive Director of American Society of Planning Officials, informing him the committee requested the City hire

a full-time planner. This action represented a new approach, considering the city did not even have a planning department. She also encouraged the City to contact the media for assistance in promoting the proposed municipal and county zoning ordinances. The citizen's committee developed and presented a slide show illustrating both the city's positive aspects and poorly developed areas where there had been inadequate planning. They gave the presentation to civic groups and service clubs to successfully publicize the need for planned development in Fort Collins. Parking problems, poor informational and directional signs, and uncoordinated development of shopping malls represented major concerns of the citizen committee. On the latter issue, their slide show highlighted the proximity of the Prospector Shopping Center at South College and West Prospect avenues to the University Mall at 2200 South College Avenue, commenting, "both (facilities) would benefit if they had been planned in relation to one another, to avoid awkward relationships as to traffic and parking." The program referenced famous shopping center designer Victor Gruen, advocating design of such shopping areas with pedestrian walkways, landscaping, benches, and sculptures. The committee also supported cooperative planning among business owners within shopping centers.²³

All in all, the citizen committee proved effective. The group was able to get more individuals involved in local decision making related to community planning. They researched model zoning ordinances from other communities and conducted their own research as well. It was the body's intention to combine factual information with social connections and common sense to benefit the physical development of Fort Collins. Based upon committee suggestion, Fort Collins added its first planner to the municipal staff in 1962. This individual



Figure 2.5. Fort Collins Municipal Building in its park-like setting on February 1967. (Fort Collins Local History Archives, C01187)

developed a revised zoning ordinance that Fort Collins adopted in 1965. In 1967 the city adopted its first comprehensive plan, "The Plan for Progress."

Modern Buildings

Progress not only required better planning and improved infrastructure but also modern buildings. Functionally, Fort Collins City Hall was too small to accommodate increased administrative functions resulting from rapid population growth. The tiny 8,700 square foot City Hall located on Walnut Street was completed in 1882. By 1956 the building housed the Finance, Engineering, Electrical, Utility, Police, and Fire departments as well as administrative offices and was beginning to show its age. A fifty-member citizen's committee—divided into four subcommittees of Public Opinion, Space Requirements, Site, and Finance—assessed the needs and specifications for a new facility. The committee determined remodeling the existing city hall was not a feasible plan. The building could not meet the city's needs, which required a new building containing at least 20,000 square feet. They decided the site should occupy at least half of a city block. The committee found high levels of support for a new municipal building, yet reported citizens were unwilling to pay increased taxes to finance the project. As a result, the committee recommended the use of internal loans from the Light and Power Department, the Water Department, Cemetery Fund, and Equipment Fund to finance the project. Initially inclusion of an auditorium in the new municipal building was considered; however, it was omitted from the project when it was determined the facility would not be self-supporting.

Washington Park, at the northwest corner of Laporte Avenue and Howes Street, was selected as the site for the mu-

nicipal building. Situated close to the center of town with space available for expansion, this location proved ideal. City Manager Palmes worked closely with Fort Collins architect William B. Robb to design a building to accommodate both current city functions and additional services while remaining cost-effective, maintenance light, convenient, and unadorned.

William "Bill" Robb arrived in Fort Collins in 1952, the same year the dust from the immediate postwar years finally had settled and the community was moving into a period of expansion. He had earned both a bachelor's degree in architectural engineering and a master's degree in structural engineering from the University of Colorado and an additional degree in architecture from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. When he arrived in town, "the people weren't accustomed to architects. If they had a large building project, they'd use a firm in Denver. For smaller building, they just wouldn't use one."²⁴ However, the people of Fort Collins were quite accepting of Robb's common-sense approach and he was responsible for a vast number of commissions, including churches, commercial establishments, apartment and office buildings, schools, and residences.²⁵ He was known for never pushing "a particular architectural style" or approaching a job "with preconceived notions about what a building should look like. Instead, he let his designs grow out of the needs, wants, and budget of his client."²⁶

This approach was clear in the architect's design of the new city hall. He and Palmes created a 'wish list' for the new municipal building to guide the design. They emphasized the need for superior internal circulation, maximum usable space, accessible and centrally located utilities, convenient access to the building from all parking areas, and capacity for communication throughout the building. They also requested move-

able partitions to offer more flexible office spaces and a single elevator to serve the public, the Police department, and the jail. Finally, they wanted a completely fireproof building, preferably of concrete, which included adequate vault and storage space yet allowed for future expansion. City officials planned for the building to house new facilities in addition to those previously located in the old City Hall. These included the Health Department, the City Attorney's office, the City Planner's office, a room for home economics demonstrations, and a food laboratory. The new, modern municipal building featured air conditioning and the latest convenience: a drive-up window through which citizens could make utility payments without leaving the comfort of their automobiles.

The result of all this planning was a Y-shaped, three-story building with a full basement. The police department occupied three floors in one wing of the new facility. The plan cleverly eliminated needless corridors by offering access to each wing by means of a central lobby at the center of the "Y." The most impressive portion of the building was the second floor council room, featuring a communication system with a microphone and recording equipment, and had a special area set aside for the press. The architect designed the room acoustically to concentrate all sound waves to the audience seating area.

As Palmes requested, the building was constructed of reinforced concrete with a solid concrete elevator shaft, stair-

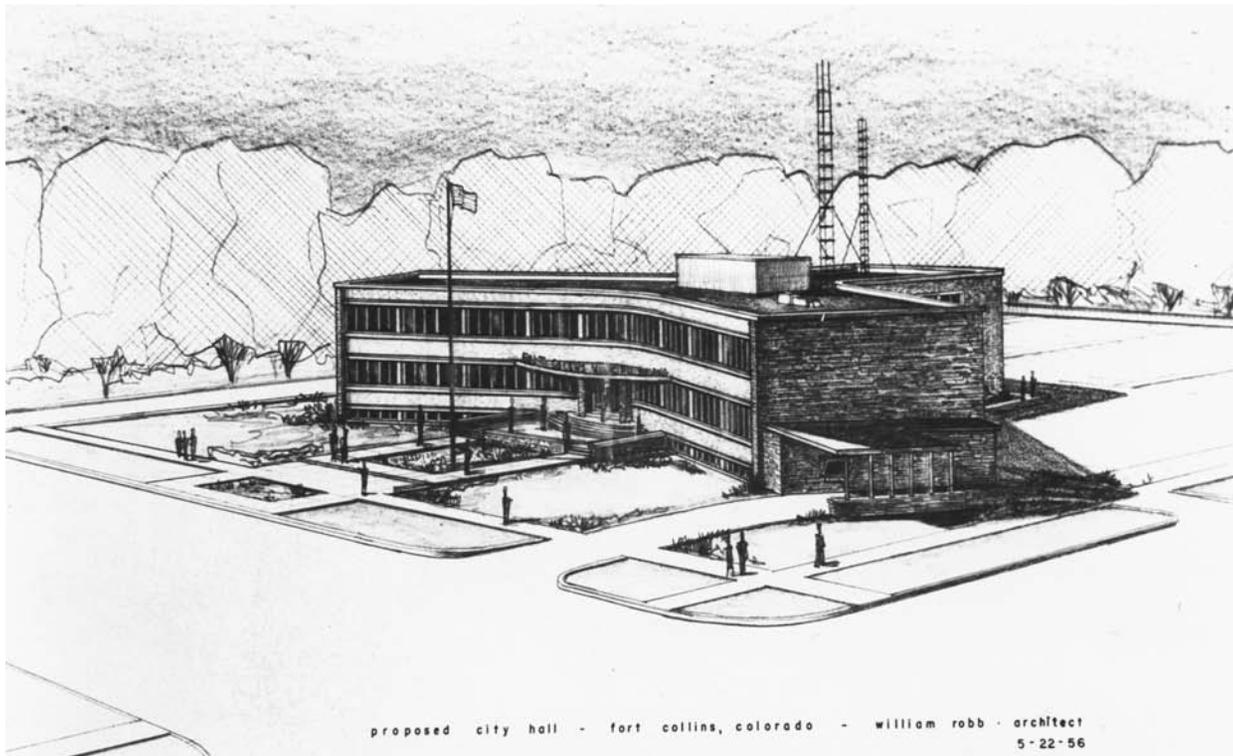


Figure 2.6. Among the papers relating to construction of the Fort Collins City Hall was a brochure for the Beverly Hilton, built in 1955, featuring the building's unique style and "total design" concept. The design of City Hall, especially the "Y" shape form mimics this well-known hotel. (Fort Collins Local History Archives, H21910)



Figure 2.7. There was an acute shortage of beds at the Larimer County Hospital in the immediate postwar period, which led to the construction of the Poudre Valley Memorial Hospital, shown above around 1959. (*Fort Collins Local History Archives, H03004*)



Figure 2.8. Local groups found ways to serve the needs of the community, like this ambulance car service. (*Fort Collins Local History Archives, C00921*)

wells, and vaults serving as bearing walls. The new building employed new materials such as strip aluminum windows and masonry spandrels, Ideatile block, precast white architectural concrete windowsills, and fiberglass acoustical boards in the suspended ceilings. Koolshade screens, with a series of tiny louvers designed and set at pre-determined angles to prevent glare and keep the solar heat from entering the building, were placed on the front windows. The architect also used traditional materials in the new building. Honduran Mahogany paneling graced both the council room and the city manager's office. The lobby walls were Roman travertine. Stairs and lobbies featured terrazzo floors, while the courtroom, council room, and city manager's office had cork floors. Other floors inside the building were covered in either asphalt or vinyl tile. The doors were birch, windowsills were glazed terra-cotta, and Lyons sandstone was used for the exterior facing. The building's heating and cooling system operated in zones, using hot water baseboard radiators and central air conditioning. The dropped ceilings concealed air ducts and electrical wiring while supporting ceiling-mounted fluorescent lights. A telephone intercom system with a central operator linked all offices.²⁷

As Palmes and Robb had planned, the design of City Hall allowed for maximum flexibility. Partition walls could be moved, the dropped ceiling and fluorescent light fixtures adjusted. Electrical outlets and telephone jacks were abundant, and ventilation and air-conditioning grilles were moveable. Palmes predicted expansion would be necessary at some time in the future and planned this building so it could be replicated, reversed, and joined on the north side.

The new City Hall was dedicated on April 5, 1958; the building met the demands of city government serving the

needs of a rapidly growing population and portrayed Fort Collins as a modern city with civic building to prove it.²⁸ After an original estimate of around \$400,000, the final price was just over \$500,000.²⁹ In the ensuing years City Hall met the needs of the city as it grew and changed, and perhaps most endearingly, featured a stunning holiday display each year at Christmas.

As the Larimer County seat, Fort Collins also needed to represent a modern county. Struggling to provide adequate services to its citizens, Larimer County addressed two of the facilities facing the most immediate need for expansion and improvement: the Larimer County Hospital and the Larimer County Courthouse.

The Larimer County Hospital was established in 1925 on a forty-acre farm east of Fort Collins; the land continued to be cultivated to supply produce to the hospital. Yet growing pains had afflicted the facility since World War II. In 1945 the hospital erected an addition to their existing building. This addition, a design by the Denver architectural firm of Fisher and Fisher, won an award in a national *Modern Hospital* magazine contest. Despite the fact this addition doubled the number of available beds to eighty-six, the hospital remained crowded. The bed shortage was so severe residents were asked to care for dependent children, the aged, and those needing convalescent care in their own homes rather than admitting such patients to the hospital. In 1946 hospital admissions were limited to maternity and emergency patients.

The hospital also experienced organizational changes, shifting responsibility for the facility away from the Larimer County Commissioners, who had been responsible for hospital administration since 1925. By 1958 the City of Loveland had built its own hospital and the commissioners did not believe it

was appropriate for Loveland residents to be taxed for both the city and county hospitals. The county commissioners also wanted to discontinue their involvement in hospitals. In response, a group of Fort Collins citizens established a taxing district, planning to use property tax proceeds to support the hospital in service regions for Loveland and Fort Collins respectively. In 1960 the newly-created Poudre Valley Memorial Hospital District served the northern two-thirds of Larimer County, using its tax dividends to complete a \$1.3 million remodeling and expansion project in 1960. Hospital ownership transferred from the county to this district in 1962, the facility becoming Poudre Valley Memorial Hospital. The hospital dropped the moniker “Memorial” in 1982.³⁰

Like the hospital, the Larimer County Courthouse suffered its own growing pains. Similar to the old Fort Collins City Hall, this judicial building proved inadequate to meet the demands associated with a growing population and increased administrative functions. Within the emerging modern landscape, this building was considered a relic of the 1800s, a reminder of the past at a time when all eyes were on the future.

After the war the County wasted no time planning and constructing a new courthouse. County commissioners applied to the Federal Works Administration for funds to complete architectural plans and specifications for a new facility. This application was approved in January 1946, and Denver architects Fisher and Fisher prepared preliminary plans calling for extensive development of a courthouse square facility with a veteran’s memorial, municipal building, city auditorium, and recreation building. The estimated price tag for the development was \$516,000. Despite indications of support, voters rejected a proposed \$150,000 bond issue in November 1946. These and other prolonged project delays prevented the

Fisher and Fisher plans from being executed.³¹

A series of mill levies and investments between 1946 and 1957 ultimately secured funding for a new courthouse. In September of 1953, the County Commissioners selected Denver architect Roland L. Linder, of the Denver firm Linder, Hodson and Wright, to plan the new facility. Linder began his efforts by questioning the County Commissioners and County staff so he designed a building to meet their needs. He submitted the resulting plans in November, 1954. As this process unfolded, the county and architect determined a main courthouse building and smaller annex would best serve the requirements of both the citizens and county departments. An article in the *Coloradoan* summarized the long courthouse planning process:

Future historians, in search of an exact date, which could be listed as the time when planning for Larimer County’s \$1.6 million courthouse first got underway, will probably settle on October 21, 1953. That was the date the board of directors of the Fort Collins Chamber of Commerce unanimously adopted a resolution which asked the county commissioners to ‘proceed toward the construction of a new, modern and adequate courthouse.’³²

Meanwhile, increased material costs caused a rise in the construction estimate from the original figure of approximately \$800,000 to \$1.2 million by 1954. Based upon these changes, the County decided to erect the courthouse but to delay building the annex until sufficient funds were available. In 1955 the project went to bid with changes to some materials: Larimer County redstone exterior facing replaced the proposed red brick, granite window trim was used instead of polished concrete, and aluminum rather than steel windows



Figure 2.9. The Victorian-era courthouse was too small to serve the needs of a growing community. The new Larimer County Courthouse, shown above in 1967, reflected a growing community. (Fort Collins Local History Archives, C01219)

were installed. M. W. Watson of Topeka, Kansas, and Estes Park served as general contractor and construction of the new courthouse began in March 1955. Later that year the *Denver Post* noted progress on the new courthouse and mentioned, “The large potential of growth here brought on by the Colorado-Big Thompson project, the possibilities of A&M College, and other factors, make Larimer County a county with a tremendous future.”³³

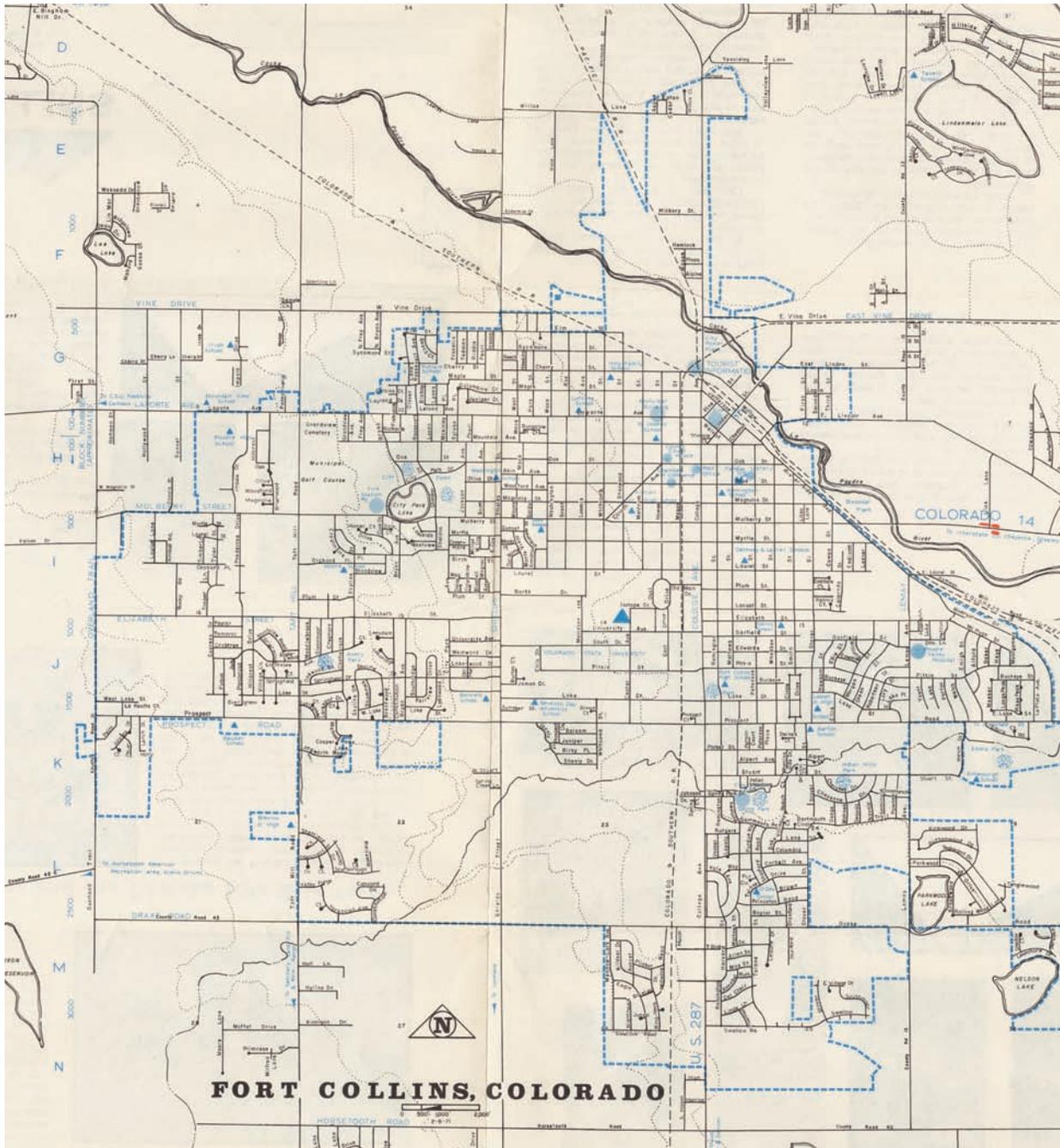
As construction progressed the commissioners reconsidered their plan postpone construction of the annex, determining simultaneous work would make better use of the on-site contractor and save money. In 1957 contractors demolished the grand 1887 red-brick courthouse to make space for parking at the new courthouse and annex. The new complex was paid for in full, prompting *Denver Post* staff writer Red Kelso to quip, “Residents of here (Fort Collins) and Larimer County do things the old fashioned way—they pay cash for community improvements” and he praised the “sparkling new courthouse (and) ultra-modern city hall.”³⁴ The dedication of the new Larimer County Courthouse took place on Sunday, August 11, 1957, with more than 3,000 people in attendance. Visitors were treated to an open house, tours of the buildings, an invocation from the pastor of St. John’s Lutheran Church, speeches from officials and dignitaries, and a Boy Scout flag-raising ceremony. Although the architect and contractor for the project were from outside the city, local firms involved with this important new facility included the excavator (Gurwell-Anderson Construction Company), concrete supplier (C&M Ready Mix), electrical contractor (Fort Collins Electric Company), and two firms responsible for interior furnishings (the Scottie Furniture Company and the State Dry Goods Company).³⁵

Civilian Defense

Modernizing Fort Collins through infrastructure, changes to planning and zoning, and new facilities were important to citizens. Yet in the Cold War climate of late-1950s and 1960s, public safety became a major concern. During World War II millions of citizens on the home front voluntarily participated in community activities as members of the Civil Defense Corps. Through the efforts of state and local civil defense councils, citizens learned first aid, survival skills, the correct way to wear and use a gas mask, and procedures for fighting fires and safely removing debris. Many trained to spot enemy aircraft spent countless hours watching the skies while others joined the Civil Air Patrol. Volunteer wardens conducted air raid and blackout drills with citizens gathering emergency supplies to stock air raid shelters. Civil defense was considered to be everyone’s job and became a way of life during the war.

Such efforts did not stop with armistice. Instead the threat of nuclear war with another emerging superpower, the Soviet Union, altered the nature of civil defense work. In 1949 the Soviets successfully detonated an atomic bomb. Mounting concerns about the spread of communism and the outbreak of the Korean War resulted in the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950. Throughout the rest of that decade and 1960s levels of civilian preparedness increased in accordance with the escalation of the Cold War. Growth in expanding defense installations made “Colorado... [the] defense heart of the nation—the center of revolutionary activity in space-age research and military activity.” The state led the nation, developing the first Titan intercontinental ballistic missile.³⁶

Fort Collins embraced its self-chosen moniker as the ‘Choice City’ during the Cold War period. In the postwar years so many federal agencies located in Denver that city was



Map 2.3. The Choice City map at left shows the amenities of postwar Fort Collins: streets, roads, city boundaries, reservoirs, schools, museums, parks, public buildings, railroads, and highways. (*Fort Collins Local History Archives, FC00211*)

dubbed the “second Washington.” As a result, the city became a prime target for nuclear attack. Based upon available transportation routes and the calculated drift of fallout from the blast, Fort Collins was selected as the evacuation site for Denver residents and workers. Local boosters, always keen to capitalize on the city’s many assets, started promoting Fort Collins as the “safest city.”

By 1960, however, Fort Collins was no longer the safest city. The development of ever more powerful nuclear bombs; progress in guided missile deployment, range, and accuracy; increased nuclear weapons installations; and heightened Cold War tensions combined to place Fort Collins at risk of receiving radioactive fallout from a strike on Grand Junction, another potential Soviet target. In addition, with Atlas missiles located only fifteen miles from the city, Fort Collins itself became a target for nuclear attack. Fire Department Chief C.R. Carpenter assessed the City’s existing Civil Defense Plan, reporting his findings to City Council on April 27, 1960. The tone of this report was not only urgent but also captured the tensions of the times. Carpenter described the staffing of the Civil Defense Agency’s twenty-four positions. Most of these individuals were city department heads and managers, fire and police chiefs, and members of the community ranging from a high school science teacher to the city physician. These citizens all acted as volunteers since neither federal nor city funding was allocated for Civil Defense personnel.

Carpenter declared the city’s warning system worrisomely lacking, audible in only a very small section of the city. He recommended purchasing a more powerful and relocating the existing siren to the roof of Club Tico in City Park. He intended the City Park siren to notify residents in the extreme southwest corner of the city of any attack. A 200-bed portable hospital

unit, kept in readiness, was stored at 1541 West Oak Street. Carpenter also reported Fort Collins’ participation in the nationwide preparedness test, Operation Alert 1960, from 11 a.m. on May 3 until 1 p.m. on May 5. The City followed some of Carpenter’s recommendations, purchasing six additional warning sirens in 1961 and stockpiling both emergency food supplies and necessary goods at the city’s utility service centers.

