



Colorado Cultural Resource Survey Report

The Struggle for Identity: Windsor's Historic Downtown

Prepared by:

Adam Thomas,
HISTORITECTURE, L.L.C.

Prepared for:

Town of Windsor, Colorado

Colorado State Historical Fund Grant
Project 2007-M2-016
Deliverables 8 and 10

January 2010



HISTORITECTURE LLC
architectural history | preservation planning | digital preservation media



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INTRODUCTION

Downtown Windsor Historical and Architectural Survey

On November 22, 1902, Roy Ray, flamboyant editor of Windsor's *The Poudre Valley* newspaper flouted Windsor's unique geography:

Windsor should not be the ONLY town in the valley—she should be the center—the hub 'round which all other towns revolve. They must go through Windsor to get from Fort Collins to Greeley.

Today, as one of the fastest growing areas in the state, Windsor has proven to be the hub of northern Colorado. But since the opening of Windsor's Kodak plant in 1970, the area's fast expansion has caused growing pains, especially as sprawling commercial development has eclipsed Windsor's historic downtown. Now these few blocks of Main Street struggle to maintain an identity and a future.

As part of Windsor's efforts to recognize the history of its downtown and provide preservation planning data for the economic revitalization of Main Street, the Town secured a State Historical Fund grant in 2007 to complete an intensive-level architectural and historical survey of "at least forty buildings" in the traditional central business district. The proposed project also included a survey report, historical and architectural context, and an interpretive documentary on digital video disc (DVD).

The Town selected Historitecture, an Estes Park-based ar-

chitectural history consulting firm, to complete the work. Architectural Historian and Managing Principal Adam Thomas conducted the survey, with the assistance of Field Technician Jeffrey DeHerrera and Intern Research Historian Rachel Kline.

The major goal of this project was to acquire as much architectural and historical data as possible for properties in the downtown Windsor survey area, allowing Town staff and others to make sound preservation planning decisions about the central business district. Subordinate to this goal were several objectives:

- Inventory all properties in the survey area;
- Determine the significance and National Register/local landmark eligibility of all properties in the survey area;
- Analyze historic district potential and boundaries; and
- Develop a report summarizing the findings of the survey.

The survey area contained forty-eight separate properties as the Weld County Tax Assessor determined them. Two of these properties were previously listed in the National Register of Historic Properties and thus were not included in the survey. Of the forty-six remaining properties surveyed, Historitecture determined five buildings (or 10.9 percent of the properties surveyed) were field eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. The same properties were determined field eligible for the Colorado State Register of Historic Properties. As for Windsor landmarks, the consultant determined fourteen properties (or 30.4 percent) were field el-

igible, including the four National Register-eligible properties.

Historitecture found no eligible districts, but provided some scenarios under which a district could be created.

Based on these results, Historitecture made the following recommendations to the Town of Windsor:

- Nominate eligible National Register and Windsor landmark properties;
- Consider creating downtown historic districts based on two scenarios;

- Survey residential neighborhoods; and
- Digitize Windsor's newspaper collection.

As originally proposed, this project was supposed to result in the creation of separate documents for the historical context and the survey report. However, after writing both documents, Historitecture determined that they would be easier to understand and evaluate as a combined, single document, providing all of the historical information necessary to understand the evolution and current status of downtown.

SECTION 1

Project Area

The incorporated Town of Windsor is located in Weld County, a mile to two miles north of the Cache la Poudre River and spanning the southern shore of Windsor Lake. The terrain is generally flat, with an elevation of around 4,800 feet above mean sea level.

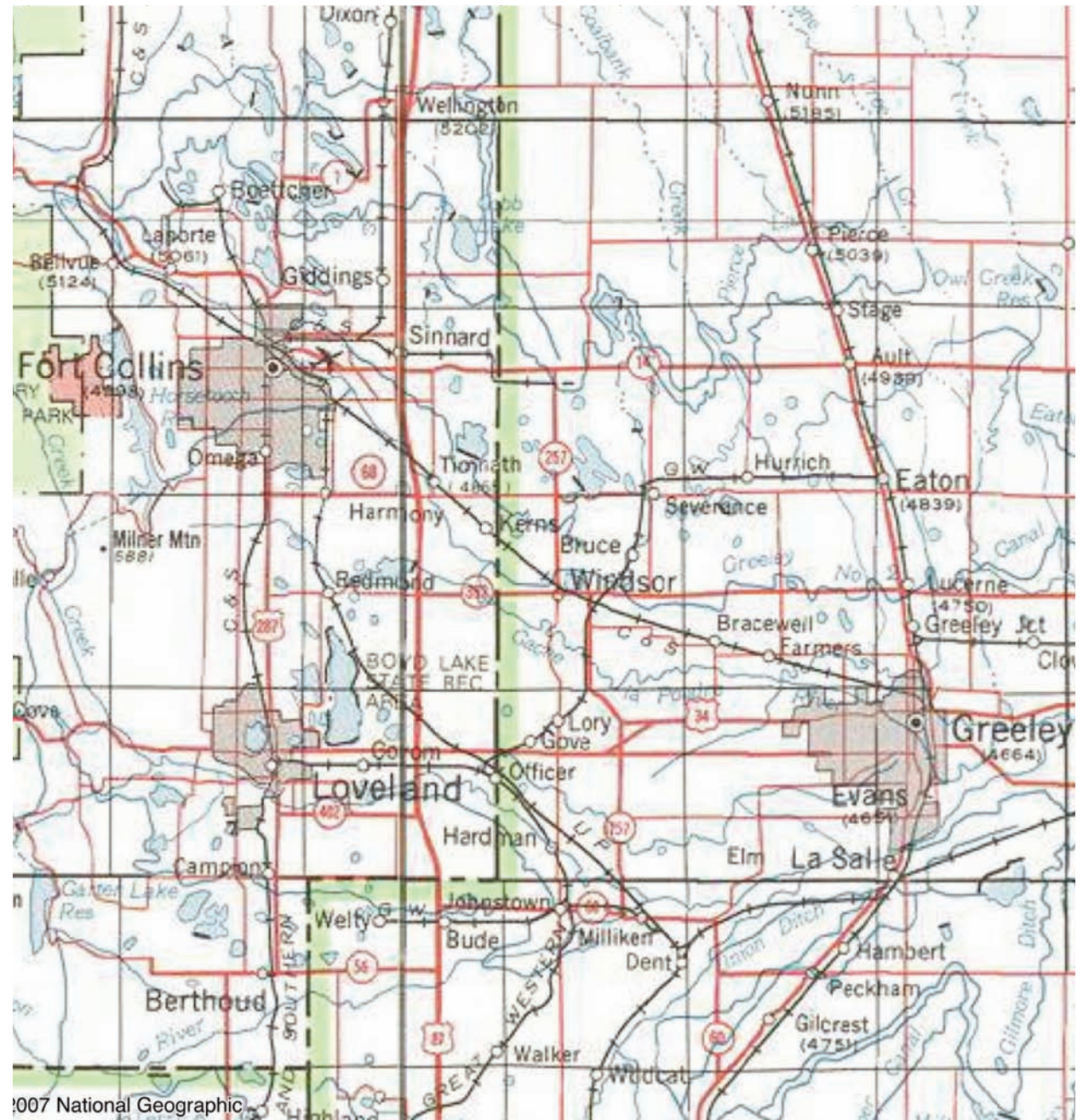
The survey area consisted of the portion of Windsor that historically served as its central business district, the 300 through 500 blocks of Main Street. As well, the survey area included those properties addressed in the 200 block of Third and Fourth streets as well as all properties with addresses in the 100 and 200 blocks of Fifth Street. This study area hosted

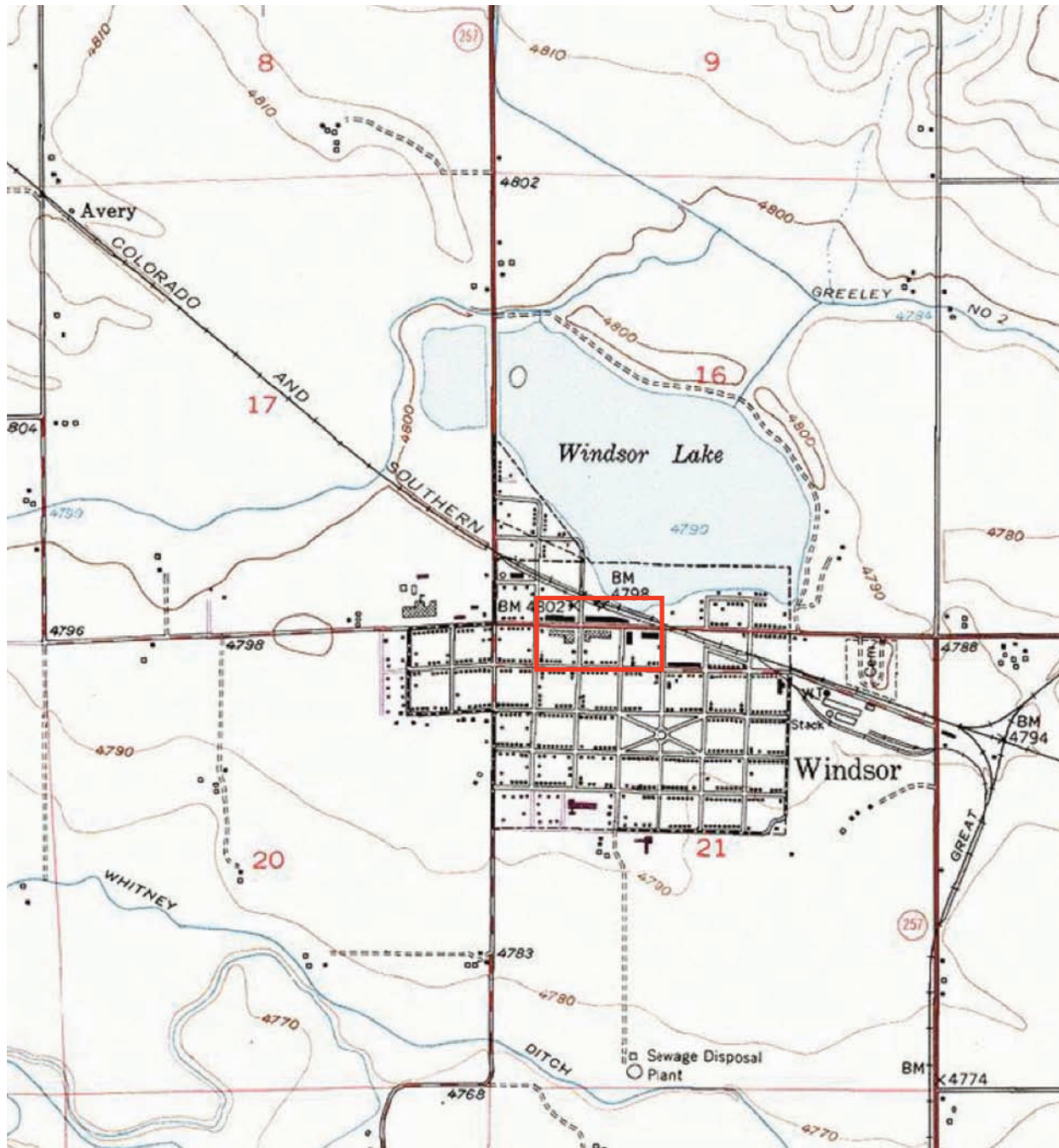
forty-eight individual properties.

Because Main Street overlays a section line, the survey area was situated in two different sections. The northern half of the project area was in section 16 and the southern half in section 21 of township 6 north, range 67 west. The survey area was depicted on United States Geological Survey (USGS) 7.5-minute topographic maps in the Windsor quadrangle (1969). The project area covered approximately nine acres.

Maps of the survey area are included on the following pages.

Map 1.1. This map shows the relative location of Windsor central to northern Colorado's major cities: Fort Collins, Greeley, and Loveland. This geographic location was a major influence on the development of the downtown. (USGS.)





Map 1.2. This segment of the USGS 7.5-minute topographic map for the Windsor quadrangle shows the geographic context of the Windsor area. The red rectangle represents the farthest extent of surveyed properties. A more precise demarcation of the survey boundaries is presented on map 1.3. (USGS.)

Map 1.3. This map depicts the survey area boundary in green. The blue polygons represent those properties that Historitecture inventoried as part of this project; the red polygons were previously listed in the National Register of Historic Places and thus were not surveyed. All site numbers on the map are preceded by the Weld County prefix "5WL." (*Town of Windsor/Historitecture.*)



SECTION 2

Research Design and Methods

GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

The major goal of this project was to acquire as much architectural and historical data as possible for properties in the downtown Windsor survey area, allowing Town staff and others to make sound preservation planning decisions about the central business district. Subordinate to this goal were several objectives:

- Inventory all properties in the survey area;
- Determine the significance and National Register/local landmark eligibility of all properties in the survey area;
- Analyze historic district potential and boundaries; and
- Develop a report summarizing the findings of the survey.

The scope of work's stated project purpose was to conduct an intensive level survey of at least forty buildings in downtown Windsor, prepare a survey report, an historical context, and an interpretative documentary on DVD.

SCOPE OF WORK

The Town of Windsor and the staff of the Colorado Historical Society's State Historical Fund developed the following scope of work for this project:

A. Research Tasks

1. Conduct background research.
2. Prepare historical and architectural context.
3. Research deed and abstract records, plat permits, etc.

B. Fieldwork

1. Conduct a field survey of at least forty buildings.
2. Take a minimum of three photographs of each building.

C. Survey Documentation

1. Complete field data and photography.
2. Complete OAHP Architectural Inventory Forms for each property.
3. Finalize survey boundary map.
4. Prepare USGS map.
5. Determine designation eligibility for resources.
6. Prepare survey report.

D. Video Production

1. Produce DVD with narration and music.

E. Presentation

1. Present approved report and DVD to Town at a public meeting.
2. Screen DVD at a "Premier Night" fund-raising event.

In accordance with section 12 -47.1-12-1 C.R.S. (1999) The limited Gaming Act which authorizes the Colorado Historical Society to administer the State Historical Fund as a statewide grants program.

FILE SEARCH AND PREVIOUS WORK

The first step in this survey project was to determine the extent and results of previous surveys and nominations within the survey area. Historitecture requested an official search of OAHP files, which was conducted on September 6, 2007. The file search determined that six properties in the project area had been previously surveyed, dating to between 1987 and 2005.

Of the forty-eight properties in the survey area, two were previously listed in the National Register of Historic Places. The Colorado Historical Society and the U.S. Department of the Interior listed the Windsor Milling & Elevator Company flour mill, at 301 Main Street (SWL.838), on September 3, 1998, and the old Windsor Town Hall, at 116 Fifth Street (SWL.2050), on January 15, 1999.

Four other properties were previously surveyed but not listed in the National Register. An unnamed consultant or organization surveyed the Telephone Company Building (Mountain States Telephone & Telegraph Company Windsor Exchange), at 217 Fifth Street (SWL.834), in 1982, and the Windsor-Severance Historical Society, Inc., repeated the task in 1997. Surveyors determined the property field not eligible on both occasions. This survey concurs with that determination. However, the building may be eligible as a Windsor landmark.

The Windsor-Severance Historical Society also surveyed

the Dr. Porter House, at 530 Main Street (SWL.2464), in 1997 and determined it field eligible. This survey concurs with that determination.

Also in 1997, the Windsor-Severance Historical Society surveyed the Windsor Hospital, at 216 Fifth Street (SWL.2525) and determined it field eligible. This survey again concurs with that determination.

Lastly, an unnamed consultant or organization surveyed the Dr. Gormly House, at 230 Fifth Street (SWL.3172), in 1998, finding it field eligible. While Historitecture did not find that the property retained sufficient physical integrity to convey its historical significance, it did find the house field eligible as a Windsor landmark.

The study area contained no existing historic districts.

Field determinations of National Register eligibility are not official determinations and are subject to change, particularly if the determination was made prior to extensive yet unrecorded modifications, which would affect physical integrity, or the revelation of further historical and architectural data, which would affect significance.

METHODS

This survey was organized in three major steps: fieldwork, archival research, and form completion.

Fieldwork

The first step was to physically visit each property to record its architectural features, photograph as many elevations of each building as possible, and interview the property owner or resident, when practical. A hand-held global positioning satellite receiver was used to pinpoint universal trans-

TABLE 2.1: FILE SEARCH RESULTS

| Site Number | Property Name | Address | National Register Eligibility | District Eligibility |
|-------------|---|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| 5WL.834 | Telephone Company Building | 217 Fifth Street | Field Not Eligible | Not Assessed |
| 5WL.838 | Windsor Milling & Elevator Company Flour Mill | 301 Main Street | Listed 9/2/1998 | Not Assessed |
| 5WL.2050 | Windsor Town Hall | 116 Fifth Street | Listed 1/15/1999 | Not Assessed |
| 5WL.2464 | Dr. Porter House | 530 Main Street | Field Eligible | Not Assessed |
| 5WL.2525 | Windsor Hospital | 216 Fifth Street | Field Eligible | Not Assessed |
| 5WL.3172 | Dr. Gormly House | 230 Fifth Street | Field Eligible | Not Assessed |

NOTE: Determinations of National Register eligibility and district status are subject to change, particularly if the determination was made prior to extensive yet unrecorded modifications, which would affect physical integrity, or the revelation of further historical and architectural data, which would affect significance.

mercator (UTM) coordinates. During the fieldwork, archaeological potential was not considered because this was an architectural survey.

Historitecture first surveyed properties on Main Street, beginning in the 300 block and working westward to the end of the 500 block. The consultant then recorded properties on Fourth and Fifth streets, working north to south. Because this is a commercial district, Historitecture was able to record the exposed elevations of nearly every principal and secondary building.

Archival Research

Because of a paucity of local historical sources and the difficulty researching property records at the Weld County Clerk and Recorder's office, Historitecture relied heavily on historic newspaper articles, Sanborn maps, and telephone directories. This necessarily meant that the histories generally followed building occupants rather than owners. Since this was a commercial district where property rentals were the norm, occupant histories were generally more important in establishing significance anyhow.

Biographical information came from a variety of sources,

including U.S. Census records, obituaries, historic newspaper articles, published biographies, and Windsor's two principal histories, Roy Ray's *Highlights in the History of Windsor, Colorado: Golden Jubilee Edition* (Windsor: The Press of *The Poudre Valley*, 1940) and Mary Alice Lindblad's *A Walk Through Windsor, 1940-1980* (Windsor, published by the author, 1980).

Form Completion

The final step, form completion, was to combine the fieldwork and archival research onto the Colorado Cultural Resource Survey Architectural Inventory Form (OAHF 1403, revised September 1998). Historitecture generated a form for each property, with appropriate photographs and maps attached.

THE PROCEDURE

Assisted by Field Technician Jeffrey DeHerrera and Intern Research Historian Rachel Kline, Historitecture Architectural Historian Adam Thomas began this intensive-level, comprehensive survey on August 4, 2007, and completed the fieldwork on April 29, 2008.

Photographs were captured on an Canon EOS Rebel digital camera with ten megapixel resolution. They were printed according to the National Register's seventy-five-year archival standard by way of a an Epson Stylus Photo 1400 inkjet printer. This included black and gray Claria inks on four-by-six-inch Epson Ultra Premium glassy photo paper. The photos were saved as four-by-six-inch, 300 pixel-per-inch images, in tagged image file format (TIFF, file extension ".tif") and burned onto a 300-year, archival compact disc.

Forms were compiled and generated in Archbase, a File-Maker database.

Determination of Survey Area

Windsor Town officials left the number of properties surveyed and the exact survey area boundaries open, per scope of work elements B1 and C3. The Town only stipulated that the survey include all properties from the 300 through 500 blocks of Main Street. More latitude surrounded those properties in the 200 blocks of Third and Fourth Streets, and the 100 and 200 blocks of Fifth Street. Historitecture determined that it would survey properties in those blocks that specifically had Third, Fourth, or Fifth Street addresses. This resulted in the current inventory of forty-eight total properties, two of which were not surveyed because they were already listed in the National Register of Historic Places.

Determination of Significance

Historitecture assessed downtown Windsor properties for their historical and architectural significance and, thus, their individual eligibility for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, the Colorado State Register of Historic Properties, and as Windsor landmarks. Initially, in consideration of Na-

tional Register eligibility, Historitecture ranked each parcel on a scale that considered the combined levels of historical significance and physical integrity, based on the four National Register criteria of significance and seven standards of integrity. In turn, Historitecture applied local criteria for local landmark eligibility. Those rankings were, from low (not significant, low physical integrity) to high (very significant, high physical integrity):

- Not individually eligible
- Individually eligible, local landmark; and
- Individually eligible, National Register.

LOCAL LANDMARK ELIGIBILITY. Town of Windsor Landmark significance criteria are as follows:

1. Architectural:

- a Exemplifies specific elements of an architectural style or period.
- b) Example of the work of an architect or builder who is recognized for expertise nationally, statewide, regionally or locally.
- c) Demonstrates superior craftsmanship or high artistic value.
- d) Represents an innovation in construction, materials or design.
- e) Style is particularly associated with the Windsor/Northern Colorado area.
- f) Represents a built environment of a group of people in an era of history.
- g) Pattern or grouping of elements representing at least one (1) of the above criteria.
- h) Significant historic remodel.

2. Social:

- a) Site of historic event that had an effect upon society.
- b) Exemplifies cultural, political, economic or social heritage of the community.
- c) An association with a notable person or the work of a notable person.

3. Geographic/Environmental:

- a) Enhances the sense of identity of the community.
- b) An established and familiar natural setting or visual feature of the community.

Also considered is a property's physical integrity, which must reflect at least one of the following categories:

- 1. Shows character, interest or value as part of the development, heritage or cultural characteristics of the community, region, state or nation.
- 2. Retains original design features, materials and/or character.
- 3. Original location or same historic context after having been moved.
- 4. Has been accurately reconstructed or restored based on documentation.