Larimer County’s preparedness for a nuclear disaster was tested on April 28, 1961. National and State civil defense officials chose the county “to test the possibility of carrying out civil defense precautions in any rural county in the event of an enemy bombing or missile attack. Emphasis of the test was on protection from radioactive fallout.” Prior to this drill Civil Defense distributed a booklet entitled *Individual and Family Preparedness* to the approximately 11,000 households in the county. Following the test residents were asked to complete a questionnaire regarding communications and preparedness. Survey returns from 2,820 individuals indicated 2,484 families had received siren, radio, fire whistle, or telephone alerts. But many respondents noted they had been expecting the test but might not have heard the alert without such advance notification. The test called for schools to be evacuated upon sounding of the siren. Respondents were knowledgeable about taking cover during an attack and indicated they had taken shelter in basements, on the first floor of buildings, and in special shelters or located other suitable cover. While Civil Defense recommendations advised families to maintain a food supply adequate for ten days to two weeks, the overwhelming majority of questionnaire respondents had food supplies for just one week. The Denver-area Office of Defense and Mobilization concluded the drill showed “a county on its own initiative...can effectively prepare a public to respond to a test,

which includes warning, school participation (evacuation), and family participation.”³⁷

Just days after it reported the results of the countywide Civil Defense test, the *Coloradoan* announced the Atlas Series E Intercontinental Ballistic Missile named “The City of Fort Collins” would arrive in its namesake city on July 13, 1960. Although a momentous occasion, the arrival of the Atlas E missile in the city was not unexpected. Construction of nine missile sites known as Squadron 3, planned since 1959, had been underway during the preceding fourteen months. The sites were located in Chugwater, Pine Bluffs, and Meridan, Wyoming; Kimball, Nebraska; and Hereford, Briggsdale, and near both Greeley and Fort Collins, Colorado. The *Coloradoan* provided details of the site located on the Don Nesbitt ranch and built by Martin R. Eby Construction of Wichita, Kansas, at a cost of over \$22 million. The site included a single-missile, semi-hardened installation, partly underground and covered with an earthen bank. The Atlas E Series missile, in the testing phase since 1957, carried a thermonuclear warhead and had a range of roughly 6,300 miles. Each missile was set for a predetermined target. The navigational system was relatively unsophisticated, with all missiles launched in a northerly direction and guided by the North Star.

Traveling from Warren Air Force Base in Cheyenne to a newly constructed missile storage facility located outside La Porte, a short distance northwest of the city, the City of Fort Collins missile would be on display in the city for approximately one hour. On the appointed day the missile, accompanied by Warren personnel and state patrol officers, traveled via

truck down Highway 87. Local police joined the escort near the city and at 7:10 a.m. the missile stopped on North Howes Street just north of City Hall. Mayor Eugene accepted the missile from Col. William E. Todd, with hundreds of local citizens in attendance. Representatives from missile manufacturers Convair Astronautics, Colonel Todd, and other Air Force personnel remained to talk with the public. At 9:45 a.m. “The City of Fort Collins” resumed its journey.

Area residents became rather accustomed to the otherwise foreboding presence of nuclear weapons nearby. Initially the curious drove to the missile site, staring at the countryside in hopes of seeing the missile. Security personnel at the site chased rabbit hunters away on numerous occasions. William and Ruby Kremers, residents on the adjacent ranch, reported seeing the missile raised into position several times. Development of the Minuteman Missile made the Atlas E obsolete and, in 1966, the launch site was decommissioned. Sometime later “The City of Fort Collins” was removed from its concrete bed and unceremoniously hauled away.³⁸

City Manager Guy Palmes, who facilitated and influenced so much Fort Collins postwar expansion, retired in 1961. The *Coloradoan* noted how he, along with the members of the City Council, “... pulled and shoved the residents over humps of low water pressure, backed up sewage, deteriorating streets, a growing parking dilemma, and other equally serious problems, somehow managing to keep ahead of these growing pains.” These individuals carefully controlled the city’s physical expansion, but it was the small agricultural college that burst its seams at the end of World War II.³⁹

Guy Palmes “expanded the city’s water system twice at a cost of \$4 million. As manager of the Light and Power Department he built the power plant. In 1937, he became manager of all city utilities. He retired as City Manager in 1961 at the age of 71.

I always like to hold Guy up as an example of what a doer can accomplish. He paved streets, built sidewalks, planted trees, developed a courteous and highly efficient police department, and he built Fort Collins beautiful Municipal Buildings. And he paid spot cash for everything he built for the city.”

Denver Post, April 9, 1972
Red Fenwick “Ridin’ The Range”

CHAPTER 3

The College Expands: Postwar Change at Colorado A&M

The history of Fort Collins is intertwined with the evolution of its largest institution, Colorado A&M, today's Colorado State University. During the postwar period, both the campus and the City experienced dramatic population increases, faced infrastructure shortfalls, and struggled to maintain its buildings. Using long-term planning as a tool to guide the evolution of the college, President William Morgan created new academic programs, built modern facilities, and transformed the provincial college into a modern, international research university. This expansion was critical to the growth of the City. The *Denver Post* reported that "the large potential of growth here brought on by the Colorado-Big Thompson project, the possibilities of the A&M College, and other factors, make Larimer County a county with a tremendous future." Indeed, modernizing the college was crucial to modernizing the City; both expanded simultaneously.⁴⁰

Founded as the Agricultural College of Colorado in 1870, the school opened in 1879. Since inception, agriculture had been the focus of education, research, and outreach. In 1943, enrollment dropped to just 701 students, though the college hosted military training programs for 1,500 soldiers. Lacking any sizable dormitories, the college rented the Armstrong and Northern hotels to house these men. To serve the immediate demand, the college converted other facilities into dormitories and dining halls.

During the final years of the war, at Colorado A&M and at

universities across the country, preparations for peacetime were well underway. Politicians and government officials wanted to prevent the conditions that led World War I veterans to march on Washington in 1932, demanding payment of their service certificates. Government officials realized when World War II came to an end wartime production would cease and workers would lose their jobs at precisely the same time millions of GIs returned home. It was clear that until American industry fully transitioned to peacetime production, jobs would be in short supply. The solution was to reward those who had served their country with a share in the American Dream, providing both the means to obtain a college education, training for new jobs, and support for purchasing homes. The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, commonly known as the G.I. Bill, was designed to ease veterans' transition back into society and prepare them for new occupations. This far-reaching legislation provided unemployment compensation of \$20 per week for up to a year; made building materials available for Veteran's Administration (VA) hospitals; offered job-placement assistance; guaranteed loans for homes, businesses, and farms; and granted education and training benefits to veterans.

The G.I. Bill had a profound effect upon secondary education in the United States. Many of those who entered the service during World War II had never worked for wages due to the scarcity of jobs throughout the Great Depression. During this same period public education suffered from a lack of ad-

equate funding; a college education simply was not a reality for a majority of Americans. A survey of the educational levels of soldiers serving during World War II indicated only thirteen percent had attended college, 24 percent had graduated from high school, 27 percent had finished some high school courses, and 36 percent had completed grade school. Of the approximately 15 million World War II veterans, roughly 7.8 million took advantage of the G.I. Bill education and training benefit to attend colleges and universities or to obtain technical or vocational training. This enormous influx of former soldiers was responsible for an enrollment boom in American universities of 70 percent over prewar levels. In the seven years after the G.I. Bill was enacted, roughly 2.3 million veterans attended colleges and universities using government benefits. It is estimated half of the 4 million males enrolled in institutions of higher learning during the postwar period were veterans. The college's January 1946 enrollment of 1,461 represented a 37 percent increase over figures from fall 1945.⁴¹

The effect of the G.I. Bill on American colleges and universities was nearly immediate. Such institutions, traditionally bastions of the upper and upper-middle classes, were swamped with veterans who little resembled the freshmen of prewar years. In 1947 almost half of all college students had served in the military. These veterans were, in most cases, older, hardened by war, and eager to get on with their lives. Under the G.I. Bill, the federal government paid the cost of tuition and fees directly to the participating educational institution, with the veteran receiving a monthly allowance of \$50 if single or \$75 if married with dependents.

A portion of this allowance was intended to cover the cost of housing, a commodity in very limited supply in most college towns, particularly Fort Collins. Officials at Colorado A&M

scouted all available, adaptable locations for student housing. William McCreary, director of housing at the school, may have been feeling a bit overwhelmed when he said, "It appears we will be considerably short of rooms and apartments. Many students are in hotels, waiting for us to find something for them, or frantically trying to find accommodations themselves." The ever-resourceful McCreary converted a former storage building into sleeping quarters for twenty students and transformed unused club offices in the old Student Union building into additional accommodations. He also negotiated to use the third floor of the state armory, which had previously served as barracks.⁴²

The housing problem was so severe the college asked Fort Collins to open their homes to boarders and converted the gymnasium into a dormitory; hotels filled to capacity; and restaurants struggled to feed everyone who did not own a hot plate. Some students found lodging in Loveland and others drove to their homes in Cheyenne each day. In April 1945, articles about the coming influx of students and the need for housing began to appear in the newspaper. On May 4 the Chamber of Commerce and Board of Realtors initiated a campaign to solve the impending student-housing crisis. Their goal was to assess existing residences, determine the potential for remodeling to accommodate students, and identify residents interested in building new housing. The results of this study were used to seek funding priority from the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and the War Production Board. An article about the campaign reported:

In attempting to foresee the future development of the community, the committeemen start with the fact that virtually all present housing facilities here are occupied. The college last year had an enroll-

ment of about 650, but by next fall may have a much larger one, particularly in view of the possibility that war veterans coming here to study, bringing their families, may add as many as 500 to the city's population. Such veterans may be expected to attend the college for five to seven years after the war, committeemen are informed.⁴³

Indeed, in June 1945 the local newspaper quipped, "Everything is filled up in Fort Collins except the city and county jails."⁴⁴

Through late 1945 and into 1946 the student-housing crisis dominated local news. The greatest need was, not surprisingly, for married student housing. Local resident Joanne Chisholm summed up the G.I. Bill phenomena, stating, "The soldiers were older. They were thinking of marriage or they were married and they thought 'Oh, boy, if I could bring my family up here in Fort Collins. This is ideal.' So many people moved in right away after the war, that the college started bursting at the seams...I mean for a small college where you didn't have that many, it was really bursting at the seams." To protect these students and their families the Office of Price Administration, a war agency whose authority extended into peacetime (1947) to prevent a postwar inflationary spiral, acted swiftly to stop price gouging on rent.⁴⁵

While the G.I. Bill necessitated increased space for married students and single men, female students also needed living quarters (although local residents more willingly accepted single women as "roomers.") Amy Parmalee, Dean of Women, noted while there had been problems in locating housing for women students, at the moment, "all the girls have a roof over their heads." Thanks to the efforts of the Chamber of Commerce and the Board of Realtors, many residents, previously

unwilling to take in boarders, recanted and opened their homes to students. Having addressed the housing crisis, a small problem still existed: bed linens were in short supply, and those on hand had been "used up and worn out;" the scarcity of pillowcases and sheets was a citywide problem.⁴⁶

While the city struggled to feed, clothe, shelter, and educate the swarm of students and their families, some Fort Collins residents disapproved of these activities. They were concerned the remodeling of homes to accommodate students would cause neighborhood decline, complaining particularly about the shoddy workmanship of hasty remodels. When the plan to erect a 'Veteran's Village' on the western edge of the campus at Laurel and Shields streets was announced in October 1945, nearby residents protested. In the end, however, the needs of the many outweighed the worries of the few and Colorado A&M erected Veteran's Village—a 96-unit city of Quonset huts, pre-fabricated houses, and trailers. An open letter from veterans studying at Colorado A&M may have turned public opinion. In this heartfelt correspondence former soldiers noted:

You have seen the proposed units (in Veteran's Village) and though they may seem small, they are what we need—houses for our families. They are what the other veteran students to return will need but these veterans will not come to Fort Collins to college unless they are assured of some kind of home for their families.⁴⁷

The new housing area in Veteran's Village "was as orderly and planned as barracks on a military base, perhaps lending some air of familiarity to the former servicemen" with concrete-block laundry buildings appearing at the end of each street of houses. The largest Quonsets housed a family on each end of the hut with a bathroom in the middle and gas stove

Apartment
And Houses
Are
Needed
For
Returning
Veterans!

Help Relieve
Housing Shortage
and
Make Money
By
Remodeling
Now!

Housing Units Needed!

There is a strong possibility that permission can be obtained to remodel and build new homes to furnish living quarters for returning service men, war workers, etc. We must—to obtain this permission—present a demand for, and a willingness to, remodel or build. With absolutely no obligation, we ask your cooperation in filling out and mailing the questionnaire below.

Are You Interested in Remodeling For Rental Purposes?.....

How Many New Units Would You Consider? 2-room 3-room 4-room

Are You Interested in Building New Units For Rental to Returning War Veterans?.....

(Name).....

(Address).....

**This is Urgent! Mail Your Answer Now to
Combined Housing Committee**
(Colorado A & M; Real Estate Board; Chamber of Commerce)
162 North College Ave., Fort Collins

Figure 3.1. The Fort Collins Chamber of Commerce and Board of Realtors campaign to solve the impending student housing crisis included an advertisement in the local paper, urging citizens to get involved with remodeling and building projects to accommodate incoming students. (*Fort Collins Courier*, May 4, 1945)

heating the entire building. The rent for a single Quonset was set at a maximum of \$35 including utilities.⁴⁸

Like other universities, Colorado A&M made accommodations to expedite the enrollment of former servicemen. The administration switched from a semester to a quarter system and even initiated Saturday classes. By fall 1946 there were approximately 3,500 students crammed into the school’s now inadequate classroom space. The college solved this problem, partially, with the same approach used in Veteran’s Village: acquiring surplus military buildings beginning in 1947. These units tended to be larger than those used for housing, usually measuring 40’ x 100’ and were often either divided into two floors or split in half. The university used these temporary buildings as classrooms, offices, and warehouses.

These temporary measures allowed the college to plan for the biggest expansion of both its physical and intellectual landscapes in its history. In 1949 news that the Soviets had developed an atomic bomb shocked the nation. Politicians and leading intellectuals called upon American colleges and universities to improve and expand programs in science and engineering.

Moreover, with the flow of veterans due to subside, college and university administrators started planning for increased enrollments due to the baby boom and, in Colorado, also related to the state’s rising population. Colorado A&M President William Morgan, the institution’s eighth leader, took the helm in summer 1949. Upon assuming his position, Morgan developed a 10-year, \$28-million building program. At the time the College Farm occupied most of sprawling campus. Thus Morgan had the distinct advantage of having room to grow. The college established a housing program, taking advantage of long-term federal loans at low interest rates for

building dormitories, dining halls, and student unions. Housing Director Courtlyn Hotchkiss recommended construction of twelve dormitories, built according to a four-wing plan and designed to house 200 students each. Between 1953 and 1967 a total of eleven dormitories were constructed. At Colorado A&M planning for new residence halls extended to a consideration of the entire campus. Morgan and the (physical) Plant Development Committee, working with Boulder architect James M. Hunter, identified the need to develop the campus beyond the Oval, cluster classrooms and libraries in the eastern section and housing and recreational facilities in the western section, and relocate the College Farm.

To gain funding for all of his planned campus improvements, Morgan worked with other state college and university presidents, lobbying the legislature with “a publicity program that incorporated grassroots campaigning, newspaper publicity, political lobbying, and Cold War angst.” As a result the state approved a new mill levy and a 20 percent increase in appropriations to Colorado’s higher-education institutions. Colorado A&M used this new allocation in the areas of engineering, agriculture, and the humanities, with a new Engineering Center constructed in 1957; new and relocated facilities for animal science, plant science, horticulture, and stock judging erected during 1959 and 1960; and the construction of both Eddy Hall and a new library completed in 1963 and 1964 respectively.⁴⁹

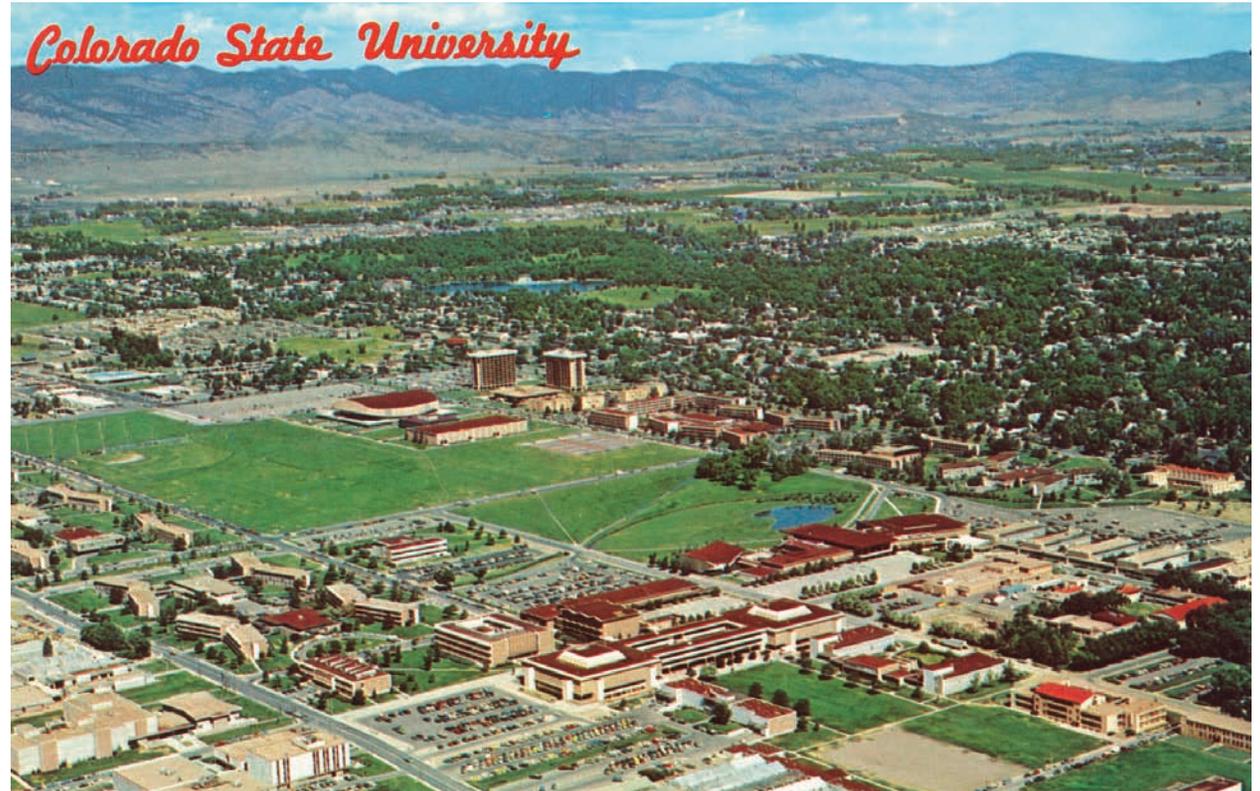
The design of these buildings did not reflect the traditional architecture of American academia, with classic columns, grand entrances, portly profiles, and brick construction. Instead, these postwar buildings reflected the modernization efforts of the City. Concrete, aluminum, and glass dominated facades. Entrances were subtle; the overall profile

Figure 3.2. A sea of quonset huts made up the Veteran's Village at Colorado A&M. (*Hansen, Democracy's College*)





Figures 3.3 and 3.4. Two postcard views of campus show the postwar expansion in the 1960s. The Durrell Center with its twin towers was billed as "a modern student complex." (Fort Collins Local History Archives, H22591 and H22590)



low and sprawling. Function dictated form. Concrete courtyard connected the buildings. Masculine and rigid geometry dominated the landscape, in contrast with the soft and feminine lines of the Oval. Students and citizens seemingly approved this modern physical space. The local newspaper praised Morgan's efforts, noting the nearly \$410 million expansion program which included \$6.9 million in construction started or completed in 1957.⁵⁰

The physical improvements complemented intellectual expansion. The college awarded its first doctorate, in civil engineering, in 1955. That same year, Colorado passed a mill levy providing a 20 percent increase to higher education. Morgan wanted to focus on engineering, agriculture, and humanities.

President Morgan was a driving force behind the name change to Colorado State University, gaining state approval for this modification on May 1, 1957. In that same year the Soviet Union scored a major victory in the space race with the launch of the first artificial satellite, Sputnik. This success shocked Americans who suddenly feared they were losing ground in the war against communism. As a direct result the system of public education was subject to harsh scrutiny. Congress passed the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1958 "to help ensure that highly trained individuals would be available to help America compete with the Soviet Union in scientific and technical fields."⁵¹ This legislation offered funding for graduate fellowships; loans to college students; improved science,

mathematics, and foreign language instruction in elementary and secondary schools; and enhanced vocational-technical training. Title IV of the Act awarded three-year fellowships to doctoral candidates interested in college teaching to address a predicted shortfall of college and university professors. At Colorado State University, President Morgan took advantage of post-Sputnik opportunities and NDEA provisions to increase research funding, attract new faculty, establish graduate research assistantships, and initiate graduate programs in a number of technical fields.

Despite the physical and academic changes on campus during the late 1940s and 1950s, the campus image remained that of a “cow college.” *Coloradoan* Treasurer and Publisher “Red” Moffit explained, “Socially... Fort Collins hasn’t much trace of the ‘town and gown’ set found in many college towns. We’re all more or less farmers and we’ve got a farmers’ school.” Dr. William Gray and his wife Nancy came to Fort Collins from Chicago in 1961 when Dr. Gray joined the university’s Atmospheric Science Department; Nancy recalled, “at that time, there were still cows on the campus.” Lynn and Ron Baker visited friends attending Colorado State University in the 1960s and remembered, “everyone wore cowboy hats and cowboy boots, which fit right in with the cow college image.” During the post-war period rodeos remained very popular in Fort Collins. The college’s annual rodeo, the Skyline Stampede, had been held since 1939 and was the first inter-collegiate rodeo in the nation. A collegiate rodeo also was part of Fort Collins’ annual Fourth of July celebrations.⁵²

Though the university remained steeped in its agricultural traditions, it also faced national crises. In the 1960s, university officials witnessed sometimes violent civil rights, women’s rights, and anti-war protests. During this decade students in-

vited provocative speakers such as James Meredith, the first black to enroll at the segregated University of Mississippi, Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett, and American Nazi party leader George Lincoln Rockwell to the campus. In 1967, after 2,500 students defied the existing rules and staged a “stay out” protest, President Morgan modified the female student curfew that required women to be in their dormitory or approved off-campus residence by 11 p.m. The new policy allowed female dorm dwellers to stay out until midnight on weeknights and 2 a.m. on weekends. It also granted junior and senior coeds the right to live anywhere off-campus.

Student protests against the Vietnam conflict were most prevalent from 1967 onward. Protest groups composed of students, faculty, and local citizens became active in the Larimer County Democratic Party, staging a “Vigil for Peace” in February 1967. On March 5, 1968, hundreds of students and faculty marched to the downtown Fort Collins War Memorial in a “Peace Action NOW” parade. This group, after smearing blood on a placard attached to the statue, faced community opposition, with a truck driver attempting to force the marchers off the road. Ultimately the police used mace to disperse the non-marchers. Other anti-war protests included a 1969 student sit in at the Agriculture Building to express opposition to Dow Chemical, a company with military contracts, holding job interviews on campus. In 1970 student peace activists staged a strike to mark both the invasion of Cambodia and the deaths of four student protesters at Kent State University; during a war moratorium concert on May 8, 1970, arsonists set fire to Old Main and attempted to burn down the ROTC firing-range.

In 1964 Colorado State University faculty and members of the Fort Collins Human Relations Commission organized a university Human Relations Committee to apply informal pres-



Figure 3.5. The one million dollar computer installed at Colorado State reflected its evolution from an extension school to a modern university. (*Fort Collins Local History Archives, C01228*)

sure against blatant discrimination, especially targeting landlords. Unfortunately, this ad hoc group had very little impact on discriminatory practices, lacked the authority to implement policies, and failed to gain approval from either Black or Mexican-American students at the university. The assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968 increased the visibility of and urgency for racial reforms, with the committee encouraging the university to offer new courses for minorities. A program designed to recruit minority students did not receive enough scholarship money to be viewed as more than a token experiment during the 1968-1969 school year. Demands for increased recruitment of minority students and faculty inspired members of a coalition of the Mexican-American Committee for Equality and the Black Student Association to stage a sit-in at the Administration Building and on President Morgan’s lawn in Spring 1969. These students and university officials turned to state legislators to solve the dispute. The lawmakers denied a request for funds to support minority recruiting; the student body also voted against an additional 50 cents in student fees for this purpose.

Expansion continued through the 1960s, when the university continued annual enrollment increases and constructed numerous buildings and facilities. A total of 7,304 students attended the school in the 1962-1963 academic year and 15,361 by 1968-1969. Two athletic facilities, Moby Gymnasium (constructed in 1966) and Hughes Stadium (built in 1968), provided playing space for competitors within the Western Athletic Conference (WAC), which the school joined in 1968. Again, concrete and steel dominated these designs rather than the brick and stone of the old field house. In addition to physical growth, university officials continued to pursue contracts and research grants, valued at over \$3 million by

1962. While Colorado State University was best known for research in science, engineering, and agriculture, progressive education—associated with the counterculture’s interest in art, music, and nature—experienced a resurgence in the mid- to late-1960s. In 1960, Maurice Albertson, an engineering professor who served as director of the university’s international programs office, obtained a grant to conduct a feasibility study for a program that ultimately became the Peace Corps.