STATE REGISTER ELIGIBILITY. The Colorado General Assembly established the Colorado State Register of Historic Properties by statute in 1975. The State Register became an active program in 1991 and is a listing of the state's significant cultural resources worthy of preservation for the future education and enjoyment of Colorado's residents and visitors. The State Register program is administered by the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation (OAHP) within the Colorado Historical Society. The Society maintains an official list of all properties included in the State Register. Properties that are listed in the National Register of Historic Places are automatically placed in

the State Register. Properties may also be nominated separately to the State Register without inclusion in the National Register. The criteria for listing are as follows:

Significance in history, architecture, archeology, and culture is present in buildings, sites, structures, objects, districts, and areas that possess integrity of location, setting, design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and that meet one or more of the following criteria:

- A. The property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to history; or
- B. The property is connected with persons significant in history; or
- C. The property has distinctive characteristics of a type, period, method of construction or artisan; or
- D. The property has geographic importance; or
- E. The property contains the possibility of important discoveries related to prehistory or history.

NATIONAL REGISTER ELIGIBILITY. The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, created the National Register of Historic Places, which the National Park Service administers. Criteria for National Register eligibility are set forth in Title 36, Part 60, of the Code of Federal Regulations and are summarized as follows:

The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and:

- A. That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
- B. That are associated with the lives of persons significant in

- our past; or
- C. That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
 - D. That have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

In addition to the criteria listed above, the National Register requires some additional considerations before a property can be listed:

Ordinarily cemeteries, birthplaces, graves of historical figures, properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes, structures that have been moved from their original locations, reconstructed historic buildings, properties primarily commemorative in nature, and properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years shall not be considered eligible for the National Register. However, such properties will qualify if they are integral parts of districts that do meet the criteria or if they fall within the following categories:

- a. A religious property deriving primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance; or
- b. A building or structure removed from its original location but which is primarily significant for architectural value, or which is the surviving structure most importantly associated with a historic person or event; or
- c. A birthplace or grave of a historical figure of outstanding importance if there is no appropriate site or building associated with his or her productive life; or
- d. A cemetery that derives its primary importance from

graves of persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events; or

- e. A reconstructed building when accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other building or structure with the same association has survived; or
- f. A property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own exceptional significance; or
- g. A property achieving significance within the past 50 years if it is of exceptional importance. In general, properties achieving significance within the past 50 years are not considered eligible for individual listing in the National Register.

DETERMINATION OF DISTRICT ELIGIBILITY

Because no historic district previously existed in Windsor, Historitecture assessed none of the properties for their ability to contribute to an existing historic district. As for a potential district, Windsor's downtown represents a geographically definable area possessing a significant concentration of buildings united by their historical associations, particularly the commercial development of the community. However, the district lacks physical integrity and, therefore, architectural association because more than half of the downtown façades were remade in the 1970s and later, mostly in the Windsor German Old-World motif style.

SECTION 3

Historical and Architectural Context

INTRODUCTION: THE STRUGGLE FOR IDENTITY

Around noon on May 22, 2008, a massive tornado blasted a mile-wide path of destruction through Weld and Larimer counties on its way to the Wyoming border. The catastrophe was particularly devastating to a place most people in the United States had never even heard of—Windsor, Colorado. The town was at the forefront of the news cycle; its name echoing in houses across America. For one of the few times in its history, the identity of Windsor was clear and well-known.

The twister demolished two floors of the old flour mill, perhaps the town's most prominent geographic and historical landmark. It also severely damaged the old Town Hall, another landmark. But the tornado largely spared the two blocks of Main Street containing Windsor's historic downtown. This was not the first time downtown struggled with a disaster and survived; it has weathered its fair share of storms, both natural and manmade.

Windsor always has been a town in between: in between storms, in between economic and political cycles, in between fads and fashion. It is geographically in between northern Colorado's principal cities: Fort Collins and Greeley. The town was always in between corporations as well, from the Lake Ditch Supply Company, through the Great Western Sugar Company to Eastman Kodak. And always left in between has led to a struggle for identity.

Many small towns across America struggled to define themselves—to create a unique identity. But the problem was always much more pronounced in Windsor. The struggle perplexed and consumed generations of Windsorites and even manifested itself in the downtown's built environment. So acute was the struggle for identity that Windsor even remade itself into a quaint German village in the 1970s. This is the story of downtown Windsor's quest to differentiate itself from all other places in America and how that struggle ultimately expressed itself on its buildings and streets.

AGRICULTURAL COLONIES: THE ROOTS OF WINDSOR

The history of Windsor was intimately tied to the agricultural colony movement in Colorado, though the town was itself never one of those colonies. In October 1869, Horace Greeley, flamboyant founder and editor of the *New York Tribune*, sent agricultural editor Nathan Cook Meeker on a fact-finding mission through several Western states and territories. No other place provided Meeker with as much inspiration as the Colorado Territory, where he found friendly people, breath-taking mountain vistas, and seemingly limitless opportunity. Just a few years before Meeker's visit, in October 1865, Cheyenne and Arapaho tribes ceded their claims to the land, opening the region to Euro-American settlement.¹ Only a few years later, the prospect of purchasing or homesteading fer-

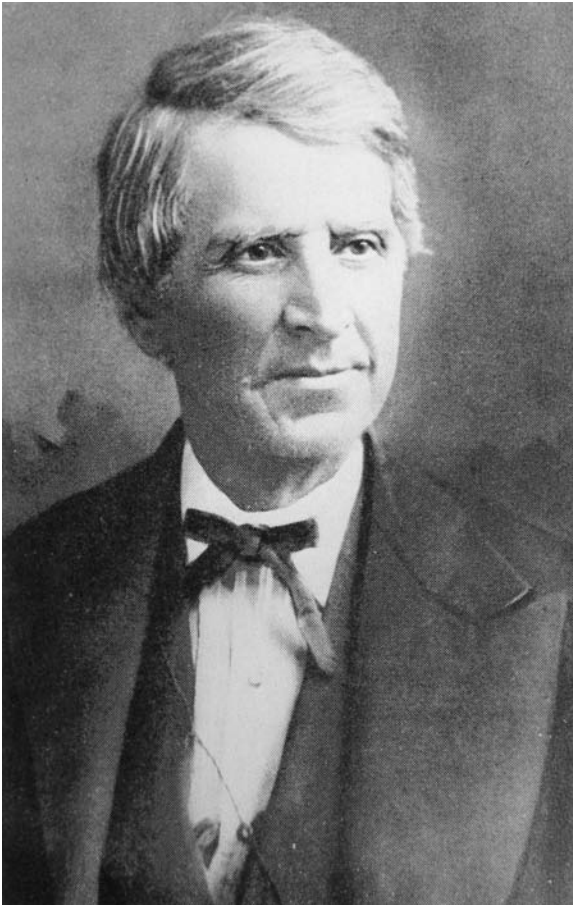


Figure 3.1. Nathan Meeker, founder of the Union Colony, now Greeley. (*City of Greeley Museums.*)

tile pieces of land at relatively low prices inspired Meeker. A student of and former participant in the utopian movement, he shared his vision with readers of the *New York Tribune* in 1869:

I propose to unite with the proper persons for the establishment of a colony in Colorado Territory[.] The persons with whom I would be willing to associate must be temperance people, ambitious to establish a good society[.] Whatever professions and occupations enter into the formation of an intelligent, educated and thrifty community, should be embraced by this colony, and it should be the object to exhibit what is best in modern civilization[.] Persons wishing to unite in such a colony will please address me at the *Tribune* office, stating their occupation, and the value of the property which they could take with them.²

Meeker received an overwhelming 3,000 responses from individuals hoping to take part in his venture; he later narrowed the pool to just 700. Following a meeting at New York's Cooper Union Building on December 23, 1869, the group formed a joint-stock colonization company, christened the Union Colony, with Meeker as president, Robert A. Cameron as vice president, and Horace Greeley as treasurer. The company proceeded to send a locating committee, including Meeker, to the Colorado Territory to find a suitable site for the new community. By March 1870, the committee decided to locate the settlement just west of the confluence of the Cache la Poudre and South Platte rivers. Using \$155 in fees collected from each colonist, the company purchased 12,000 acres from

various individuals and the Denver Pacific Railroad (now the Union Pacific Railroad's Denver-Cheyenne line).³

Union Colony began taking shape in May 1870 when the first group of around fifty families arrived at the preselected site. They immediately began digging ditches to irrigate their crops and constructed a fence around the entire colony to protect fields and gardens from roaming cattle. The colonists worked diligently to establish their colony and adjust to the arid climate of the "Great American Desert."

After only a year, the colony boasted around 400 homes, a community hall, library, two brick-constructed business blocks, and several churches. The resulting town was named Greeley in honor of Meeker's editor and mentor at the *New York Tribune*; it was officially incorporated as a city in 1886. The original plat for the city extended from Island Grove Park (on the north) to Sixteenth Street (on the south) between First and Fourteenth Avenues (on the east and west).⁴

Meanwhile, to the northwest of what would become Windsor, another agricultural colony had acquired an abandoned military compound from the War Department and planned to redevelop it as a townsite. Like the Union Colony, the Fort Collins Agricultural Colony sought men "of good moral character." The colony offered an array of membership options that included a town lot, farmland, or both. By 1873, the colony already boasted a number of substantial houses and commercial buildings under construction.⁵

But these agricultural colonies were more than just townsites; they included hundreds of acres of farm and ranch lands that extended for miles in all directions from Greeley and Fort Collins. Colonists used the Homestead Act and other land-grant legislation to further increase their property holdings, eventually spreading a layer of very sparse settlement but rich

cultivation far from the colony centers. Thus they needed new, more convenient shipping points on expanding railroad lines. As the *Fort Collins Courier* noted with the establishment of Windsor, "It is a mile and a quarter from the Greeley colony fence, and the farmers of this end of that colony will furnish no small supply of the future patronage of the coming town."⁶

One of the original Union Colonists who eventually settled on the hinterland between Greeley and Fort Collins was Edward Hollister, who purchased from the federal government an eighty-acre portion of section twenty, west of what is now downtown Windsor, receiving his land patent on June 10, 1872. By 1878, he homesteaded an additional eighty acres in the same section.⁷ Hollister was born in Broome County, New York, around 1820 and moved with his parents, brothers, and extended family to Springfield, Michigan, by 1850, where they farmed. His wife, Charlotte R., was also born in New York around 1827. They had two daughters Minnie G. and Charlotte I. Edward moved to Colorado with the original Union Colonists in 1870, and sent for the rest of his family later that year.⁸ As the *Denver Sunday Times* later described it:

Among the sturdy little band of colonists who pushed forward into the wilds of the "Great West" that year was a man by the name of Edward Hollister. Endowed with a spirit of enterprise above the ordinary, this man secured two sections of land in what is now the extreme west-central portion of Weld county, and in the rich and fertile Cache la Poudre Valley.⁹

Along with Edward's homestead claims, his wife obtained an eighty-acre parcel in 1872 and homesteaded another

eighty-acre plot in 1879. The Hollisters became large landowners, including almost all of present-day Windsor south of Main Street. But tragedy kept Edward Hollister from seeing his embryonic townsite develop into a bustling community. On a trip to Fort Collins in the fall of 1888, Hollister was "run over by the cars" and died from his injuries. What the newspaper meant by "the cars" is unclear, but it most likely referred to railroad cars since automobiles would have been exceptionally rare and streetcars did not arrive until 1907. Charlotte Hollister died in December 1891. Their daughters, Charlotte and Minnie, remained spinsters, residing in Denver for the rest of their lives. Thus there are no living, direct descendants of Windsor's founder.¹⁰

The Hollisters were one of a handful of dry-land farmers and stock raisers who braved the wide-open expanse between what were fast becoming northern Colorado's principal cities. As Fort Collins and Greeley grew, it was inevitable that a road and stagecoach line should connect them, and these roads required services in this untamed hinterland. One of the first and only settlers in this area was L.J. (also noted as J.L.) Hilton, who operated a ranch near the Weld-Larimer county line since 1873. It is unclear whether the road came to Hilton's door or if he chose the location based on the road. Regardless, his modest ranch home soon became a "halfway house" inn. The place was known as a "road ranch," where weary travelers, their horses, and livestock could find rest and sustenance. It was also a stage station, where Greeley-Fort Collins stagecoaches swapped teams. The stage station also hosted a United States Post Office known as New Liberty. In 1899, the *Fort Collins Courier* provided this memory of the place:

If its walls had possessed ears and tongues, it could

have told of the celebration of many a high old jinx when the cowboys of the period, and the timber haulers from below, met beneath its hospitable roof. Mr. Hilton was a generous host, and nobody ever left his house suffering from hunger or thirst.¹¹

In 1877, Hilton sold his property to Julius Weller, who maintained it until 1882, when a modern railroad parallel to the dusty road rendered the inn unnecessary.

IRRIGATION AND RAILROADS: THE PERFECT TOWNSITE

Perhaps no other prospective townsite in Colorado was so centrally located between such nearly identical cities. Greeley and Fort Collins were both the results of the agricultural colony movement. Both were important agricultural and transportation centers in early Colorado. Moreover, both were county seats. Most unusual of all, both Greeley and Fort Collins hosted public institutions of higher education, which were exceedingly rare elsewhere in the state. The Colorado Agricultural and Mechanical Arts College, now Colorado State University, opened in 1879 in Fort Collins. A year later the Colorado State Normal School, now the University of Northern Colorado, first convened in Greeley.¹² Despite this ideal location relative to northern Colorado's principal cities, the area remained quite remote and inhospitable, particularly for farming. Thus the actual townsite of Windsor was the direct result of the confluence of two of the most transformative human enterprises in Colorado and the West: irrigation and railroads.

Dominating the landscape and history of Windsor was a large reservoir just north of downtown, first known as Lake

Hollister and after 1900 as Kern Reservoir or Windsor Lake. Even before the construction of the reservoir in the early 1880s, early explorers and settlers knew the area as a particularly low-lying and marshy spot. Roy Ray provides this description in his *Highlights in the History of Windsor*: "It was just a swale, used as a wallow by the buffalo—merely a natural reservoir site which the settler had no more idea would one day become an important water storage basin than that the tiny settlement he was forming would some day be a town."¹³

Irrigation radically altered the lower Cache la Poudre River Valley, making Windsor a reality. Before irrigation, the cultivation of most crops was possible only in the lush but limited river bottoms. The vast, arid grasslands beyond could support livestock, but little else. With irrigation, Windsor became the center of an expansive farming and livestock-feeding empire that made the town a natural agricultural processing hub. Farmers principally grew oats, barley, and alfalfa, but the area later became known for its potatoes and sugar beets. Windsor also was an important early cattle and sheep shipping center.¹⁴

Lake Hollister was the key water-storage feature of the Lake Supply Ditch Company. Its principal members were prominent Fort Collins farmer and stock raiser Alex Barry and Windsor-area farmers C.M. McKelvey and L.S. Springer.¹⁵ The reservoir they funded and constructed was one of the earliest in northern Colorado and held the first priority of appropriation from the Cache la Poudre River in the third water district.¹⁶ Settling lingering water-rights disputes that plagued Colorado's early irrigation projects, district court Judge Christian A. Bennett reaffirmed Windsor Lake's first priority in December 1903.¹⁷ But like the town that rose on its southern shore, Lake Hollister suffered from an identity crisis. It is clear from early maps and legal records that the Lake Supply Ditch Com-

pany referred to its principal reservoir as Lake Hollister. Beginning around the turn of the twentieth century, however, the Hollister name disappears and locals referred to the lake interchangeably as both Windsor Lake and Kern Lake or Reservoir. The latter name was in honor of Lewis Kern, a pioneer Windsor-area farmer who became a local land and irrigation baron. Indeed, the Lake Supply Ditch Company later reorganized as the Kern Reservoir and Ditch Company. By mid-century, Kern Reservoir appears to have been the preferred name. This may have been an attempt to avoid confusion with the later Windsor Reservoir, located about three miles due north of town. Yet by the 1960s, it was again known almost exclusively as Windsor Lake and at present the United States Geological Survey records no other name than Windsor Lake for this water feature.¹⁸

Yet even with the best irrigation, a townsite was impossible without reliable transportation. In the early 1870s, the Colorado Central Railroad (CC), with the financial backing of the Union Pacific Railroad (UP), embarked upon an expansion project in northern Colorado under various railroad names. The CC first built northward from its hub in Golden to a proposed junction with the UP's mainline at Julesburg. But construction stopped at Longmont as UP weathered the financial panic of 1873. The railroad resumed construction in 1877, this time building southward from Cheyenne, Wyoming, through Fort Collins. Union Pacific leased the Colorado Central in 1879. Beginning around 1880, UP, through its Greeley, Salt Lake & Pacific Railway (GSL&P) franchise, surveyed a route connecting Greeley to Fort Collins in nearly a straight line. It was completed in 1882.

In 1890, Union Pacific consolidated its various holdings in Colorado, including the GSL&P, as the Union Pacific, Denver &

Gulf (UPD&G). But the UP entered receivership during the massive economic panic of 1893. The reorganization committees of Union Pacific's Colorado holdings—the UPD&G and the Denver, Leadville & Gunnison—sold the railroads at foreclosure in 1898, creating the Colorado & Southern Railway (C&S). The Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad, also known as the Burlington Route, acquired a controlling interest in the Colorado & Southern in 1908, but on the whole the C&S retained its own, separate identity. Burlington later became Burlington Northern, and the Burlington Northern Santa Fe. BNSF Railway currently maintains the railroad through Windsor.¹⁹

Strangely, this particular stretch of track soon became notorious for derailments, collisions with pedestrians, and all manner of wrecks. The worst occurred in the early morning hours of August 29, 1884. The prior evening Orton's Anglo-American Circus had completed a run in Fort Collins and a Union Pacific locomotive was pulling the company's train to its next destination in Greeley. Behind the locomotive was the circus's bunk car, where performers and laborers slumbered in the wee hours of the morning. The car was slightly longer than a standard box car of the era and was fitted with berths along the wall, each tier barely wide enough to fit a grown man. The *Rocky Mountain News* described the incident in horrifying detail:

In that car packed sardine fashion were seventy-five men. There was a door at each end but the front door was blocked with two barrels of gasoline and one of naptha [petroleum ether, a highly combustible industrial solvent]. The rear door was blocked with a pile of canvas. A number of windows in the sides of the car afforded ventilation. In the for-

ward end of the car a torch blazed up brilliantly and two men, one named George Smith, the other Tom Silverthorn, sat on stools with a board between them on their laps playing cards.

Suddenly there was an explosion heard. In the whole car was lurid flames. A barrel of gasoline had exploded. The fluid was thrown all over the car. Men sprang from their berths shrieking, and a perfect pandemonium reigned. Some seized blankets and wrapped themselves up and crawled under the bunks, feeling themselves secure. Others rushed for the doors only to fall and perish when they found their egress barred. Others strove to reach the windows, but could not.

The flames soon forced themselves through the car warning the engineer of what had occurred. He began to sound his whistle, and detaching his engine ran forward out of the way of the burning car. The train checked up. The engine was backed and a chain attached to the burning car, which was soon detached from [the rest of] the train. By this time the rear door of the bunk car had been forced open and men covered with burning oil came tumbling out, shrieking, swearing and yelling.

The car was run forward from the rest of the train. When it had come to a standstill, and the chain thrown off, circus employees from other cars came swarming out and rendered what assistance they could. There was no water, and, in short, no means

of fighting the flames.

The results of the accident were horrific. Dozens were severely burned, seven "so badly scorched...that their recovery is extremely doubtful." Ten men "slowly roasted to death." At an inquest held later that day, the Weld County Coroner cleared the railroad of any wrong doing, but refused to specifically exonerate the circus company, which paid for all expenses and buried most of the dead in Greeley.²⁰

Despite the dark side of the railroad, steel rails provided a connection with the rest of the country. The presence or lack of a railroad could make or break a high plains town. With the construction of the Greeley, Salt Lake & Pacific Railroad, Edward Hollister and his neighbor to the north, the Lake Supply Ditch Company, realized that they owned land ideally suited for the development of a town. The place was nearly equidistance between Greeley and Fort Collins. Moreover, the railroad flanked the southern shore of the company's principal reservoir, providing an ideal place to build a resort. Hollister and the Lake Supply Ditch Company wasted no time. They hired H.P. Handy to survey and plat a townsite, which he completed on November 20, 1882.²¹

Handy's plat was particularly intriguing for its asymmetry and unusual location of Main Street. Planners of small towns on the Great Plains typically aligned Main Street perpendicular to, or less often, parallel to the railroad. Streets were then arranged on an even grid of blocks extending from the depot or adjacent downtown. Windsor was different. Handy positioned Main Street on the line dividing section sixteen, to the north, from section twenty-one, to the south. This crammed Main Street against the diagonally running railroad right-of-way and the irregular shore of Lake Hollister. Thus, the princi-

pal downtown building lots on the north side of Main Street were irregularly shaped. Had Handy platted the thoroughfare a few hundred feet south, building lots on both sides of the Main Street would have been identical.

But the reason for the unusual alignment of Windsor's principal street was due most likely to the governing rules of the Union Colony. Members were expected to be avowed teetotalers in the spirit of Horace Greeley and Nathan Meeker. The rules of the colony forbade the manufacturing, selling, or even consumption of "intoxicating liquors" by any of its members on any of its land. Moreover, if members sold their property, colony covenants required them to place this restriction on their deeds. Hollister's land holdings represented the northernmost extent of the colony. Yet the Lake Supply Ditch Company, on the north side of the section line, was not beholden to any such restrictions. Thus the location of Main Street may have been a very savvy business decision. Hollister could maintain the rules of the Union Colony while developing a vibrant commercial district, allowing the Lake Supply Ditch Company to attract those businesses purveying alcohol. This was not simply a desire to attract saloons; most hotels relied more on liquor revenues than room rents. If the fledgling town were to survive, it would have to have a hotel. Indeed the Hotel de Harris, the first and for many years only hotel in Windsor, was situated on the north side of Main Street. Yet because Union Colony pioneers dominated the board of town trustees for decades, Windsor maintained a prohibition law into the 1930s. However, town officials appear to have either turned a blind-eye toward or grandfathered in the Hotel de Harris.