The G.I. Bill transformed Colorado A&M physically and institutionally. Though overwhelmed immediately following the war, the community of Fort Collins embraced its veteran-students. The students soon integrated into life in Fort Collins. Communities across the nation found that from a battle-weary population of veterans emerged “450,000 trained engineers, 240,000 accountants, 238,000 teachers, 91,000 scientists, 67,000 doctors, 22,000 dentists, and more than a million other college-educated individuals.” The results of the G.I. Bill and the education these veterans received were two-fold. First, highly trained students joined the workforce at a time when the United States was establishing itself as an international superpower. Their G.I. Bill-funded educations made these former soldiers more likely to understand the complicated issues involved in protecting the democracy they had fought to defend in the war. Second, thanks to the G.I. Bill, a college education ceased to be the sole purview of the wealthy. In this way the education provision of the G.I. Bill democratized colleges and universities. In other words, “by making it possible for the sons of farmhands and laborers to get a better education than they had ever dreamed of, the G.I. Bill gave widespread and permanent credence to the idea that education is the pathway to a better job and a better life.” In Fort Collins, this expansion of the mind mirrored the expansion of the City itself.⁵³

CHAPTER 4

Leisure Time Expands: Fort Collins Plays, Fort Collins Prays

Automobiles, economic prosperity, and the postwar baby boom combined to create a new American pastime—a kind of rite of passage—the family vacation. National advertising campaigns encouraged drivers to “See the U.S.A. in your Chevrolet” and “See America First.” New cars and improved roads made traveling across the country easy and enjoyable. Colorado benefitted from this phenomenon, as tourists set out to explore the American West. Fort Collins missed no opportunity to exploit its location near the Rocky Mountains and the Cache La Poudre River. The Chamber of Commerce promoted the “Trout Route,” a 244-mile journey along Highway 287 through Poudre Canyon, north to Walden and North Park, returning via Laramie, south through Virginia Dale, Ted’s Place, and La Porte. The mountain streams and lakes provided excellent fishing in the summer and big game was plentiful in the winter. Numerous rustic resorts, established along the river during the 1920s, experienced a revival in the postwar years. The area was popular with locals and residents of other Colorado cities.

In Fort Collins motor courts and motels proliferated along North College Avenue, providing lodging for tourists traveling into the mountains. Members of the Chamber of Commerce and other Fort Collins boosters promoted the city for its convenient location and amenities as well as its western, outdoorsy character. They sought to attract tourists, hoping some of these visitors would enjoy the nearby recreational oppor-

tunities enough to settle permanently in Fort Collins, “the Choice City.” These efforts were part of the City’s expanding campaign to promote itself as the place to play, pray, and stay.

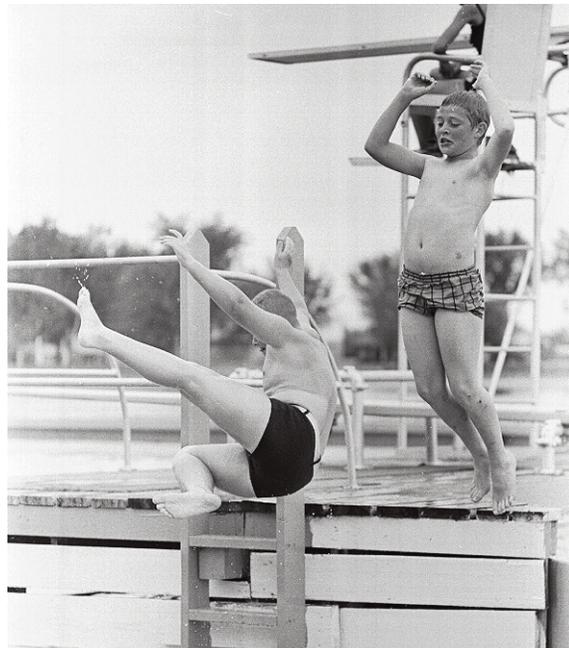
In planning for the postwar future of Fort Collins, Chamber of Commerce Director Walter B. Cooper suggested using federal housing dollars to improve roads and attract tourists. He advocated a gasoline tax to pay for the \$18 million required as local match for \$23 million in federal highway funds, claiming tourists using the new roads ultimately would pay 20 to 25 percent of the bill for highway construction. He remarked, “It’s a certainty that Colorado won’t get its share of the tourist business if westbound tourists are informed that Colorado roads are bumpy and dusty.” City planning consultant Harold Beier echoed these thoughts. He reiterated “the need to consider further development of roads into [Rocky Mountain National Park and Roosevelt National Forest], the development of facilities of all types, and the attraction of visitors from nearby highways.” He also predicted “local possibilities indicate that the improvement of State Highway 14 from east up the famous Cache la Poudre Canyon would provide a very promising outlet for more visitors.”⁵⁴

While nearby recreational activities were important for attracting tourists, both new and existing Fort Collins citizens required similar outlets within the city limits. For most of the city’s history community members had provided for citizens’ recreational needs. City schools offered both organized sports



Figure 4.1. Club Tico was the place to be for postwar teenagers. (Fort Collins Local History Archives, C01409)

Figure 4.2. The City invested in parks and recreation in the postwar years. City Park pool's "first splash" of 1966 is shown here. (Fort Collins Local History Archives, C00720)



and playgrounds. The local terrain—filled with streams, ponds, lakes, and gentle hills—sufficed for a myriad of self-directed recreational pursuits. Horseback riding, fishing, camping, and hiking in the nearby foothills suited many residents. There was a general emphasis on providing opportunities to younger residents. Supervised recreation was believed to be the prescribed antidote for juvenile delinquency. In 1945 the Recreation Committee of the Chamber of Commerce developed a recreation plan based upon use of existing facilities. Cooperation between the city government and the school district was strong, and that relationship made it possible for the city to delay developing its own parks and recreation plan.

For the high school set, Club Tico was the place to be. The idea for a youth center originated with students at the high school. Named after the popular song "Tico, Tico, Tico," the club was established in 1942. In 1948 the group needed a new location and City Council offered the City Park Pavilion. Students obtained funding for remodeling the building and Club Tico had a permanent home.⁵⁵ In the 1950s and 1960s Friday night was 'casual night' at the club and everyone was permitted to wear jeans. One Club Tico regular recalled her parents did not allow her to wear jeans, so she had to smuggle them out of the house and change on the way to the club.⁵⁶ On Saturday nights the dress code returned to "proper attire."⁵⁷

Other summertime diversions also expanded. Fort Collins citizens had always been concerned about children swimming—and sometimes drowning—in irrigation ditches around town. In response, the Elks Club raised money for a community swimming pool located in City Park; the City assumed responsibility for both pool operation and maintenance. Although the City had a parks and recreation department, its primary function was to maintain and repair

city grounds and parks rather than to administer any recreation programming. Instead the Fort Collins Recreation Commission, a nonprofit charitable organization funded through the Community Chest, worked with the community to develop recreational programs and activities.

Just like efforts to attract tourists to the area that played upon popular images from the postwar period, several community events capitalized upon the idea of Fort Collins as a Western town. During the 1940s and the 1950s the Fort Collins Chamber of Commerce sponsored an annual Junior Rodeo. They awarded a prize for Best Western Dressed Family and crowned a rodeo queen. Stunts and rodeo events included square dancing on horseback, calf roping, and saddle bronc riding. The city's annual Square Dance Festival drew contestants from miles around. Fort Collins was also well-known for its annual Fourth of July celebration. This day of festivities featured the crowning of the Rodeo Queen and both a junior and a collegiate rodeo. In keeping with this portrayal and reflecting the interests of Fort Collins citizens, 4-H programs were filled to capacity and the annual Larimer County Fair was considered a week-long family affair.

Both the city's rapid population increase and the baby boom resulted in a greater need for recreation programs than the existing providers could offer. With recreation programs filled to capacity, new opportunities and the money to support these efforts were needed. H.R. Phillips was hired in 1961 as Superintendent of Recreation to manage the process of expansion and financial management. Support for recreation programs was strong, and cooperation from the Recreation Commission, civic groups, service clubs, and the Board of Education was essential in the transition to a full-scale, city-sponsored recreation program. As part of the ultimately unrealized

Saco DeBoer comprehensive plan for Fort Collins (see “Planning and Zoning” in Chapter 2), the City considered even further expansion of their recreational offerings and the development of a parks and recreation plan to serve not only Fort Collins but also outlying communities. Such expansion was in keeping with how city residents and college students already spent their leisure time. Fort Collins was just a short horseback ride away from the foothills, where cool streams provided perfect picnic spots. An early resident of Sheely Drive noted how much her family enjoyed riding through the little valley and along the creek there.⁵⁸ The early 1960s parks and recreation plan for Fort Collins included provisions for safe passage for riders on horseback in the area around the Colorado State University campus.

A short distance from the city, Horsetooth Reservoir was an ideal spot for boating. Seven miles long and rimmed with quiet coves and gentle mountainsides, the reservoir drew flotillas of small power boats that became increasingly popular during the 1950s and 1960s. In 1955 a group of well-heeled local businessmen established the Sail and Saddle Club. They procured a lease on a small bit of federal land on the east side of the reservoir for a clubhouse. Building department records indicate there was a building on the site in 1955, but the group erected a modest glass-front facility with a dock on the water’s edge. Access to the club was difficult by foot: members largely arrived by boat.⁵⁹ By 1961 there were more ambitious plans to further develop recreation facilities at Horsetooth Reservoir. Skyline Drive, a scenic roadway running the length of the reservoir on the eastern ridge, was scheduled for partial completion in 1962. The Larimer County Recreation Commission planned to create picnic areas and an amphitheatre, and to increase swimming and boating facilities.

In addition to its well-established reputation as a base for exploring nearby recreational and natural areas, Fort Collins had a long tradition of religious participation. The First United Methodist Church was indeed first in Fort Collins. This congregation erected the fledgling community’s first church building in 1876, a year prior to the platting of the town. By 1917 Sanborn maps of Fort Collins showed a total of fourteen church buildings. Most of these churches were architect-designed and many occupied prime locations on prominent corners in or near downtown.

Nationwide, church membership grew exponentially during the postwar period, an era in which religious participation was considered a vital component of the American way of life. In the Cold War mindset church membership represented a mark of American superiority over “Godlessness Communism.” President Dwight D. Eisenhower championed church-going and his weekly attendance at services was highly publicized. Both the “Religion in American Life” and General Electric’s Charles E. Wilson’s pro-religion advertising campaigns promoted church attendance. Well-known advocates for religion—Norman Vincent Peale, Bishop Fulton Sheen, Rabbi Joshua Loth Liebman, and others-- all emerged as religious ‘celebrities’ during the postwar period. Based, at least in part, upon these promotional efforts church membership nationwide increased from 64.5 million in 1940 to 114.5 million in 1960. Reflecting the prominence of religion in the postwar period and in direct contradiction with the Constitutional tenet separating Church and State, faith in God became institutionalized beyond church pulpits when Congress voted in 1954 to add the words “under God” to the Pledge of Allegiance.⁶⁰ In 1955 national lawmakers also approved the inscription of the phrase “In God We Trust” on all American currency.⁶¹



Figure 4.3. The interior of New Baptist Church, shown in 1966, was modern and open. (Fort Collins Local History Archives, C00547)

In Fort Collins, as elsewhere across the country, church congregations swelled and outgrew their pre-war sanctuaries. For example, at St. John's Lutheran Church, on most Sundays during the late-1940s, at least 186 parishioners showed up for services, but there was seating for only seventy five. Many religious buildings either had undergone numerous repairs over the years or suffered from poor maintenance due to lack of resources during the Great Depression and rationing during World War II. Like those elsewhere across the United States, many of the churches in Fort Collins emerged from the war in poor condition. Leaking roofs, temperamental heating systems, and crumbling masonry plagued the buildings without prejudice. The First United Methodist Church at 306 South College Avenue expanded its existing building in 1906, 1912, 1917, and 1950. They also made numerous repairs to this aging building over time. Many congregations realized patchwork additions and piecemeal solutions would no longer serve their religious missions. Grand and lovely downtown churches that once formed a soft edge between the commercial district and the finest residential section of town were, by the late 1950s, surrounded by busy intersections, new businesses, and rooming houses.

Both these types of changes to downtown neighborhoods and the relocation of parishioners to new residential subdivisions affected the distribution of religious congregations during the postwar years. Tracing the four locations where the First United Methodist Church has held services over its long history illustrates this relocation pattern away from downtown Fort Collins. The congregation's first organized worship service took place in 1869 in the downtown Grout Building at the corner of Linden and Jefferson streets. Their first permanent building was constructed at Laporte Av-

enue and North Mason Street, in what is now extreme northern Fort Collins. By 1891 the congregation had moved about a mile south to a larger downtown church at 306 South College Avenue. Faced with a church building which was too small for the number of worshippers, in 1960 First United Methodist Church leaders purchased six acres of land at the corner of Elizabeth and Stover streets, approximately another mile and a half further southeast from their downtown location.

This migration pattern matched that of other older congregations in Fort Collins.⁶² St. John's Lutheran Church, currently located at 305 East Elizabeth Street, purchased its first church building in 1916. This facility, the former home of the Church of God, was at the intersection of Canyon Avenue and Mulberry Street in downtown Fort Collins. During the 1940s St. John's purchased additional land to expand at this location. However, the parish postponed construction during World War II. By the time the war was over they had sold their downtown land and instead purchased property at the intersection of Mathews and Elizabeth streets, a little over a mile southeast. The church constructed their first building on this new site in 1951 and completed an addition at this same location in 1963. The Seventh Day Adventist Church at 502 East Pitkin Street is a third Fort Collins church that migrated, always relocating further south and east, over its 125 year history. Their first church was located at the corner of Olive and Whedbee streets, in the heart of downtown. The congregation then moved into a larger facility, a former Methodist church also located downtown, in the 200 block of East Mountain Avenue. The parish next purchased a building at Whedbee and Magnolia streets, just a block from their original location. The Seventh Day Adventists anticipated postwar growth and, as early as 1943, a few members started fundraising for a new church

building. They found the “ideal lot in a beautiful section of the city” on Pitkin Street.⁶³ This fourth and final location was nearly a mile further south than their original base; groundbreaking took place on Halloween, 1954, and construction was completed less than a year later.

Due to promotional campaigns, the tremendous population spike during the postwar period, and other factors, “the 1950s witnessed the greatest church building boom in American history, in which \$3 billion was spent on new church construction from the end of the war through the summer of 1955.”⁶⁴ Church architecture changed radically in the postwar period. Eschewing the old for the new, Gothic for Modernism, these buildings embraced new forms for new functions. The majority of churches built during the postwar period were in keeping with some of the same principles that influenced subdivision design. Parishes commissioned new churches to create religious communities rather than simply to provide space for attending formal services. Reflecting cultural shifts and changing mindsets, postwar worshippers expected their churches, in both design and doctrine, to provide comparatively casual access to God. Toward this end, roughly one in four new religious buildings built in the United States during the postwar period were designed to reflect some variation of a modern architectural style.⁶⁴

Many church congregations in Fort Collins who needed to expand after the war did so in the Modern style. Some church buildings, especially those constructed in the 1950s, featured only modest Modern influences. The new building for the Seventh Day Adventist Church was completed in 1955. This facility has pinkish sandstone siding, a material used to accent numerous commercial buildings elsewhere in Fort Collins. The large rectangular tower near the primary entry pierces the

church’s roof plane, similar to the large chimneys of new contemporary and ranch homes erected in the early- to mid-1950s. The windows express the Modernist ethos of eschewing traditional ornamentation. Instead of old-fashioned stained glass depicting religious imagery, the windows at Seventh Day Adventist are opaque with a milky or marbled appearance. The windows, located in large horizontally-oriented rectangular panes in the front-gabled bay, combine dark green and white hues. The long rectangular panes on both the east and west elevations of this church feature a mixture of blue-grey, gold, or pinkish-brown and white.

The new building for St. John’s Lutheran Church illustrated the growing appreciation for Modern church architecture over time. This facility incorporated buildings with three different dates of construction. The 1951 original church is located west of the 1963 sanctuary and a ca 1980s addition runs along much of the rear elevation. The 1951 church is much more traditional than the 1960s addition. Architect Harlan E. Rathburn designed this brick church with modest Gothic influences: an arched primary entry and window openings with minimal marble trim. When the congregation outgrew this new building they commissioned the Fort Collins architectural firm of Magerfleish and Burnham to design a thoroughly modern addition which more than doubled the 1951 church footprint. Modern details on this addition include the flat-roofed entry vestibule, brick bell tower, and an impressive folded plate roof over the new sanctuary. There are also lines of large steel fixed pane windows with casements in the bottom and juxtaposed against bands of cream acrylic or plastic facing. This center section of the building has an International style appearance.

Nationwide, necessary planning and fundraising delayed



Figures 4.4, 4.5, and 4.6. During the postwar period several congregations built new church buildings, with most erecting their facilities outside the downtown area nearer parishioners in newly formed residential subdivisions. Examples that followed this pattern include (from top to bottom): First United Methodist Church, at 1005 South Stover Street; Seventh Day Adventist Church, at 502 South Pitkin Street; and St. John’s Lutheran Church, at 305 East Elizabeth Street. (*Mary Therese Anstey*)

construction of many new church buildings until the 1960s. Such was the case with the new home for the First United Methodist Church at 1005 Stover Street. Constructed in 1964 at a cost of nearly \$1 million, this building was credited to local architect William Robb.⁶⁵ It is located on an expansive corner lot and the full scope of the Modern Movements style church is most visible from the north; here one can see the octagonal chapel, the bell tower, the glass walkway along the main body of the building, the end of the administrative wing, and the soaring front gabled sanctuary with the dramatic folded plate roof. This church design relies upon innovative engineering for the elaborate folded plate roof. The masonry-bearing walls for the administrative and educational wings have roofs of "stressed skin" panels, a system which, like the folded plate roof, results in structural economy through the use of modern engineering methods and new high-strength resin glues.⁶⁶ The sanctuary façade forms a large triangle, a motif representing the Holy Trinity which is repeated innumerable times on both the interior (ends of pews, windows, altar, pulpit, lectern, lighting fixtures, and ceiling beams) and exterior of the church building. Keeping with its modern appearance, all

of the stained glass windows are geometric instead of the Bible scenes traditional found on the windows of older churches. In a 1980 local newspaper article, First United Methodist parishioner and architect William Brenner, who joined as a principal in Robb's firm in 1971, called the design principle behind this building "contemporary" and claimed the building marked a change in church design.⁶⁷ He believed this church was more about inviting the outside in and correlated this feeling to both a more open attitude in 1960s religion and a general breaking away from religious traditions during that period.⁶⁸

As the City sought to expand the size, services, and population of postwar Fort Collins, it recognized the need to support recreation and religious life. The City could capitalize on its fine natural resources and proximity to the mountains. The City dedicated efforts to support family recreation through new parks and pools. With the completion of Horsetooth Reservoir, more outdoor opportunities opened to citizens and visitors alike. Churches remodeled and built new buildings. All of these postwar improvements were good for the soul and good for the City.

CHAPTER 5

The Home Expands: the Postwar American Dream

In the closing stages of World War II, Americans eagerly turned their thoughts to the future: living in new houses and starting their own families. Many companies more associated with manufacturing consumer goods had converted their factories to the production of tanks, bombers, and other war materiel. Yet, their promotional materials reminded consumers the war would not last forever and, when it was over, these companies would be ready to provide them all of the consumer products they needed to make a house a home. Manufacturers sought to stimulate desire for new, improved, but yet to be produced consumer goods. Advertisements featured images of new homes with both new appliances and furnishings and many companies distributed “wish books” for consumers to fill with pictures of baby cribs, broadloom carpet, stylish furniture, and all of the other goods they wanted as soon as the war was over.

Lack of wartime home building, rationing, and emotive ads all fueled feelings of deferred gratification on the home front. Long before new homes were actually constructed, both soldiers and their families stateside thought about what postwar houses would be like. Popular magazines distributed questionnaires to determine readers’ domestic desires. A 1945 *Saturday Evening Post* survey indicated only 14 percent of the respondents would be satisfied to live in an apartment or used house.⁶⁹ In 1946 *Better Homes and Gardens* magazine published the results of a survey of 11,428 families, indicating the

typical American wanted a home with more space including a basement, multi-purpose room, eat-in kitchen, dining room, and plenty of storage plus a yard for the children.⁷⁰

The G.I. Roundtable brochure entitled, “Shall I Build A House After the War?” recognized the likelihood of the Great Depression, wartime rationing, and other factors to cause postwar housing shortages and predicted a need for “over a million nonfarm dwelling units a year, including apartments, for at least ten years after the war.”⁷¹ Indeed, the postwar housing shortage had much deeper explanations than simply the return of GIs keen to start new families in their own homes.⁷²

During the Great Depression billions of dollars in defaults on home mortgages crippled lending institutions, making them fearful about granting additional home loans. At that time, mortgages required down payments of 40 to 50 percent with financing on the balance available for 5 to 9 percent over the short period of three to five years.⁷³ Due to such restrictive terms, home ownership was beyond the means of most Americans. In 1934 the National Housing Act, which created the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), was passed. The FHA insured mortgages, removing this risk from lenders. “Through FHA’s encouragement of the long-term, low-interest, low down payment, self amortizing first mortgage, prospective homebuyers were able to borrow the necessary funds to purchase a house, and repay the loan with regular and affordable monthly payments.”⁷⁴ These initial FHA loans lowered down

payments to 20 percent and extended the terms to twenty years, with most agreements financed at an interest rate from 5 to 6 percent. Under normal economic conditions such lending provisions would have made home buying easier. However, the fact the nation was sinking further into the Great Depression and most individuals lacked sufficient income, the majority of Americans still could not afford to purchase homes.⁷⁵

There also were shortages of materials to erect new homes. While prewar manufacturing boosted the economy somewhat, with the advent of World War II there were no building materials available since virtually all resources were allocated to the war effort. For these reasons the nation added no significant housing stock for sixteen years. In Fort Collins construction languished from 1929 to 1938, with the value of building permits in 1939 finally, and only slightly, exceeding those granted ten years earlier.⁷⁶ The reality of postwar housing shortages far exceeded the wartime predictions cited in the G.I. Roundtable brochure. National Housing Authority reports indicated the need for "at least 5 million new (housing) units immediately and a total of 12.5 (million) over the next decade."⁷⁷ The situation was astounding: by 1947 an estimated six to seven million families were sharing housing, the majority in homes built in the 1920s or earlier.⁷⁸ Delays in transforming the nation's manufacturing processes to peacetime production stalled home construction further. During the first two years after the war, an estimated 2.8 million new families were formed, but just 1.5 million new houses were constructed.⁷⁹

Knowing soldiers had started thinking about new homes far prior to demobilization, it was important for federal lawmakers to include provisions for home purchase in the G.I.