Nothing about early Windsor is more steeped in mythology than the source of the town's name, and nothing is more symbolic of the town's struggle for identity. There are two prin-

cipal traditions. The first and less likely was that the town was named for the Windsor Hotel in Denver. Before 1900 the Windsor Hotel was one of the most popular hostelrys in Colorado's capital city and the intermountain West. But it remains unclear why the town would have been named for the hotel. The second and more popular theory is that Windsor was named in honor of a visiting Methodist preacher, who conducted the first church services in the embryonic town. Roy Ray is the most often quoted source of the story (but not its inventor):

So far as records are concerned, it is not known by what method the town was given the name—Windsor. It is known, however, that it was named after the Rev. Samuel Asa Windsor, a visiting pastor from Fort Collins, who was conducting services for the First Methodist church here. It is said that he overheard a conversation as to the name for the town, and jokingly remarked, "Why not name it after me?" By common consent, the town was so named.²²

Ray's story has two major flaws. First, while the Rev. Samuel Asa Windsor was indeed a Methodist minister from Fort Collins, he spelled his last name "Winsor," without the "d." Second, tradition maintains that Rev. Winsor conducted the first church services in the village at the H.D. Seckner store on New year's Day 1883. Handy's November 1881 survey map is clearly entitled, "Plat for Record of the Town of Windsor, Weld County, Colorado." Moreover, an article in the *Fort Collins Courier* mentions the January 1, 1883, church service under the heading "Windsor Winnowings." Thus, the village clearly was known as "Windsor" well *before* Rev. Winsor ever arrived there.²³

The myth of the source of Windsor's name probably stemmed from the town's pioneer Justice of the Peace George J. Rowe's brief 1893 history of Windsor, which he wrote as editor of the "New Windsor Tribune," a weekly feature of the *Greeley Tribune*. He wrote inaccurately that the town "was laid out in 1885 by H.P. Handy," yet he was correct in reporting that the Seckner store opened in 1882. Thus, Rowe's error set up a situation in which Rev. Winsor's first service in the town occurred *before* it was platted and thus named.²⁴

Further complicating the history of the town's name was the railroad and post office. The Greeley, Salt Lake & Pacific Railroad initially labeled the station midway between Greeley and Fort Collins as "London," changing the name to Windsor in September 1882.²⁵ Before the arrival of the railroad, two different post offices served the few settlers in this area. One was located on the Lewis Kern farm, a place called Wheatland (now known as Kerns), where the future Colorado & Southern Railroad right-of-way would intersect the Weld-Larimer county line. The other was at the New Liberty stage stop on the road between Fort Collins and Greeley, south of Wheatland. With the arrival of the railroad and platting of the Windsor townsite, the New Liberty post office moved to the Seckner store.²⁶ Thus for a couple of years while the town was known as Windsor, the post office was in fact New Liberty. In January 1884, the postal department renamed the town's post office as "New Windsor."²⁷ Ray explains the inclusion of the word "new" based on an often-told tale for the naming of many Colorado towns:

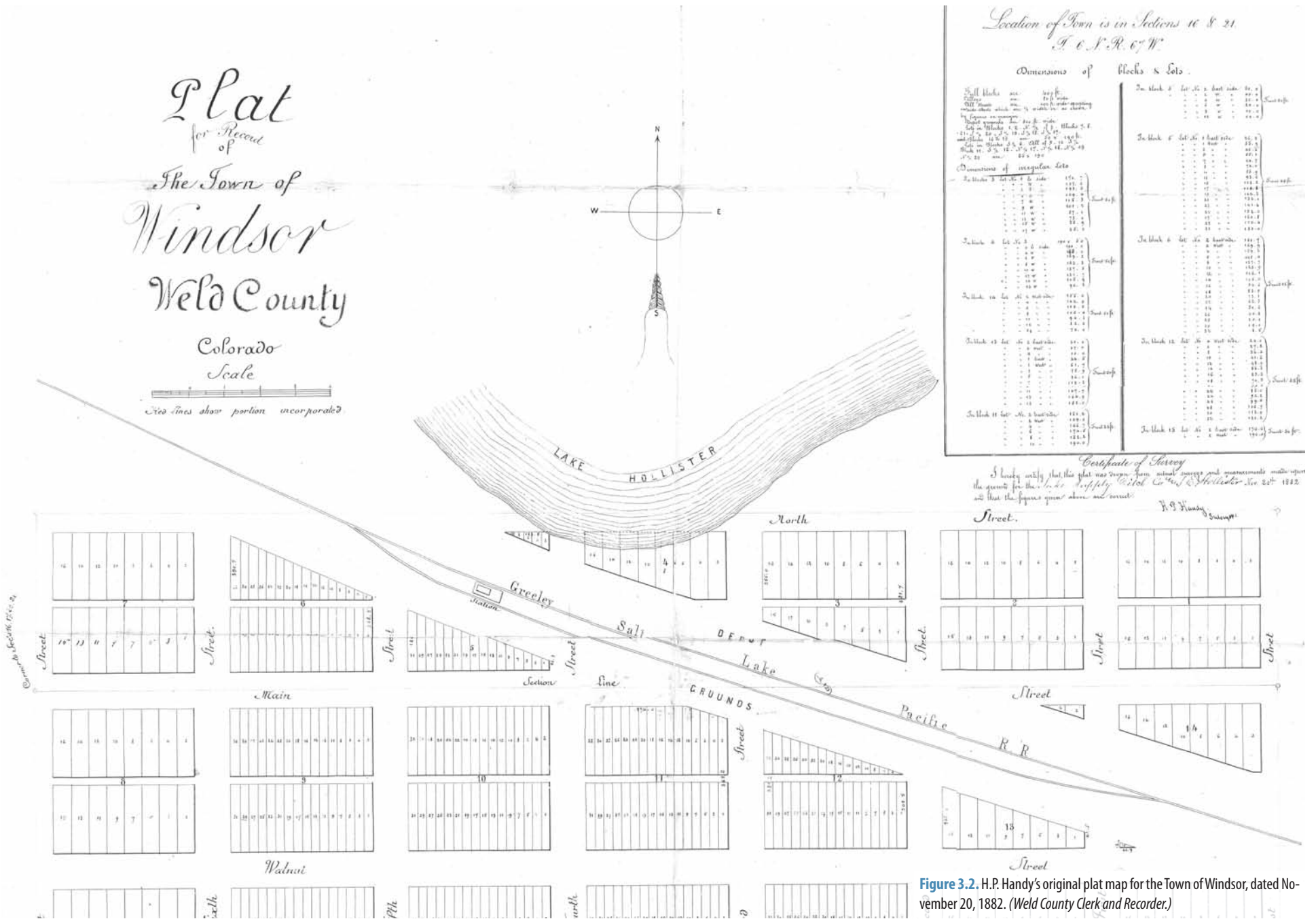
Contrary to the belief of many, the town was never known as "New Windsor," but the name of the post office was changed from Windsor to New Windsor because of the careless habit of so many in abbrevi-

ating the names of Colorado and California, "Col." and "Cal.," making their o's and a's so much alike that mail clerks had difficulty in determining where to send some pieces of mail. There was a Windsor, California, too.²⁸

Again, Ray offers a plausible but more complicated explanation than was really the case. At the time Hollister and the Lake Supply Ditch Company founded Windsor in Weld County, another Windsor already existed in Routt County, Colorado. Thus, the post office had to append "New" to Windsor's name to avoid confusing it with the state's other settlement of the same name. Many of Weld County's Windsorites found this situation particularly irritating. "Why will people persist in calling Windsor 'New Windsor?'" asked the editor of the *Windsor Leader* on June 16, 1899. "The post office is New Windsor, but the town is no more New Windsor than it is New York."²⁹ Windsor town and post office became united in name on October 1, 1911, long after Routt County's Windsor has vanished.³⁰

The most likely explanation for Windsor's name has to do with the town's founder, Edward Hollister. After all, Hollister was the earliest Anglo settler in this portion of the Cache la Poudre Valley. He had already lent his name to the reservoir and many other features in the area. Most likely it was Hollister who named the village in honor of his hometown, Windsor, New York.

With Hollister's name, plentiful water, and reliable, low-cost transportation, Windsor became a perfect townsite. And the railroad and irrigation company in Windsor actually worked in concert in the last two decades of the nineteenth century in developing a thriving seasonal industry. Each winter, the railroad shipped hundreds of tons of ice cut from Lake



Hollister (Windsor Lake) to Denver, where it used them for its own refrigerated box cars or sold them to the city's icehouses. By 1883, Union Pacific had spiked a switch and siding along one shore of the lake to obtain even more ice. Two years later, the Lake Supply Ditch Company shipped over 1,500 tons of ice from Windsor. By 1886 the lake produced over 2,000 tons of ice. The Union Pacific Railroad continued to demand more and more of the crystal product, as the *Fort Collins Courier* noted in January 1891:

Everybody in town and country is cutting and hauling ice. No danger of an ice famine this year. Lake Hollister is alive with men these days, sawing the congealed waters of the lake into blocks ready for hauling, and teams are coming and going all the time.

The Lake Supply Co. have a force of men and teams loading cars with ice for the Union Pacific railroad. They commenced last Thursday evening and have already (Monday evening) loaded fifty-five [railroad] cars. Their contract calls for 6,200 tons, which they can easily fill. The ice is in excellent condition and the days are pleasant so that no one suffers with cold while handling the icy product.³¹

Windsor Lake remained an important source of ice for Denver and the railroads until the evolution of mechanically produced ice after 1900 rendered the winter harvest unnecessary. Yet the town, its railroad, and its lake were destined to become something much more than a center of ice shipping.

EARLY WINDSOR: CENTER OF COMMERCE OR LAKESIDE RESORT?

Among early settlers, it was unclear what Windsor was supposed to be, and some pitched themselves in heated battle in Windsor's struggle for identity. For some it represented commercial opportunity—a point of interface between a vast agricultural hinterland and the railroad, which connected the hub to local, regional, and national markets. For others, Windsor was an ideal leisure resort, with a vast lake, plentiful hunting, and easy transportation.

Early Commercial Development

Tellingly, the first building erected in Windsor was a general store, which Herschel D. Seckner opened on December 11, 1882. It was a small, wood-frame building situated on the north side of Main Street, on what is now a vacant lot between 408 Main Street (5WL.5608) and 414 Main Street (5WL.5610). Seckner was born in New York state around 1852. His wife, Florence, was born in Michigan around 1855. Herschel appears to have made a career out of starting general merchandise stores in Colorado's prairie outposts and quickly selling them. Before opening his Windsor store, Seckner owned a business in Fort Collins. He was later ordained as a Methodist minister, becoming pastor of a church in Brush, Colorado, by 1910.³²

In Windsor, Seckner planted the seed for what would become the town's dominant retail enterprise for decades. On January 11, 1883, the *Fort Collins Courier* reported, "Seckner's new store is well stocked with general merchandise, and presents a new, neat and pretty appearance."³³ Despite the appearance of success, tradition maintains that Seckner quickly became disillusioned with the town's slow pace of develop-

ment and sold the business to Union Colony pioneer Lewis W. Teller, who was born around 1830 in New York state. Lewis's wife, Emma, was also born in New York, around 1831. They had at least five children: Sarah, Harrison, Mary, Emma, and Fred-eric. In October 1884, Lewis Teller, to devote more of his time to his position as Windsor's postmaster, sold the business to his son, Harrison "Harry" Teller, and son-in-law, Robert Hall. The following spring, Hall sold his share of the business to Otis Hill, and the Hill-Teller Mercantile Company was born.³⁴

Under the leadership of Otis Hill and Harry Teller, the firm boomed. They immediately constructed a grain elevator and potato warehouse south of and parallel to the Colorado & Southern Railway right-of-way in the 400 block of Main Street. The elevator was steam powered and had a capacity of 15,000 bushels. In January 1890, Hill and Teller reorganized their firm as the Windsor Mercantile Company. By the end of the decade, the store built the largest retail business block in the town.

Beyond the members of the Windsor Mercantile Company, perhaps no other person was more influential in the commercial development of early Windsor than John M. Cobbs. He was born in eastern Virginia on January 1, 1831, to Dr. J.P. and Jane M. (Garland) Cobbs. As a young man he left Virginia for the fertile farmland of northern Indiana. But Cobbs found himself swept up in Colorado's 1859 gold rush, toiling in the hard-rock mines for nearly three years before homesteading a quarter section on the Cache la Poudre River east of present-day Windsor. Here he developed one of the most prosperous cattle feeding operations in Weld County. Cobbs then invested his profits in Windsor's commercial development, building many of its existing commercial storefronts, including the J.M. Cobbs Building (406 Main Street, 5WL.5607); the Cobbs-Peterson Block (418-420 Main Street, 5WL.5613); and

the J.M. Cobbs Block (South) (425-427 Main Street, 5WL.5619 and 5WL.5621). His efforts in Windsor culminated in the establishment of the Farmer's State Bank, where he served as director and principal financier for five years.

Despite this public success, tragedy marked Cobbs's personal life. He was married three times; his first two wives dying in his arms. He also witnessed the deaths of all of his children.³⁵ Perhaps it was this tragedy fueled Cobb's sharp business acumen largely responsible for making Windsor a successful center of commerce. With his partner Walter J. Woodward, Cobbs opened a commission business in a small office in Windsor on October 27, 1882. The firm dealt in hay, grain, produce, coal, and farm implements. With the construction of a wood-frame storefront on the north side of Main Street's 400 block, Cobbs & Woodward evolved into a general merchandise store and commissary.³⁶ "Messrs. Cobbs & Woodward, both young men," notes the *Fort Collins Courier* in 1882, "[are] full of the energy that youth gives...."³⁷ Before 1884, Myron H. Laybourn joined the firm, which reorganized as Cobbs, Woodward & Company. That year, however, Woodward left the business to become the full-time station agent in Windsor. Again the firm reorganized, this time as Cobbs & Laybourn.³⁸

Myron H. Laybourn was well known locally as an inventor, but few of his ideas ever made it off the drawing board. But one invention, the Laybourn Portable Iron Flume, an irrigation device, hit it big and went into production in Denver. Thus Laybourn left his Windsor business but regained his old partner, Walter Woodward, who joined Laybourn as a representative and salesman for their Irrigation Machinery Company.³⁹ The device allowed farmers to redirect irrigation water away from permanent ditches, making the organization of fields and the selection of crops much easier to manage. With

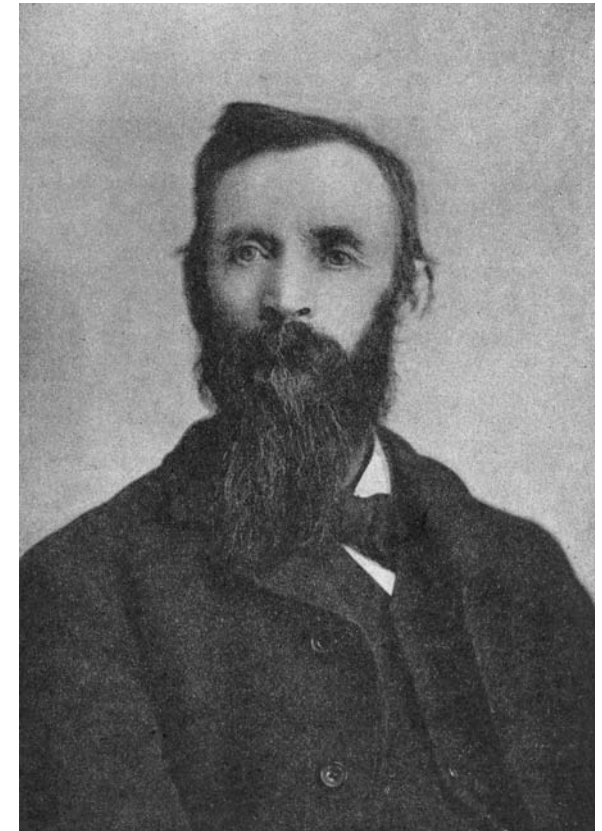


Figure 3.3. Weld County pioneer John M. Cobbs became one of Windsor's leading merchants. He was responsible for the construction of several business blocks in downtown. (Stone, *History of Colorado*.)



Figure 3.4. Advertisements for the Hotel de Harris promoted Windsor as a hunter's paradise. This particular advertisement appeared in the September 21, 1893, *Greeley Tribune*.

The Struggle for Identity: Windsor's Historic Downtown

Laybourn's departure, John Cobbs sold a controlling share in his business to Windsor pioneer Frank L. Weller, the firm reorganizing as the Weller-Cobbs Merchandise Company.

Resort Development

Opposing Otis Hill, Harry Teller, John Cobbs and their ilk in his vision of Windsor was legendary hunter and trapper Robert Harris, proprietor of the Hotel de Harris and champion of Windsor as an undeveloped, lakeside resort. He was born in Canada around 1831. His wife, S.A. Harris, was born in Canada around 1832. They had at least one child, a daughter Bertha.⁴⁰ Besides serving as a guide, Harris was a renowned hunting dog trainer, preparing canines for some of Colorado's wealthy gentry, including at least one governor.⁴¹ Around 1882, Harris built a house at the northwest corner of Main and Fifth streets. He had long been a hunting guide, and it was only logical that his dwelling transformed into a boarding house then a formal hotel. Early advertisements in the *Greeley Tribune* express Harris's vision for his hotel and for Windsor:

Hotel de Harris. Windsor is a FAMOUS RESORT. The Lakes are well stocked with Fish and Ducks for lovers of ROD AND GUN. Landlord Harris has a State reputation as an expert in both HUNTING & FISHING and his Table and Beds are a joy.⁴²

Despite his disdain for Windsor's commercialization, Harris benefited directly from the presence of the railroad in the town. On February 11, 1898, the *Windsor Leader* reported that Harris shipped over 500 muskrat pelts to Chicago. His take for the season was over 900. Harris was a major muskrat pelt supplier. At the time, muskrat was a low-cost alternative for mak-

ing fashionable fur apparel.⁴³

On June 9, 1899, the *Windsor Leader* noted that Harris "...is one of the early settlers of Windsor, and his comfortable residence, with its numerous fruit and ornamental trees, has grown under his own supervision, from a desert waste to its present condition of beauty and comfort."⁴⁴ A few weeks later, the newspaper again waxed eloquently about the Hotel de Harris and its grounds:

On every hand we see the evidence of thrift and beauty—beautiful flowers, stately trees covered with gorgeous foliage, tempering the fierce rays of the sun, a large garden filled with rapidly growing vegetables, the sign of which fires the heart with thankfulness to the great author of nature.⁴⁵

From this description, Harris and his namesake hotel appear to have been at odds with the commercial aspirations of Windsor. Harris was planting gardens while retailers erected masonry walls from lot line to lot line. The hunter-turned-hotelier sought a retreat while merchants sought an ever-expanding market. Yet Harris certainly had his supporters who saw Windsor as a hunter's paradise. As the *Fort Collins Courier* noted about Lake Hollister in January 1884:

This is a beautiful sheet of water, in extent covering several hundred acres of land and forms one of Windsor's principal attractions. In the spring and fall this lake is the home of the wild waterfowl, and we have frequently in passing on the train, seen its smooth, glassy surface dotted with ducks and geese. It then becomes a favorite resort for sportsmen, so

that the crack of a fowling piece is a familiar sound to people living near its borders.⁴⁶

In 1901 Harris abruptly announced he was closing his hotel and “tore down the sign.”⁴⁷ But this action was a demonstration—an idle threat to make a point: Harris owned the most popular hotel in town, but if the merchants continued on their present course, he would close his establishment. Yet the newspaper continued to list visitors at the hotel in the following weeks, months, and even years.⁴⁸

Among those guests in late 1902 were individuals who held the power to decide Windsor’s future. On November 1, the *Windsor Leader* noted, “Beet company surveyors have made their headquarters at the Hotel de Harris along with L.W. Kern.”⁴⁹ The opening of a sugar beet factory in 1903 decided Windsor’s fate conclusively. It would be an agricultural-industrial processing center, not a lakeside resort. Thus in 1905, at the height of the sugar beet boom, Robert Harris sold the southern half of his lot to the Bank of Northern Colorado for \$500. He then dismantled his operation, ultimately closing around 1907, and apparently left Windsor for a more rural locale.

But the lakeside resort idea did not die with the closing of the Hotel de Harris. Various entrepreneurs and even the Windsor Chamber of Commerce revived the idea from time to time, especially when business in downtown waned. “Ever since the natural basin adjoining Windsor on the north was converted into a storage reservoir, many residents have thought that it possessed possibilities as an attraction, and several attempts have been made to create some form of recreational features of a pleasure resort nature,” noted Roy Ray in his *History of Windsor*. “So far, all have failed.”⁵⁰

Among the first to try his hand at creating a “pleasure resort” was Vernon McKelvey, son of C.M. McKelvey, one of the founding directors of the Lake Supply Ditch Company. In 1902 the younger McKelvey acquired a fleet of small fishing boats and stocked Windsor Lake with black bass as well as yellow and ringed (lake) perch. He intended to rent the boats to fisherman at twenty-five cents an hour.⁵¹

But fishing was just one small aspect of the unique resort McKelvey envisioned at Windsor Lake. He served as secretary to Dr. Zachariah X. Snyder, president of the Colorado State Normal School in Greeley. This position provided McKelvey with a connection to the state’s high schools, where he was particularly interested in athletics. Thus, McKelvey planned to build on the shores of Windsor Lake a sports facility for statewide high school athletic competitions. He acquired lakeside land that is now Park Addition and laid out various ball fields and other athletic facilities. McKelvey built small bathhouses and piers, complete with a fleet of row boats. He then persuaded the town to move its bandstand from the northwest corner of Main and Fifth streets to his park and contemplated building a dancing pavilion.⁵²


To promote his resort, McKelvey and residents of Windsor hosted a field meet of northern Colorado high schools on May 23, 1903. Railroads ran special excursions to the event and by all measures it was an overwhelming success. McKelvey wanted to make the field meet an annual celebration, but the second event, held May 21, 1904, was more lightly attended. There was never a third meet.⁵³

McKelvey, however, pressed on with resort plans and the following spring completed more improvements. *The Poudre Valley* newspaper reported on the “Big doin’s at the Lake Resort:”

4th OF JULY CELEBRATION

AT

WINDSOR RESORT GROUNDS



Nothing in Northern Colorado has ever equalled the program being prepared. Below will be found some of the principal features:

Base Ball Game by big teams
 Balloon Ascension and Parachute Jump
 "Stranger in a Strange Land," New York's great success. Matinee and evening performances in the new opera house. Also some unusually attractive specialties
 Boat Races
 Swimming Races, etc
 Lawn Tennis played on lake---walking on water---something new
 Wait until you see the new TROCEDERO, specially constructed for the Resort Company, where dancing may be enjoyed all day and evening
 Last, but not least, the Resort Company has secured one of the best concert bands in the state

Special Train Service for the Occasion

Figures 3.5 and 3.6. In 1905 Windsor's lakeside resort tried to lure residents and visitors with special events, such as a Fourth of July celebration (above) and circuses (at right). (*The Poudre Valley.*)

Windsor is not to be without an opera house after all. In addition to grading the ball ground and putting it into excellent condition, the construction of a basketball ground and inauguration of other improvements, the lake resort management has also concluded to have not only a dance pavilion but an opera house as well.

In consequence of the decision a number of carpenters have been engaged the past week in the transfiguration of the old ice house into a dance pavilion and play house. A ticket office and cloak room are being constructed at the entrance, and a stage will extend out to the edge of the water at the north end of the building-making a stage about 16' wide and 22' in length. Quarter-sawn oak flooring has been laid on a good solid foundation. It will be well dressed to make the surface smooth for dancing. The building will make a very creditable little hall for Windsor.

A monster canvas fence has been ordered with which to encircle the ball grounds when a game is to be played at which an admission fee is to be charged. Those who attend attractions at the grounds will not be obliged to swelter in the hot sun, as a roof is to be put on the grand stand. Altogether there is something doing at the lake, and there is no mistaking the intention of the managers to attract crowds to Windsor.⁵⁴

Despite these improvements, McKelvey's lakeside sports resort failed within a few years, principally because the project lacked sustainable financial resources. McKelvey had to charge an admission for the use of his resort. But he faced two major problems. First, McKelvey could not lure the out-of-town visitors who would have been more willing to spend money for a day of leisure. Second, locals refused to pay admission to watch or participate in activities they could do for free else-

where. "Lack of moral and financial support caused McKelvey to abandon the whole project," noted Roy Ray, "so the park grounds became residence lots, and what could have been serving as a baseball or softball diamond is covered with buildings of various kinds."⁵⁵ The dance pavilion and opera house briefly severed as the Lakeview Hotel, catering to seasonal laborers the sugar beet industry brought to Windsor, but it too soon closed and was demolished.⁵⁶

Roy Coon tried to resurrect the lakeside resort idea in 1919, forming a stock company to develop the project. His company managed to scrape the lake bottom during low water and construct a long pier with several diving boards. While the resort company, as its predecessor, quickly failed, the swimming facilities remained quite popular, attracting 150 to 200 bathers on hot summer afternoons and evenings. Before 1930 a spring windstorm broke up ice on the lake and hurled it against the swimming pier, destroying the structure.⁵⁷

In the end, Windsor's struggle for identity did not include the successful development of a lakeside leisure resort. Indeed, in the succeeding years increasingly more businessmen demanded that the town exhibit and promote an air of hard work and success, not leisure. As Roy Ray mused:

Wouldn't it be a good scheme for Windsor to cut out those trees on Main St.? Trees are all very nice and their shade is real inviting on these hot days, but they suggest the leisure of a secluded summer resort. It is time for Windsor to come from under the shade and get to work.⁵⁸

Windsor's Early Downtown

Those who saw Windsor as a lakeside resort consistently

met with failure; the businessmen who desired to create a commercial center, however, found success, albeit slowly. Downtown Windsor was unusual in that it never really experienced a building boom *per se* and was slow to cast off its frontier village mantle, with many of its wood-frame, false-front commercial buildings lingering into the twentieth century. Newspaper reporters in the 1880s found a town that was apparently thriving yet still remarkably rustic and isolated:

Windsor is becoming quite a lovely burg, and consequently proportionately increasing in importance. On Saturday last, as the noon train passed through, there were eight farmers's [sic] double teams hitched in front of the post office, and the store keepers had all the business they could do. As a shipping point for wheat, potatoes, etc., it is rivaling in neighbors on either side, Greeley and Fort Collins. The little town, however, is miserably neglected in the way of mail facilities, and has no connection at all by telegraph....⁵⁹

In January 1884, a reporter from the *Fort Collins Courier* actually stepped off the train and visited Windsor for the first time. His description of this "thriving little town" was a bit more enthusiastic:

Windsor has a snug, attractive and convenient depot building, the affairs of which are ably and conscientiously managed by Walter Woodward, of the forwarding and commission firm of Cobbs, Woodward & Co. The town contains two stores, one hardware store, kept by Cobbs, Woodward & Co.; a general

GENTRY BROTHERS
FAMOUS
SHOWS
(UNITED)

ONLY BIG RAILROAD SHOW COMING THIS YEAR
America's Largest and most Complete Show Presenting many
New High Class Features

MONDAY, AUGUST 21, 1905
on Windsor Resort Grounds



200—Performing Horses, Dogs and Monkeys—200
50—Monkey Comedians—50
3—Herds of Performing Elephants—3

SPECIAL FEATURES THIS SEASON
SEE THE TROUPE OF MUSICAL PONIES
Only act of its kind in the world

THE NORMAN FAMILY
(Five in number)
ACROBATS AND INDIAN CLUB JUGGLERS

THE YOHASMITE JAPANESE TROUPE
(Seven in number)
The highest Salaried Troupe of Japs in this Country

A BABY CAMEL AND ITS MOTHER To be seen at each and every performance
SEE THE FUNNY CLOWNS

Figure 3.7. The Windsor Business Directory from the September 21, 1893, *Greeley Tribune* shows a downtown with a variety of businesses.

The Weller-Cobbs Merchandise Co.
WHOLESALE AND RETAIL
 AND DEALERS IN
 General Merchandise Hay, Grain Potatoes.
GREELEY • POTATOES
A Specialty.
BLEVENS & ZINN,
GENERAL BLACKSMITHING.
Horse-Shoeing a Specialty.
C. F. CHIPMAN,
WAGON REPAIR SHOP. ‡ All Wood Implements Put in Good Order.
C. A. YANCEY,
Livery, Feed & Exchange Stables.
Good Turnouts on short notice. Special rates to Traveling Men.
GEO. E. OSTERHOUT,
DEALER IN
LUMBER, SASH, DOORS
LIME, LATH, CEMENT,
AND ALL BUILDING MATERIALS.
Also a good stock of PAINTS and OILS always on hand.
CLOUD & CO., The Highest Market Price
Butchers. Paid for Veal Calves.

The Struggle for Identity: Windsor's Historic Downtown

store, carrying groceries, provisions, dry goods, etc., by Mr. M.L. Teller, who is also postmaster; a blacksmith shop, of which Pierce Morgan is proprietor; an agricultural implement warehouse, a coal yard, and several residences.⁶⁰

The town grew slowly but steadily into the 1890s, with rather small leaps forward described with great adulation. On December 1, 1892, the Windsor correspondent to the *Greeley Tribune* noted, "Our town can now afford two barbers, where a year ago it was claimed business would not support one. Some one please tell us why such wonderful changes occur?"⁶¹

Of all the commercial buildings remaining in the two-block section of Windsor's downtown in 2009, only one dates to the early downtown period. Constructed around 1884, the McNeil Building, at 428 Main Street (5WL.5622) is believed to be the first two-story commercial building in Windsor. It was owned and built by pioneer carpenter Henry F. McNeil. He was born in January 1829 in Illinois and fought in the Civil War. His wife, Mary E. McNeil, was born around 1832 in New York. They had a daughter, Ellie McNeil Minckwitz, husband of Windsor pioneer Ernest U. Minckwitz. Henry McNeil later sold the building to J.M. Doty, who operated a hardware store as well as a wagon and harness shop. In April 1900, Doty traded his store to Windsor entrepreneur Franklin Newton Briggs for a 160 acres of land near Whitehall. Briggs combined the building with the furniture store he owned immediately west at 430 Main Street (5WL.5624). The businessman then expanded his selection of merchandise to become the F.N. Briggs Department Store. In February 1904, J.P. Morrow and J.B. Ferguson bought the Briggs Department Store and called it the Ferguson-Morrow Supply Company.

In 1911, this building was again a single retail unit, with a boot and shoe shop as well as a millinery. By 1920, the building returned to postal use, serving as Windsor's post office for over three decades. The post office moved from its previous location, at the old J.T. Perkins building on the south side of Main Street, under newly selected postmaster J.H. Comin. At the McNeil building, the post office passed from Comin to Harrison V. Teller in 1924. Teller served as postmaster for only six months due to ill health and dislike of indoor confinement. P.H. Gallagher succeeded Teller, serving as postmaster until his death from pneumonia on December 29, 1931. His widow, Mabel M. Gallagher, took over her husband's position as a temporary appointment and later received the job permanently after earning the highest-possible score on the civil service examination. George May succeeded her in 1932 and served until 1957, Windsor's longest term as postmaster. During his tenure, May oversaw the renovation of the first floor of the McNeil Building in 1947, which included refacing the lower half of the façade with a tan brick veneer, installing two doors to facilitate two-way traffic, and stuccoing both the front and rear of the building. To enhance the appearance of the post office's interior, new light fixtures were hung and a new floor was installed. After thirty-seven years at 428 Main Street, the post office moved next door, to 430 Main Street (5WL.5624), in 1957.

The second floor of the McNeil Building was intended to be used as a lodge hall. It served as the original home of Windsor Lodge No. 69 of the Ancient Free and Accepted Masons. The Masons fitted the second-floor for their lodge meetings sometime during the 1890s and remained there until 1905, when they moved to a more spacious room at the Dowding Building, 201-205 Fourth Street (5WL.5598). Upon vacating the second-floor, the Woodmen of the World took over the space,

using it for their fraternal meetings. However by the 1930s, many members dropped out or moved to a Greeley chapter due to an increase in rates and inactivity. The space was then converted into an apartment.⁶²

DOWNTOWN MATURES: THE 1890S

On March 5, 1890, representatives from Windsor presented a petition with thirty-one signatures to Weld County Judge E.A. Thompson in Greeley. The petition requested the formal incorporation of the Town of Windsor. This action resulted in an election of incorporation, in which thirty-six residents cast ballots; of them, twenty-seven favored the proposition and only nine voted against it. Thus Windsor officially became an incorporated town on April 2, 1890, and consisted of everything south of the railroad right-of-way to Locust Street and First Street west to West Street.⁶³

The first meeting of the town board occurred on April 30. Those elected to lead the town were almost all Union Colony pioneers and prominent businessmen, two conditions that would mark Windsor's civic leadership for decades. J.J. McKibbin was elected as the first mayor and the inaugural board of town trustees consisted of George E. Osterhout, owner of Windsor's lumberyard and a noted botanist; George J. Rowe, justice of the peace and writer; Frank L. Weller, merchant; Adam Hahn, blacksmith; John M. Cobbs, merchant and financier; and C.H. McNeil, builder and merchant.⁶⁴

Town trustees worked tirelessly to bring modern services to their community. But they spent much of their time trying to control the vices that, however noble, indicated just how small of a town Windsor remained:

But it [Windsor] gets some things that it would be much better without. Some one is selling intoxicating liquors here contrary to law and, whoever he is, should be punished. It is also a sad sight to see so many small boys smoking cigarettes. Those guilty of selling the poisonous things to the boys should be made to smart for it.⁶⁵

Between 1890 and the turn of the twentieth century, downtown Windsor slowly but steadily matured as a center of local commerce and agricultural processing. Interestingly, while businessmen replaced many of the wood-framed storefronts from the 1880s with brick buildings, these new stores were often no larger than their predecessors. Instead of tearing down its frontier past to build the large business blocks of dawning prosperity, Windsor simply recreated its older buildings in brick. Thus, the struggle for identity continued as the town remained stuck between two epochs. Construction of the brick buildings probably stemmed more from a concern about maintenance and fire than transacting business. Unlike many high-plains towns, Windsor never experienced a major fire in its downtown, with one notable exception. On the evening of Saturday, March 9, 1901, the Windsor Drug Store, at 429 Main Street, caught fire and burned to the ground, damaging Bert Cloud's barbershop, immediately east (no longer extant), and the Alamo Hotel (431 Main Street, 5WL.5625), immediately west. It was the third time a fire had started in the store. Dr. Porter built the first story of the present building (5WL.5623) later that year.

The 1890s was a period of increasing prosperity in downtown Windsor. During this decade the population of the community doubled, but remained quite small, as did the

Windsor Restaurant.
R. W. CLOUD, Proprietor.
 GOOD, CLEAN and WELL-COOKED MEALS, 25 cents.
 And a COMFORTABLE BED for 25 cents.

POUDRE VALLEY STOCK FARM,
NEW WINDSOR, COLO. C. F. HUNT, Lessee and Manager.
Pure Bred Cattle HOLSTEIN and A. J. C. C. JERSEY.
BERKSHIRE HOGS.
 Also BARRED PLYMOUTH ROCK and BLACK LANGSHAN CHICKENS.
 Young Stock for Sale to suit the times. Inspection invited. Visitors welcome.

JAS. O. CAVENDER, TONEDRIAL ARTIST.
 SPECIAL ATTENTION GIVEN TO
Ladies' and Children's Hair Cutting.
 CALL AND BE CONVINCED.

HAIN & SPRINGER,
BLACKSMITHS and WORKERS IN IRON and STEEL.
 IN HORSESHOEING, A SPECIALTY
 Is made in curing diseased feet, cracked hoofs and corns.

| | |
|---|--|
| <p>WINDSOR BAKERY, FRESH BREAD, PIES and CAKES Baked Daily. GEO. STOCKING, Sr., Prop.</p> | <p>W. GRAY, SHOEMAKER, Repairing neatly and expeditiously done.</p> |
|---|--|

H. C. WATSON, Pres't. GEO. W. BRIGGS, Vice Pres't. HARRISON TELLER, Mgr.

The Windsor Mercantile Co.
 CAPITAL STOCK, \$30,000. ♦ ♦ ♦ ♦ SURPLUS, \$5,000.

| | |
|--|--|
| <p>DEALERS IN General * Merchandise.</p> | <p>WHOLESALE Grain * Potatoes.</p> |
|--|--|



Figure 3.8. The McNeil Building, at 428 Main Street (5WL.5622) is the oldest two-story building in downtown Windsor. (*Historitecture.*)

downtown, occupying little more than the 400 block of Main Street. The same period also witnessed the opening of the Windsor Flour Mill and the Weld County Bank, the first financial institution in the town.

Of the forty-three extant commercial buildings in the survey area, seven date to the 1890s, most to 1898 and later. Businessmen constructed many brick edifices: the Hahn & Springer Building (415 Main Street, 5WL.5611), 1894; the T.R. Brooks Building (422 Main Street, 5WL.5616) 1899; the J.T. Perkins Building (423 Main Street, 5WL.5617), 1898; Weld County Bank (424 Main Street, 5WL.5618), 1897; the Springer Building (430 Main Street, 5WL.5624), 1898-99; and Cloud Hall (431 Main Street, 5WL.5625), 1894. By far the most important building constructed during this decade was the Windsor Mercantile-Odd Fellows Hall (414 Main Street, 5WL.5610).⁶⁶

Beginning in the late 1890s, Otis Hill and Harrison Teller worked out an agreement with the Windsor lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows (IOOF), which had outgrown its space in Cloud Hall (431 Main Street, 5WL.5621), to build a relatively massive, two-story business block. The Windsor Mercantile Company would occupy the first story while the IOOF would own the second story for use as its lodge hall.

Under the supervision of contractor William Alter, stone masons began laying the foundation in July 1898 at 414 Main Street (5WL.5610). By August, the brick walls had largely been completed and the imposing edifice was already making an impression. "The walls of the Mercantile Co's new building are almost completed," noted the *Windsor Leader*, "and an imposing structure it is, towering head and shoulders above the surrounding buildings." One of the most notable innovations of this building was the exterior staircase, which rose along the east elevation. It was prefabricated from cast and wrought iron

and was purchased in Fort Collins and shipped to the site. As the building neared completion in October, the *Leader* again noted the progress, this time describing the lodge hall: "The Odd Fellows' hall with its accompanying apartments is all that could be desired. The audience room is 52x32 feet in size, nicely finished, a 'thing of beauty and joy forever.'" The second floor included a large assembly hall, dining room, kitchen, and other offices.

Downstairs, business flourished. Touting itself as the place "where Windsor shops with confidence," the Windsor Mercantile Company served as the town's anchor business for the first half of the twentieth century. So popular was the business, that townsfolk simply referred to it as "The Merc." Along with its grain elevator and farm implements, the business sold hardware, dry goods, groceries, and appliances, including eventually radios and televisions. In 1918, George H. Frye, George Teller, and Griffith Teller purchased the business from Harrison Teller. The firm had originally hired George Frye in 1892 as a bookkeeper. George and Griffith Teller were Harrison Teller's sons. In 1943 Windsor Mercantile Company president George Teller sold his share of the business to Frye and his sons, John and Charles. But the business waned after World War II and the Fries were forced to dissolve the firm in 1959.⁶⁷

Despite its small size and lack of a boom before the construction of the sugar beet processing factory, Windsor still posted impressive shipping statistics with the Greeley, Salt Lake & Pacific and later Colorado & Southern railroads. In 1899, for instance, business transacted at the Windsor depot accounted for \$120,000, a princely sum in those days equivalent to over \$3 million in 2008.⁶⁸ This figure would have included all agricultural produce, particularly grain and potatoes, and passenger receipts. And for the consumer, downtown Wind-

sor offered everything one could ever want. As George Rowe noted in the December 28, 1893, *Greeley Tribune*, "Why go to Greeley when you can get a twenty pound pail of jelly at Weller-Cobbs Merchandise company for eighty cents?" Why indeed.⁶⁹

THE SUGAR BEET BOOMTOWN: 1900-1920

The twentieth century was about to dawn brightly for Windsor. A reporter for the *Denver Times* visited the hamlet in May 1900 and was pleasantly surprised:

Arriving at the head of Main Street one is deeply impressed by the sight before him. The thoroughfare is lined on each side with teams. Stores are crowded and the clerks kept on the jump administering to the wants of the people.

There are four large "general merchandise" stores and one grocery store that carries a few sidelines, also one hardware store, meat market, drug store, shoe shop, livery, feed and exchange stable, [and] lumber yard. Of hotels there are three; blacksmith shops, two; barber shops, two; physicians, three; one confectionery and bakery, and one confectionary where soft drinks are sold, and one concern where coal, produce and machinery is offered for sale. These with the Weld County Bank, complete the list of business houses. There are no saloons and no attorneys. There is no need for either as the people are sober and industrious.⁷⁰



Residents seemed to sense that Windsor was about to change. As the editor of the *Windsor Leader* wrote colloquially in a February 23, 1900, article entitled "Windsor's Future:"

It don't matter to us where our trade comes from, but we live in Windsor, have our interests here, and naturally would be glad to see our town build up, and there is no legitimate reason why it should not flourish as some of us never dreamed of. No city of its size surpasses Windsor as a desirable place of residence. Here one is surrounded with all the comforts and luxuries—schools, churches, the best band in Northern Colorado if not in the state, beautiful girls, handsome young men, buxom widows, stolid bachelors, modern civilization and other attractions of varied character.⁷¹

Figure 3.9. This stereograph view of Main Street's 400 block dates to around 1902. It was taken from the roof of the flour mill. The large business block at center is the Windsor Mercantile/Odd Fellows Hall Building. (*Town of Windsor.*)

But something more attractive than Windsor's "buxom widows" and "stolid bachelors" was about to transform the town. Windsor was ripe for a boom when the town's sugar beet processing factory opened in November 1903.⁷²

As early as 1900, Windsor-area farmers planted sugar beets and shipped them to the Loveland factory, the first in northern Colorado. With this newly found prosperity, major investments in the downtown skyrocketed in the first few years of the twentieth century. This included the construction of one of the town's largest business blocks and entertainment venues in 1902.⁷³

The Dowding Opera House was the vision of Weld County pioneer John Dowding and his son, Charles Henry Dowding, who rose to become prominent Windsor area farmers and early civic leaders. John Dowding was born in May 1837 in England and immigrated to the United States between 1865 and 1870, quickly settling in Weld County, Colorado Territory. His wife, Sarah, was born in England, in September 1835. Their eldest son, Albert, was also born in England. Son Charles and daughters Emma and Florence were all born in Colorado.

Built by Windsor contractors William M. Alter and Charles F. Chipman, construction of the Dowdings' imposing edifice on the southeast corner of Fourth and Main streets began in March 1902. The building would include three storefronts on the first floor and a large auditorium on the second floor. Yet the Dowdings' vision only increased, ordering stone masons to expand the foundation's dimensions twice during construction. By April 165,000 bricks arrived from Fort Collins. On October 1, 1902, tenants began to move into the first-floor storefronts. The entire building was largely completed by November, when the *Greeley Tribune* provided this description:

The Dowding block is the latest building to be erected. It is a fine two-story brick [building], the upper part to be used as an opera house—I believe that is the proper western term. The drop curtain will be twenty feet wide and the stage will be 20x60 feet. It will seat 400; then look out for *10 Nights in a Bar Room*, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and *East Lynne*.

The Dowdings officially christened their building the Windsor Opera House, but locals persisted in calling it the Dowding Opera House. Regardless, John and Charles Dowding inaugurated the auditorium on December 23, 1902, with a staging of William B. Bradbury's 1856 cantata *Esther*, the Beautiful Queen, perhaps the most popular large-scale choral work by an American composer during the nineteenth century. The cantata was an ambitious choice because it generally required gaudy costumes and elaborate scenery, but was always a perennial favorite of school groups and ladies' organizations. Roy Ray, as editor of *The Poudre Valley* newspaper, attended the show and provided a glowing review of the new theater in his paper on December 27, 1902:

Windsor may well be proud of her new opera house. It is adequate for all present needs of the town. The seating capacity is easily four hundred. The stage is large and fitted with very pretty scenery. Acetylene gas lights the entire building in a brilliant manner, from all appearances it would seem that this lighting is entirely satisfactory for stage purposes, as very pretty effects can be obtained by proper regulation.