Bill. This legislation (along with the Veterans' Emergency Housing Acts of 1946, 1948, and 1949) allowed for FHA mortgages with either no or low down payments, interest rates of 5 to 6 percent, and thirty year terms. Ultimately, these provisions granted approximately 3.5 million home mortgages to veterans. Federal guidelines limited funding to homes ranging in size from 800 to 1,000 square feet with prices from \$6,000 to \$8,000. Veterans' new homes were almost exclusively low-cost single-family dwellings in suburban settings, most with no more than four to five rooms. "Through the institutionalization of a formerly radical approach to the politics of housing in America—government underwriting of mortgages for Americans who had no capital—the G.I. Bill set in motion a dramatic transition in American society. The houses the Bill funded reinforced the nuclear family, not only through economic incentives but also through the very design of the housing it promoted."⁸⁰

The G.I. Bill and FHA made home ownership available to more people than at any time in history. The only thing missing were the houses. With demand and financing in place, architects and builders scrambled to conform to the terms of the Bill. "Due to the limitations in both price and size, architects in the field were forced to redirect their practices away from ornate, decorative, and stylish dream houses; postwar housing required functional, practical, and economical solutions which were appropriate to family homes."⁸¹ A landscape of look-alike houses (many effectively using innovative new materials such as asbestos roof tiles, weatherboard siding, and a wide variety of plastic and vinyl derivatives) on curvilinear street after curvilinear street within postwar subdivisions is one of the most recognizable legacies of the G.I. Bill. This pattern emerged because FHA involvement in the building process encouraged

the construction of lower cost homes built in large-scale developments utilizing modernized construction methods.⁸²

The FHA developed a standardized system of appraising property values in order to protect their large financial investment in the success of new homes. These appraisal procedures considered “the borrower’s income and employment prospects, the physical condition of the property, the physical characteristics of the neighborhood and its location in the metropolis, urban planning and land-use controls, deed restrictions, and market demand.”⁸³ Builders, lenders, and developers interested in securing FHA-insured loans submitted their subdivision project plans to federal underwriters. The FHA favored large-scale developments of modest sized, single-family homes which they believed created homogeneous new neighborhoods.⁸⁴

By the late 1940s the curvilinear subdivision had evolved from how it was employed in Frederick Law Olmstead, City Beautiful, and Garden City models to become the FHA-approved standard. The agency considered the sense of enclosure created by siting houses on curvilinear streets or within cul-de-sacs and courts a desirable subdivision design feature.⁸⁵ This street arrangement also disguised the uniform appearance of new developments which included only a few basic home models. The FHA encouraged landscaping with shade trees and grass lawns to not only form a barrier between the new houses and the street but also create a park-like feel within neighborhoods. Garages at the front of the house provided access to the street and eliminated the need for unsightly alleys. The new subdivisions employed arteries to control the flow of automobiles, channeling them from larger streets to smaller clusters of homes. The drive along curving roadways was considered more pleasant and safer than the

constant stop-and-go of the grid. Given the tremendous influence of FHA funding in postwar housing, administration street arrangement preferences also became the standard for most local subdivision regulations throughout the country. Over time within Fort Collins postwar residential subdivisions more and more streets assumed the stereotypical, curvilinear pattern. For example, Circle Drive, as the location of the first postwar new housing, featured a basic grid with curves added at the four corners around the center oval street. But, by the 1960s, the Indian Hills subdivision featured nearly all curvilinear streets and a number of small cul-de-sacs.

The FHA sought to address issues associated with earlier home building, both the development of parcels unconnected to existing neighborhoods and speculative endeavors which, instead of being built out fully, left only a few disconnected homes within large tracts of land. The administration promoted land-use planning and zoning to protect their investments. Zoning was essential to preserve the quality of the community and, according to FHA guidelines, houses could not be located near areas supporting either business or manufacturing industries.⁸⁶ Beyond FHA guidance, other organizations also provided information about how to design subdivisions. In 1947 the Urban Land Institute published the initial volume of *Community Builder’s Handbook*, a comprehensive reference book for neighborhood development. This publication was in keeping with FHA preferences, offering advice on a diversity of topics ranging from site selection to protective covenants and covering topics on residential, commercial, and infrastructure design within postwar subdivisions.

Once subdivision plans were approved, the FHA made a conditional commitment to the approved lender to insure the

home mortgages for properly qualified borrowers. This commitment permitted the lender to provide complete financing for the development and the builders to get started on home construction. However, the creation of such large subdivisions required completely different construction methods than those employed during the prewar period when the average builder completed five or fewer houses per year. There were three major, inter-related, and simultaneous changes to the residential design and construction process during the post-1945 period and all were due to the sheer volume of homes erected and size of new subdivisions. These changes included the emergence of a new class of builders, the introduction of mass production methods to enhance speed and efficiency, and the use of new materials.⁸⁷

While a variety of professionals—such as planners, architects, and landscape architects—could be involved with suburban developments, the postwar period witnessed the emergence of the operative or merchant builder. Merchant builders, unlike building professionals from previous generations, were entrepreneurs involved with the entire house production process rather than just home construction. As the sole point of contact and responsibility for these large developments, merchant builders were charged with four major tasks: land acquisition, financing, construction, and marketing. Viewing the houses and developments as commodities, these builders were interested in improving the efficiency of the home building system, streamlining the entire process. By 1949 merchant builders had become a major force in the housing market, with just 4 percent of all builders responsible for 45 percent of new building units.⁸⁸ The original and best known merchant builder was William Levitt.⁸⁹

Within the discussion of postwar residential develop-

ments, Levittown has long represented the model American suburb. The Levitt company, although it seemed to burst onto the scene in the postwar period, possessed earlier origins. Real estate lawyer Abraham Levitt, with his sons Alfred and William, started Levitt and Sons, Inc. in 1929. The firm’s first homes were for wealthy clients on Long Island’s South Shore and they built a total of eighteen homes in the company’s first year. The firm started their first suburban development in 1934, marketing homes for upper-middle class clients who did not suffer the ill-effects of the Great Depression. The company experimented with low-cost housing during the war, building 2350 rental units for the Navy in Norfolk, Virginia, in 1941. Benefiting from both FHA and VA financing and William’s wartime experience as a Seabee, the firm constructed their first postwar residential development in 1947 on Long Island. The company used assembly line methods and, over a four year period, was able to turn a potato field into the largest housing development by a single builder. They modestly christened their community of over 6,000 houses Levittown, New York.

Due to both the high demand for housing and William Levitt’s marketing skills, Levittown properties sold very quickly. William was a “master publicist who... understood that to make his community a success, he needed to present it as a new form of ideal American life, one that combined the idealized middle-class life of the prewar suburban communities, with the democratized life of younger, mainly urban-raised GIs and their families.”⁹⁰ The Levitts repeated their successful model, building a second Levittown, in Pennsylvania, from 1951 to 1958. This massive development included not only 17,311 houses but also community facilities like schools, parks, and shopping malls. The Levitts demonstrated the feasibility of building large numbers of affordable houses. Other builders

quickly replicated the Levitt methods for new subdivisions throughout the United States.⁹¹

One of the reasons William Levitt and other merchant builders were so successful was their use of mass production methods for home building. These methods had their roots in both automobile assembly lines and construction of wartime worker housing. As the G.I. Roundtable brochure had predicted, to build the sheer number of new homes needed, house building had to “be put on a ‘mass production’ basis” similar to the approach applied at Ford, General Motors, and Chrysler. During the war the federal government employed factory-like production methods and the incorporation of pre-fabricated components to develop the large number of housing units needed to shelter the millions of people who migrated to war production facilities. Learning from these two examples, merchant builders divided postwar home construction into three basic sets of tasks: foundation, rough, and finish. Each of these task sets was further divided into discrete subtasks. For example, the Levitts divided the construction process into twenty seven distinct steps suitable for completion by unskilled laborers.⁹² This division of labor allowed the crew members to specialize in a single aspect and to do that job exclusively on multiple homes. Since time was money for merchant builders, they wanted no house to stand idle once it was started. To save further time builders also developed specialized staging areas. They delivered, on a daily basis, only the materials, precut and prefabricated, the workers needed for the houses under construction. The overall goal was never to have delays due to lack of material and never to have the foreman leave the job to locate missing items. Most builders tried to buy materials directly from the manufacturer, taking advantage of less expensive bulk orders and maintaining control

of the process instead of introducing a middle man.⁹³

The third major change to home building in the postwar period was the introduction of new materials. Again, wartime construction practices played a role. According to the National Bureau of Standards in 1942, unusual materials, designs, and methods of fabrication not normally used were acceptable during wartime due both to rationing and the need for rapid occupancy.⁹⁴ Materials used for defense housing proved equally appropriate for mass home construction during the postwar period. The G.I. Roundtable pamphlet listed the array of new building materials developed during the war: wall-board, plastics, asbestos cement, and asphalt products. This publication explained wallboard—made of wood, vegetable, and mineral fibers or of wastepaper, gypsum, or plywood—would be used as an insulator, a plaster substitute, as sheathing, or even as outside wall covering. Both during and after World War II plastics were added to both paints and glues. Asbestos cement had the advantages of being both light and fireproof. The general view was new materials would create new, modern homes far superior to houses built during the pre-war period.

In the immediate postwar years, small boxy homes sufficed to meet the immediate needs of a nation desperate for housing. But in a short time, a new American way of living emerged. No longer content to live as their parents and grandparents had, postwar Americans sought new, casual, efficient, modern living. In their 1946 book *Designing Tomorrow's House: A Complete Guide for the Home-Builder*, George Nelson and Henry Wright of *Architectural Forum* magazine presented a bold deconstruction of new homeowners' needs and advocated for modern architectural design. They eschewed home styles that harkened back to the past as unfit for the way peo-

ple lived today. "In designing houses today we have to be ourselves—twentieth century people with our own problems and our own technical facilities. There is no other way to get a good house."⁹⁵

The authors urged readers to consider interior space as serving a variety of purposes rather than having distinct rooms with specific functions. They opined, "One of the nicest things about contemporary design is that it has no set pattern; you can have as much formality or informality as you like, and you can mix these qualities in any way you see fit."⁹⁶ In this manner, the modern house supported a casual style of living. While modern architecture, often considered too sterile and cold, did not find favor with the masses, the essential tenet of this architectural movement, the idea that form should follow function, strongly influenced home design in the postwar years. The ranch house became more than shelter; it supported family life and in that way, was like Le Corbusier's concept of "a machine for living."⁹⁷

While many architectural styles and types emerged during the postwar period (see Selected Postwar Architectural Styles and Types), the late 1940s into the 1960s are most closely associated with the popularity of the ranch home. The ranch house type drew inspiration from many sources, however, the influences of the work of prominent American architect Frank Lloyd Wright and the Spanish haciendas of Colonial California are of particular note.

Frank Lloyd Wright, eccentric and prolific, practiced architecture from the 1890s to the 1950s. The designs for his Prairie Houses, built in the early-1900s, influenced the appearance and layout of ranch type homes. The Prairie Houses possessed low, horizontal profiles incorporated into the natural landscape; deep eaves sheltering large windows; extensive

use of natural materials; and no historicist ornamentation. The interiors of these large residences were open with both free-flowing spaces and dominant fireplaces. The influence of Wright's Usonian homes is also evident in the postwar ranch. He started building these houses in 1936. They were intended to be low-cost single-family homes and were much smaller than his Prairies Houses. Like the earlier designs, they featured low, horizontal profiles with open interiors and prominent fireplaces; however, unlike Prairie Style homes, the roof was flat and the façade closed. The Usonians were built on a concrete slab both to accentuate their low profile and to reduce cost. To provide residents with some measure of privacy, Wright placed bands of windows high on the wall and concealed the front entrance.

Early Spanish California homes, with their commonsense design, also influenced the appearance of postwar ranch homes. In the 1920s Henry Saylor, editor of the *American Architect*, commented how the California ranch house "stood out from the medley of jumbled styles, lack of styles, or mere affectations," noting how these homes "just grew, naturally, inevitably, (as) a logical result of meeting definite needs in the most direct, workmanlike manner possible with the materials at hand."⁹⁸ These homes were expansive and arranged in "U" or "L" plans to form semi-enclosed courtyards. They were designed to optimize cross-ventilation and were strongly oriented to the outdoors, an appealing feature in the Southern California climate.⁹⁹

Drawing on these influences, California architect Cliff May designed and built the first of his many ranch houses in San Diego in 1932. These homes sold quickly, with May expanding his business to the vibrant housing market of Los Angeles in 1937. *Sunset Magazine* "discovered" May in 1936 when he de-

FIGURE 5.1. POSTWAR ARCHITECTURAL STYLES AND TYPES



Minimal Traditional

- Built in the early postwar period
- Loosely based on Tudor style
- Common elements: boxy appearance, minimal architectural or decorative details, small (usually one story), rectangular plan on a concrete slab, simple roof (typically side-gabled), asbestos shingle and aluminum siding common
- Fort Collins examples in Reclamation Village



Cape Cod

- Common in Levittown, New York
- Particularly favored on the east coast, perhaps due to its colonial influences
- Common elements: steeply pitched side gable roof, minimal eaves or no rakes, decorative shutters, gable roof dormers
- Fort Collins examples in Carolyn Mantz subdivision



Split Level

- 1960s alternative to Ranch
- Interior layout: Active living and service area (family room, garage) on or partially below grade level, Mid-level quiet living area (living room, dining room, kitchen), and Upper level (bedrooms)
- Common elements: two-story section connected at mid-height to one-story "wing," low-pitched roof, overhanging eaves, horizontal lines, and attached garages on the lowest level (often below grade)
- Fort Collins example on Yale Avenue



Bi-Level

- 1960s alternative to Ranch
- Also known as the Raised Ranch
- Interior layout: Lower level - family room, bedroom, bathroom, utility room; Upper level - living room, kitchen, bathroom, additional bedrooms.
- Common elements: raised basement; mid-level (usually central) main entry, upper level projecting façade, rear deck from upper level
- Fort Collins example on Cook Drive

signed the publication's corporate offices. The magazine and his house designs promoted both the casual California lifestyle and the modern ranch house to Americans captivated with the idea of the west. The mere mention of the term ranch conjures an image: "When we think of the West we picture (to ourselves) ranches and wide open spaces where there is plenty of elbow room."¹⁰⁰ The idea of space and freedom appealed to Americans who had faced the deprivations of the Great Depression and proved equally appealing to the postwar concept which viewed residents of new subdivisions as pioneers in the suburbs. Emphasizing this spirit within his designs, May told prospective owners, "If, emotionally, you rebel at restraint, abhor fussiness, and in your heart are listening for the jangle of silver spurs, you should call the house you build a ranch house."¹⁰¹

May's houses employed natural materials such as board and batten siding; featured low roof lines, exposed beams, and prominent fireplaces; and made extensive use of glass for both window walls and sliding doors. To extend the spread of the house and create semi-private areas, May often incorporated wings into his designs. May's enthusiasm for outdoor living and entertaining was a strong factor in his designs. He also designed to support the way modern families lived. "What made Cliff exciting to anyone interested in home building in those early days was this drive to perpetuate ideas in livability rather than form a façade. His passion was not so much architecture as the way people wanted to live."¹⁰² May's designs, and the ubiquitous ranch homes across the country based loosely on his influence, emphasized the Southern California, casual lifestyle of outdoor living. The ranch home reflected the "'California Dreaming' (aspirations) of the emerging middle class during the postwar era" and played a major role in making the

ranch home "the template for the typical house of the postwar period."¹⁰³

As more and more builders adopted the ranch for new postwar subdivisions, it became shorthand for a certain type of lifestyle and borrowed from the idealized image of the American west. Ranch homes reflected "friendliness, simplicity, informality, and gaiety from the men and women who, in the past, found those pleasures in ranch-house living."¹⁰⁴ However, in reality, the prevalence of the ranch home in the postwar period had more to do with finances than romance. Ranch homes were both easier and less expensive to build.¹⁰⁵ From the less than 700 square foot starter homes of the early postwar period to the rambling houses of the 1960s, the ranch house grew with the American family and the American economy. They were designed to be both functional and efficient and eventually dominated the suburban landscape, appearing as not only infill housing but also in new subdivisions both large and small. In Fort Collins, as in other towns across the country, ranch houses were built first in small developments of a handful of homes on pockets of land, then in larger and larger subdivisions on cleared tracts near the edges of town.¹⁰⁶

The popularity of the ranch home was undeniable. Whether due to its widespread availability, new design characteristics, or perhaps a combination of both, this housing type became what postwar Americans wanted. It featured an open floor plan that made it easy for mothers to watch over small children while working in the kitchen and multi-purpose areas that could be divided according to changing needs. The living areas were used for play in the daytime, converted into a dining area at dinnertime, and functioned as a place for family entertainment after the meal. The Rhodes Agency, a Fort Collins real estate and insurance company, advertised just

these attributes when they promoted “The House of Tomorrow” in 1955:

We hear many comparisons between the older homes and the modern ones. Each has its good and bad points and both will undoubtedly hold an important part in our housing industry. But the trend toward the modern or contemporary house seems well established. This type of home is not as much a style as it is an expression of our modern standard of living. This is most noticeable in the modern kitchens, “open” planning of floor space, privacy for indoor and outdoor living, and storage space by means of storage walls. In the not too distant future, our homes may have movable walls so that room arrangements may be changed as we now rearrange furniture. Window panels may be moved around to vary with the season. Of this we can be sure, a great industry is constantly striving to bring you more livability for less money. This constant urge to better ourselves is America’s great strength.¹⁰⁷

The stereotypical, Levitt-like pattern of large sprawling residential subdivisions erected in the immediate postwar period did not emerge in Fort Collins. Instead, from 1945 to 1952, the city managed to accommodate the need for housing in three ways. They allowed small areas of infill construction within the existing city limits, permitted the resourceful rehabilitation of existing buildings to include basement and garage apartments, and only when absolutely necessary approved very small developments within the so-called “fringe” areas just outside the city.¹⁰⁸ In Fort Collins residential building permits held steady at around 450 in each year between 1950 and 1953, and then began a steady climb from 618 in 1954 to 728

in 1960.

Noticeably absent from these new planned communities were residents with Hispanic surnames. Hispanics in Fort Collins were subjected to prejudice and exclusionary practices. Restaurants displayed signs indicating they served whites only. Hispanics were expected to live in their own section of town, the areas of Fort Collins known as the Spanish Colony, the Quarters, or the Jungles. The FHA was careful to insure mortgages on properties considered to be good investments. The presence of either African Americans or Hispanics was thought to devalue property. Although the Supreme Court ruled racial covenants unconstitutional in 1947, local segregation continued unabated and resulted in the exclusion of minority populations from nearly all new subdivisions throughout the country.

The story of Fort Collins’ postwar development is best expressed in the story of selected housing areas: Reclamation Village, Circle Drive, Carolyn Mantz, the Sheely Drive neighborhood, and Western Heights. These developments span from the early postwar period when individuals were desperate for any home to the later years when residents moved out of small starter homes into more spacious houses meant to accommodate their growing families and continuing desire for consumer goods.

Reclamation Village

In April of 1946, the Bureau of Reclamation obtained the lease on a 12-acre parcel on the north side of Laporte Avenue opposite McKinley Avenue and east of Taft Hill Road to provide workers’ housing for its employees engaged in construction of the Colorado-Big Thompson Water Diversion Project. The site was chosen for its location near both schools and util-



Figures 5.2 and 5.3. Survey in Reclamation Village identified three models of Minimal Traditional type homes which are likely examples of original Bureau of Reclamation prefabricated buildings. Both of the houses shown, 232 Lyons Street (top) and 226 North McKinley Avenue (bottom), are side gabled rectangular homes with a rear shed-roof extension or addition.. (Mary Therese Anstey)

ity connections. On this land the agency built forty-eight prefabricated two and three-bedroom homes, an administrative building, a laboratory, and a garage. By October 1946, the Winter Weiss Company had assembled the first twenty-three homes, with all of the houses and accessory buildings completed by 1947. This site would later be referred to as Reclamation Village (a similar housing project in Estes Park had the same name); however, the 1948 Fort Collins City directory listed residents on Reclamation Court, likely located along present-day Lyons Street, and from 220 through 240 North McKinley Avenue. While all of these occupants were, not surprisingly, Bureau of Reclamation workers, a distinct class difference existed between those living in Reclamation Court and those residing along McKinley Avenue. Reclamation Court appeared to be reserved for lower-ranking employees such as drill foremen, maintenance men, and lower grade (nothing above P-2) engineering aides. The McKinley Avenue houses were for higher-ranking employees, including clerks, administrative assistants, accountants, engineers, and engineering aides with grades ranking from P-4 to P-7.

Once the Big Thompson project was complete, the Bureau transferred the entire development to the Government Services Administration (GSA). The City of Fort Collins hoped to purchase the parcel, remove the existing buildings, and rezone the tract for high-quality new housing. Towards this end, City building inspectors T.P. Treadwell and Byron Albert filed a report dated July 15, 1954, which indicated there were thirty-two two-bedroom prefabricated steel houses measuring 24.1' x 27.1'. They noted there were a total of four three-bedroom houses which were only slightly larger: 27.1' x 27.1'.¹⁰⁹ Treadwell stated these sizes failed to meet the City's minimum requirements and reported the plumbing had been installed

using black iron pipe welded together, a violation of current City and State codes.¹¹⁰ While local officials found the homes to be substandard, the lots, which measured 50' x 120', were of correct size for a high-quality development. The streets were sufficient as well, being 40 feet wide with 20 feet alleys. Treadwell recommended removal of all of buildings so “modern buildings (could be) built on the lots for the improvement of the City.”¹¹¹ On July 28, 1954, City Manager Guy Palmes submitted a plea for reconsideration to the GSA who had decided to auction the property. He explained these buildings had been intended for temporary use, noting they were erected during the war when proper building materials were not available.¹¹²

Despite Palmes' communications with the GSA, the houses went to auction without notice of the code violations. Bishop Brothers of Victoria, Texas, purchased both the land and all of the remaining homes for approximately \$77,000.¹¹³ On September 2, 1954, Treadwell again reported the results of his inspection of the homes, this time adding information about his discovery of substandard wiring and the absence of masonry chimneys.

In 1954 the Reclamation Village subdivision was annexed into the City of Fort Collins. This area featured a basic rectangle with a small portion which extends downward toward Laporte Avenue. The northern boundary is Maple Street, the western border is the middle of Bishop Street, the eastern boundary is located behind the even numbered houses on North McKinley Avenue, and the southern border is the small strip of Laporte Avenue.

Despite city objections in 1954, approximately twenty-one of the original, basic prefabricated homes erected in 1946-1947 remain in Reclamation Village today. Most of the homes

in this subdivision retain architectural integrity, although a few have been substantially altered with ‘pop top’ additions or changes to the original siding.

Circle Drive

In June 1946, the first new homes built in Fort Collins since before the war welcomed homebuyers. The Circle Drive subdivision, built in a section of L.C Moore’s Third Addition, was re-platted from its original 1922 grid-style design into a modified oval.¹¹⁴ It was the first postwar residential development in Fort Collins to feature the curving streets which became the hallmark of this era. Although the homes were designed with street-facing single car garages, the subdivision retained alleys as vestiges of the old days and an indication of its early postwar construction. The homes within the Circle Drive development were different than those built during the 1920s in the adjacent neighborhoods. This new residential neighborhood was near Fort Collins High School (built in 1924) and a collection of sorority and fraternity houses to the west. Although Circle Drive seems like the center of the city today, in 1946 it was at the southernmost edge of town with alfalfa fields to both the east and the south.

Harry G. Worsham Construction built the homes and Worsham’s firm, Empire Realty Company, marketed them.¹¹⁵ In a community keen for any new housing, the seventy-seven new ranch type houses caused quite a stir. In this immediate postwar period, the Civilian Production Administration (CPA) regulated the sale and rent of new housing and this project displayed a CPA-required sign indicating the houses were built under the auspices of the veterans’ emergency housing program. On June 27, 1946, a large advertisement in the *Coloradoan* announced:

Circle Drive Homes

Fort Collins Ultra Smart Subdivision

With Underground Power, Telephone, and Street Lighting Wires

Postwar Designed Homes by Glenn Hunting, Architect¹¹⁶

The first homes built on Circle Drive averaged 760 square feet and were available in four or five variations of the same basic floor plan.¹¹⁷ All of the houses were set on lots measuring approximately 65’ x 105’. These one-story, rectangular shaped houses were built on concrete slabs and featured two to three bedrooms, a single bathroom, a kitchen, living room, an attached front-facing garage, and a covered patio at the rear of the house. Unlike the majority of houses constructed after the war using balloon-frame construction, the homes on Circle Drive were built of concrete block. Sheathed in red brick veneer with windows trimmed in white, the homes had a crisp and tidy appearance. Low-pitched hip roofs complimented the homes’ ground-hugging profiles. The houses at 235 and 450 Circle Drive featured elements such as the dominant chimney and front-facing gable common in Tudor-inspired Minimal Traditional homes built during the prewar period. At 55 Circle Drive the transition to the more modern appearance of the ranch type was evident. Here, the rectangular form, hip roof, and front porch appear. This same basic house model was built in the slightly different L-shape at 60 Circle Drive. In general, these early ranch houses had large picture windows in the façade, indicating the location of the living room facing the street. The kitchen, located at the back of the house and adjacent to the dining room and garage, faced the back yard. The bedrooms were located side-by-side at the end of the house, next to the living room.



Figures 5.4, 5.5, and 5.6. The Circle Drive development included the first new homes built in Fort Collins after World War II. Most were constructed of red brick and several, like 235 and 450 Circle Drive (middle and bottom) featured prominent chimneys. The garage at 60 Circle Drive (top) may be an addition. (Mary Therese Anstey)



Figure 5.7 and 5.8. The Carolyn Mantz subdivision features several ranch type homes. Most, like those at 629 Armstrong Avenue (top) and 619 Monte Vista Avenue (bottom), feature attached garages, recessed entries, and picture windows. (Mary Therese Anstey)

The modern and efficient homes on Circle Drive were just right for young families. A survey of the Fort Collins City Directory for 1948 indicates a variety of people occupied the houses on Circle Drive: Colorado A&M students with their young families, automobile dealers, mechanics, salesmen, employees of the college, and other members of the growing middle class. While not large, the homes provided enough space for a young family and the location offered easy access to the college campus.