The opera house immediately became the social and cultural heart of Windsor. School groups and women's organizations continued to provide most of the entertainment during the opera house's brief history. But traveling shows also played at the Dowding building, staging everything from the elaborate *The Gladiator* to William Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*. Perhaps the most famous actor to perform at the Windsor Opera House was comedian Joseph Newman and his company of vaudeville players. Yet not all events were theatrical. On the evening of May 23, 1903, the Dowding Opera House hosted the first basketball game ever played in the Windsor, featuring boys from Greeley and Longmont high schools. The event was part of Vernon McKelvey's efforts to develop his lakeside sports resort.

Yet the opera house was short-lived. Newspaper articles suggest that the Dowdings struggled to book new acts. In May 1903, the Dowdings contracted "Raymond and Branch" to manage the theater. R.P. Penney succeeded them by 1905. Despite changes in management, the auditorium was never much of a paying proposition for the Dowdings. Meanwhile, Windsor Masons had outgrown their lodge in the second story of the McNeil Building at 428 Main Street (SWL.5622). Thus in March 1905, the organization agreed to buy from Charles Dowding the second story auditorium. This was a blow to the larger community. As the Fort Collins Weekly Courier noted, "This purchase will leave Windsor without an opera house which will be greatly missed." After three months of preparation, the Masons moved into their new lodge hall, hosting a house-warming party on June 20, 1905. The remodeling, completed by Greeley contractors Agard & Rose, separated the auditorium into a large hall room, dining room, assembly room, and parlors. By 1917, the organization had entirely paid off its

portion of the building.⁷⁴

The Dowding Opera House predated only by a matter of months the opening of Windsor's own sugar beet processing factory. This plant and the burgeoning industry it brought with it was the most powerful socioeconomic force to affect the town until the latter decades of the twentieth century.

The sugar beet industry was itself the result of many developments. After the turn of the twentieth century, four interrelated events led to a dramatic rise in sugar beet production: the increase in irrigated land, the expansion of railroads, the improvement of beet varieties as well as cultivation techniques, and the construction of sugar beet processing factories. An unnamed writer for the Works Progress Administration's Writer's Program (a New-Deal-era make-work project) called the sugar beet industry "the single largest enterprise based upon irrigation."⁷⁵ Colorado historian LeRoy R. Hafen, however, suggests the growth of the sugar beet industry promoted the development of advanced irrigation engineering projects in Colorado. Sugar beets required irrigation in late summer when the state's rivers ran at a trickle. In response, irrigation companies built reservoirs to store the high water of early spring and released it when farmers needed it for their beets.

Sugar beet processing required the construction of a massive agricultural-industrial infrastructure unseen before in Colorado history. Key to its development were railroads. Bringing tons of beets to factories by the wagonload was simply not efficient. Instead, sugar companies promoted a network of collection points—beet dumps—connected by rail to the factories. These dumps were numerous, reducing the distance the beets had to travel by wagon and, later, truck. Factories were free then to design equipment that could unload and process

Figure 3.10. Completed in 1902, the Dowding Opera House, at 201-205 Fourth Street (SWL.5598) quickly became Windsor's Masonic lodge hall. (*Historitecture.*)



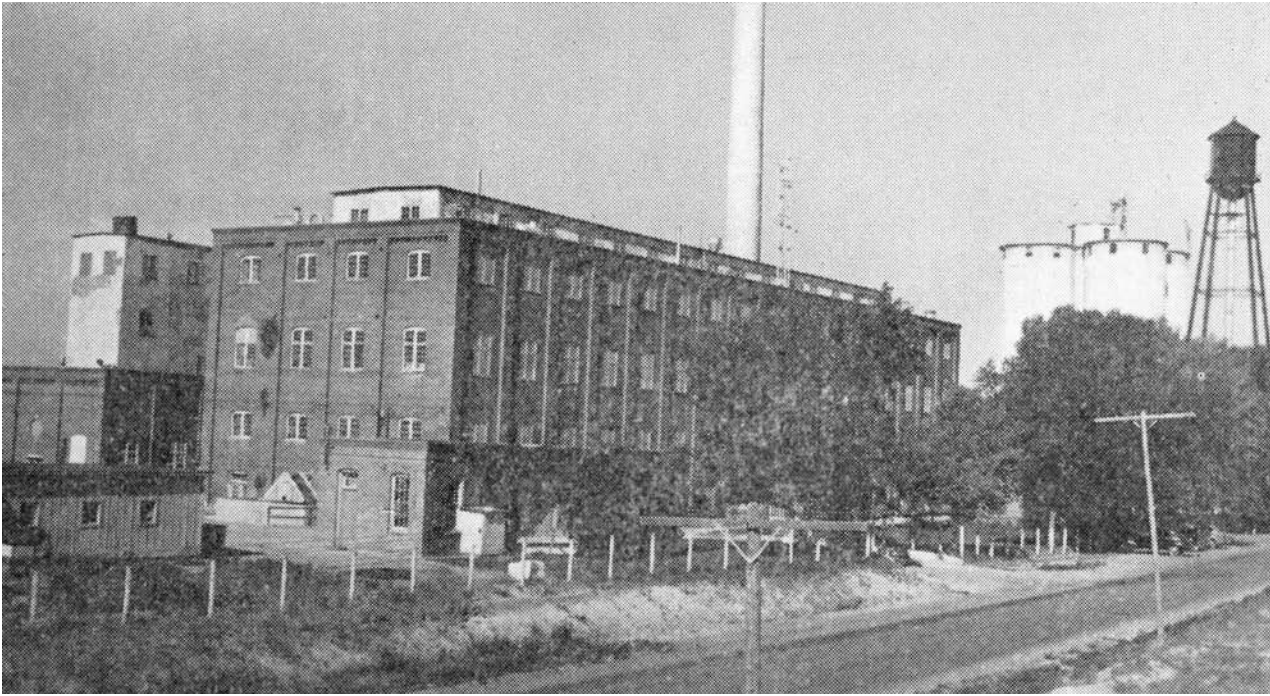


Figure 3.11. Windsor's sugar beet factory in 1940. (*Ray, Highlights in the History of Windsor, Colorado.*)

entire loads of railroad cars. Railroads also allowed sugar companies to efficiently ship their product to a hungry nation.

Yet even with the best irrigation methods and soils, traditional varieties of beets produced very little sugar. A new, national interest in the science and technology of agriculture soon changed that. Along with the Homestead Act, Republicans pushed through Congress in 1862 the Morrill Act, which created the land-grant college system. Under the act, the federal government offered states generous subsidies to establish colleges offering instruction in agriculture, engineering, and military science. Under this plan, Colorado established its State Agricultural College in Fort Collins. To accommodate its burgeoning research work, the institution founded the Colorado Agriculture Experiment Station in 1888, which concentrated much of its early work on improving the purity and

percentage of usable sugar in beets. By 1892, the United States Department of Agriculture rated the beets grown in Larimer and Weld counties as the best in the world.⁷⁶

Nonetheless, even the sweetest beets were practically worthless without a plant nearby to process them into refined sugar. While farmers clamored for processing plants, town leaders realized the potential economic boon of the industry. In November 1901, the Loveland Sugar Company opened the first sugar factory in northern Colorado. Plants quickly followed in Greeley and Eaton. Windsor's beet dump opened on October 18, 1901. But long a center of agricultural processing in northern Colorado, Windsor was not about to be just a node on a network funneling beets and profits to Greeley or worse, its most hated rival, Eaton. Windsor must have its own sugar beet processing factory and now.⁷⁷

Dr. E.I. Raymond and H.C. Branch led Windsor's effort to gain a sugar beet processing factory, but their task was difficult. With operating factories in nearby Loveland, Greeley, and Eaton and with Fort Collins clamoring for its own plant, how could the Windsor area dedicate enough acres to beet cultivation to justify the construction of a factory? By January 1902, Raymond and Branch had received pledges accounting for 700 acres, but investors wanted 4,000 acres. Raymond and Branch worked tirelessly until they obtained in 1902 pledges for over 5,000 acres. A group of investors from Michigan was interested in financing the Windsor plant, but the Denver-based representative was slow to close the deal, missing the 1902 beet season, called a "campaign."⁷⁸

Nonetheless financing was ultimately secured, and the Windsor Sugar Company opened its temporary headquarters in the F.N. Briggs Store (430 Main Street, 5WL.5624) in October 1902. Although he had been dead nearly fifteen years, Edward

Hollister played an important role in locating the factory complex. Lewis Kern represented the massive Hollister estate and donated land for the factory just east of downtown. Construction began in early 1903 and the factory produced its first pound of refined sugar on November 6, 1903. In 1905, the individual northern Colorado sugar companies at Loveland, Greeley, Eaton, Windsor, Fort Collins, and Longmont merged to form the Great Western Sugar Company, which rose to become one of Colorado's corporate titans. The Windsor factory was one of Great Western's busiest, consistently exceeding its 600-ton daily capacity. In 1908 the company considered doubling the capacity of the factory, which it quickly accomplished.⁷⁹

Windsor was also unique among northern Colorado's sugar beet towns because it hosted Great Western's own corporate farm. The sugar company acquired from former Colorado Governor Benjamin H. Eaton 1,200 acres along the Cache la Poudre River south of town. On June 1, 1918, the company acquired another adjacent 720 acres from Flora L. Law, providing nearly 2,000 acres for growing sugar-beet seeds and conducting agricultural experiments. The farm was largely experimental until just before World War I. At that time Great Western and other major sugar producers imported almost all of their beet seeds from Germany. In 1915, with hostilities increasing between Germany and the United States, Great Western grew its own seeds in Windsor, with great success. The company continued to grow seeds in Windsor for most of its history, often contracting Windsor-area farmers to increase the acreage of seed cultivation.⁸⁰

Great Western also led to the expansion of Windsor's railroad network. The Great Western Railway was incorporated in 1901 to build a denser railroad network in northern Colorado,

connecting even more beet dumps to factories. The first section was built between 1901 and 1904 from Loveland east through Johnstown, to Hillsboro-Milliken. The railroad then planned to build a line connecting Loveland to Eaton, via Windsor and Severance. It completed the Windsor-Eaton route in 1905, but leased trackage rights on the Union Pacific and Colorado & Southern railroads to reach Loveland from Windsor. These leases were brief; Great Western completed its own line from Kelim, east of Loveland, to Windsor in 1906. The railroad then assumed the yard and switching operations at Windsor's sugar factory from the Colorado & Southern. Thus Windsor became more than just a station stop between Fort Collins and Greeley; it was now a railroad junction, providing a point of interchange between the Colorado & Southern Railroad and the Great Western Railway. Although its parent corporation has changed over the years, Great Western Railway continues to operate in much of northern Colorado and maintains offices in Windsor.⁸¹

The opening of the sugar beet processing factory had an immediate and profound effect upon Windsor. "It is surprising how rapidly lots in Windsor are being bought up. Windsor is right in the swing," proclaimed *The Poudre Valley* newspaper. "She is no longer a wayside trading post. A bright day has dawned upon our little city, and the future will evidently unfold brighter things."⁸² In 1900, the U.S. Census found 305 people living in Windsor, a number that had been nearly stagnant for decades; by 1910, the town had about 1,780 residents, a 484 percent increase over ten years. The effect on downtown was equally profound. Of the forty-three commercial properties surveyed for this project, nineteen contained buildings dating to between 1900 and 1910; that is nearly half of all the commercial buildings still extant in downtown.⁸³

Figure 3.12. This photograph of Main Street, looking at the 400 block to the northwest, probably dates to around 1904, following the completing of the J.M. Cobbs Block, at far right. It reveals the prosperity of a sugar beet boom town. (*Town of Windsor.*)



Typically downtown construction both before and after the sugar beet boom occurred without any interruption in commerce. Businessmen simply moved their wood-framed storefronts into Main Street—literally on the street itself—and constructed new, brick business blocks behind them. As the *Windsor Leader* noted on September 16, 1898, “H.L. Mann has moved his little store building into the street and is making preparations to build a new brick building that will be more in touch with Windsor’s exalted notions of improvement.” Once the business moved its goods into the new store, the owner would then sell the old wood-framed building, which were often used as garages, farm buildings, and even houses.⁸⁴

The sugar beet boom even moved the physical center of downtown. The oldest commercial buildings in town, combined with the construction of the Dowding Opera House, helped make the intersection of Main and Fourth streets the center of downtown. Yet as Main Street evolved east to west, the middle of town moved to Main and Fifth streets. For decades this intersection served as the commercial center of Windsor. Situated right in the middle of the intersection was a round, concrete, public horse-watering trough. It was also the first intersection with stone-paved crosswalks and later hosted a tall flag pole. The commercial expansion of Windsor continued westward along Main Street and Colorado State Highway 392, a trend that continues to the present day.⁸⁵

The number of new storefronts is only half the story. These buildings were also often quite larger and more architecturally sophisticated than their nineteenth-century predecessors. The storefronts featured intricate brickwork and elaborate cornices, still intact on the façades of the J.M. Cobbs Building (406 Main Street, 5WL.5607) and the Yancey Block (513-515 Main Street, 5WL.5632). Cobbs and Yancey were re-

sponsible for most of the commercial building boom in the sugar-factory era. Cobbs had been investing and building in Windsor for over a decade. Yancey, however, represented a new generation of entrepreneurs who even more clearly understood the impact of the sugar industry on Windsor and was much more ambitious in his projects.

Charles Albert Yancey was born in Virginia on March 13, 1863, to Edward and Fanny Mauzy Yancey. Charles ended his schooling at age twelve, when he began working for a railroad in Virginia. After a year in this occupation, Yancey briefly turned to farming before learning the printer’s trade at the Commonwealth newspaper in Harrisonburg, Virginia. In 1883, when he was twenty, Charles ventured to Colorado with his younger brother, Joseph William Yancey. Charles arrived in Greeley and found work on a ranch a mile and a half away from Windsor. Between that time and 1888, Yancey began to purchase and rent land in Weld and Larimer counties. That year, however, he moved to Windsor, where he constructed a large stable, Windsor’s first livery, on the south side of Main Street’s 400 block. This wood-frame building hosted a towering false-front advertising “Livery, Feed, and Exchange Stable, C.A. Yancey.” While Yancey began his livery business with a single horse, he soon boasted a stable of thirty-five horses. Even as the livery business began to wane, Yancey increased his interests in horse and mule trading, a feed barn, and harness shop. In 1917, Yancey claimed that he sold more harnesses than any other dealer in Fort Collins and Greeley. Charles Yancey married Flora M. Davis on September 30, 1884, and had seven children: William E., Frank L., Charles L., Thomas M.; two daughters (names unknown); and a son who died in infancy.⁸⁶

Charles Yancey was responsible for the construction of several notable business blocks in Windsor. In 1905, he de-

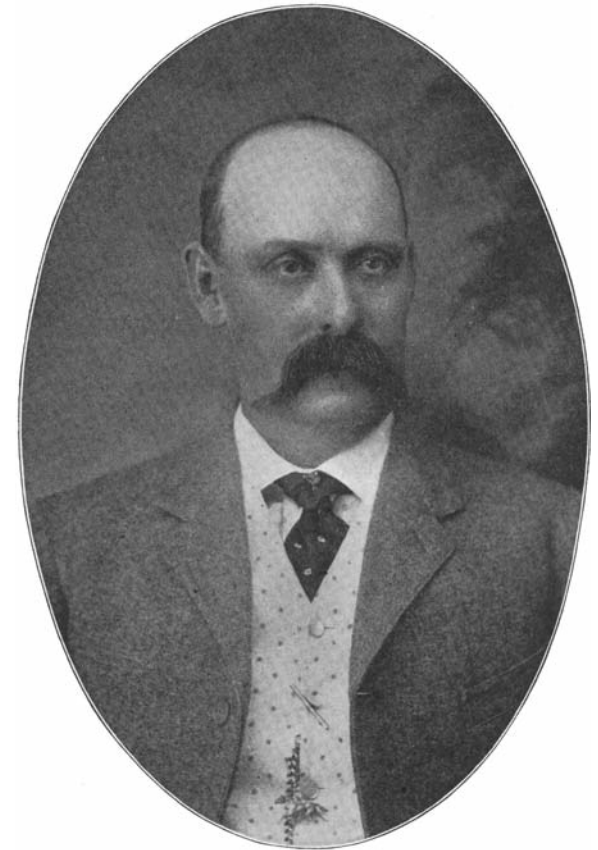


Figure 3.13. Charles A. Yancey was the most ambitious investor in downtown Windsor during the sugar beet-era. (*Stone, History of Colorado.*)



Figure 3.14. The Yancey Block upon its completion in 1905. (Gregg photograph in *The Poudre Valley*, November 11, 1905.)

molished his Main Street stable with a connected barber shop and a group of investors replaced them with a triple storefront, at 415-417-419 Main Street (SWL.5611, SWL.5612, and SWL.5614). At the same time, he constructed his namesake, double storefront business block at 517-519 Main Street (SWL.5632) and after its completion, constructed the adjacent four-unit business block at 517-519 Main Street (SWL.5635). Yancey also built a livery building across the street, at 512 Main Street (SWL.5631), and another four-unit storefront at 508-510 Main Street (SWL.5629).

The Yancey Block, at 517-519 Main Street (SWL.5611) was

the largest and most architecturally sophisticated building the entrepreneur ever constructed. Around 1905, Yancey bought previously undeveloped lots west of the American Hotel, on the south side of Main Street's 500 block. By May, he had decided on plans for a new business block. It would be fifty-by-seventy feet and consist of a single-story, double storefront. But as the *The Poudre Valley* noted on May 13, the building was "...arranged so that upper stories may be added conveniently at any future time." Later that month, Yancey decided to go ahead and build a second story when he contracted local builder A.M. Felmlee, who also designed the edifice.

Felmlee completed The Yancey Block in early November 1905 at a cost of \$7,000. It was the first new building to ever receive a full-page article—with an enormous photograph—in Windsor's *The Poudre Valley* newspaper. Editor Roy Ray imbued the business block with historical significance linked to Yancey and future success of Windsor:

For 18 years [Yancey] has been connected with the development of Windsor....He is one of the most successful liverymen in this valley, and anyone with the least acquaintanceship with the man may readily guess the keynote of his success. It is progress and thorough attention to details. He would make the same success with any other line of business which he might undertake. He believes that what is worth doing at all is worth doing well. That is why the Yancey Block is the most substantial improvement Windsor can boast of, and the building is not surpassed in appearance by any in Northern Colorado.⁸⁷

The article goes on to boast about the large show win-

dows. "The lower front has the appearance of, and in fact is, nearly all plate glass." The veneer cladding the façade was comprised of tan-gray, pressed brick, which was then oiled to improve its luster. Contractor Felmlee manufactured the rest of the bricks at his brickyard west of town. Crowning the building was the most unique cornice in Windsor. "The cornice is of the latest pattern," notes *The Poudre Valley*, "and was designed by the architect for this particular building."⁸⁸

The first floor originally consisted of two twenty-five-by-seventy-foot storerooms, with floors of vertical yellow pine. The brick wall separating the storerooms contained "a blind archway, which will permit them to be thrown into one at any time desired with little expense." The second floor originally contained seventeen rooms, including "a parlor, bathroom, toilet room, and a linen closet." Yancey leased the second floor to the adjacent American Hotel, at 511 Main Street, as an annex. The hotel was demolished in 1952, and the rooms in the Yancey Block were reconfigured into two apartments.⁸⁹

So impressive was the Yancey Block that a Johnstown businessman hired Felmlee to erect an exact duplicate in that nearby town. The Eureka Block was completed in 1907 at a cost of \$7,000. The twin still stands as one of the most impressive buildings in downtown Johnstown, at 19 and 19 1/2 South Parish Avenue.⁹⁰

"He has contributed in the most substantial measure to the upbuilding and progress of the town, erecting many of its business houses and various other buildings," states a 1918 biography of Charles Yancey. "His property holdings are the visible evidence of his life of well-directed energy and thrift." Yancey was also an active civic leader and booster. He was an early town trustee and served as mayor from 1908 to 1911, when he oversaw construction of the Windsor Town Hall, at

116 Fifth Street (5WL.2050).⁹¹

But Yancey was not the only one sensing the pending boom. Financiers and investors in Windsor established the Bank of Northern Colorado as a direct response to the opening of the town's own sugar beet processing plant in 1903. A new market for local farmers as well as steady wages for residents and, in turn, more affluent customers for local merchants, convinced many that the town could support another, better capitalized bank. Principal holders of the new bank's \$30,000-worth of capital stock were prominent Windsor-area businessmen, farmers, and ranchers James McGruder, J.E. Law, and Lewis Kern. Windsor merchant Harrison Teller soon became another prominent stockholder. C.S. Harley was the first cashier or day-to-day manager of the bank. Soon afterward, emerging Colorado financier Frank Newton Briggs bought Harley's interest in the bank and became the cashier.

In July 1906, the financial institution obtained charter number 8296 as a national bank. The U.S. Treasury's Comptroller of Currency oversaw federally chartered banks. All national banks were members of the Federal Reserve System and, later, were insured by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC). Beyond the legal and financial implications, national banks communicated a sense of permanence and importance that small-town investors found particularly appealing. With its new charter and subsequent merger on June 3, 1907, with Windsor's first bank, the Weld County Bank, the institution became known as the First National Bank of Windsor. Wesley Staley, previous owner of the Weld County Bank, became cashier of the combined institutions.

In 1909 brothers W.E. and E.P. Hickman, of Cheyenne Wells, acquired Staley's controlling interest in the bank and continued to direct the institution for decades. Also around



Figure 3.15 and 3.16. The Yancey Block in 2007 (above). Investors in Johnstown were so impressed with the edifice that they hired contractor A.M. Felmlee to build an exact replica in their town. The twin (below) still stands at 19 Parish Avenue and is known as the Eureka Block. (Both images *Historitecture*.)





Figure 3.17. The First National Bank of Windsor's 1919 edifice, as seen in the 1940s. Extending to the right (west) are other commercial buildings lining the southern side of Main Street's 500 block. (*Town of Windsor.*)

1909, Harrison Teller became president of the bank and held the position until his death on September 4, 1925. W.E. Hickman then became president and guided the growth of the bank until 1946; during his thirty-seven years involved with the bank, W.E. Hickman never missed a single meeting of the board of directors.