Carolyn Mantz Subdivision

Just two areas were incorporated into the Fort Collins city limits between 1945 and 1952: the Dunn School area, annexed in 1948, and the Mantz First Addition, annexed in 1950.¹¹⁸ These two areas merged into one to form the Carolyn Mantz Subdivision, developed by local builders Ben Olds and Bert Redd.¹¹⁹ The Carolyn Mantz subdivision was built in three filings between 1951 and 1959 and it occupies a parcel of land bordered by West Mulberry (north), West Laurel (south), Washington (east), and Shields (west) streets. Mrs. Carolyn Armstrong Mantz of Denver, daughter of early Fort Collins builder Andrew Armstrong and widow of builder and financier Charles Mantz, had sold the tract of land; it was originally a portion of the Mantz estate. This new development was built adjacent to 1920s homes on the north and east, the college to the south, and a mixture of small farms, bungalows, and City Park to the west. In 1952 the *Coloradoan* noted the location of this subdivision as southwest of the city. Building inspector T.P. Treadwell expressed his pride about new additions to Fort Collins, including Carolyn Mantz, which featured "all utilities underground and (with) a mountain view unsurpassed anywhere in the West."¹²⁰

The Mantz subdivision contains a continuum of postwar housing styles and types, transitioning from the small homes erected during the late 1940s to the rambling ranches which predominated during the 1950s. Houses built in the first filing averaged from 900 to 1150 square feet with three bedrooms and one bath. As development continued the houses grew progressively larger, with those built in the third and last filing (from 1953 to 1956) ranging in size from 1350 to more than 2200 square feet. The variety of homes available in this development, rather than a few styles repeated over and over, indicated the likely participation of individual homebuilders and architects in this large neighborhood. The earliest homes included the Cape Cod at 624 Armstrong Avenue and a number of simple brick ranches similar to those on Circle Drive.¹²¹

The expansion in size of the ranch house is evident in the Carolyn Mantz subdivision and reflects a national trend. By 1951 families were beginning to outgrow their small starter homes. A 1950 classified ad marketed a "New home for sale. Two bedroom—too small for a family with three boys."¹²² As the postwar economy stabilized, it became possible for more Americans to build houses more closely resembling their dream homes. Living rooms were enlarged and family rooms were added to provide more room for families with two or more children. The television, widely available by 1953, increasingly became the focal point of the family room where everyone gathered to watch favorite programs. Kitchens grew larger to accommodate new appliances. A second bathroom gave parents and children the privacy and additional space they craved. Garages were designed for two cars, garden tool storage, and a work bench. Closets and cabinets grew to hold even more consumer goods. The do-it-yourself movement encouraged finishing basements, often converting them into

“rec” or “rumpus” rooms suitable for post-pubescent children who, by 1960, formed a powerful new population (and consumer) group known as teenagers. Their noisy exuberance and rock and roll music was safely contained within the basement. Modern, efficient, and roomy, the ranch house soon assumed the stereotypical look with which we are most familiar. The home at 625 Del Norte Place, built in 1954, was advertised for sale in 1957 and listed the following features: three bedrooms, fireplace in the living room, dining “L,” nineteen-foot kitchen with dinette, utility room with one wall of storage shelves, and two-car garage. Additionally, the ad mentioned, “Good neighbors, nice, quiet place to live.”¹²³

One of the best examples of the emerging ranch house type in the Mantz subdivision was built at 679 Armstrong Avenue. Nestled into the surrounding landscape, this home features native stone and board and batten siding, an earth-toned color palette, a low hip roof, large front picture windows, and a large chimney. Today, the well-manicured landscaping accents the ground-hugging profile of the home. Built in 1952, this home exemplified the ranch ideal of indoor-outdoor living. Ranches used glass to visually link the interior of the home with the outdoors. Picture windows at the rear of the house gave way to sliding glass doors that led to patios or outdoor living rooms where the family enjoyed time playing games and sharing meals prepared on the outdoor grill.

The house at 619 Monte Vista Avenue, built in 1954, shows the placement of windows high on the front wall, a recessed entryway, and a large window in the front-facing living room. This general orientation away from the street and toward the backyard indicates an increasing focus on the family, rather than the community, as a source of fulfillment. The dominant front-facing garage showcased the family’s success to

the community, however, by displaying new automobiles. The home at 632 Del Norte Place, built in 1956, exemplified the prosperity of the times. The large, modified L-shaped home occupied an entire corner lot. Native stone was used extensively along with board and batten siding. A two-car garage, plenty of windows, and large chimney added to both the modern look and the affluent impression this ranch home presented.

The expansion of Colorado A&M and its metamorphosis into Colorado State University in 1957 provided new jobs for professors, researchers, and administrative personnel as well as those in construction trades and service industries. Close to the expanding university campus, this subdivision appealed both to those who worked there and members of the local business community. In 1956 the Carolyn Mantz subdivision was home to residents with a variety of business and academic occupations; these households averaged four people, usually a mother, father, and two children. These families lived the new ranch house lifestyle in homes with family rooms, large kitchens with new built-in appliances, two bathrooms, and large backyards. Two-car garages replaced the single car garage as family income increased.

Sheely Subdivision

During the 1950s expansion of Fort Collins, the community became more economically diverse as a result of post-war prosperity. A new upper-middle class developed based upon a number of factors. These included advances in communication and technology, and a surge in employment opportunities brought on by the growth of the college/university, the presence of a number of federal agencies, a booming construction industry, and new markets for consumer goods. Developer and local businessman Ben Olds



Figure 5.9 and 5.10. The Sheely Drive neighborhood was home to some of the wealthier citizens of Fort Collins. Ormand "Orm" Sherwood, co-owner of Valley Block Company, and his wife Margaret were the original owners of the house at 1800 Sheely Drive (top). The property at 1801 Sheely Drive (bottom) originally belonged to Leslie Ware, owner of KZIX radio station, and his wife Ruth. (Mary Therese Anstey)

catered to this class of homeowners beginning in 1951 with his Carolyn Mantz subdivision. While Mantz was underway, Olds initiated work on a similar project in 1953: the Sheely subdivision on the outskirts of town. It was located at West Prospect Road and South Shields Street.

Although they were both Olds residential developments, Carolyn Mantz and Sheely were different in terms of setting, housing design, and original homeowners. The setting for this new residential development was bucolic. Spring Creek ran gently through the landscape of lightly rolling hills, and the home sites offered a broad view of the foothills to the west. This backdrop proved an ideal showcase for rambling, contemporary ranch homes. Olds, together with Bert G. Redd, owner of Redd Construction Company, designed not just a subdivision, but rather a neighborhood enclave for a few of the city's most affluent homeowners. Residents shared common economic status, an appreciation of contemporary style, and enjoyment of the natural environment. The local landmark nomination for a portion of this neighborhood correctly labeled the Sheely Drive neighborhood as "the first of Fort Collins's post-World War II affluent neighborhoods (and)... among Fort Collin's best representations of the suburban lifestyle emerging in the United States in the 1950s."¹²⁴

From the outset, the Sheely subdivision attracted the city's well-heeled. Prominent business owners included real estate developer Les Everitt, automobile dealer Dwight Ghent, Shawver Drugs owner Cap Shawver, and co-owner of Valley Block Company Ormond "Orm" Sherwood. These local businessmen and their families rubbed elbows with professors, federal employees, and other successful individuals. The houses in the Sheely development are the antithesis of typical postwar subdivision 'cookie cutter' homes. Each of the homes

in the Sheely subdivision has a unique character, evidence of the work of individual architects, designers, and builders. Several of the homes in this area featured bomb shelters, an added selling point which married safety with their more aesthetic design qualities.

Two of the Sheely Drive homes, 1800 and 1801, were both constructed of concrete block from the Valley Block Company. Sherwood, co-owner of this firm at 405 North Mason Street, lived in the house at 1800 with his wife Margaret. Sherwood bought several lots in the neighborhood and sought to promote the use of Valley Block Company materials to create new homes. He envisioned architects designing and builders erecting "homes similar to new construction with concrete masonry being used in the Phoenix-Scottsdale area."¹²⁵ His own home was successful in meeting this goal. Like many of the houses in new Arizona subdivisions, his house had a streamlined appearance achieved with the use of concrete painted white, the decorative breezeblock and brick walls to enhance privacy, and integration of the home with the landscape and surrounding rock garden.

The home at 1801 Sheely Drive was built by Ben Olds and Orm Sherwood based on a design from Colorado Springs architect Robert Bullock and appears to be a design more out of Palm Springs, California, rather than Arizona. Rather than living in this house, the home was constructed as a public showcase for the possibility of concrete block. During the construction of the new home, these promoters had to erect wooden sawhorse barricades to keep the interested public from interfering with the building work. Once completed, the house was open to the excited public. Sherwood's Valley Block Company promoted the new house as "The Silhouette of the Sixties," and it was featured in the Sunday edition of the *Denver Post* in

1961. In this article Joanne Ditmer both described the floor to ceiling windows in the rear of the house which afforded stunning views to the west and highlighted the sound and fire-proof qualities of the construction materials. The house had a sleek, streamlined appearance with exterior walls of concrete block painted white. The home also features clerestory windows, a 'floating' flat roof with decorative glass globes, and an attached carport with an elaborate screen. With this house the Valley Block Company was successful in showing "future homeowners, architects, and builders, and the bankers who finance home building, that concrete block houses were not always minimum housing."¹²⁶ Before the original owners Ruth and Leslie Ware, who moved to Fort Collins from St. Louis to take over local radio station KZIX, took up residence on July 4, 1961, thousands of individuals had toured this show home.

Western Heights

The Western Heights subdivision, built almost entirely during 1957 and 1958, was developed on a small parcel of farmland just west of the university campus. The original farmhouse and some outbuildings still occupy a portion of this neighborhood at 1301 South Shields Street. This development was constructed as all new housing rather than infill and, therefore, represents a more stereotypical postwar subdivision. On Sunday, June 2, 1957, a large Western Heights Land Corporation of Fort Collins advertisement appeared in the *Coloradoan*, inviting all to attend an open house at 1201 Westward Drive in the new Western Heights subdivision. Text in the ad promoted the many features and benefits of the new ranch type home:

This modern low-silhouette ranch (style) home reeks of casual Western living with convenience foremost

in mind. The living room is 13' x 21' with a dining end just off the kitchen. It is fully carpeted in all wool loop pile. The double fireplace serves as a divider between the living area and TV den, which is carpeted to match the living room. Large sliding glass picture window doors open from both the living room and the den to the 14' x 32' patio that is equipped with a built-in outdoor grill.¹²⁷

The same promotion mentioned the amenities of the new subdivision: "Living in Western Heights is convenient for people attending or employed at Colorado State University. All building in this new subdivision is restricted to good quality homes that will better the neighborhood. Ideal for homes with basements as all of Western Heights is on high ground."¹²⁸

At 1,790 square feet, the model home on display offered three bedrooms and two baths, a modern kitchen with an electric dishwasher and garbage disposal, a full basement, a heated two-car garage, and a fenced back yard for parties and family fun. This home, only the initial model, ultimately did not represent the average home in Western Heights, most of which were smaller and less lavish. Styles within the subdivision ranged from the conservative brick-faced ranch type to homes with more contemporary styling. Among the ranch homes were the one built in 1957 with sandstone colored brick veneer, a covered front porch, large picture window, and detached garage at 1200 Westward Drive and another, built at 1208 Springfield Drive in 1959, which featured a picture window, and dominant chimney (it appears the attached two-car garage may be a later alteration). Other ranch homes in the subdivision featured contemporary styling; the ranch house at 1217 Westward Drive, built in 1957, featured a nearly flat roof, windows placed high on the wall, and a lack of orna-



Figure 5.11, 5.12, 5.13, and 5.14. The Western Heights subdivision was platted in 1957 on former agricultural land just west of the Colorado State University campus. The homes were ranches, some with contemporary influences. Examples (top to bottom) include: 1208 Springfield Drive and 1213, 1217, and 1224 Westward Drive. (Mary Therese Anstey)

mentation common to the contemporary style. The house was designed with a carport and storage area. The contemporary style ranch house at 1224 Westward Drive, also built in 1957, was constructed with a low-pitched roof and wide eaves over a single low front gable supported by exposed beams and accented with a row of windows placed just below the roofline. Houses at 1209 Westward Drive, built in 1957, and 1213 Westward Drive, built in 1959, provided further examples of the contemporary style, this time with complimentary landscaping.

While either traditional ranch or contemporary details defined the exteriors, most houses in Western Heights averaged 1,400 square feet and included three bedrooms, one or two baths, basements, and either carports or garages. The larger homes had both a family room and a living room.¹²⁹ The 1959 Fort Collins City Directory showed a variety of residents living in Western Heights: professors and employees of Colorado State University, salesmen, retail managers, a banker, realtors, and a judge. Most of the households included five residents, usually a mother, a father, and three children.

Everitt Companies

Few communities had any merchant builders as active and influential as William Levitt. However, there were definitely local businesspeople who became involved in postwar building in Fort Collins. One of the most prolific was Robert S. Everitt. Bob Everitt was born in Enid, Oklahoma, and graduated from the University of Oklahoma with a degree in Business. The Everitt and Currell families developed a string of lumberyards beginning in 1936, with facilities located in Oklahoma, New Mexico, Kansas, and Colorado. In 1953, after serving in the military during the Korean War, Bob moved to Fort

Collins to manage the company’s yard, the Gould Lumber Company, at 243 North College Avenue. Soon after his arrival he changed the trade name to Everitt Lumber. When the Everitts and Currells divided the company holdings in 1956, the Everitt Lumber Company retained ownership of the Fort Collins yard, as well as facilities in Colorado Springs and Fowler, Colorado, plus others in Kansas, Oklahoma, and New Mexico. In the early 1960s The Everitt Lumber Company streamlined and diversified and by 1973 the company had not only thirteen retail yards located in three states but also interests or ownership in a few apartment complexes, land, home building companies, and various plants for manufacturing.¹³⁰

In the early 1950s the Everitt Lumber Company entered into a relationship with builder J.E. Thompson. David Everitt explained the logic behind his father’s entry into the development business:

We were in the lumber business in Fort Collins, but builders were not buying enough lumber. So we asked them why and they told us there weren’t any areas to build houses. So we got into the neighborhood development business in Fort Collins, and builders could buy lots from us to build houses. The builders still were not buying enough lumber. So we got into the home building business. We needed to sell our homes, so we got into the real estate business. The people in our homes needed places to buy goods and merchandise, so we decided to build shopping centers. People needed a place to office their businesses, so we built office buildings and so on.¹³¹

The company’s first development projects were located near the college, but soon moved south.¹³² This decision was

based upon a variety of issues associated with building north of the city. This part of town included a number of barriers: the Poudre River, flood plains, and perhaps some undesirable commercial areas. Everitt chose to build south rather than north of the city because it was easier.

Everitt entered into a number of partnerships to develop residential areas in Fort Collins. In 1956 the Highlands Development Company, formed by Bob Everitt and Darrell Blake, submitted a preliminary plat with 242 home sites for the Indian Hills subdivision. Indian Hills was located in southeast Fort Collins and the original plat featured thoroughfares named Cherokee, Cheyenne, Commanche, Navajo, Seminole, and Pawnee drives plus Osage, Mohawk, and Sequoia streets.¹³³ This residential area brought a new concept of subdivision design to the city; it was the earliest foray into “instant communities,” developments which included not only homes but also amenities such as parks, schools, and recreation facilities. In an interview with the *Fort Collins Business World*, in July 1989, Everitt explained, “In Indian Hills we designed wide, curved streets and incorporated a park and lots of landscaping into our plans. That was really innovative for the time.”¹³⁴ Everitt recognized there had been a change in the housing market since the immediate postwar period and realized people wanted to buy homes with more bedrooms and bathrooms to meet their future needs. He commented, “They are no longer just building to find something on a temporary basis... Buyers are picking and choosing their homes more carefully now than ever before, demanding quality.”¹³⁵ The houses in Indian Hills were upscale and so were the potential buyers, with the project marketed to physicians, professors, and other professionals.¹³⁶

In 1957 Everitt joined into a separate partnership, this

time with local real estate agent Mae Tiley and her son Bill, to purchase a 120-acre parcel at Elizabeth Street and Prospect Road near Colorado State University. The subdivision, named University Acres, included 445 home sites and land set aside for churches and schools. University Acres was less upscale than Indian Hills, however the \$30,000 to \$40,000 home prices in the new development were considerably more than the \$10,000 to \$20,000 being charged in other areas of Fort Collins. Incorporating lessons learned and design elements from Indian Hills, Everitt developed the Parkwood subdivision in the 1960s; in this development he added recreational amenities such as a swimming pool and tennis courts.¹³⁷ It is interesting to note, all of these subdivisions were in keeping with city planning consultant Harold Beier’s advice to build groups of dwellings with associated public and commercial buildings rather than block after block of identical houses.

For Everitt, Fort Collins residential developments became a family affair. Bob’s father Les Everitt moved to Fort Collins in 1962 and teamed with his son and the Tileys in developing University Acres and additional projects until his death in 1972.¹³⁸ *Fort Collins Business World* noted Les’ keen eye for opportunity and his conviction “the town would grow to the south, even though the city had no plans to extend services beyond Prospect (Road).”¹³⁹ Mae Tiley shared Everitt’s beliefs, commenting, “I certainly believe in the future of Fort Collins or I wouldn’t be buying so much land.”¹⁴⁰

The collaboration between the Everitts and the Tileys resulted in more than just residential housing; they also are represented in the name of a major city street. Hospital Road on the eastern edge of the city was originally named for its proximity to Larimer County Hospital. When Indian Hills and University Acres were being developed, the city manager

approached Bob Everitt and Bill Tiley about renaming the road. They devised the name LeMae in honor of Bob's father, Les, and Bill's mother, Mae.¹⁴¹ An error at the city led to the name of the road being spelled Lemay instead.

The Everitt companies exerted a tremendous influence upon the built environment in postwar Fort Collins. Their residential and commercial developments spanned from the northernmost reaches of Lemay Avenue at the Fort Collins Country Club to Lemay Avenue Estates at the southern edge of

town. A partial list of Everitt developments includes: Everitt Plaza, Foothills East, Foothills Fashion Mall, Indian Hills, Lake Sherwood, Meadows East, Mission Hills, Nelson Farms, Parkwood, Parkwood East, Sherwood Shores East, Thunderbird Acres, Thunderbird Plaza, and University Acres. In addition, the Everitts were prominent and active members of the community and have remained ardent supporters of Colorado State University where there is an Everitt Real Estate Center in the School of Business.

CHAPTER 6

Commerce Expands: Postwar Fort Collins Means Business

The American economy expanded exponentially following the end of World War II. The war had left in ruin the economic powers of Europe and Japan. But the American mainland remained not only undisturbed, but also prospered, with unprecedented savings waiting to be spent on the products of greatly expanded industrial capacity.

Fort Collins took part in and benefitted from this national economic expansion. The Fort Collins Chamber of Commerce, who popularized the slogan “Fort Collins E-X-P-A-N-D-S” in 1946, was one of the most active groups in making this saying a reality during the postwar period. Members of the chamber aggressively sought to grow existing businesses and industry. They also made a concerted effort to attract new businesses. They published local guidebooks extolling the attributes of the city and its people, portraying Fort Collins as well situated with not only an ideal climate but also healthy, well-educated, productive citizens. Their 1951-1952 publication, the *Fort Collins Guide Published for the Out-Of-Town Visitor and New-comer*, presented the city as progressive and modern while still friendly and “western.”

In his welcome note in this book, Chamber President Pat Griffin wrote positively about Fort Collins, explaining the community “... is growing lustily as a city of happy homes... rapidly expanding industrially (and) its agricultural progress is amazing.”¹⁴² Griffin created a “Wanted: New Business” poster during 1952, an approach which played on both the popularity of Old

West imagery and Fort Collins’ location within this growing region of the country. The Chamber, while enthusiastic, was also selective about the types of new businesses they wanted to attract to Fort Collins. A 1953 *Denver Post* article explained, “If it sounds hypocritical that the city is being selective in its campaign for new industry, wanting only those that won’t ‘pollute’ the community with smoke, dinner buckets, and a fluctuating economy—the reason is simply that Fort Collins is inordinately proud of its beauty and ‘livability.’”¹⁴³ Construction, education, government, aviation, larger manufacturing firms, and shopping centers represented the new or greatly expanded industries that located in Fort Collins after 1945.¹⁴⁴

Agriculture had long been the backbone of the Fort Collins economy and it continued to prosper following the war. Farm support agencies who constructed new postwar facilities included the Larimer County Farm Bureau and Farm Bureau Insurance which shared an office at 335 East Mountain Avenue and Fort Collins Production Credit Association, also known as Farm and Ranch Loans, who relocated to a contemporary office building at 417 West Mountain Avenue in 1959.

In the rural areas surrounding Fort Collins there were fewer farms but those that remained grew larger as crop management practices improved and new equipment became available. Economic prosperity, expanding world markets, and population growth during the baby boom increased demand for agricultural products. But, as always, nature played a major



Figure 6.1. Construction of Poudre Valley Bank was underway in November 1966. (Fort Collins Local History Archives, H17817c)

Figure 6.2. First National Bank's lobby, shown here in May 1967, reflected a modern ethos worthy of a modern banking institution. (Fort Collins Local History Archives, C01295)



role in agricultural success. A series of devastating blizzards hit northern and northeastern Colorado in December 1948 and January 1949, taking a heavy toll on livestock. A period of drought between 1953 and 1957 resulted in reduced crop production all along the Front Range. These dry conditions greatly affected the sugar beet industry. The Great Western Sugar Company already had contracts for fewer acres due to both high prices and low demand after the war. In 1954 the Fort Collins factory was shuttered and in 1955 Great Western announced it would not reopen it; they planned to move all sugar processing to remaining factories in the area. Sugar beet and other crop production continued, despite the drought, thanks to water from the Colorado-Big Thompson Project. "In a projected normal year, the project delivered 250,000 acre feet, but day and night during 1954 the Adams Tunnel delivered 300,352 acre feet.... Had Northern Colorado farmers depended on local rainfall and reservoirs for water, crops in the... (region) would have produced a projected \$19 million in 1954, instead of their actual value of \$41 million."¹⁴⁵

With agriculture remaining essential to the Fort Collins economy, the Chamber made a point of including area farmers and ranchers in their celebrations. The Chamber-sponsored Farmers-Merchants party, first held in 1929, was a much-anticipated annual event. In 1953 over 3,100 attendees gathered for an evening of "fine fellowship and good entertainment."¹⁴⁶ The party was held at the Colorado A&M Field House, with the Chamber footing the bill. Beyond local business people and farmers, this gathering benefitted from a Chamber "stunt" where large personalized invitations were mailed to business executives across the United States. For that reason local attendees socialized with "many nationally known figures of the business world" and these out-of-towners received a welcome

to Fort Collins, perhaps inspiring them to invest in local efforts or to relocate their own operations.¹⁴⁷

The construction industry in Fort Collins benefitted from the modernization of Fort Collins and its built environment. The city's building boom lasted well into the 1970s. In 1950 the value of City-issued residential building permits was over \$1.2 million. That number increased steadily, reaching a peak of over \$412 million in 1965.¹⁴⁸ Almost all industries were building or remodeling, road construction commanded massive projects, and a growing population needed new homes, schools, parks, shops, and services. Everitt Lumber expanded into the building and development business. Another local business, the Ideal Cement Plant, enlarged their operations in 1957 and took advantage of area growth, supplying cement for a wide variety of building and road projects within the region. Valley Block Company promoted concrete block as a domestic building material. Higher demand for cement led to increased mineral and non-mineral production. Stone quarries just west of the city also supplied building materials for residential, commercial, and community construction projects. According to the *Coloradoan*, by 1958 the city was "riding on the crest of a three year \$20 million construction wave" and it was "difficult for many builders and real estate developers to see anything but another bright spot for building during the next twelve months."¹⁴⁹

Banks grew to serve a new clientele. Columbia Savings took the place of First National Bank of Fort Collins at the corner of South College and West Mountain avenues. First National Bank relocated to a new facility on the southwest corner of West Oak and South Mason streets. Other financial institutions followed their clients, relocating outside the downtown and closer to new suburbs. For example, in 1967, the Poudre

Valley National Bank built a new facility at 401 South College Avenue.

A new financial player for Fort Collins, Columbia Savings and Loan, built an impressive, modern new building which featured grey-blue Roman brick siding, rear drive-thru service, and both an entry cube and façade window wall of expansive plate glass. Across the United States, savings and loans increased in popularity in response to the postwar residential building boom, providing financing to builders and mortgages to home purchasers. The grand opening for this savings and loan featured a brush with celebrity for Fort Collins. The bank's parent company, Music Corporation of America, also owned Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS). Popular comedian Jack Benny had a weekly television program on the network and, based upon that association, Benny attended the bank's first day of business on October 9, 1962. He both opened the branch's first savings account and autographed the savings books of the next 500 individuals who opened accounts. Benny served as an honorary vice president for Columbia Savings and Loan from 1962 to 1968, attending a total of five branch grand openings across Colorado during that time. In 1964 he returned to Fort Collins as part of the city's centennial celebrations. City officials declared July 1, 1964, "Jack Benny Day" and he left a permanent mark on the community: his handprints in a plaque outside the Columbia Savings building. There are also two other sets of handprints, those of Colorado State University President William E. Morgan and Fort Collins Mayor Harvey Johnson. In a newspaper article marking Benny's 1975 passing, original Columbia Savings and Loan manager Don Stuart recalled his "most vivid recollection of Jack Benny... sitting by the front window (of the bank) on a hot July day signing autographs for over two hours for every

little kid who came in off the street."¹⁵⁰

While Columbia Savings was a new institution with a new building, Poudre Valley National Bank was well-established in Fort Collins, having been in the community since 1878.¹⁵¹ In 1964 the bank purchased the northern half of the 400 block of South College Avenue extending west to Mason Street. To clear space for their new facility, the bank demolished a number of existing houses associated with their own history. These homes included the former residences of both A.W. Scott, an early bank director, and Fred W. Stover, a past president at Poudre Valley Bank. The bank commissioned the architectural firm of James M. Hunter & Associates of Boulder to design the new building; this firm was best known in Fort Collins for their work developing plans and designing a number of modern buildings on the Colorado A&M/ Colorado State University campus during the 1950s and 1960s. The bank floated capital notes totaling \$1 million to finance construction of the new building. Local contractor Frank Johnson, the low bidder on the project, started work on March 7, 1966, and the new bank was completed on April 10, 1967.¹⁵² The distinctive square-shaped building featured concrete siding, window walls, a cantilevered support system, and a bronze decorative sunscreen. In keeping with 1960s auto-centric design, the bank's original design featured a six-bay drive-thru which could be accessed from three sides of the building.

Company promotional materials referred to their new facility as "one of the finest, and most modern bank buildings in Colorado" and mentioned the presence of a special lighting system intended to enhance the bank's "night-time appearance... illuminating the interior dome, solar screen, and exterior walls."¹⁵³ Poudre Valley hosted a number of grand opening festivities for their new bank. Colorado bankers and their wives



Figure 6.3. Morrie's In & Out Drive In Restaurant, circa 1955, was one of many new businesses oriented toward the automobile. (Fort Collins Local History Archives, H08626)

Figure 6.4. Markley Motor Sales, circa 1950, was part of the engine-driven post-war economy. (Fort Collins Local History Archives, H08516)





Figure 6.5. Poudre Valley Motor Lodge, at 1700 South College Avenue, served the public with "22 units, modern kitchenettes, tub or shower, modern units will accommodate two to eight people. Apartments available October to May". (*Fort Collins Local History Archives, H21766*)



Figure 6.6. White Motor Court, at 1601 South College Avenue, was "strictly modern" and had "23 units with private baths, innerspring mattresses and 20 units with kitchenettes with refrigerators. A complete one stop service Standard Service Station, grocery and laundry facilities." (*Fort Collins Local History Archives, H21762*)

were invited to a behind-the-scenes tour of the new facility during the week of April 17, 1967. Some employees were designated as unofficial tour guides, with members of the public wanting to see and hear about this impressive new building even after it officially opened for business on April 27. The final cost of the new building was slightly higher than expected, totaling \$1.5 million.¹⁵⁴

Colorado A&M grew as an economic driving force in the community. Like agriculture, and related in mission to that field, Colorado A&M had been a longtime major employer in Fort Collins. The institution contributed an estimated \$12.5 million to the local economy in 1953.¹⁵⁵ At that time President William Morgan explained the importance of the college to Fort Collins, labeling it "... the center of a vast educational and and—on and off the campus—involves about 40,000 persons."¹⁵⁶ Ever-increasing enrollments and new facilities led to greater employment. In 1967 university programs contributed roughly "\$50 million in new money to the area's economy each year," employing 3,300 salaried and 3,100 hourly employees.¹⁵⁷

Proximity to the campus and its research facilities attracted other governmental agencies to Fort Collins. These included the U.S. Forest Service Rocky Mountain Forest and Range Experiment Station, headquarters for the Roosevelt National Forest, the Bureau of Reclamation Hydraulics Laboratory, the Farmers Home Administration Soils Laboratory, and an office for the USDA's Natural Resources Conservation Service Soil Conservation District. Jobs available at the university, these agencies, and both Larimer County and City of Fort Collins made the governmental sector a major employer in postwar Fort Collins.

The influx of auto-related businesses and employment in Fort Collins had more to do with national trends than any

Chamber of Commerce campaign. Returning GIs and individuals starting new families wanted new cars and communities across the country established businesses—auto dealerships, specialized lenders, gas stations, and auto repair facilities—to meet this new demand. In many cities dramatic increases in car ownership signaled the end of long-serving public transportation systems. In 1951 Fort Collins discontinued the municipal trolley system; it was first established in 1907 and, at the time when operations ceased, was the oldest operating streetcar system in Colorado. Once the trolley was gone local inventor and entrepreneur James Donovan "J.D." Forney operated a bus line in the city. The bus line, like the trolley, was no competition for private cars and was discontinued in 1959.

As automobile use increased, business owners found ways to cater to drivers who wanted easy access to services and plenty of parking spaces. Restaurants were at the forefront of drive-up ease. In Fort Collins Morrie's In-And-Out Beefburgers at 1611 South College Avenue was the first drive-up restaurant in the city and a favorite spot among teenagers. By 1954 drive-ins were scattered throughout town; these included Just Drive-In at 429 North College Avenue, Round-Up Drive-In at 400 Southwest Canyon Avenue, Joe's Drive-In at 252 East Mountain Avenue, Mary's Drive-In at 700 North College Avenue, and the Sportsman's Drive-In at 1002 North College Avenue. Many drive-ins were open until 11 p.m. on weekdays and even later on Friday and Saturdays. Scout Lunch at 320 North College Avenue, home of the HoBo Sandwich and Pow-Wow Burger, offered counter or car service and was open all night.¹⁵⁷ On weekend nights teens "cruised" College Avenue. Two A&W Root Beer drive-Ins at opposite ends of South College Avenue were popular places for kids to gather during the evening.¹⁵⁸ Teens also congregated in the downtown center

street parking along College Avenue, although it was common knowledge in the 1950s this area was no place for “nice girls.”¹⁵⁹

Teenagers and college students were loyal drive-in customers, but tourists and truck drivers favored them as well. College Avenue, the main street of Fort Collins and also a section of Highway 287, represented a major thoroughfare for travelers of all kinds. For that reason numerous motor courts and motor lodges were located along this road. Motor courts first catered to automobile tourists in the 1920s. These complexes usually consisted of a group of small buildings accommodating one to four people each with adjacent parking and often situated near scenic or recreational areas. Motor lodges were similar to motels since they offered individual access to lodging, but rooms were arranged in rows, usually in either “L” or “U” shapes.

Motor lodges of the 1940s and 1950s were located along highways and generally their customers stayed for a brief period on the way to a distant destination. As tourism increased, motels added swimming pools and restaurants in order to compete with motor lodges. Fort Collins had several modern motor lodges, courts, and motels from which to choose. The Poudre Valley Motor Lodge at 1700 South College Avenue, just south of Prospect Road, offered twenty-two units with modern kitchenettes. The X Bar X Motel at 1800 South College Avenue had ten modern units. White Motor Court at 1601 South College Avenue featured twenty-three units, twenty of which had kitchenettes with refrigerators. The El Palomino Lodge at 1220 North College Avenue was the city’s most luxurious motor lodge, offering a swimming pool and a popular dining room.¹⁶⁰

Beyond drive-ins, banks, dry cleaners, and even city government also offered in-car or drive-up service. The 1953 remodeling of the Poudre Valley National Bank, then located

near the west corner of South College Avenue and West Oak Street, included the first drive-up teller window in the city. Bank Director Clayton Watkins was the first customer to use the window, arriving on horseback to make a deposit.¹⁶¹ The Nu-Life Cleaners & Laundry constructed a building on Mason Street in 1959 which, in addition to containing the most advanced laundry and cleaning equipment in northern Colorado, was ingeniously designed so patrons could simply drive right to the front door, beneath a boldly cantilevered porte cochere, to deliver and pick up their laundry. The City Hall, completed in 1958, was not immune to the drive-in phenomena and the new building included a car-friendly window for payment of utility bills.¹⁶²

Automobiles also spawned new forms of entertainment. Stock car racing became a favorite of many young men and drew spectators from throughout the country. The Fort Collins Speedway, a one-fifth mile oval dirt track at North College Avenue and Wilcox Lane, built by Johnny Rostek, drew competitors from Greeley, Loveland, and Cheyenne for races held on Sunday nights and holidays. Fort Collins also was home to three drive-in theatres: the Sunset, located in the 600 block of East Stuart, the Starlight (later renamed the Holiday Twin) on South Overland Trail, and the Pines Drive-In on Highway 287 between Fort Collins and Loveland.¹⁶³

With more and more Fort Collins residents driving cars, there was a need for businesses which supported automobile ownership and provided auto-related services. The Securities Investment Corporation noted in 1953 a total of 893 Fort Collins residents were employed in some type of auto-related business. This organization increased employment opportunities in this sector even further, establishing an office of the General Credit Corporation at 145 North College Avenue in



Figure 6.7. The Overland Trail drive-in theater was a welcome distraction for families (Fort Collins Local History Archives, C01003)



Figure 6.8. The first jet arrived at the airport on June 6, 1966. (Fort Collins Local History Archives, C00726)

1953. While this firm was responsible for facilitating the auto lending process, it also promoted Fort Collins. Their employee publication, *The Counselor*, featured a glowing portrait of the city. Mimicking Chamber of Commerce boosterism, this magazine described Fort Collins as the "natural gateway to the scenic wonders of a vast mountain domain... (and) a gem of a city in one of the most beautiful settings of the West."¹⁶⁴

Local entrepreneur and former Chamber of Commerce President Pat Griffin developed a chain of self-service gasoline stations. In 1959 he purchased the patent for coin-operated gas pumps from his Fort Collins-based friend Vern West. West had based his invention on Fort Collins self-service pioneer Lew Starkely's work in automating the old style glass bowl gas pumps. With West's patent in hand, Griffin started his Gas-amat stations where patrons could insert quarters, half dollars, or dollars to purchase their own gas. His first Gas-a-mats were located in Greeley and Casper, Wyoming. Reliance upon automated pumps allowed Griffin to streamline the marketing and sales process and he was able to sell his gasoline for as much as eight to ten cents per gallon less than his competitors. For this reason Griffin faced opposition from oil company executives who accused him of trying to ruin the entire industry. He also encountered legal challenges based upon fire codes; in 1961 the Wyoming State Supreme Court ruled self-service gas stations like Gas-a-mat were legal as long as there was someone in attendance at all times. This decision introduced another Gas-a-mat hallmark: live-in attendants, usually retired couples, who made change and, after the switch to tokens, sold these markers for customers to purchase gas.

Despite the courts finding self-service gas stations legal, Gas-a-mat continued to face challenges with city fire codes. This issue led Griffin to establish his stations on the fringes of

communities. Land in these areas was usually inexpensive and he routinely purchased as much as five acres for each new station plus accommodation for the live-in attendants. Following the 1961 Wyoming court decision, Gas-a-mats started to appear throughout the west. During the 1960s the eye-catching red and white Gas-a-mat sign appeared at stations in New Mexico (1961), Utah (1962), Montana and Idaho (1963), Nevada (1964), Arizona (1965), Washington and Nebraska (1967), California (1968), and South Dakota (1969). Eventually the Gas-amat empire included ninety-five stations in twelve western states. In 1961 Griffin also established a 6,000 square foot office space for the Pat Griffin Company at 330 West Prospect Road in Fort Collins.

Aviation was another industry which experienced post-war growth in Fort Collins. The city's links to flying were first established in the 1920s when, in 1929, Colorado A&M established a small landing strip located west of the junction of Taft Hill Road and Laporte Avenue. In 1940 the college built three hangars for a government-contracted civilian pilot training program. They offered courses in both elementary and secondary light training plus cross-country flight instruction. By the end of the war, the college had provided training in fundamental flight courses to an estimated 4,000 men. The college renamed the airfield Christman Field in 1942, in honor of Bert Christman, a graduate of the pilot training program who was an early-World War II casualty. Christman was best known as the creator of the Associated Press-distributed "Scorchy Smith" comic strip. According to his sister, one of the reasons he served overseas was to gather more material for his strip.¹⁶⁵ He was killed in action in Burma while serving as General Chennault's intelligence officer and conducting missions with the Flying Tigers.

During the 1920s and 1930s there was limited interest in aviation, such as the college's flight school and the 1937 creation of an unfunded (State) Colorado Aeronautics Commission. However, it was not until the postwar period when widespread plane use and production was realistically explored. The Colorado Aeronautics Commission actively promoted both aviation and the production of aviation components from 1946 to 1949, when commission funding ended. The Division conducted a survey of all airports and airport facilities in the state in order to develop a Colorado airport plan. In 1954 the Fort Collins Chamber of Commerce Aviation Committee prepared a feasibility report for establishing a local airport capable of delivering full commercial service. The document explored both improvements to Christman Field and relocation of flights to a new airport. City officials determined purchasing land for an airport was not a financial possibility, returning focus to Christman Field which had not only experienced increased use as an airport but also expanded to include new manufacturing on the site.

Plans for converting Christman Field to the Fort Collins Airport coincided with negotiations between Otis T. Massey, airport manager and operator of Massey-Ransom Flying Service, and the Temco Aircraft Corporation of Dallas for the purchase of the Silvaire line of Luscombe planes. The plan was for Fort Collins to become the home to the existing product line and to build new planes. Two of the largest manufacturing employers in Fort Collins, Forney Industries and Woodward Governor, ultimately were involved with this project. Forney Industries committed to assist with fabrication of the required parts for the Silvaire, expanding from their existing line of welding equipment, pre-fabricated buildings, and machinery for the motion picture industry. In 1958 Forney Industries

began manufacturing parts for the Silvaire aircraft.

New businesses sought to relocate in Fort Collins after the war, but demanded modernized infrastructure before doing so. Representatives from the Woodward Governor Corporation in Rockford, Illinois, visited Fort Collins in the early 1950s to research locations for a new manufacturing plant. Company executives indicated they would need a proper airport, which would require resurfacing the runway at Christman Field. The State Agricultural Board, speaking on behalf of Colorado A&M's continued interests in the facility, told the City if Fort Collins raised the money for repaving and agreed to keep the name Christman Field, they would lease the airport to the city. In 1955 the City arranged for a new 4,000 foot long runway, a sixty-foot asphalt airstrip, a new taxi strip from the hangars to the main runway, and guide lights and a landing beam for night landings. Major users of the airport were the Fort Collins Flying Club, the Colorado A&M Flying Club, the Fort Collins Flying Service, and Forney Industries. A rededication ceremony was held on April 3, 1955. Members of the Colorado and Wyoming Flying Farmers and Ranchers held their annual convention at Colorado A&M the same weekend. True to their word about company relocation being contingent upon airport improvements, Woodward Governor established their Fort Collins plant the same year the city arranged for repaving at Christman Field. The firm built an additional facility for the production of speed controls in 1958.

The Silvaire Uranium and Aircraft Company manufactured the Luscombe 8F in Fort Collins from 1956 to 1960. The first prototype flew on September 6, 1956. In 1958 the Fort Collins Silvaire Corporation obtained a contract to produce a component for the Martin Company, Littleton producer of the Titan Missile. At Martin's request the company divested their min-



Figure 6.9. The Aqua-Tec company, shown above in 1968, produced and marketed the Water Pik Oral Irrigator. (Fort Collins Local History Archives, C01708)

Figure 6.10. Ladies get their hair done at the Penney's Beauty Shop, in 1966. (Fort Collins Local History Archives, C00529)





Figure 6.11. The big pumpkin contest brought families to Century (now University) Mall in October in 1966. (Fort Collins Local History Archives, C00995)

eral holdings, changing the company name to Silvaire Aircraft and Engineering Company. Unfortunately, due to financial difficulties, the company ceased production of the Fort Collins produced aircraft in 1960, having manufactured only eighty of these planes. New and expanded industries both employed locals and attracted newcomers to Fort Collins. The city's population expanded greatly, almost tripling between 1950 and 1970.¹⁶⁶ The Chamber of Commerce reported industrial employment rose from 1,068 in 1960 to 3,411 in 1969.¹⁶⁷ While many of these employees were working at established companies like Woodward Governor or Forney Industries, quite a few took jobs at the newly built Aqua-Tec plant and the Kodak facility in nearby Windsor.

Fort Collins resident A.E. "Gene" Rouse started the Aqua-Tec company, the original marketer of the Water Pik Oral Irrigator. Fort Collins dentist Jerry Moyer and inventor John Mattingly worked several years on a device for dentists to give their patients cleaner teeth and gums. In 1959 Rouse's own dentist suggested he contact these two gentlemen for a possible solution to his dental woes. By 1961 Rouse had recruited seventeen investors in order to build a manufacturing plant east of Fort Collins to produce the dental tool. In 1962 Moyer and Mattingly sold their patent to Rouse for 2,500 Aqua-Tec shares each. In the first year of production, Aqua-Tec made approximately \$30,000 in sales on the Water Pik Oral Irrigator. In 1967 the Teledyne Company purchased Aqua-Tec and continued producing and selling the popular Water Pik. The company's success continued into the 1970s and 1980s, when they not only expanded marketing from dental offices to exclusive stores such as Saks Fifth Avenue and Neiman Marcus but also introduced new products, most famously the Original Shower Massage pulsating showerhead, based on their existing tech-

nology. The company started international distribution of their products in 1979.

The Fort Collins Chamber of Commerce's efforts to expand the city were important for attracting new employers. However, they were also keen to provide citizens places to spend their earnings and making it convenient to do so. The postwar period represented a time of extreme consumerism when prosperity, optimism, pent-up demand, and persuasive advertising combined to convince buyers to purchase goods which were newer, bigger, better, shinier, and, above all, modern. In many communities across the country purchasing modern products translated into shopping at new stores in outlying areas, leaving the once busy commercial downtowns virtual ghost towns. Fortunately, this pattern did not mark Fort Collins' postwar development. City planning consultant Harold Beier accurately recognized the city's wide downtown streets as an asset. While other downtowns possessed little or no space for cars, Fort Collins was blessed with plenty of land for both curbside and center-street parking. To emphasize the city's appeal to motorists, an article in the General Credit Corporation employee magazine featured a number of photos of College Avenue illustrating the ease of movement on the wide street. One image showed a row of seventeen cars parked side-by-side across the width of the thoroughfare.¹⁶⁸

Thanks to both wide streets for automobiles plus the later development of large subdivisions in Fort Collins, downtown shopping remained brisk much longer than in other communities. In 1953 the largest retailers were J.C. Penney and Montgomery Ward, both located in the downtown commercial district. These mainstays of the local shopping scene began experiencing competition from new shopping centers, both in Fort Collins and in the larger cities of Cheyenne and Denver,

in the 1960s. In 1963 J.C. Penney built a large new store at 215 South College Avenue and a separate auto center at Olive and Mason streets. Montgomery Ward located their new store inside University Shopping Center that same year.¹⁶⁹ The Chamber of Commerce repeatedly urged shoppers to spend where they live, and in 1963, the Poudre Valley National Bank advertised the availability of loans for businesses to modernize, provide parking, expand shopping space, and offer new merchandise. The overall goal was to make Fort Collins the place to shop. During this period the designs for commercial buildings—not only stores but also motels and restaurants—mimicked those of the popular ranch type home. Business owners hoped the horizontality and open plans new homeowners found attractive in their new houses also would attract shoppers.

Shopping centers or malls remained relatively uncommon across the United States until the mid-1950s. A 1954 change in federal tax laws made the erection of such facilities much more profitable. This legislation allowed mall developers to write off the value of a building in seven rather than the previous forty years, creating an incentive for developers to build strip malls. Prior to 1954 it took years to produce a return on the initial investment in cost to build shopping malls. For that reason careful planning was required to place the shopping center in a location most likely to generate maximum income. When the tax laws changed in 1954, investors rushed to team up with builders and the number of malls expanded exponentially. “In 1953, new shopping center-construction of all kinds totaled six million square feet. By 1956 that figure had increased five hundred percent.”¹⁷⁰

Early-1950s shopping malls were open-air arrangements. Generally, shops were arrayed around courtyards, covered

walkways linked buildings, and access was gained to shops on the exterior and interior sides. Over time the practice of building fully enclosed shopping malls gained favor. The climate-controlled environment appealed to shoppers but, more importantly, the design factored into sales. Mall designer A. Alfred Taubman explained, “People assume we enclose the space because of air-conditioning and the weather, and that’s important. But the main reason we enclose the space is that it allows us to open up the store to the customer.”¹⁷¹ Researchers discovered threshold resistance, the physical and psychological barrier between the shopper and the store, was diminished in an enclosed mall.¹⁷²

New malls, like new housing developments, were usually built on former agricultural land located outside the city limits or immediately adjacent to new subdivisions full of consumers. Such was the case with University Shopping Center in Fort Collins. Residential development had been spreading gradually southward with the South College Heights, University Acres, and Indian Hills subdivisions attracting hundreds of new families, all of whom had relatively high incomes and demanded consumer goods. Yet, locals still considered any address south of Prospect Road to be out in the country; this perception was not surprising since, at the time, both Prospect and Drake were still dirt roads, College Avenue was just two lanes wide in that section, and the area nearby still was farmland. In 1958 local builder Mae Tiley announced plans to build the University Shopping Center, a \$1.5 to \$2 million project, on a parcel located north of the South College Heights subdivision, on the west side of College Avenue just south of Prospect Road. The project expanded that year to include a King Soopers grocery store and further retail development. The timing for erection of this consumer mecca was not coin-

cidental. The State Highway Department planned to invest \$750,000 to widen and divide College Avenue from Olive Street to Drake Road (the southern city limits) in 1959.¹⁷³

When the University Shopping Center opened the anchor stores were the new Montgomery Ward at the north and King Soopers to the south.¹⁷⁴ A large parking lot running the length of the mall provided shoppers with ample, convenient, and free parking, without the hassles and parking meters and congestion increasingly associated with downtown shopping. Eager shoppers entered the mall via a central door on the front of the complex or through separate entrances into King Soopers, Montgomery Ward, and Vision Optical. There were service entrances along the back of the mall. The mall was completely enclosed and without skylights or atrium features. A play area for children featured a large concrete turtle with smaller turtles and other figures on a carpeted surface. Benches where parents could keep a watchful eye on the youngsters were located nearby. The turtles and a pinball arcade kept youngsters busy while Mom and Dad shopped at clothing, toy, shoe, and jewelry stores. A budget-friendly restaurant located at the front entrance to the mall was convenient for shoppers too.¹⁷⁵ The mall's merchants' organization was responsible for both main-

tenance and promotion. The enclosed space became an ideal location for contests, product promotions, fashion shows, as well as an annual Easter Egg Hunt and Christmas events featuring performances by local choirs and Santa Claus.¹⁷⁶

After the war, the city continued to serve as the retail, medical, legal, financial, and transportation center for outlying rural communities to the north, east, and west. The end of the war brought new economic opportunities to the city and especially room for expansion to existing industries. During the postwar period the Chamber and other Fort Collins boosters supported commercial growth of existing industries such as agriculture, construction, education, government, and aviation. It also sought out new industries, especially those that could serve an automobile-based clientele. Almost every industry—from hotels to banks to gas stations—arranged themselves for the convenience of the automobile-based consumer. Drive up windows delivered food, money, dry cleaning, and other goods to drivers. Ample parking lots needed streets designed to move cars in and out of them. Fort Collins grew from moving at the speed of a trolley, to moving at the speed of a car.