By 1940 the bank "was rated as one of the strongest financial institutions in Colorado, considering the scope of the territory served," noted Roy Ray. Deposits had grown from \$61,946.62 in September 1906 to \$633,058.26 in June 1940. Then the board of directors consisted of W.E. Hickman, president; R.E. Hanna, vice president; and directors J.S. Hall, E.P.

Hickman, and George B. Teller. Deposits increased markedly during World War II as more residents were employed in the wartime effort and wages increased. With domestic production retooled for wartime efforts, Americans generally found very little on which to spend their newly found wealth; thus savings swelled. By 1943, assets and liabilities were \$1,084,812.34. A decade later the bank's assets and liabilities had doubled and, in 1964, reached \$3.5 million. In December 1979, assets and liabilities had increased to over \$13 million.

During most of this time, the Hickman family continued to control the bank. E.P. Hickman became president following his brother's retirement in 1946 until his own death a decade later. Then E.P. Hickman's son, Hubert, became president. He remained in the position from that time until 1964, when the Hickman family sold their controlling interests to Marion Hutchinson and her son Harry Ashley, of Hay Springs, Nebraska. Harry Ashley subsequently became president of the bank until 1977, when David Kruck briefly held the position before Ashley sold his controlling interests in 1978. Leland House and John D. Baldwin then assumed control of the bank, with House serving as president into the 1980s.

Like the business it contained, the bank building evolved and grew. In 1919, the bank demolished its original, single-story building and constructed a substantially larger edifice in its place, becoming one of the most imposing commercial buildings in downtown Windsor. The building was completed by January 1, 1919, and on January 12, the bank hosted a reception "attended by a large crowd of interested people who inspected the structure," Ray noted.

The new, two-story, Classical Revival-style building contained, according to Ray, "spacious parlors, roomy offices, convenient accounting quarters, and secure vaults with time-lock

safes. It is equipped with modern book-keeping systems and machines.” While the bank occupied the northern two-thirds of the first story, rental retail space occupied the southern third. This area was further divided into two separate storefronts originally occupied by the O.B. Spencer Hardware Company. The second floor, intended to be used as a hotel, was designed with two west-facing atriums or light wells, providing natural light and ventilation into all rooms. The entrance to the hotel was later addressed as 206 Fifth Street. The northern retail unit was 208 Fifth Street and the southern space was 210 Fifth Street.

One of the most interesting aspects of the First National Bank building was the Bank Hotel. The enterprise was more of a concept than a building, per se. Various operators owned the interior and furnishings, yet the bank owned the exterior shell. The hotel originally consisted of two self-contained apartments (later merged into one) and fifteen single rooms, which shared two common bathrooms, one for women and one for men. By 1940, it was the only hotel remaining in Windsor. Mr. and Mrs. Guy D. Ramsay operated the hotel from 1933 until 1946, when they sold the business to Mr. and Mrs. Robert Ehrlich and Al Ahrlich. Through the proceeding decade, the various owners were Mr. and Mrs. Reinhold Ehrlich, Helen Wilson, and Mrs. Ted Semon. In 1956 Inez Flinn acquired the hotel and operated it until 1967, when the enterprise could no longer eek out a profit. By then, the business was by far Windsor’s longest-lived hotel. Among the hotel’s notable permanent residents was dentist Dr. J.A. Walker, who lived in room number five for forty years. It was also popular among the workers of Windsor’s hay mill, which opened in 1949.

The bank extensively remodeled its building in 1966 and again following arrival of Kodak in 1970. The Bank of Colorado,

itself a conglomeration of small-town banks, acquired the First National Bank of Windsor around 1994 and subsequently moved its operations out of downtown.⁹²

Like the later First National Bank of Windsor, many of the commercial buildings constructed in the wake of the sugar factory’s opening were two stories, but the upper floors had very different functions than the two-story buildings constructed in the nineteenth century. Gone were the lodge and social halls, replaced with rentable spaces like apartments, hotel rooms, and offices. The second floor of the Yancey Block (513-515 Main Street, 5WL.5632) contained hotel rooms, as did the upper story of the later First National Bank of Windsor Building (501 Main Street, 5WL.5627). The Cobbs-Peterson Block (418-420 Main Street) hosted much-needed professional offices for the town’s physicians and attorneys. Even the owners of two-story buildings dating to before the opening of the sugar factory remodeled their upper floors into apartments or offices. “Florence and Harrington [415 Main Street, 5WL.5611] are having the hall over their meat market partitioned off into sleeping rooms which are greatly in demand,” noted the *The Poudre Valley* on December 13, 1902. “Perhaps at no time in the history of Windsor were there such numbers of mechanics and laboring men steadily engaged at work as at the present time. Carpenters, bricklayers, stone masons, plasters and painters have all they can do and the demand for artisans is on the increase.”⁹³

Florence and Harrington’s remodeling hinted at the biggest problem plaguing Windsor following the opening of its sugar factory—a problem that retarded the town’s growth and was most likely responsible for the rather tepid boom as compared to other sugar towns. Windsor lacked housing, both for the short term and the long term.

Curiously, Windsor failed to develop any kind of substantial hotel. Its existing hotels were all tiny operations, more like boarding houses, including the Hotel de Harris and the American House Hotel (both no longer extant), as well as the Alamo Hotel (431 Main Street, 5WL.5625) and the later Bank Hotel (501 Main Street, 5WL.5627). The reason for this paucity of lodging may have been one of the factors that created Windsor in the first place: its central location between Fort Collins and Greeley. Travelers had to expend little extra time and effort to reach either of the larger cities and the more numerous and sophisticated hostelries they offered. It also indicated that Windsor was a place to transact business during the day, but not a town in which to permanently settle.

Windsorites knew that the lack of a hotel impeded business and diminished the town's commercial legitimacy. The closing of the optimistic but short-lived Alamo hotel in November 1903 was particularly stinging. "It seems that Windsor gets worse off for hotel accommodations as the town grows," Roy Ray commented in *The Poudre Valley*. "Those in the business do the best they can with the facilities they have, but what the town really needs is a good, big hotel well managed."⁹⁴ Great Western found the lodging problem so bad in Windsor that it constructed its own hotel in 1907. During the sugar beet campaigns, this hotel was filled to over capacity, prompting the company to build a dormitory in 1918 and adding a wing to the hotel in 1919. However, this building, located west of the factory, fell into disuse as the sugar industry waned and eventually was demolished.⁹⁵

An even worse problem for Windsor was the lack of permanent housing, and the opening of sugar factory made the situation significantly worse. On December 15, 1899, the editor of the *Windsor Leader* dedicated several column inches in

his newspaper to the housing crises:

Many indications of future prosperity for Windsor are constantly being exhibited and the possibilities of the future are so pronounced that they cannot be overlooked. The numerous applicants who are unable to secure houses are in themselves the strongest evidences of business activity. Windsor has never had a boom. On the contrary its legitimate growth has rather been retarded by the absence of building enterprise and the inability of newcomers to secure stopping places. In face of all this necessity [the town] has compelled a strong and steady growth and in the past few years our population has more than doubled itself. If Windsor had the houses her population would again double itself and yet be in better condition for future healthy growing. It seems to us that there is not a better investment to make at the present time than for men who own vacant property in Windsor to build nice, comfortable, modern, four-, five- or six-room cottages for the accommodation of those wishing for such residences in our town. Such cottages would never remain empty, and at the present rate of rentals the profits to be derived from the investments would be no small item. It is a matter to be given favorable consideration by the men of Windsor who have capital to invest.⁹⁶

On June 15 of the same year, the editor continued his plea:

The building boom that has been going on in Windsor for the past year has shoved [the price of] lots clear out of sight. This is unfortunate for the town as it has a strong tendency toward retarding progress. Those holding lots should either put up comfortable residences on them or make the prices reasonable so that those who desire to build homes may have an opportunity to do so. Let us expand. More residences are badly needed.⁹⁷

The sugar beet boom further exacerbated the problem, and many Windsor businessmen recognized that the housing shortage was the town's Achilles heel in fostering a real financial boom. They had to act immediately or miss a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to attract unheralded numbers of new customers. On November 22, 1902, Roy Ray penned a passionate plea to his fellow businessmen to fix the problem and quickly:

The beet workers from other districts are coming to Windsor from all directions, and the office of the sugar company, in charge of L.B. Wilhelm, was crowded last Monday with Germans looking for a place to rent. What a shame, for a town like Windsor, to be unable to accommodate these people, who must be sent away to be brought back in the spring at a cost to our farmers in the thousands of dollars.

Our merchants should take this matter in hand and provide some means for the accommodation of these people at reasonable rents. They must live, must buy their groceries, meats, clothing, etc. Why

drive them elsewhere to do their trading when we could hold them here with little effort?

No less than twenty families applied to the sugar company for homes and were sent away. Think of it, twenty families and still they are coming! Merchants wake up! Do you know what keeping these people from you means to you?"⁹⁸

Yet businessmen failed to react with the fervor Ray demanded. The housing shortage continued to be quite acute through the first decade of the twentieth century. In 1914, Great Western took matters into its own hands, constructing "fourteen neat residences in various parts of town." The company then sold the houses on favorable terms to permanent employees. Great Western continued this program for several years in Windsor, where it made a proportionately larger investment in housing than it did in other sugar beet towns.

GERMANS FROM RUSSIA

The reason for Windsor's sudden need for housing was the vast number of people required to tend the labor-intensive beet fields and operate the sugar factories during campaigns. Beyond its economic ramifications, the sugar beet industry fundamentally and permanently altered Windsor's society and culture. In their desperation to find cheap but reliable laborers who, at the same time, were familiar with the complex sequence of hoeings, thinnings, and toppings of sugar beets, the sugar companies brought hundreds of families of Germans from Russia to northern Colorado. In the 1910 U.S. Census, 569 of Windsor's 1,780 residents identified them-



Figure 3.18. Empress Catherine II, known as Catherine the Great, Prussian-born tsarina of Russia, reigned from 1762 to 1796. She invited her fellow Germans to settle Russia's frontier. After generations on the inhospitable steppes of Russia, these Germans arrived in the United States at the behest of railroads and the sugar beet industry.

selves as Germans from Russia or the children of Germans from Russia. That accounted for nearly a third of the town's entire population. By 1920, the percentage was even higher.⁹⁹

Germans in Russia

Germans from Russia were one of the most unusual ethnic groups to immigrate to the United States, and their legacy is one of unimaginable hard work and success against all odds. The story of Germans from Russia in northern Colorado actually begins in the small Prussian principality of Anhalt-Zerbst. There, in 1729, Sophie Friederike Auguste, daughter of Lutheran Prince Christian Auguste, was born. In 1745, Empress Elizabeth of Russia selected the young girl to marry her nephew, future Tsar Peter III. Acquiring the moniker Catherine, the young girl began to absorb Russian culture and customs. In time, she mastered the language, learning to speak without a telltale German accent, and she converted to the Russian Orthodox faith. On Christmas Day 1761, Elizabeth died and, ascending to the throne, Peter promptly ended the military conflict historians would later term the Seven Years' War (1756-63). Yet the armistice turned the Russian army against the tsar, already considered impotent and incompetent as symptoms of his mental illness grew more apparent. With her lover Grigori Orlov, Catherine overthrew her husband. The dethroned tsar died under mysterious circumstances eight days later.¹⁰⁰

While Tsarina Catherine II, better known as Catherine the Great, was fluent in Russian culture, she considered many of the peoples in her expanding realm as primitive and backwards. She sought to create in St. Petersburg the splendor of the French court at Versailles and bring Western European thought and culture to Russia, pursuing the goals of Tsar Peter I (reigned 1682-1725). As an "enlightened despot," Catherine

embarked upon an ambitious plan of reform that included settling Western European farmers on Russia's eastern frontier. She also viewed these settlers as a human buffer between her civilized empire and Asiatic invaders. Only three weeks into her reign, Catherine issued her first manifesto, inviting all peoples (except Jews) to settle in her empire. The invitation met with little response. One year later, she issued a second manifesto that would become the basis for German settlement in the Volga River region and north of the Black Sea.¹⁰¹ In the manifesto, Catherine promised prospective Western European settlers:

1. Permission to settle where they wished;
2. Freedom of religion;
3. Thirty-years of tax exemption for those settling in under-developed areas;
4. Perpetual exemption from military service;
5. Ten-year, interest-free loans to build houses and buy farming equipment;
6. The ability to buy serfs and peasants if those settlers established new kinds of factories with their own money;
7. Free transportation from embarkation to destination;
8. An unspecified amount of "board money" when they reported to the Tutelary Chancellery, which she established to oversee the manifesto and whose offices were in St. Petersburg and other border cities; and
10. Permission to return to their lands of origin at any time.¹⁰²

With her invitation in place, Catherine began a public relations campaign aimed at specific European states. She printed the manifesto and glowing supplements to it in a variety of languages and sent agents throughout the continent to recruit settlers. After four years, these efforts produced little interest. Catherine then turned to the poorest of her own peo-

ple, peasants in the Germanic states. They had endured five generations of military conflict, beginning with the Thirty Years' War in 1618. Ruthless nobles and warlords oppressed the peasants, levying exorbitant taxes and forcing them into military service. "Poverty stricken, starving, and degraded by their rulers, these poorest of the poor heard the golden words of the recruiters..." wrote German-Russian historian Mooneyan Waag. "Compared to the untenable conditions in the German states, Russia sounded like paradise."¹⁰³ Heeding Catherine's call, over 27,000 German-speaking Evangelical Protestants from Hesse and the Rhinelands settled in 104 mother colonies on either side of the Volga River in Russia. Indeed, the exodus swelled so much that German rulers, including Joseph II of the Holy Roman Empire, issued bans against emigration. They were ignored.¹⁰⁴

On February 20, 1804, Alexander I (reigned 1801-1825) issued yet another manifesto inviting foreigners to settle in Russia. The manifesto coincided with Russia's expansion into the lands around the Black Sea and followed the devastation wreaked by Napoleon's failed conquest of Europe. This second wave of immigration included German-speaking people from Baden, Alsace, Württemberg, The Palatinate, and Hesse. While, like the Volga settlers, most of these immigrants were Evangelical Protestants, there was among them a sizable population of Roman Catholics. Even as late as 1884, German peasants founded more colonies north of the Black Sea and in the Crimea, Bessarabia, and the South Caucasus. However, the majority of those who came to Colorado were from the original Volga colonies.¹⁰⁵

As the German settlers arrived on the frontier of Russia, they found a landscape utterly alien to anything they had ever experienced. The treeless, uninhabited steppes of Russia

stretched forever into the horizon. Anthropologist Timothy Kloberdanz argued that it was this unusual topography that sculpted the unique worldview of the Germans from Russia who emerged onto the high plains of Colorado. The sheer vastness of the steppe forced the Germans to settle in close-knit, isolated communities. Here they retained the language and customs of their forebears while they adapted to the realities of surviving on the brutal landscape. "Separated from any semblance of their homeland, the Volga Germans stubbornly clung to their traditional ways and language of their forefathers," Kloberdanz wrote. "After more than a century of an isolated existence on the Russian steppe, the Volga Germans continue to assiduously preserve many eighteenth-century practices."¹⁰⁶ Not only did the Germans on the Volga rarely intermarry with their Russian neighbors, they considered themselves culturally superior to the Russian peasants and Kirghiz and Tartar tribes.¹⁰⁷

The most significant effect on the Volga-German worldview stemmed from the unprecedented amount of work required to survive on the steppes. In time, the Germans in Russia began to idealize work in their culture. "Work was such an integral part of the Volga German world view that it was sometimes recognized as a personalized presence," Kloberdanz argued. "It was not something to be done; it was someone to be conquered." Repeated often was the Volga German maxim "Arbeit, komm her, ich fress dich auf!" (Come, work, I will devour you!) or "Arbeit macht das Leben süß" (Work renders life sweet). In time, Germans in Russia developed a callous attitude toward physical burdens; they did not consider women or children exempt from grueling manual labor, and they saw their Russian peasant neighbors as lazy and slow.¹⁰⁸

However, the landscape and outside cultures did manage

to influence German colonists in limited ways. The settlers adopted the agricultural methods, architecture, and dress of their Russian neighbors, who, in turn, had adapted those practices to the environment. For instance, without trees from which to obtain the lumber for a typical German wood-framed house, Volga Germans adapted puddled-mud and mud-brick construction, very similar to adobe in the American southwest. Additionally, the colonists incorporated Russian words into their language; slept in winter on their typically Russian earthen stoves; and drank *kvas*, which is made from fermented black bread. Germans in Russia even instituted *obshchina* or *mir*, a Russian system of communal land division. Thus, when these Germans from Russia appeared in northern Colorado for the first time in the late 1880s, their distinctively Russian clothing led many to conclude that they were ethnically Russian as well. They wore *Felzstiefel* (felt boots); the men donned *Belz* (long sheepskin coats); and the women covered their heads with *Halstuche* (black shawls).¹⁰⁹

Despite German successes on the steppes, Catherine's promises to the colonists were far from permanent. Even before the end of the tsarina's reign, events began slowly eroding the liberties of all the empire's peasants and foreigners. In 1773, a ragtag army of disgruntled Cossacks, exiles, peasants, and serfs, led by Emelian Pugachev, mounted a rebellion in the steppes north of the Caspian Sea. The vicious attack against nobles, Orthodox priests, government officials, and the imperial army was the result of mounting taxes and government supervision, as well as enforced conscription and the inability for an individual to own land. Pugachev was captured in 1774 and brutally executed, despite Catherine's prior reforms against capital punishment. As a result of the uprising, the tsarina further limited the rights of peasants and expanded the

power of the nobility. The French Revolution in 1789 horrified monarchs across Europe and led Catherine to completely abandon her program of westernization. In the mid-nineteenth century, Tsar Alexander II tried again to reform Russian society, this time abolishing serfdom. (Russia was the last stronghold of this medieval system in Europe.) However, Russia suffered a humiliating defeat in the Crimean War (1853-1856) while antigovernment protest and revolutionary activity increased. A terrorist's bomb killed Alexander in 1881. The attack prompted the tsarist autocracy to adopt a policy of uncompromising repression. Nicholas II (reigned 1894-1917), Russia's last tsar, radically increased police power to subdue political dissent and severely limited the autonomy of Germans in Russia.¹¹⁰

The first hints that Catherine's promises to German settlers would be violated occurred in June 1871 when Alexander II suspended the colonists' right to govern themselves. In the same act, he placed German villages under the direct control of the Ministry of the Interior and ordered that all records formerly kept in German would, from that time on, be recorded in Russian. By this time, the Russian Empire had grown to include huge swaths of land and diverse peoples. Government officials in St. Petersburg feared that without forced cultural and political assimilation, the realm would crumble. In response, the tsar initiated a policy of reforms aimed at "Russification." In January 1874, Alexander proclaimed that all residents of the Russian Empire would be subjected to military service in the imperial army. "...Compulsory military service was viewed as a breach of Catherine's 'eternal' promises," wrote Colorado State University Historian Kenneth Rock. "...The military threat to German freedoms looms large in many family memories in America to this day." The Germans in

Russia were not about to surrender the customs and traditions they had struggled so hard to maintain. But for those who failed to leave by 1897, Russian authorities placed all previously independent German schools under the Ministry of Education and made Russian language instruction mandatory.¹¹¹

Other factors were at work on the steppes of the Volga as well. The German colonists endured declining grain prices and severe droughts in 1873 and 1875. The mir system resulted in reduced individual land holdings as the population increased. While male colonists received about forty-two acres of land in 1765, it decreased to five in 1914. Famines struck in 1891 and 1893, devastating Saratov and Samara, centers of German settlement.¹¹²

Germans from Russia in the United States

While political and environmental crises pushed Germans from the steppes of Russia, economic and political developments in the United States pulled them to the Great Plains. In 1862, Congress passed the Homestead Act. This legislation granted a quarter section, or 160 acres, to anyone who paid a small filing fee and lived on and improved the land for five years. After residing on the quarter section for six months, the settler could buy the land for \$1.25 an acre. Like Catherine's manifesto a century earlier, the Homestead Act was open to noncitizens.¹¹³ Railroads in the American west also desired to establish towns along their otherwise uninhabited rights-of-way. They sent agents to Europe, and the pledges of land for the landless proved too enticing for Germans in Russia. "No one welcomed the immigrants from Russia more than did the railway officials eager to sell land..." Rock writes.¹¹⁴ Perhaps the strongest pull to the United States, especially after the turn of the twentieth century, arose from developments in indus-

trial agriculture that allowed sugar producers to increase and process the high saccharine content of sugar beets. In the early twentieth century, the impact of the sugar beet industry was so dramatic that many referred to the crop as Colorado's white gold. Germans from Russia had long grown the beet as a garden crop, processing it into a sweet, dark syrup. But Germans from Russia offered the industry more than just know-how; their tenacious work ethic and large families could provide the labor necessary to make sugar beets a worthwhile commodity.