CONCLUSION

Moving Forward

True to the 1946 Chamber of Commerce slogan, the City of Fort Collins expanded greatly during the postwar period, growing from a sleepy college town to a thriving city with a respected university. In some ways Fort Collins was typical of many other postwar communities across the country. Citizens entered the mid-1940s with a sense of confidence and optimism. They believed Fort Collins would attract new businesses, build new homes for both existing residents and newcomers, and follow through on plans deferred during both the Great Depression and World War II.

The local educational institution, always intimately linked to the fortunes of the city, illustrated the impact of one of the most important pieces of postwar legislation, the G.I. Bill. Colorado A&M, with assistance from the business community and all Fort Collins citizens, addressed the challenges associated with providing adequate housing for returning soldiers. Upon graduation many of these soldiers-turned-students remained in Fort Collins where they seized their own portion of the American dream, securing a good-paying job, purchasing a new home, owning a new car, raising a family, and enjoying the freedoms for which they had fought overseas.

Fort Collins was literally in the right place to participate in the dramatic growth in the American West that occurred after World War II. The Chamber of Commerce successfully marketed the recreational opportunities, agricultural roots, and links to stereotypical Western activities such as rodeos and

cowboys. Fort Collins also expressed many of the themes associated with late-1950s and 1960s national Cold War-era patterns. At the university there was an increased emphasis on mathematics, the sciences, and engineering, with President Morgan encouraging professors to engage in both scientific research and government contracts. Fort Collins citizens learned what it was like to live in the nuclear shadow of the nearby Atlas missile and engaged in drills to prepare themselves should the Cold War turn hot.

Despite these similarities with national postwar patterns, Fort Collins also demonstrated differences from the stereotypes of the period. While the city experienced expansion, it neither was on the same scale nor covered nearly as much geographic area as the well-known growth of places like Levittown. Fort Collins, like the majority of communities nationwide, had planned residential subdivisions of mostly ranch homes arranged on FHA-sanctioned curvilinear streets. However, here these developments were built later, mostly in the late-1950s and 1960s, rather than in the immediate postwar period. In the early postwar years Fort Collins development was mostly infill construction or relatively small subdivisions, like Circle Drive and Carolyn Mantz, located quite near to established areas of the city. Changes which happened in the postwar period set the stage for continued expansion in Fort Collins, with the 1970s through the 1990s marking the community's period of more typical, sprawling, suburban de-



Figure 7.1. Pat Griffin, left, and friends in front of the old power plant, about 1950, hoped to attract "live businesses" with a WANTED poster. (*Fort Collins Local History Archives, H20215*)

velopment. In keeping with its more compact development patterns, the Fort Collins downtown did not experience the same dramatic exodus of shoppers to suburban shopping centers. The wide downtown streets, capable of accommodating both curb-side and center-street parking along College Avenue, also helped to keep the Fort Collins downtown vital when city centers across the country were commercial ghost towns.

This context has emphasized the role of the Chamber of Commerce in facilitating business growth and postwar expansion in Fort Collins. However, it is important to remember there were many individuals who played influential roles in making the city's growth a reality. Among these were pioneering city manager Guy Palmes, electrical engineer Stanley

Case, lumberyard-owner turned developer Bob Everitt, visionary college/university president William Morgan, and Chamber of Commerce president/ local entrepreneur Pat Griffin. This level of cooperation, among both high-profile individuals and ordinary citizens, was in keeping with the advice Fort Collins veterinarian and draft board chairman Dr. Floyd Cross gave in 1945, encouraging all types of leaders in Fort Collins to work together in order to propel the city into the future. All of these individuals, acting during one of the most transformative periods in American history, illustrated the truism Chamber of Commerce director Watkins expressed, "A community never stands still: it either goes forward or it goes backward." During the postwar period the City of Fort Collins e-x-p-a-n-d-e-d and went forward.

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 72. Anthony Netboy, "Shall I Build a House after the War?" (Washington, D.C.: Department of Defense, October 1944. Reprinted in Townsend), Section 1.
 73. Mark A. Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 145.
 74. *Ibid.*
 75. *Ibid.*
 76. Building permits by year. City Planning Records Collection. (Fort Collins: Fort Collins Local History Archive).
 77. Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1981), 242.
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 79. Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1981), 242.
 80. Avi Friedman, "The Evolution of Design Characteristics during the Post-Second World War Housing Boom: the US Experience" (*Journal of Design History* Volume 8, Number 2 (1995)), 131 and Barbara M. Kelly, "The Houses of Levittown in the Context of Postwar American Culture," <http://www.nps.gov/history/nr/publications/bulletins/suburbs/Kelly.pdf> (accessed on 8 November 2009).
 81. Friedman, 131.
 82. *Ibid.*
 83. Weiss, 143.
 84. *Ibid.*
 85. Tom Martinson, *American Dreamscape: The Pursuit of Happiness in Postwar Suburbia* (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, Inc., 2000), 174.
 86. David Ames, "Historic Residential Suburbs: Guidelines for Evaluation and Documentation" (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 2002).
 87. Jackson, 233.
 88. Dale Heckendorn, James Hewatt, and Mary Therese Anstey, "Identifying, Evaluating, and Nominating Post-World War II Residential Neighborhoods" (Denver: Colorado Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, 2006).
 89. Andrew Hope, "Evaluating the Significance of San Lorenzo Village, A Mid-Twentieth Century Suburban Community" (*Cultural Resource Management* (2005): 50-61), 43.
 90. Peter B. Hales, "Levittown: Documents of an Ideal American Suburb." <http://tigger.uic.edu/~pbhales/Levittown.html> (accessed 15 October 2005).
 91. *Ibid.*
 92. Kenneth Jackson, "The Baby Boom and the Age of the Subdivision," http://us.history.wisc.edu/hist102/readings/Jackson_BabyBoom.pdf (accessed on 10 October 2010).
 93. Netboy, Section 4.
 94. Heckendorn et al.
 95. George Nelson and Henry Wright, *Designing Tomorrow's House: A Complete Guide for the Home-Builder* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1946), 6.
 96. Nelson and Wright, 23.
 97. *Ibid.*
 98. John M. Faragher, "Bungalow and Ranch House: The Architectural Backwash of California" (*Western Historical Quarterly* (2001): 149-173), 162.
 99. *Ibid.*

100. Faragher, 171.
101. Ibid.
102. Paul Johnson, *Western Ranch Houses by Cliff May* (Menlo Park: Lane Publishing, 1958), 7 and Faragher, 163 and 179.
103. Ibid.
104. Ibid.
105. Heckendorn et al.
106. Faragher, 171.
107. *Coloradoan* (1 April 1955).
108. Numerous Fort Collins *Coloradoan* articles from 1946 through 1948 encouraged adapting buildings—including basement apartments, garages, and even outbuildings—for housing.
109. Fort Collins city directory research indicates the sixteen homes originally part of Reclamation Court (believed to be the two-bedroom models) were no longer extant by 1954. According to an article in the May 28, 1955, edition of the *Coloradoan*, the GSA had announced the sale of ten pre-fabricated buildings in Reclamation Village. It seems likely all of the homes in the former Reclamation Court were sold and moved elsewhere to make way for new homes along Lyons Street.
110. *Fort Collins Courier* (5 April 1946).
111. T.P. Treadwell, "Correspondence" (Fort Collins, 15 July 1954), n.p.
112. Ibid.
113. *Coloradoan* (5 May 1955). By this time the administration building, laboratory, and other accessory buildings already had been sold and moved elsewhere. They are no longer extant within the Reclamation Village subdivision.
114. Information gained from study of subdivision plats.
115. *Coloradoan* (27 June 1946).
116. Ibid.
117. A study of Larimer County Property Records indicates the following homes were constructed in 1946, have no indication of an alteration date, and still are less than 900 square feet: 25, 50, 55, 65, 75, 90, 105, 110, 365, 390, 400, 420, and 450 Circle Drive.
118. Beier, 1-132.
119. *Coloradoan* (5 May 1952). Note: Some sources refer to Bert Redd, while others spell his name Bert Reid.
120. Securities Investment Company, "This is Fort Collins" (*The Counselor*, 1953), 6.
121. Simple ranch houses located at 908, 912, 928, and 932 Pioneer Avenue.
122. *Coloradoan* (10 June 1950).
123. Ibid. and *Coloradoan* (14 April 1957).
124. Debra Applin and Polly Puleston, "Sheely Drive Local Historic Landmark Designation Nomination," (Fort Collins: City of Fort Collins Community Planning Department, 2004).
125. Ruth Ware, *Correspondence*, (Fort Collins: City of Fort Collins Historic Preservation Program, 1987).
126. Ibid.
127. *Coloradoan* (2 June 1957).
128. Ibid.
129. A study of Larimer County Property Records indicated the following homes in Western Heights have no indication of an alteration date and have a total of more than five rooms: 1200 Del Mar Street; 1304, 1313, 1317, and 1321 Springfield Drive; and 1200, 1201, and 1309 Westward Drive.
130. In the 1960s, Everitt started a company named the Union Manufacturing & Supply Co., located in the old Union Pacific depot. This firm manufactured modular and prefab homes. These house sold mostly in rural areas, including a number of sales in "uranium boom" areas in Wyoming, Utah, and Colorado. The company also manufactured laminated trusses and door units. Everitt sold the company to Weyerhaeuser. Before he went to Korea, Everitt served on the Research Council of the Lumber Dealers Association. He was on the team who developed the first laminated truss.
131. Robert S. Everitt, Biographical File (Fort Collins: Local History Archive, 1973), n.p.
132. Everitt's first development was Indian Hills in 1956.

133. Robert Everitt. Interview by Cindy Harris, 2011. Everitt's business partner Darryl Blake named the streets within the subdivision to honor his wife who was a Native American.
134. Ibid. Everitt's influences in designing Indian Hills were County Club Plaza, Kansas City, MO, and Longview, WA, both designed by J.C. Nichols. Everitt worked for Longview Lumber in the 1920s and Longview, WA, was a company town which J.C. Nichols designed. Everitt's family had developed subdivisions in Enid, OK, also with the curving streets and parkways inspired by Nichols.
135. *Fort Collins Business World* (July 1989), 25.
136. *Coloradoan* (1 January 1958).
137. Phil Walker, *Modern Visions Along the Poudre Valley* (Fort Collins: Walker Communications, n.d.), 51.
138. *Coloradoan* (1 January 1958).
139. *Fort Collins Business World* (July 1989), 26.
140. *Coloradoan* (1 January 1958).
141. Walker, 51.
142. *Fort Collins Business World* (July 1989), 25.
143. *Denver Post* (22 March 1953). 144. Fort Collins Chamber of Commerce, "Fort Collins Guide Published for the Out-Of-Town Visitor and Newcomer" (Fort Collins: Manly Lutz Publications, 1951-1952), 7 and *Denver Post* (22 March 1953).
145. Autobee, 18.
146. Securities Investment Company, 21
147. Ibid.
148. Public Services Company of Colorado & Fort Collins Chamber of Commerce, "Facts About Fort Collins, Colorado," (Fort Collins: Public Services Company of Colorado & Fort Collins Chamber of Commerce, 1967).
149. *Coloradoan* (1 January 1958).
150. *Coloradoan* (2 January 1975).
151. "The Poudre Valley National Bank," 1967, n.p.
152. H.N. Bales, *A Continuation of the History of the Poudre Valley National Bank of Fort Collins Covering the Years 1950-1968* (Fort Collins: Poudre Valley National Bank, n.d.), 16.
153. "The Poudre Valley National Bank," 1967
154. Bales, 16
155. *Denver Post* (22 March 1953).
156. Ibid.
157. *Denver Post* (22 March 1953) and Public Service Company of Colorado and Fort Collins Chamber of Commerce, n.p. None of these drive-ins are extant.
158. One, at 1820 South College Avenue (south of Highway 287) is now the home of Vision Eyeland Super Optical. The other, at 1298 South College Avenue (South College Avenue and West Pitkin Street) is no longer extant.
159. Lynn Greenwald, interview by Cindy Harris, 2004.
160. Poudre Valley Motor Lodge, 1700 South College Avenue, presently houses various shops. White Motor Court, 1601 South College Avenue, is now Schrader's Country Store. X Bar X Motel, 1800 South College Avenue, is presently the site of Campus Repair. El Palomino Lodge, 1220 North College Avenue, is still in operation at the same location.
161. Bales, 16.
162. The drive-thru was part of the original design for the 1957 City Hall building.
163. The Sunset Drive-In was sold in 1977. The Starlight Drive-In at 2206 South Overland Trail was renamed the Holiday Twin when the second screen was added. This drive-in theater is still in operation. The Pines Drive-In originally had a playground and a 500-car capacity. It closed in 1984.
164. Securities Investment Company, 4.
165. Chisolm, n.p.
166. Fort Collins Local History Archive, "Fort Collins Time Line 1960s," <http://history.poudrelibraries.org/archive/time->

- line/1960.php (accessed on 22 October 2010).
167. Ibid.
168. Securities Investment Company, 5.
169. Simon Property Group, "Simon Property Group Milestones," http://www.simon.com/about_simon/press_room/milestones.aspx (assessed on 15 March 2011).
170. Malcolm Gladwell, "The Terrazzo Jungle" (*The New Yorker*, 15 March 2004: 120-127), 126.
171. Gladwell, 121.
172. Gladwell, 124.
173. *Coloradoan* (31 January 1958).
174. The South College Center has had numerous names over time. It was planned as South College Heights Shopping Center, but opened as University Shopping Center. It was sometimes referred to as University Plaza Shopping Center. Later it was called University Mall. By sometime in the late-1960s it was known as the Century Mall.
175. The family restaurant was called The William Tally Cafeteria. It was located in the Hested's Department Store.
176. Schmidt, interview by Cindy Harris, 2010.

APPENDIX

LIST OF JOBS: 1953-1986 - WILLIAM R. ROBB, ARCHITECT/ ROBB & BRENNER ARCHITECTS & PLANNERS/ RB&B ARCHITECTS

Note: First two digits indicate the year of the commission

53-01 - Hillrose Elementary School	54-18 Wenke, Paul
53-02 Seventh Day Adventist	54-19
53-03 Catholic Church (Durango)	54-20 Pillar of Fire Church Loveland
53-04 Larimer County Hospital	54-21 Wilkinson
53-05 MIT Thesis	54-22 Harris School
53-06 Alfred Subdivision	54-23 Hollowar, Brice
53-07 Coloradoan - Ventilating	54-24 American Theatre (Roades)
53-08 Foothills School	54-25 Osborne Hardware
53-09 Doctor's Office Building	54-26
53-10 Lafayette High School	54-27 Gamma Phi Beta Sorority
53-11 Grover High School	54-28 Larimer County Abstract
53-12 Guaranty Reserve Office	54-29 Buts, Ira A
53-13 Sigma Alpha Epsilon Fraternity	54-30 Everitt, Bob
53-14 Meyer Building	54-31 Briggsdale School
53-15 Rhoades Apartment House	54-32 Cunningham
53-16 Eaton School	54-33 Ulrich, Frank
53-17 Hartman Apartment House	54-34 Putnam School
53-18 Oakes Motors	54-35 Case, Stew
53-19 Alpert Building	54-36 Schoer
53-20 Quasebarth Motors	54-37 Presbyterian Church, Fort Collins
53-21 Lambda chi Alpha Fraternity	54-38 Fuller
53-22 Markley Motors	54-39 Sugar Beet Foundation
53-23 Velentine Motors	54-40
53-24 Kiefer Residence	54-41 Harris Kindergarten
53-25 Trinity Lutheran, Fort Morgan	54-42 Wehry, Herb
53-26 Munn and Bowden	54-43 Nickol, Jack
53-27 Solar House	54-44 Guas Motors
53-28 Roof Residence	54-45 Eastman Warehouse
53-29 Stock Plans	55-01 Hughes
54-01 Wilson, Tom	55-02 Kenny
54-02 Ott, Cecil	55-03 Special Education School
54-03 Spence (See Daryl Blake)	55-04 Benzel
54-04 Pi Beta Phi Sorority	55-05 Delta Zeta Sorority
54-05 American Baptist Church	55-06 Bennett (Robertson Building)
54-06 Johnson Subdivision	55-07
54-07 Stewart, Jim	55-08 Lumb Residence
54-08 State Theatre	55-09 Tobin Residence
54-09 Falk, Martin	55-10 Templin, CO
54-10 Johnson, Earl	55-11 Cram Residence
54-11 State Game & Fish	55-12 Sipple Residence
54-12 Galyardt, Bill	55-13
54-13	55-14 Poudre City Chapel
54-14 Phi Delta Theta Fraternity	55-15 Holly Residence
54-15 Richard's Gardens	55-16 Lyric Theatre (Pennock)
54-16 Johnson, Robt. (State Dy)	55-17 Sigma Kappa Sorority
54-17 Burgess, John H.	55-18 Siebert Residence
	55-19 Rumley Clinic
	55-20 Griffith Residence
	55-21 Church of God

55-22 Humphrey Office
55-23 Episcopal Church, Durango
55-24 Locke Residence
55-25 Van de Wghe
55-26 Stover
55-27 Hansen
55-28 City Hall - Remodel
55-29 Farnham, Don
55-30 Telephone Building - Remodel
55-31 Central Building
55-32 Savings and Loan Building
55-33 First Baptist Church
55-34 Barker Motel
55-35 Guard Residence
55-36
55-37 Episcopal Church, Fort Collins
55-38 Van Sant
55-39
55-40
55-41 Optimist Club, Community Building
56-101 East & West Schools
56-102 Hogan Residence
56-103 City Hall - New
56-104 Bath House
56-105 Theta Chi Fraternity
56-106 Griffin, Pat
56-107 Sheeley Garage
56-108
56-109 Wayt Residence
56-110
56-111
56-112 Church of Christ
56-113 Burchfield
56-114 First National Bank
56-115 Heath Engineering
56-116
56-117 Hill Residence
56-118
56-119 Foster, Bryant
56-120 High School Garage
56-121 Wolfer Remodel
56-122
56-123
56-124
56-125
56-126
56-127 Rouse Apartments & Stores
56-128 Blevins, Remodel
56-129 Hospital Service
56-130 Presbyterian Church Education Building
56-131 Gordon's Concrete Products
56-132 Carson Residence
57-101 Cornell, Harry
57-102 Murdy, Jay
57-103 Northern Equipment Company
57-104 High School Vault
57-105 Brooks Residence
57-106 Greeley Title Building
57-107 Everitt & Blake Subdivision
57-108 Gamma Phi Beta Sorority
57-109 Kovner Remodeling
57-110 Southern Baptist Church
57-111 Whittleman Subdivision
57-112 Clarke, Dwight
57-113 Stovall (Barton Residence)
57-114 Rhoades (Frat & Sor Site)
57-115 Stovall (Everson Residence)
57-116 Johnson, Mel (frat)
57-117 Steele's Market
57-118 Bechner, Chuch
57-119 Berthoud School
57-120 Humphrey Residence
57-121 Fire Station
57-122 Williams, EB
57-123 Hawthorne, W
57-124 Main Fire Station Remodel
57-125 City Hall Government Office
57-126 Rhoades Development
58-01 Owen
58-02 Harold Howes
58-03 Rouse Residence
58-04 McDonald Dept. Sotre
58-05 Barton & Moore School Extension
58-06 Purse, Russell
58-07 Production Credit Assn
58-08 St. Joseph's
58-09 Masonic Temple Elevator
58-10 Forney
58-11 Stewart House
58-12 Rhoades, Supermarket
58-13 Packing Plant (Stewart)
58-14 LaPorte School District
58-15 Martin, Ed
58-16 Cody Rest Home
58-17 Griffin, Pat - Greeley Plant
58-18 Rouse Air Conditioning
58-19 Robertson Building
58-20 Wray Plumbing & Heating
58-21 Patterson, Mrs.
58-22 Rouse Store Building
58-23 Swimming Pool
58-24 Rouse Apartment Building
59-01 Allen Building
59-02 Poudre School
59-03 Plummer Residence
59-04 Warren Residence
59-05 Griffith, Ruth Res Remodel
59-06 Dotson Addition
59-07 Woodward Governor
59-08 Game & Fish Research Building
59-09 Berthoud Fire Escape
59-10 Holy Family Exits
60-01 Egan Residence

60-02 Chi Omega Sorority	63-02 Donovan Building Remodel, Longmont
60-03 Alpha Gamma Rho Frat	63-03 Game and Fish Remodel
60-04 Sigma Alpha Epsilon Frat	63-04 Steele Lumber Beam
60-05 Collard Residence	63-05 Unfug Remodel
60-06 Peterson, (Black's Glass)	63-06 St. Joseph's School
60-07 St. Joseph's Cabinet Dwgs	63-07 Ivan Harris Building
60-08 Car Wash Building (Griffin)	63-08 Dental Clinic, Carson
60-09 Masonic Office Building	63-09 Swanbom
60-10 Miller Office Building	63-10 Newman Center
60-11 Foster Addition	63-11 Tom Wilson Building
60-12 First Methodist Church	63-12 Bio-Physical Building - CSU
60-13 Fire Station (New)	63-13 School Administration and Supply Buildings
60-14 Fischer, Jim, Rigden Farm Utl	63-14 Rhoades Office Building
60-15 Locke (Millwork)	63-15 Pavel Building
60-16 Cody Rest Home Carport	63-16 Poudre Valley Bank Remodel
60-17 Presbyterian Church, Loveland	63-17 Roosevelt National Forest - North Half
60-18 Nickol, Jack	63-18 New School Site
60-19 Keese Building	63-19 St. Joseph's Gym
60-20 Forney Planter	63-20 High School Site
60-21 Evans, Norman (Mrs.)	63-21 Axcelson Residence
60-22 Gates, Walt Residence	63-22 Coloradoan Addition
60-23 Solomon Residence	63-23 Cooper Residence
60-24 Bennett (Hall & Stairs)	63-24 Kaehler Remodel
60-25 Shaffer Residnce	63-25 Ben Olds (Grade Beam)
61-01 Jim Wichkersham Office	64-01 Robertson Building Front
61-02 Lynn Miller Building	64-02 Alberston Remodel
61-03 Sand A Liquor Store	64-03 Goodman Residence
61-04 Dr. Sundquist Remodel	64-04 Loveland Fire & Police Building
61-05 Nelson Residence	64-05 Munford Develoment
61-06 Little Thompson Filter Plant	64-06 Berthoud National Bank
61-07 College Heights Elementary School	64-07 Congregational Unitarian Church
61-08 Knights of Columbus Lodge	64-08 St. Joseph Church Doors
61-09 Bob Powers Liquor Store	64-09
61-10 Bethhe Addition	64-10 Paragon Residnce
61-11 John Quinn Residence	64-11 Elk Remodel
61-12 Remodel Bair Residence	64-12 Lindgren Remodel
61-13 Spanish Assembly of God Church	64-13 Game & Fish Air Condition
62-01 Laramie River School	64-14 Boersch Residence
62-02	64-15 St. Joseph Residence Remodel
62-03 SN Fraternity	64-16 Southern Baptist Chruch Addition
62-04 St. Luke's	64-17 Downtown Improvement
62-05 Ideal	64-18 Dr. Patterson, Building Site
62-06 Larimer County Public Health Building	64-19 Forage, Range & Sugar Building
62-07 Weed and Potato Research Buildings	64-20 Holiday Motel - Estes Park
62-08 Jim Wickersham Residence	65-01 Wray - Helbert Site
62-09 Roof Alteration - Holy Family Gym & Addition	65-02 Bartran Development
62-10 Red Feather Lakes Chapel	65-03 Betz, Fischer Building
62-11 Woodward Governor	65-04 Vic Hunsberger
62-12 REA Remodeling	65-05 Title Building Vault
62-13 Farmhouse Frat	65-06 Cooper Michael Remodel
62-14 Roosevelt National Forest Remodel	65-07 Fire Station #3
62-15 Acacia Frat	65-08 Schneider, Consult
62-16 Loveland Office Building	65-09 Phi Kapp Tau Addition
62-17 Club Tico	65-10 Brock Apartments
62-18 Hospital Chapel	65-11 Riddell-Hays Remodel
63-01 Aggie Theatre Balcony	65-12 Jim Williams Consult