Coincidentally, the Germans from Russia who settled on the Great Plains found government policies and a treeless terrain similar to that which their ancestors encountered in Russia a century earlier. As the republic spread across the continent, officials in Washington, like Catherine in Russia, were concerned about the vast amounts of uninhabited land and provided land grants and unprecedented independence to those willing to settle there. Also, the federal government sought a culturally superior buffer in the west to what it considered primitive natives. On the treeless prairie, German Russian's mud-brick construction, dry-farming techniques, and work ethic made them successful in a wilderness many Americans still considered a desert. Indeed, the sod house, an American icon, may well have been an innovation of Germans from Russia.¹¹⁵

The first Germans from Russia who came to the United States arrived in the 1870s from the Black Sea region. From eastern port cities, they settled throughout the Midwest and West, but Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas drew the largest numbers. Those who settled in these areas brought with them hard, Turkey red wheat they cultivated in Russia, transforming the Great American Desert into the breadbasket of the world. Particularly notable German-Russian populations evolved in

Russell and Ellis counties in western Kansas. The earliest Germans from Russia to settle in Colorado arrived in 1880-81 as laborers on the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy and the Kansas (later Union) Pacific railroads. In the mid-1880's, a German-Russian settlement evolved in Globeville, northeast of Denver. The first German-Russian laborers arrived to work in sugar beet fields near Brighton in 1886. These communities, however, remained small until the boom of Colorado's sugar industry in the first decade of the twentieth century.¹¹⁶

The relationship of the sugar beet industry to Germans from Russia is critical to understanding their settlement in Colorado. The sugar beet industry would have been hard pressed to find the labor it required without Germans from Russia; their large families and insatiable work ethic provided cheap and dependable stoop labor. Conversely, most of the Germans from Russia who toiled in the state's beet fields needed the employment since they had arrived too late to take advantage of liberal homesteading policies and land prices were too high for the impoverished immigrants to purchase farms. Emigrating from the Volga River region of Russia, these Germans arrived nearly two decades after those from the Black Sea region. Over three-quarters of those who ultimately settled in Larimer and Weld counties came from the Volga region.¹¹⁷ Largely Protestant, these immigrants were far less willing to assimilate because of generations of isolation and the successful preservation of their Germanic heritage. Yet the sugar beet industry provided work as well as seclusion to protect German-Russian culture. Families either isolated themselves on the edges of fields or in their own neighborhoods.

As more factories opened in towns across northern Colorado and farmers planted increasingly larger acreages of beets, the sugar industry boomed. But the sugar companies

realized early that resident Colorado farmers were often unwilling to endure the grueling labor necessary to produce a healthy and profitable crop of sugar beets. Company executives found that much of the stoop labor, especially thinning beets, was better suited for shorter legs and smaller hands—children. After experimenting with labor from the resident population of teenagers, the companies decided to import labor, particularly entire families. After exhausting the supply of landless Volga German families in Kansas and Nebraska, the sugar companies began importing German families directly from Russia. In time, Great Western transplanted entire villages to northern Colorado. Often it brought families to the state through Canada, avoiding the immigrant quota system at Ellis Island in New York Harbor. The result was that the German-Russian families that came to Windsor were often far more alien to the town's residents than those who spent a period of assimilation among their more-established Black Sea brethren in Nebraska and Kansas. Their isolation on the steppes was readily apparent as they emerged from steerage onto American docks. The New York Herald described a German-Russian family as they arrived in New York: "They were dressed in their primitive homespun garments, which were usually of coarse wool, and of the most primitive style. Our crack tailors would have been puzzled at the droll appearance of these ancient dresses. The women and children...had funny old handkerchiefs tied 'round their heads."¹¹⁸

Volga Germans in large numbers first arrived in Larimer and Weld counties shortly after Loveland's sugar factory opened. In the spring of 1902, special trains, sponsored by the sugar companies, brought hundreds of Volga Russian families from Nebraska and Kansas to northern Colorado. As they tended the fields, the families lived in tents or vacant shacks.¹¹⁹

The German-Russia laborers proved to be so effective that sugar beet farmers and producers hastened to receive them the next spring. The Fort Collins Colorado Sugar Company brought forty-eight families to Fort Collins in April 1903. Farmers rushed to town to acquire the laborers. "Indeed, their employers were in town with teams waiting for them to arrive so that the newcomers could be taken to their homes without delay," proclaimed the *Fort Collins Weekly Courier*. "The arrivals are bright, intelligent looking people and will no doubt make good citizens."¹²⁰

The first mention of Germans from Russia actually settling in Windsor appeared in *The Poudre Valley* on November 29, 1902. "A small colony of Russians with teams drove to Windsor Thursday and pitched tents in the east part of town," wrote editor Roy Ray. "It is said they purchased land of Jas. MacGruder on which to erect houses."¹²¹ The same issue noted that German-Russian families bought a few blocks on the south side of town from J.H. Springer and "expect to erect homes in the immediate future." By December Ray noted that a number of German-Russian families were living in the southeastern part of town "in comfortable cabins."¹²²

As the German-Russians arrived in Windsor with their broad caps, felt boots, and long, sheepskin coats, the reaction among residents seems to have been cautious, confused, but largely positive. That the German-Russians would live among them was a foregone conclusion for many in the community; they understood that the immigrants were here to stay. Adrienne Roncolle, wife of a Fort Collins-area farmer, aired her feelings in a letter to the *Weekly Courier* entitled "Welcome to the Russians." In it, she begs her fellow Fort Collins residents not to prejudge the German-Russian families "as strange beings to be looked upon with curiosity." Instead, she considered them



"harbingers of prosperity." The German-Russians were "friends whom we can trust and esteem, since for the next few months it will be their labor, their knowledge of the soil which will cause our lands to bring forth wealth in the form of sugar beets." Yet, despite her best intentions, Roncolle committed an error in identity that would plague the German-Russian community; she refers to them simply as Russians, an insult to these proud Germans.¹²³

Certainly Windsor businessmen sensed opportunity as Germans from Russia poured into town. As already noted, Windsor newspaper editor Roy Ray championed building

Figure 3.19. A German-Russian family pauses for this photograph while they harvest sugar beets by hand on a Fort Collins-area farm. (*Fort Collins Public Library.*)

houses for the German-Russian families, not necessarily for their own benefit but to supply a new and enormous pool of customers to downtown merchants. But xenophobia was hard to overcome, especially when, in a matter of a couple of years, Windsor found its schools desperately overcrowded and German spoken as often, if not more often, than English. Tensions between the native Anglo population and immigrant German-Russians rose during World War I. Except for Windsor's staid retailers such as the Windsor Mercantile Company, which realized that money was money regardless of what language the customer spoke, most businesses became expressly "American," or specifically for Germans from Russia. This may explain the unusually large number of grocery stores that dominated Windsor's Main Street through most of the twentieth century: some were expressly for the English-speaking population while others spoke German and specialized in German-Russian cuisine. Indeed, in 1940, when the population had shrunk to about 1,500, Windsor had seven grocery stores. Eventually segregation among grocery store customers appears to have become Windsor tradition. Indeed, when the S&M Market (later S&H Market) at 425 Main Street (SWL.5620) closed in 1977, it marked the end of this era. As Windsor historian Mary Alice Lindblad noted in her book *A Walk Through Windsor: 1940-1980*, "Many Windsorites, especially the older German residents, were very upset not to have a grocery store on downtown Main Street and not to be able to talk to a grocery clerk in their native language."¹²⁴

German-Russian identity persisted more intensely and far longer in Windsor than in did in perhaps any other northern Colorado sugar town. Something very different occurred in Windsor, largely the result of the town's housing shortfall. In other northern Colorado cities and towns, the sugar company

and local investors built neighborhoods specifically for Germans from Russia. In Fort Collins, for instance, Great Western established the Buckingham neighborhood while local entrepreneur Peter Anderson platted his Andersonville specifically for German-Russian sugar beet workers. These neighborhoods provided a sort of middle ground in the process of assimilation, between the utter isolation of the field-side beet shanty and complete cultural immersion when families saved enough money to buy a house in town. In Windsor, newly arrived German-Russian families were left to their own devices. They built their own houses and their own neighborhoods; indeed they built many of the pre-World War I residential areas in Windsor. Thus to live in the town of Windsor was to live in a German-Russian town, with German-Russian neighbors, and even German-Russian merchants. This led to a longstanding joke that Windsor was better pronounced "Vindsor."¹²⁵

The situation was no less pronounced on the farms surrounding the town. In just two decades after they arrived, over seventy-two percent of sugar beet farm owners in the Windsor area were Germans from Russia. In 1930, Volga Germans operated eighty-five percent of all beet farms but accounted for only fifteen to twenty-five percent of contract laborers.¹²⁶ "Not all of the German-Russians in Colorado or in the other states have been economically successful, but unquestionably for many immigrants and their descendants, there has been an astonishing and rapid upward mobility," Rock writes. "Second- and third-generation German-Russians today include the leading farmers, livestock feeders, merchants, and professional people throughout the irrigated valleys of Colorado and neighboring states."¹²⁷ In Windsor, Germans from Russia became prominent merchants, and many German-Russian-surnamed families continue to dominate downtown real estate

and businesses, such as the Manweilers, Brunners, and Ehrlichs.

While clearly the majority of sugar beet workers, Germans from Russia were not the only ethnicities to arrive in Windsor upon the opening of its sugar factory. In December 1905, *The Poudre Valley* reported that the sugar factory employed both a sizable number of Italian and Japanese workers. Indeed, at the end of that year's beet campaign, the Italian workers gave the factory superintendent and his wife a set of gold rings. The Japanese presented them with "an elegant, hand-painted china tea set direct from Japan, imported especially for the purpose, as a Christmas gift."¹²⁸ The 1910 U.S. Census also enumerates a number of ethnic Russian, German, Polish, Belgian (Dutch) and Swedish families.¹³⁰

As Germans from Russia left the beet fields for their own farms or houses town, Great Western struggled to find new laborers, eventually bringing in Hispanic families from New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, and Mexico. While Hispanics became a sizable minority in most northern Colorado sugar towns, Germans from Russia maintained dominance in Windsor. Even recently, the percentage of Hispanics in Windsor was notably less than in other northern Colorado municipalities. According to the 2000 U.S. Census, the percentage of Hispanics among Windsor's 9,896 residents was eleven percent, less than the thirteen percent national average. Moreover, Hispanics accounted for thirty percent of all residents in Greeley and twenty-seven percent of the total population of Weld County.¹³⁰

THE HIGHWAY TOWN

By 1920, the population of Windsor was nearly 3,000 peo-

ple. Thus the town continued to grow, but did not sustain the rate of the sugar-beet boom, increasing only about seventy percent between 1910 and 1920. Beet sugar was never as cost-effective to grow and refine as cane sugar, and owed its success to protective tariffs. Those tariffs fell away and the industry slowly waned, particularly in the second half of the twentieth century. Meanwhile, another innovation was growing exponentially—the automobile.¹³¹

The advent of the internal-combustion engine in the late nineteenth century led to a revolution in transportation and transformed the American landscape. Developed in France and Germany, this new technology quickly made its way to the United States, where enterprising inventors and entrepreneurs applied it to a new mode of transportation—the private automobile. Although cars had been manufactured in the United States since the 1890s, they remained a luxury and novelty—a toy for the very rich. By 1900 inventor-entrepreneurs across the country began experimenting with more low-cost contraptions. Among them was an obscure Irish immigrant farmer—Henry Ford. In 1908 Ford introduced the Model T, a low-cost automobile for the masses. By 1914, the Ford Motor Company was producing 250,000 of the vehicles a year. And each year, the price dropped as mechanization in assembly-line production reduced costs. "No single invention in previous American history had caught on so quickly or had such a revolutionary impact on the lifestyles of ordinary people," writes American historian Stephan Thernstrom. "None better symbolized the broader transformation of the American economy in the first three decades of the twentieth century—the shift to a high-consumption consumer goods economy."¹³²

Moreover the federal government showed an increased interest in funding the construction and improvement of high-

ways. In 1916 the Federal Aid Roads Act provided states a fifty percent federal subsidy for building roads. The same year, the Colorado State Highway Commission designated 683 miles of primary roads in the state, routes it would improve to the day's best highway standards. By 1929, over 600,000 miles of surfaced highways crossed the United States.¹³³

Again, Windsor's location between northern Colorado's principal cities transformed the community, particularly the downtown. In the decades before divided highways or even paved roads, Windsor occupied the central position on the best route between the county seats. Roy Ray had noticed this as early as 1902 and encouraged the town to cash in on its geography:

Windsor should not be the ONLY town in the valley—she should be the center—the hub 'round which all other towns revolve. They must go through Windsor to get from Fort Collins to Greeley.¹³⁴

Several downtown buildings reflect the birth and prosperity of the automobile age in Windsor. The first automobile-service business opened very early in the town's history. In 1910, Phillip A. Bartz opened a repair garage at 522 Main Street (5WL.5638). This was remarkable given the few automobiles that would have been plying the rutted roads at that time. Yet business only increased and in 1920, Bartz purchased the adjacent two lots to the west and demolished the house that stood on them to triple the size of his garage. He turned the original, eastern third of the building into an automobile showroom and battery service department. Bartz used the rest of the building as a repair garage. In 1933 Charles "Charlie" Flinn bought the building and operated it as Service Garage. Two

years later he opened a Chrysler-Plymouth dealership in the building. In 1942 the business became a Kaiser-Frazer dealership. Flinn also operated a filling station and a milk route.¹³⁵

In 1914, W.C. Kindred converted the former Colorado National Guard Armory (207 Fourth Street, 5WL.5599) into a sales and service garage, initially selling Nash automobiles. It may have been known then as the Lexington Garage. J.G. Clous later took over the business followed by George Schlitt and son, Ed, around 1940. Besides Ford automobiles, Schlitt's Garage sold Texaco gasoline and oils. The business remained here through 1948.

Following the closure of Schlitt's Garage, this building hosted Scott's O.K. Rubber Welders (also known as O.K. Scott Rubber Welders), which offered vulcanizing, recapping, new and used tires, complete tire and battery service, and general automobile repairing. L. Earl Scott purchased this business from G.S. McCann in 1943. Scott moved the business from 410 1/2 Main Street (no longer extant) to 415 Main Street (5WL.5611) before moving to the former armory. Scott's O.K. Rubber Welders was one of the oldest single-owner businesses in Windsor when Earl Scott sold it in 1976 to Ted and Marion Koolstra. They renamed the business Windsor Service Center.¹³⁶

In 1927, the Wilson Chevrolet Company opened at 215 Fourth Street (5WL.5600). The business was a Chevrolet dealership owned by Foster W. Wilson. In 1936 T.G. Foster purchased the business and renamed it the Foster Chevrolet Company. In 1954 Phillip "Phil" Kennedy acquired the dealership and called it the Kennedy Chevrolet Company. Soon after, Kennedy acquired Starck's blacksmith shop immediately north and expanded his dealership into the adjacent space. Kennedy Chevrolet remained in business through the 1980s, making it the last new-car dealership in downtown Windsor.¹³⁷

Yet another dealership was located at 503-507 Main Street (SWL.5628). The Benton Motor Company, a Chrysler-Plymouth automobile dealership, opened in 1948.¹³⁸

Perhaps no other building in downtown Windsor better represented the evolution of the automobile economy and the prosperity it brought than the former Yancey Livery Stable, at 512 Main Street (SWL.5631). This 1913 building was the most substantial edifice constructed for Yancey's extensive livery and horse-trading business. Yet it was also the shortest-lived as the emerging automobile quickly eroded and ended the livery business in America. Before 1921, Yancey sold this building to F.H. Knemeyer who converted it into the Windsor Motor Company, a Ford dealership. Knemeyer hired Fort Collins's leading architect, Montezuma W. Fuller, to design a new, modern façade for the building. According to the *Fort Collins Courier*, the new façade featured "a white pressed brick front, with ornamental cornice, and five plate glass windows." Installed by prominent Fort Collins builders Lindenmeir Brothers, the new façade followed shortly after the paving of Main Street, causing the *Courier* to remark: "The street in front of the building is paved and with the new front the building is the best in Windsor."¹³⁹

The Windsor Motor Car Company operated for many years. Then E.W. Webber took over the building, operating it as the Webber Motor Company. Dell Curtis then ran an auto repair shop in the building before Gerhard Streeb and Henry Streeb acquired the building for Streeb's Garage. The Streebs specialized in Dodge and Plymouth automobiles, but repaired all makes and models of cars as well as tractors.

In 1946, John Brunner & Sons, a farm implement and appliance shop, moved into this building from 406 Main Street (SWL.5607), where it had been since 1920. The firm sold Min-

neapolis-Moline farm machinery, Eversman land levelers, Westinghouse radios and appliances, Westinghouse and Zenith televisions, and Youngstown kitchens. Brunner & Sons also repaired all makes of farm equipment and performed electrical and plumbing contracting. The firms still owns and occupies the building.¹⁴⁰

From the 1920s through the 1950s the population of Windsor remained small and stagnant, never exceeding 5,000 people. Yet that it could support numerous new-car dealerships suggests that many of the customers were coming from elsewhere, most likely Fort Collins and Greeley as well as the hinterland between them.

With all of this automobile travel, filling and service stations inevitably sprang up on Main Street. Owners strategically located the stations to take advantage of Greeley-Fort Collins traffic. Before 1921, businessmen demolished the Daniel Rogers House at the southwestern corner of Main and Fourth Streets. It was the first dwelling constructed in Windsor. Nonetheless, it occupied a premium location to attract motorists arriving in town from the east (i.e. Greeley). In place of the house, workmen constructed a small house-with-canopy gas station. The building sat at a forty-five-degree angle to both streets, which was a standard practice for corner filling stations, and the building lacked a service bay. It appears to have started as a Continental Oil franchise, later known as Conoco, selling gasoline, oils, and greases. The longtime lessee of the station was Samuel A. Koenig. He was born on December 8, 1894, in Loveland. Koenig spent much of his youth as a farm laborer before taking over this station. In 1962, manager Vern Claus demolished the original filling station and replaced it with an oblong-box, two-bay service station (401 Main Street, SWL.5605), which occupied much of the former



Figure 3.20. Windsor's Main Street was an automobile mecca in the 1940s. This view is of the 400 block, looking east. (*Town of Windsor.*)

Osterhout lumberyard. Known as Vern's Conoco Service, the new building marked a national trend in converting filling stations to service stations. Motorists increasingly sought qualified mechanics stationed at convenient locations, and gas stations filled the role. These stations were often designed at the corporate level and generally included an office and store, toward the corner or busiest street, and service bays.¹⁴¹

Another service station took a central position in the downtown, ironically building and paving over the once Eden-like grounds of the Hotel de Harris, at the northwestern corner of Main and Fifth Streets. Despite occasional rumors that the lots would host some grand, new business block, this prime location, right in the heart of downtown Windsor, remained vacant after the closure of the Hotel de Harris, an indication of just how little Windsor grew throughout most of its history. In 1926, D.C. Washburn opened a service station at this corner, calling it the Windsor Oil Company. The station itself eventually evolved into a two-story building, with an apartment on the second floor. Owned and operated first by George Roderick, then H. Max Hunter, and later Walter Jessen, the station sold Calso gasoline, oils, and greases. In 1947, Melvin Westcott leased the service station and operated it as a Standard Oil franchise. He continued to run the business through 1958, when Ed May acquired the station and operated it as May's Standard Service until 1972, when the First National Bank of Windsor purchased the property. The First National Bank of Windsor demolished the service station to build a motor bank facility (500 Main Street, 5WL.5626), which it opened in 1974.¹⁴²

A third service station occupied the western entrance into the downtown, where it would attract business from the west (i.e. Fort Collins). Opened before 1936, if not considerably ear-

lier, the Windsor Service Station occupied the southwestern corner of Main and Sixth streets (529 Main Street, 5WL.5639). Around 1940, Roy Reynolds acquired the building and lots and operated them as Reynold's Service Station, featuring Bay gasoline and oils. He also sold batteries and tires, washed cars, and performed simple automotive maintenance tasks such as oil changes and lubrications. Charles Flinn, who owned Service Garage across Main Street (522-524 Main Street, 5WL.5638) leased this business in 1942 when Reynolds left Windsor to serve in the U.S. Armed Forces during World War II.

By 1949, Carl Kraft owned the station, operating it as a Chevron franchise. Then in 1963, Kraft demolished the old service station and built a new one (the current building occupying this lot). Then the service station became a Frontier Oil dealer. Ray Weinmeister acquired the business from Kraft in 1967, selling it two years later to Jim Matthews, who rechristened it Jim's Frontier Station and, later, Jim's Husky Service. Matthews operated the business until 1975, when he sold it to Don Canfield and Bob Patten, who operated it for a short time. Jim Bithell operated the service station briefly before Reid Gayman and Larry McKelvey acquired it before 1980. They operated it as Windsor Husky Service before renaming it Windsor Tire and Service around 1980.¹⁴³

Along with the above-mentioned service stations, almost all of the dealerships and service garages in Windsor dispensed gasoline, as did the Windsor Mercantile Company.