65-13 Wesley Foundation Remodel	68-06 Spring Creek Housing Development
65-14 Bartran Car Wash	68-07 School Administration Building
65-15 School Additions	68-08 School Warehouse
65-16 Welfar Building, Fort Collins	68-09 Binkley Residence
65-17 Loveland County Building	68-10 Ford Residence
65-18 Masonic Fire Escape	68-11 Lovealnd Spanich Community Building
65-19 Library Park Museum	68-12 Fairview Shopping Center
65-20	69-01 Fkersey Development
65-21 Dr. Abbey Consult	69-02 BIRT
65-22 S.A.E. Addition No. 2	69-03 Trinity Lutheran Church
65-23 Hospital Addition	69-04 Stuart Street Apt
65-24 Dr. Henson's Office	69-05 Hospital Service Remodel
65-25 Hoffner Residence	69-06 Morthole Building
65-26 Evan's Residence	69-07 Buttroff Building
66-01 CSU Central Receiving Building	69-08 Boulder Civic Center
66-02 Drake Residence	69-09 Dr. Carson Remodel
66-03 Elementary Schools	69-10 Townhouse Motel
66-04 Lindenmeier Development	69-11 Holiday Inn
66-05 Lindenmeier Stables	69-12 Courthouse Remodel
66-06 S.A.E. Alumni Brochure	69-13 Lovleand Presbyterian Church Phase II
66-07 First Christian Church Remodel	69-14 Fairview Apartments Phase III
66-08 Loveland Warehouse Coplex	70-01 Walden Motel
66-09 Kane Residence	70-02 Stove Prairie Elementary Addition
66-10 Hnson Residence Remodel	70-03 New Two-Track Elementary School - Meadowlark
66-11 Lemay Medical Park	70-04 Sherwood Low-Cost Housing Study
66-12 City Engineers Office Remodel	70-05 Colorado Developments, Inc
66-13 Hnenson Residence (Dr. Stanley)	70-06 Hoffner Remodel
66-14 Dr. James K Wise Residence	70-07 Wells Residence
66-15 Carl Birky, Consult	70-08 Salvation Army Remodel
66-16 Paragon Residence Consult	70-09 Bray Development
66-17 Kamber Residence	70-10 Estimate for Jungbluth
66-18 Saitn Lukes Tower	70-11 Armstrong Hotel Addition
66-19 Rick Richard	70-12 Carson Buildings Remodel
66-20 Dr. Lee Subdivision	70-13 Mulberry Street Development
66-21 Roosevelt Forrest, 3rd Remodel	70-14 Strachan Farm Patio Homes
67-01 Loveland Parking Garage	70-15 Robowash Plot Plan
67-02 Hultgren Office Buidling	70-16 FCFS&L Windsor Branch
67-03 Parke Residence	70-17 Plaza Aztlan, Inc
67-04 lutheran Chapel	70-18 Wellington Housing
67-05 Union Manufacturing Co. Beam	71-01 Bartran Apartments (Woodbox)
67-06 Holy Family Church	71-02 Glen Haven Achievement Center
67-07 Sothers Residence Remodel	71-03 FCFS&L Signs
67-08 Loveland Downtown Development	71-04 TRA-VEL Inc.
67-09 Fort Collins Savings & Loan Addition	71-05 Fort Collins Library Roof
67-10 Lindenwood Bridge (in 66-05 file)	71-06 Sherwin-Williams Building
67-11 Loveland Cemetery Building	71-07 Siever Residence
67-12 Ridell-Hays Chapel	71-08 Bartlett Building
67-13 Club Tico Remodel	71-09 Sundquist Property
67-14 Loveland Council PA System	71-10 Jungmeyer PUD
67-15 St. Joseph Rectory	71-11 Fort Collins Council Chambers
67-16 Courthouse Addition	71-12 Westlake Bank
68-01 Bartran Development _ Phase II	71-13 Sothers Consult
68-02 Fort Collins City Hall Ramp	71-14 Wellington Elementary School - Oversize
68-03 Dreiling Motor Remodel	71-15 Cache la Poudre Elementary School
68-04 Moore Residence	71-16 Coloradoan Canopy
68-05 FCFS&L Branch Office	71-17 South Elementary School

71-18 Bray PUD Revision	73-14 Immanuel Southern Baptist Remodel
71-19 New Fire Station No. 1	73-15 Fischer Residence Patio
71-20 Post Office Floor Plan	73-16 Kaehler Residence Addition
71-21 Pleasant Valley Dev. Corp. (Wellington)	73-17 PRMP Association
71-22 Poudre R-1 Bus Shelter	73-18 Stevens Residence Addition
71-23 Loveland Warehouse Addition	73-19 Steinman Building
72-01 Scotch Pines Apartments - Site Planning (CDC)	73-20 Rocky Mountain Building - 7th Floor
72-02 Scotch Pines Apartments - Architecture (Bartran)	73-21 Elks Remodel II
72-03 Poudre R-1 Bus Garage Addition	73-22 Holy Family School Consult
72-04 HFS&L Parking Lot	73-23 Paragon Residence Remodel
72-05 Scotch Pines Masterplan Drawing	73-24 Bartran Residence
72-06 HFS&L Parking Garage	73-25 Scotch Pines East End
72-07 Matador Masterplan Drawing	73-26 HFS&L Campus West Facility
72-08 Laurel Elementary Replacement	74-01 Larimer County - Woodward Building
72-09 Poudre High School Remodel	74-02 Campus West Pharmacy Remodel
72-10 Meldrum House Remodeling	74-03 Fairview Shopping Center - Unit #1
72-11 Bray Office Building Meldrum House Remodel	74-04 Woodbox Storage Bins
72-12 Scotch Pines Community Building	74-05 Loveland County Building Basement
72-13 Crystal Lakes Lodge	74-06 Garth Rogers Consult
72-14 Sothers Consult	74-07 HFS&L New Night Depository
72-15 Fairview Phase IV	74-08 Degain Consult
72-16 HFS&L 9th Floor Remodel	74-09 Leshner Jr. High Media Center
72-17 HFS&L 4th Floor Remodel	74-10 St. Croix & Ray Building
72-18 United Bank Property Study	74-11 HFS&L Curb Repair
72-19 HFS&L 10th Floor Remodel	74-12 HFS&L Branch Basement Remodel
72-20 HFS&L 7th Floor Remodel	74-13 Platte River Power Authority Study
72-21 LaPorte Ave Elementary Replacement	74-14 United Bank Addition
72-22 Poudre R-1 Stadium	74-15 Poudre R-1 Driving Range Tower Addition
72-23 Scotch Pines Fourth Filing	74-16 Barton Elementary Media Center
72-24 Jungmeyer Development #1	74-17 United Bank 2nd Floor Addition
72-25 HFS&L 5th Floor Remodel	74-18 Building Analysis for Jungbluth
72-26 HFS&L 2nd Floor Remodel	74-19 HFS&L Barbershop Partitions
72-27 HFS&L Friendship Room Remodel	74-20 United Bank East Entry Doors
72-28 Bartran Development Horsetooth Road	74-21 HFS&L Loveland Branch
72-29 HFS&L 8th Floor Remodel	75-01 Christman Building - 8th Floor
72-30 Production Credit Assn. Remodel	75-02 Pioneer Museum Addition II
72-31 Long's Peak Planetarium	75-03 City Hall Addition and Remodel
72-32 New Steele's Market	75-04 HFS&L Power Factor
72-33 Scotch Pines Fifth Filing	75-05 Gleneyre Elementary II
72-34 Remington Street Office Building	75-06 City - Coloradoan Building Remodel
72-35 Christman Building	75-07 Camp Collins
72-36 United Bank Total Teller Building	75-08 HFS&L Tim Hasler Remodel
72-37 St. Luke's Columbarium	75-09 Sheridan High School - Est. for Jungbluth
73-01 HFS&L 3rd Floor Remodel	75-10 HFS&L - Richard Manges Office
73-02 St. Luke's Organ	75-11 Kruchten Remodel
73-03 St. Luke's Parish Hall	75-12 Our Saviour's Lutheran Site Study
73-04 Bollinger Residence	75-13 Steele's Market Roof
73-05 United Bank Parking Study	75-14 Arapahoe Village Recreation Area
73-06 Glen Haven Achievement Center Graph	75-15 HFS&L 7th Floor Remodel
73-07 Everitt Enterprises Apartments	75-16 Marshall Distributing Co. Addition
73-08 BCJ-PUD	75-17 Ft. Collins City Court Facility
73-09 Flowers & Things Sign	75-18 Food Services Facilities Cost Study
73-10 Leshner Junior High Remodel	75-19 Larimer County Courthouse Remodel
73-11 Matador Phase IV	75-20 HFS&L 4th Floor Remodel - Lybarger
73-12 Aggie Liquor Remodel	75-21 Reliable Linen Addition
73-13 Williams Residence Remodel	75-22 Mead Elementary School

76-01 Teledyne Waterpik Addition	77-23 Miller Condominiums
76-02 DMA Plaza Addition	77-24 HFS&L 3rd Floor Remodel II
76-03 Wellington Jr. High Addition	77-25 HFS&L Robb and Brenner Remodel
76-04 HFS&L	77-26 Collindale Condominiums
76-05 French Field East Concession Stand	77-27 Fairview Shopping Unit IIA (Int. Dev.)
76-06 HFS&L Friendship Room Remodel	77-28 Robertson Building Remodel
76-07 Voc-Tech Center Horticulture Facility	77-29 HFS&L Loveland Branch
76-08 Scotch Pines Phase III	77-30 HFS&L 10th Floor Remodel (Eq. Life Assur.)
76-09 Shepherd of the Hills Lutheran Church	78-01 Leshner Jr. High Phase II
76-10 HFS&L 6 and 8 Floor Changes	78-02 HFS&L Drive Thru Remodel
76-11 City of FC Equip. Repair Bldg Toilet Remodel	78-03 Collindale Patio Homes
76-12 Loveland United Methodist Church	78-04 Larimer County Mental Health
76-13 St. Thomas Lutheran Chapel Addition	78-05 HFS&L 10th Floor Remodel (Robbie Bennett)
76-14 St. Croix Office Remodel	78-06 HFS&L 4th Floor Remodel (Architect)
76-15 Fort Collins Auditorium / Art Complex	78-07 Van Schaack Consult
76-16 FCPD Detective Division Offices Office	78-08 HFS&L University Branch Site Review
76-17 Ocamb Residence	78-09 Platte River Power Authority Projects
76-18 Fort Collins Country Club	78-10 Scotch Pines Single Family Units
76-19 United Bank Commercial Walkup Facility	78-11 202 East Elizabeth - Code Check
76-20 Mel Johnson United Bank Study	78-12 335-337 Willox Lane - Code Check
76-21 Johnson Clinic Consult (HCI)	78-13 813 West Mountain - Code Check
76-22 CJ Streit Property Study	78-14 Muenzberg Apartments
76-23 HFS&L East Entry Handrails	78-15 Birch Street Condominiums
76-24 Fairview IV - Site Revisions	78-16 Wellington Gym II
76-25 Tim Hasler Office Addition	78-17 FC Youth Clinic Remodel (FCYC)
76-26 United Bank Basement Remodeling	78-18 Beattie Addition School
76-27 Scotch Pines Village Shops	78-19 CLP Masterplan
76-28 Fairview Shopping Center Unit II	78-20 Fort Collins High School Masterplan
76-29 Scotch Pines Master Plan, 1976	78-21 Fairview PUD Revision
76-30 Bill Krug, PUD	78-22 Howard Ray Remodel II
76-31 HFS&L - Howard Ray Remodel	78-23 Toddy's Store
76-32 Elks Remodel III	78-24 Everitt Condominiums (Parkwood E)
76-33 Poudre R-1 Masterplan	78-25 Valentine Space
76-34 Loveland Municipal Building Addition	78-26 Livermore Addition
77-01 Kiefer Heli-Bank	78-27 Westlake Bank Basement Remodel
77-02 Poudre High School Media Center	78-28 Parkwood East Condominiums
77-03 United Bank Parking Lot Landscaping	78-29 HFS&L Main Floor Remodel
77-04 Village Green Site	78-30 Rhoades Space Remodel
77-05 DOT PUD	79-01 Fairview PUD Phase II
77-06 Community Pool Floors	79-02 Mitchell Marketing Aids
77-07 Keleher PUD	79-03 Mitchell & Co. Elevation Study
77-08 United Bank Tremote Facility	79-04 Alpha Phi Sorority House
77-09 St. Joseph Rectory & Balcony Remodel	79-05 HFS&L University Branch Re-roof
77-10 Elk's Toilets	79-06 HFS&L Condominium Conversion
77-11 Springwood Condominiums.	79-07 Parkwood East Phase I
77-12 Bethel Lutheran Church Addition	79-08 Carpaty Condominiums.
77-13 St. Joseph Air Conditioning	79-09 Rouse Store / Office Building
77-14 Mission Hills Working Drawings	79-10 Pinemar Industrial Park Ind.
77-15 HFS&L Campus West Addition	79-11 Dr. Pike's Porch
77-16 Poudre R-1 Bus Garage Addition II	79-12 Fairview PUD Phase III
77-17 University National Bank	79-13 Parkwood Townhomes
77-18 Elks Remodel IV	79-14 Westmoor West Condominiums
77-19 Fort Collins Community Center III	79-15 HFS&L Entry Pavers
77-20 Chuck Weibel Office Remodel HFS&L	79-16 Everitt Condominiums (Not Parkwood)
77-21 Bartran Elevation Studies (Village West)	79-17 SPVS Perspective
77-22 Unfug Consult	79-18 Colorado -Wyoming Investments Prints

79-19 CSU English Department Remodel	81-16 Cunningham Corner Campus West Liquor
79-20 Parkwood East Community Building	81-17 6-Plex for Harold Miller
79-21 Carpaty Brochure	81-18 Parkwood East Townhomes Working Drawings
79-22 Unfug Roof Consult	81-19 HFS&L Campus W Auto Teller
79-23 Wellington Jr. High - Phase III School	81-20 Hill & Hill Remodel
79-24 Parkwood East Berm Study	81-21 Robbie Bennett 10th Floor Remodel
79-25 Westlake Bank Walkup Remodel	81-22 Rocky Mountain High School Locker Room Addition
79-26	81-23 Stoner Building Remodel
79-27 The Winery	81-24 Riverbend Lot 10
79-28 Remington Street Property	81-25 Tri-County S&L
80-01 Parkwood East Model	81-26 Gas Pumps @ SPVS
80-02 Foothills Plaza Roof Consult	81-27 Sherwood Street Condominiums
80-03 SPVS - Tenant Space Review	81-28 City Hall Updated Drawings (CHUD)
80-04 Country Clean	81-29 CLP Windows
80-05 Timberline PUD	81-30 Viney Remodel
80-06 Timberline Office Building	81-31 Mountain Empire Liquor Store
80-07 203 S Sherwood Building	81-32 Getts Model II
80-08 Corner Book Store	81-33 Beet Sugar Foundation Drawings
80-09 Salvation Army Remodel II	81-34 325 East Mulberry
80-10 Poudre High School Masterplan	81-35 HFS&L Main Floor Remodel II - Lobby
80-11 Boltz Junior High Masterplan	81-36 Adcon Consult
80-12 Harmony Farms	81-37 South Shores Homes
80-13 SPVS Module #6	81-38 City Vestibules
80-14 SPVS - New York Life Insurance	81-39 Livermore II
80-15 Mane Broker Storefront - SPVS	81-40 SPV Pump II
80-16 SPVS - Module #28	81-41 FCCC Energy
80-17 HFS&L 2nd Floor Patio	81-42 Norht Sherwood Properties
80-18 Parkwood East Phase II	81-43 Oak Ridge Industrial Park
80-19 SPVS - Module #2	81-44 Parkwood East Revised Drawings
80-20 Tots and Teens (Module #6 @ SPVS)	81-45 Riverbend ALCO
80-21 Riverbend Office Park	81-46 Berthoud Business Park
80-22 HFS&L Red Carpet Space Remodel	81-47 Bein 100 Acre Concept Plan
80-23 CSU Solar Building (Repeat Facility)	81-48 Bein 17 Acre Development
80-24 HFS&L Brick Review	82-01 Briggsdale School
80-25 Blevins Addition School	82-02 AIA Colorado North Chapter
80-26 Riverbend Apartments	82-03 Unfug Addition
80-27 Ericson, Hunt & Spillman Study	82-04 CSU - ASC II
80-28 Getts Residence Remodel	82-05 Fairview Shopping Center Phase IIB
80-29 Spring Creek Manor	82-06 Adm. Warehouse, Mountian View Interiors
80-30 HFS&L Automatic Teller	82-07 HFS Graphics
80-31 CSU Atmospheric Science Office Bldg.	82-08 Roof Alterations Rouse Property
81-01 HFS&L Campus West Remodel II	82-09 CLPJH Energy
81-02 University Square	82-10 Poudre Canyon Comm. Bldg
81-03 Craftwood Solar Homes	82-11 Berthoud Business Park Master Plan
81-04 Boltz Jr. High Phase I	82-12 Anheuser Busch
81-05 Gaylyardt & Harvey Remodel	82-13 Home - Tel
81-06 Voc-Tec Roof	82-14 LCHA - LaPorte Housing Project
81-07 HFS&L University Branch Basement Remodel	82-15 Gas Station #2
81-08 Red Feather Lake Elementary Master Plan	82-16 Tim Hasler Office Remodel II
81-09 CLP Elementary Feasibility Study	82-17 Matador Phase IV Revised
81-10 Bus Administration Building Addition	82-18 Scotch Pines Apartments Phse IV
81-11 205 South Meldrum Building	82-19 Windsor Rehab.
81-12 Morrison Building	82-20 Lake Street Townhomes
81-13 Poudre High School Phase I	82-21 Sandberg Residence
81-14 Fort Collins High School Phase II	82-22 Hoffman Development
81-15 Campus West Liquor	82-23 Welke Home

82-24 Larimer County Jail Building Remodel	84-23 Fairview Phave IV - Laundromat
82-25 Scotch Pines IV Working Drawings	84-24 Evans Middle School
82-26 Fairview Shopping Center PH III	84-25 Sprague Sun Room
83-01 Adcon Consultants	84-26 Story / Blackis Residence
83-02 French Field Press Box Addition	84-27 Blue River Sewer Plant
83-03 Poudre R-1 Maintenance	84-28 Rocky Mountain High School - Locker Room 3
83-04 Parkwood Apartments	84-29 First Methodist Church
83-05 Berthoud Park Phase I	84-30 Lot #3, Walters Subdivision
83-06 Gillespie Residence	84-31 Del Webb Planning Project
83-07 Bell Addition	84-32 Stuart Street Med. Bldg #2
83-08 PRPA Equipment Room Addition	84-33 Parkwood East Bldgs A,B,L,M
83-09 Larimer County Jail Remodel Working Drawings	84-34 Eyestone Elementary Structure
83-10 Nordic / Bejmuk Condos	84-35 Chorak Residence
83-11 Windsor Park Building	84-36 HFS&L Board Room Office
83-12 Bennett Elementary Addition	84-37 Stuart Dental Clinic Med.
83-13 HFS&L 2nd Floor Patio	84-38 Christ United Methodist Church
83-14 Nordic / Bejmuk RH Review	84-39 HFS&L Brick
83-15 HFS&L Office Organization	84-40 Berhtoud Post Office
83-16 Loveland First Christian Church MP	84-41 O'Dea Addition
83-17 Poudre Valley Const. Spec. HSE	84-42 Collopy PUD
83-18 Court Couse Col.	84-43 Kessler Residence
83-19 Fairview IV Site Costs	84-44 Berthoud National Bank
83-20 Community Human Development Center (LCSC)	84-45 Lake Residence
83-21 Baystone Village WD	84-46 HFS&L Fulgett
83-22 Commonwealth	84-47 Collins Plating
83-23 Taco Bell 2	84-48 Bein Map
83-24 First Christian Church Court Encl.	84-49 Berthoud Park
83-25 Saxbury Residence	84-50 Courtroom Column
83-26 Jogger's Shower	84-51 Collier Cover
83-27 City Energy Analysis	85-01 Quingue Service Station
83-28 Bartran Hearing	85-02 Sprinkler System Consultation
83-29 Bein PUD #2	85-03 Steele's Market Addition Retail
83-30 Shepherd of the Hills Church	85-04 214 Partnership
83-31 Nautilus	85-05 Webb Clubhouse
84-01 New Elementary	85-06 Story / Blackis Working Drawings
84-02 Foxfire II	85-07 Spawn Remodel
84-03 Arlington Townhomes	85-08 Tozier Elementary Remodel
84-04 Rocky Mountain High School Struct. Consult	85-09 Mountain View Elementary Remodel
84-05 CLP Phase I	85-10 Collins Plating Precast Shop Drawings
84-06 Bartran Medical Center PUD	85-11 HFS&L 8th Floor Partnership
84-07 1606 Edora Court Consult	85-12 Stuart Building #3
84-08 HFS&L Univ. Branch	85-13 Steele's South
84-09 Bartran Map	85-14 Group Building
84-10 Park Apartments	85-15 Rastello Consult
84-11 Parkwood East Solar TH PUD Revisions	85-16 Locker Consult
84-12 Ice Rink Consult	85-17 Wellington Junior High Study
84-13 Rocky Mountain High School Locker Room II	85-18 Lindstone Residence
84-14 Fairview III	85-19 Oak Ridge West
84-15 CBP Entrance	85-20 St. Joseph's Elevator
84-16 Campus West Liquor	85-21 Larimer County Landfill
84-17 Smith Street Apartments	85-22 HFS&L Computer Room
84-18 Warren Lake	85-23 Riverside Park
84-19 Hospital Service Consult Med.	85-24 Dan Dean Consult - French Café
84-20 Hi-Lan Club House Remodel	85-25 County Fleet Manager's Building
84-21 Bein 6th Annex	85-26 Dohmer Property
84-22 503 Mathews	85-27 Larimer County Landfill Maint. Bldg. Wkg. Dwgs.

85-28 Stuart Professional Park Building #1
85-29 Collindale PUD 85
85-30 Fleet Maintenance Building Working Drawings
85-31 Bartran House
85-32 The Central Presbyterian Church
85-33 Mountain Bell Garage Alterations
85-34 American Baptist Church
85-35 Sutter Trial
85-36 CSU Clean Room
85-37 Oak Ridge III
85-38 Fairview Master Plan Sketch
85-39 Blinder Robinson
85-40 Oak Ridge Marketing Plan
85-41 Lake City Elementary
86-01 IMC Additions - Media 86 - Putnam & O'Dea
86-02 PUD 85 - Construction Documents
86-03 Speer Development
86-04 Clarendon Hills
86-05 SPVS - Vet Med
86-06 Pat Graham Residence
86-07 Bath Addition
86-08 Dean Residence
86-09 St. Luke's Narthex Expansion
86-10 Fort Morgan First Christian Church
86-11 Rocky Mountain High Remodel
86-12 Poudre High Remodel
86-13 Hewitt Residence
86-14 Springbrook
86-15 Mountain Bell Re-roof (In 85-33)
86-16 Miller / Parklane Consult
86-17 K Mart Roof
86-18 Cytogenic Lab
86-19 Atmospheric Science Addition
86-20 Broomfield Church
86-21 Larimie Wyoming Holiday Inn
86-22 Siegmund Consultants
86-23 Linder Patio Homes
86-24 Bartran Duplex
86-25 Colindale Commercial Site
86-26 Waverly Shop Larimer County
86-27 Lory Student Center Remodel
86-28 Oak Ridge Phase I Office
86-29 Stuart Building #4
86-30 CSU Lory Student Center Furnishings
86-31 Ignacio School Consult
86-32 Poudre Chapel Addition
86-33 Spanjer Tract Home #1
86-34 ADS Building
86-35 Mountain Bell - PEW
86-36 Dunn - Moore Media Center
86-37 Evangelical Covenant Church
86-38 Zimbdahl Residence
86-39 Group Magazine II
86-40 Ault Library
86-41 Rockwell Hall
86-42 Windsor Admin Building

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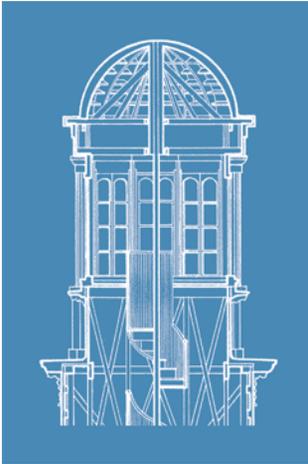
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