Perhaps the most remarkable symbol of Windsor's embrace of the automobile era was its street paving program, one of the earliest of any small town in Colorado. The town began planning the project in April 1920, sending representatives to Fort Collins to examine that city's paved streets. As the *Fort Collins Courier* then noted:

Windsor is a city of probably 3,500 inhabitants. It is located in one of the richest farming sections in the country and it is a town that is up and coming all the time. Windsor merchants are live wires and the fact that they are considering a paving program at this stage of their growth gives some idea of the future prospects of the city.¹⁴⁴

The town completed paving Main Street by August 30, 1921, becoming the first town in Weld County, including Greeley, to have a macadam-paved street. Again, the event did not go unnoticed by the *Fort Collins Courier*: “The fact that Weld County is one of the richest counties in the state, outside of Denver, and that there is a city of 10,000 people in the county, gives Windsor something to feel cocky about.”¹⁴⁵

To celebrate its new Main Street, Windsor held a “Carnival of Progress” on September 2, 1921. Along with the usual picnic in the park and baseball game, the day included a parade of decorated automobiles, a soapbox derby, a “callithumpian” (costume) parade, and a dance all on the fresh macadam of Main Street.¹⁴⁶

In 1953 the Colorado Department of Transportation designated Main Street as State Highway 257, a generally north-south road connecting Greeley to Colorado State Highway 14, just east of Fort Collins. The highway approached Main Street from Greeley on the east end of Windsor, where it traveled east to west for a mile before turning north on Seventh Street. Before 1959, Main Street also became State Highway 392, an east-west road connecting Lucerne to U.S. Highway 287 between Loveland and Fort Collins. Thus by 1960, Main Street hosted two state highways. The Colorado Department of

Transportation installed Main Street’s first traffic light at the intersection with Seventh Street, where Highway 257 turned northward, in 1962. Despite pleas from the town, the Colorado Department of Transportation never installed a traffic signal at the historic center of commerce, at Main and Fifth Streets.¹⁴⁷

Windsor remained an important stopping point between Greeley and Fort Collins throughout much of the first half of the twentieth century. Yet it was not included on the routes of the four-lane, divided highways that connected northern Colorado’s principal cities. U.S. Highway 34 connected Greeley to Loveland on a road several miles south of Windsor. But the most devastating blow to Windsor’s historic downtown came in 1965, when the Colorado Department of Transportation completed what would become Interstate 25 between U.S. Highway 34 and Colorado State Highway 68 (Harmony Road). Now the middle of the journey between Fort Collins and Greeley was nothing more than a cloverleaf east of Loveland and many miles southwest of Windsor’s Main Street. Windsor—a town always in between—had been bypassed.¹⁴⁸

MID-CENTURY DECLINE

The four decades between 1930 and the late 1960s were difficult ones for Windsor. By 1930 the population contracted from a high of nearly 3,000 to under 1,900, a thirty-seven percent decrease. In 1940, 1,811 people resided in Windsor; in 1950, only 1,511 residents remained. A 1967 estimate put the population at just 1,400.¹⁴⁹

In general population decreased in Colorado’s rural, small towns during the twentieth century. But precisely why Windsor’s population decreased between 1920 and 1930 and even extending into the Great Depression is a bit of a mystery. One

reason may have been the increased mobility automobiles and improved highways provided. People could simply live elsewhere and still find employment at Windsor-area farms and businesses. Roy Ray hints at this when he recounts the history of Windsor's legendary Fourth of July celebrations. They had started as fundraisers for the Windsor Band, which was consistently ranked as one of the best bands in Colorado. As the town evolved, increasingly more businesses backed the celebration until it became the principal event in Windsor's social calendar. Yet the event began to fade around 1910. "The last attempt to hold a Fourth of July celebration here was in 1913," Ray wrote, "when it was found impossible to hold the interest of people in competition with cities, automobiles having made it easy for crowds to reach the larger places."¹⁵⁰

While increased mobility may partially explain Windsor's population loss, the town did not suffer the economic problems that drove many away from rural America in the first half of the twentieth century. Generally sugar beet farmers survived and may have even prospered during the agricultural depression following World War I and during the Great Depression. Certainly, many lost their farms or jobs on the farm. But the relative prosperity of the sugar beet industry may have allowed farmers and laborers to survive the economic downturn. The average value of the sugar beet crop in Colorado during the Great Depression was \$25,820,000 a year. While Colorado farmers grew beets on only ten percent of all irrigated land in the sixteen leading beet-growing counties from 1929 to 1939, the average value of the crop totaled forty percent of the value of all principal crops grown on irrigated land in the state. Moreover, the federal Sugar Act of 1937 reduced tariffs and substituted a more comprehensive, albeit indirect, means of regulating refined sugar prices, beet prices, grower-

processor relationships, and wages. This redistributed beet profits in favor of farmers and field workers at the expense of the processing companies.¹⁵¹

Some of the population loss during the same period in which the sugar beet industry prospered could be explained by the technological innovations that fueled that prosperity. Perhaps no other crop in Colorado was the source of more scientific inquiry and invention than sugar beets. Scientists at Great Western and the Colorado Agricultural College worked tirelessly to increase the sugar content and per-acre yield of sugar beets while reducing the amount of stoop labor needed to cultivate them. Many of Windsor's residents were sugar beet laborers. They could make enough money working seasonally on Windsor area farms to support their families in town the rest of the year. Yet with increased mechanization, farm laborers found less work and left Windsor. Moreover, many German-Russian families amassed enough money to buy their own farms and abandoned Windsor for the surrounding area.

Despite its relative prosperity, the sugar beet industry began to fail in the 1940s. In the summer of 1940, Great Western added raw sugar storage bins, with a 200,000 bag capacity, to its Windsor plant. This was the last significant improvement made to the factory. Sugar beets were no longer the white gold they had once been to farmers and manufacturers. As noted previously, the entire sugar beet industry was built on a system of tariffs and subsidies. Two world wars and the Great Depression significantly altered the world market for sugar and, as a result, eliminated tariffs and subsidies. Growing sugar beets was no longer profitable for the Colorado farmer. Due to decreased sugar beet acreage in the area, Great Western closed its Windsor factory in 1966. The plant was demolished in 1977, leaving only the silos, a few small ancillary

buildings, and the towering smokestack, which provided the name for nearby Chimney Park.¹⁵²

Not surprisingly, businessmen constructed few buildings in downtown Windsor between 1920 and 1970; all but one of them were associated with the automobile industry. They included Wilson Chevrolet (213-215 Fourth Street, 5WL.5600), Vern's Conoco Service Station (401 Main Street, 5WL.5605), the Benton Motor Company (503-507 Main Street, 5WL.5628), and the Kraft Frontier Station (529 Main Street, 5WL.5639).

Despite this lack of downtown building and the waning sugar beet industry, Windsor was not without the opening of some modest new businesses. In 1948, Lloyd Lewis, of Wiggins, Colorado, opened a pickle receiving station in Windsor, near Second Street and the Colorado & Southern Railroad. He expanded the facility in 1950, providing a total of 110 salting tanks. The pickling station was an immediate success for Windsor farmers. When the facility opened in 1948, twelve of the top seventy-eight national pickle producers for the H.J. Heinz Company were from the Windsor area. But increasingly high shipping costs to processing and distribution centers in California and Michigan forced Heinz to close its Windsor pickle receiving station in 1972.¹⁵²

The other industry to open in Windsor during this time was also related to agriculture. In 1949, the W.J. Small Company constructed a double-unit hay mill east of the sugar factory site. The complex included a large concrete-and-steel warehouse as well as an office building. The mill opened in 1950 and provided ten permanent positions and many more seasonal jobs. The Small Company also bought trucks and trailers to haul the hay from farms and to markets. "Having the hay mill cut hay and then haul it away was very helpful for those farmers in the area who had hay to sell and were short of help

and equipment," noted Lindblad. "The hay could be harvested at the proper time and sold for a good price." Small sold the mill to Archer Daniels Midland (ADM) in 1951, and Western Alfalfa assumed control in 1968. Local investors bought the facility in March 1979 and reorganized it as the Windsor Alfalfa Corporation.¹⁵⁴

HISTORY REPEATS ITSELF: KODAK COLORADO

By the late 1960s, Windsor was far removed from its sugar beet boom. Its population was less than half of what it was in 1920. It had lost its major employer and had been bypassed by northern Colorado's principal highways. Yet events over 1,500 miles away, in Rochester, New York, were about to change this little town forever, just as the coming of the sugar factory had done six decades before.

In the 1950s, management of the Eastman Kodak Corporation, the world's largest manufacturer of cameras and photographic supplies, worried that its Rochester plant alone would not be able to meet future demand. A study completed in the early 1960s confirmed the corporation's fears, estimating the company would have to double its manufacturing capabilities for films and papers by 1990. Kodak would have to be build an additional, massive manufacturing facility if it wanted to maintain its market dominance. To geographically counterbalance its Rochester factory, Kodak looked to the West. The site selection committee conducted an exhaustive search of hundreds of locations and on June 27, 1968, the company announced the location for its new factory: Windsor, Colorado.

Eastman Kodak chose Windsor because of the ideal circumstances of its location. First the perspective factory site was enormous, providing plenty of room for future expansion.

Yet most attractive to the corporation was the town's location in between northern Colorado's major cities: "A Windsor location offered...an adequate labor supply in terms of people available to work at the plant; nearby universities and vocational schools; and a variety of communities in which employees might reside."¹⁵⁵

History again repeated itself with chilling coincidence. Much of the 2,400-acre site southeast of downtown included Edward Hollister's former landholdings. As mentioned above, the Hollister estate donated the land for Windsor's sugar factory. Moreover, Kodak purchased much of its Windsor factory site from none other than the Great Western Sugar Company and in September 1968 opened its Colorado headquarters in Windsor's shuttered sugar factory offices. Eastman Kodak was the long-awaited heir-apparent to the Great Western Sugar Company in Windsor. But unlike its predecessor, which was one of the more modest sugar factories in the company, Kodak Colorado would become Eastman Kodak's major manufacturing facility and one of the single largest employers in northern Colorado.¹⁵⁶

Groundbreaking for the Kodak Colorado Division's enormous Windsor factory occurred in May of 1969. On August 10, 1971, a roll of phototypesetting paper came off the production line. It was the first Kodak product manufactured in Windsor. There to witness the event were Colorado Governor John A. Love, leading Kodak executives from Rochester, and the plant's then 350 employees. In June 1972, Kodak hosted a two-day open house, drawing 20,000 visitors.

By 1980, Kodak Colorado Division employed 3,000 people, eighty-five percent of whom the corporation hired locally. Of these employees, about 460 of them, with their families, made Windsor their home. Kodak also paid over seventy per-

cent of Windsor's school taxes.¹⁵⁷

The opening of Kodak Colorado radically altered Windsor's downtown. There were two major reasons for this revolution in the built environment. First, Many Windsor businessmen and civic leaders felt that the downtown was at the very least inadequately prepared for growth and, at worst, a downright embarrassment—a mark of shame as executives of one of America's most staid and prosperous corporations arrived in the hamlet.

"It's Now or Never for Main St," proclaimed *Windsor Beacon* editor Blair Macy in the front page of the extra edition published as news of Kodak's site selection committee reached Windsor. It was one of only two extra editions the newspaper ever published. Mirroring the words of Roy Ray a generation earlier when the sugar factory opened, Macy implored business owners to take immediate and substantive action:

Every businessman here has the identical decision to make regarding his own enterprise. Will he simply try (a) to hang onto his present customers, the long-time Windsorite? Or will he (b) expand and enlarge and modernize his operation to make it appealing to city bred newcomers.

The main reason I've revealed them [my motives] at all is in hopes of convincing Windsorites that we've GOT to think big, because what's coming is big. And small efforts to tidy up the places or remodel a little will be lost efforts, in the long run.¹⁵⁸

The following week, Editor Macy revealed more of his concerns about Kodak's arrival, particularly his worry that

Windsor would become Rochester West. "They [Kodak management] don't want this to become just another 'company town,'" Macy wrote. "This is sort of what happened in Rochester, and it has not been too happy an experiment for either company or town."¹⁵⁹ What precisely Macy meant by this unhappy "experiment" is not entirely clear. However, Windsor Mayor Dr. Wayne Miller and his wife traveled to and toured Rochester as honored guests of Kodak. When he returned to Windsor recounting his journey at a public meeting, the mayor noted offhand how troubling it was to travel through one of the city's "Negro ghettos." The comment was not so much about race as it was about the condition of the slums. Macy revealed similar concerns in his continuing editorials:

But if this [urban renewal] is not done, our Main street will soon become the slums of the area—our own Larimer street—with gin mills and flop houses and hock shops with girly magazine stands.* Few people would want to live near Main street any longer, if they could afford to move further out, for this would become a ghetto.

...Now's the time to eliminate the future governmental and social problems which always emerge out of slum areas. Let's keep the slums as far away as possible.¹⁶⁰

The second factor reshaping Main Street upon Kodak Colorado's arrival were Colorado Governor John Love and Eastman Kodak executives. The governor lobbied hard to bring the

factory and its hundreds of jobs to northern Colorado following the failure of the sugar beet industry. The political risk, he worried, was that Windsor was woefully unprepared for the enormous influx of new residents, traffic, and businesses, ordering the town to hire planning consultants to assist its own planning commission, established in 1963, in developing a master plan for the community. Eastman Kodak and the Public Service Company both offered the town money to hire these professionals.¹⁶¹ "There is a very special relationship between Kodak and Windsor because Kodak not only decided to locate their plant here, but they also assumed an active role in dealing with the many problems and 'growing pains' associated with the inevitable changes big industry would bring to the area," wrote Mary Alice Lindblad in her Windsor history.¹⁶²

Thus, the town council interviewed several planning firms before hiring Harmon, O'Donnell & Henninger Associates of Denver. Representing the firm to Windsor was planner Joe Simmons, who hosted a number of community meetings before starting on a formal master plan. Among the loudest voiced concerns at these meetings was the present and future state of Windsor's two-block Main Street. The identity of downtown Windsor was at stake. At a January 1969 meeting planner Rod Katzenberg asked the Windsor Chamber of Commerce and business owners to rethink even their most basic assumptions about Windsor's historic downtown. They should consider building "a new downtown area" leaving "a remodeled and updated Main Street with a special motif to serve as a secondary business district."¹⁶³

The Windsor Chamber of Commerce led the effort to revolutionize downtown. In 1968 it appointed a "downtown" or



Figure 3.22. Planner Joe Simmons, of Harmon, O'Donnell & Henninger Associates, led Windsor's planning efforts upon the arrival of Kodak and the massive growth it spawned. (*Windsor Beacon*.)

* Larimer Street had evolved into one of Denver's most notorious "ghettos." It was the object of a massive urban renewal project that, in retrospect, cost the area its historic buildings and displaced longtime residents.

"Main Street" committee to research, plan, and implement the revitalization of the central business district. The group started without any kind of specific concept or motif. It initially contacted Fashion, Inc., of Kansas City, Kansas, "a firm which specializes in modernizing downtown districts," noted the *Windsor Beacon*. Fashion, Inc., was then working on a plan for Fort Lupton. The firm presented its Windsor plan to the chamber of commerce in October 1968. As the *Beacon* described it, "Included in their proposal was an eight-foot marquee and false store fronts from marquee up to the tops of the buildings, all in vari-colored corrugated steel."¹⁶⁴

Apparently the chamber was not impressed; the body did not hire Fashion, Inc., and immediately scrapped the plan for marquees and corrugated steel false-fronts. Yet a new design concept for the downtown began to evolve from chamber members and business owners themselves. Lindblad credits Wayne Lieser, proprietor of Lieser's Drug Store with the idea. Newspaper articles imply that it was Sam Schauerman, chairman of the downtown committee, or longtime merchant Herb Manweiler. Regardless, all of them shared common traits: they were all downtown business owners and they all descended from Germans from Russia.¹⁶⁵

The first public mention of a new downtown design precedent occurred at the January 7, 1969, planning open house. According to the *Beacon*: "Herb Manweiler...said that Windsor businessmen would like to start work on remodeling and updating the downtown buildings—perhaps following a German motif."¹⁶⁶ The chamber asked architecture firms to provide preliminary sketches of what downtown Windsor would look like with this still ambiguous "German motif." On February 22, the chamber, business owners, town officials, and Joe Simmons met to review the sketches and discuss downtown

redevelopment. Fred Frantz of the Ex-Cell Corporation in Fort Collins presented his firm's concept for the "stores west of the theater." This was the Hansen Block (508-510 Main Street, 5WL.5629). Bob DeGraw, representing Epcon, of Denver, also supplied drawings of various downtown buildings in their German guise.¹⁶⁷

Like their predecessors upon the opening of the sugar factory, business owners at the February 22, 1969, meeting were more than eager to start remaking the downtown—to not let this opportunity pass them by:

Quite a few of the businessmen expressed impatience at the lack of anything concrete to come from the planners. [Joe] Simmons explained that they had a procedure to follow, and added that to the best of knowledge, although work might start tomorrow on the Kodak plant, there will be a bare minimum work force throughout this summer.¹⁶⁸

Yet some of the business owners did not intend to wait, even though the "German motif" remained a rather murky concept. Gene Lenz had purchased the Windsor Theater in 1969 from R.L. Stranger, of Estes Park. The cinema, now demolished, stood on the north side of Main Street's 500 block, between 500 Main Street and 508-510 Main Street. Lenz remodeled the entire building, inside and out, based on his interpretation of the motif. "[The] biggest change in the outside is covering the brick panels of the front wall with rough lumber, dyed an olive green, giving the whole building an old-European motif," described the *Windsor Beacon*.¹⁶⁹

The next business to remodel its façade was one created as a direct result of the sugar factory's opening: the First Na-

tional Bank of Windsor. The bank's management expected business to explode with the opening of Kodak, and its downtown location lacked one important feature then the rage among new bank buildings, a drive-up teller window. Such a facility could only be built on the bank's south elevation, requiring it to expand into the commercial storefronts along Fifth Street. Bank executives decided to take the opportunity to redesign the entire façade. With the German Old-World motif concept in mind, they hired Denver architect Bruce Schock to redesign the building. The Faith Construction Company began work in June 1970 and completed the building in January 1971.¹⁷⁰

The first retail building to be remade in the German Old-World motif was, not surprisingly, Wayne Lieser's own drug store at the southeast corner of Main and Fifth streets (431 Main Street, SWL.5625). He remodeled the interior of the building first, even installing an "old world" lunch counter and soda fountain. In March 1970, the *Windsor Beacon* carried an artist's rendering of Lieser's new façade:

Pictured above is the anticipated new look of Lieser's drug store, after it's remodeled. [The] top portion of the walls, to be built tall enough to hide present chimneys, is of anodized aluminum. The bottom of these sloping walls will provide a 2 1/2 foot overhang, housing floodlights. Hewed beams and carriage lamps will give the bottom section an old European appearance.¹⁷¹

The Windsor Theater, First National Bank, and Lieser's Drug Store had all acted on their own, without any mutually agreed-upon design guidelines. Exasperated by the slow pace

of progress in redeveloping downtown and disappointment after meeting with Housing and Urban Development (HUD) officials in Washington, D.C., Mayor Miller praised these mavericks:

[It] may sound like we're unable to do anything without help from the government or from Kodak, but this is not so. Everything we can do we must do for ourselves, because nobody else is going to do these for us.¹⁷²

In late March 1970 the Windsor Chamber of Commerce downtown committee recommended Epcon's design concept.¹⁷³ By April the chamber and business owners "agreed of-

Figure 3.23. First National Bank of Windsor was one of the first buildings to receive a Kodak-era face-lift in 1970. Architect Bruce Shock designed the façade based on the then ambiguous German Old-World motif. (*Historitecture.*)





Figures 3.24, 3.25, and 3.26. This remarkable series of photographs from the summer of 1976 details the installation of a German Old-World façade on the Miller Building (the former Felmlee Building at 415 Main Street, SWL.5611). Windsor Mayor Dr. Wayne Miller moved his veterinary clinic to this building from 517-519 Main Street (SWL.5625), where he was among the first business owners to remodel a building in the German Old-World motif. The original façade is at left, under construction at center, and completed at right. (*Town of Windsor.*)

ficially on an 'Old-World' motif" for the downtown area:

The action paves way for Windsor's planning commission and town board to make definite plans for the downtown, such as parking and lighting, and the appointment of an architectural committee to act on major remodeling plans for downtown.¹⁷⁴

The group also agreed "to have a special name for the 'Old World' section" of town. After years of fighting to assert its identity as Windsor, not as New Liberty or New Windsor, Windsorites were willing to compromise on the moniker for its downtown. Moreover, they wanted the new name "to be chosen by means of a contest." While the *Beacon* reported rules of the contest would be published later, the chamber appears to have dropped the idea.¹⁷⁵

With the concept approved, Mayor Miller was eager to put the force of law behind the German Old-World motif through council action. Yet planner Joe Simmons cautioned the mayor and council not to act rashly:

Simmons advised against any program which set a committee up as judges as to whether or not a particular plan is "Old World." Who's qualified to decide? There would have to be a detailed reference list of things architectural to refer to, for anyone to decide with any legal authority whether or not a proposed remodeling job or new building fit into the Windsor motif.¹⁷⁶

Unlike many of his contemporaries, Simmons understood that a compulsory remodeling of the downtown in the spirit of

urban renewal was neither practical nor desirable. A comprehensive plan should provide design guidance but leave the extent of façade remodeling up to individual property owners:

A comprehensive downtown plan, however, would help provide an appearance of togetherness and design up and down Main Street, Simmons said, and even if a property owner is unwilling to do more than paint and clean up his store front right now, at least it can be painted to sort of fit in with the common motif until a more thorough job could be done.¹⁷⁷

Because of this foresight some of Windsor's historic façades remained intact. For instance, the only aspects of the German Old-World motif applied to the historic Yancey Block (513-515 Main Street, 5WL.5632) was some paint and ornamental window shutters.

Despite the mayor's adamant insistence to the contrary, Windsor Town Attorney Elery Wilmarth echoed Simmons's concern at the next town council meeting. "It's almost impossible to write a law that would stand up in court requiring all local storefront remodeling to follow an 'Old-World' motif," Wilmarth advised the council and mayor. Councilman Duane McDonald then suggested a compromise. The Chamber of Commerce had already organized the downtown committee, which was now more familiar with the Old-World motif concept than any other body in the town. What if, before receiving a building permit, downtown property owners first met with that body as a *de facto* architectural design review committee? The group would not have any enforcement power, but could offer design advice that would provide the same kind of co-

herent result the mayor desired. "This is probably how the matter will be handled at present," noted the *Windsor Beacon*, "perhaps no further complications will be encountered."¹⁷⁸ The newspapers prognostication proved accurate for on August 26, 1970, with the support of the planning commission, the town council made the chamber of commerce's downtown committee the official body for Main Street design review.¹⁷⁹

In July 1970 Windsor's Old-World facelift was begun in earnest. The Hansen Block (513-515 Main Street, 5WL.5632) was next. Across Main Street, the Miller-Weston Building was in design very similar to the adjacent Yancey Block. In August, contractors removed its tin or cast iron cornice and enclosed its plate-glass storefronts as they installed an Old-World façade. Quickly following these projects was the remodeling of the Helen Casten Agency (509 Main Street, 5WL.5630) and Dr. Kadlub's buildings at 424 Main Street (5WL.5618) and 427 Main Street (5WL.5621). By 1971 a majority of the historic buildings along Main Street had been remodeled in the German Old-World motif.

The most notable character-defining features of the German Old-World motif were heavy, shingle-covered (usually wood), pent-roof awnings or bulkheads. Often these extended from the parapet and were mansard in form. The style expressed overall asymmetry, even when applied to buildings with formerly symmetrical façades. Exterior wall treatments were usually stucco, with half-timbering, and random-coursed sandstone veneers. Sometimes the half-timbering featured trefoils, quatrefoils, and other Gothic elements. Many surfaces were curvilinear, meant to evoke thatching. Windows were generally multi-pane, divided light.

Governor Love arrived in Windsor in October 1970 and was pleased with the downtown's progress. He addressed



Figure 3.27. Colorado Governor John A. Love (left) and Windsor Mayor Dr. Wayne Miller (right) led the effort to plan for Kodak's arrival and championed the installation of the German Old-World motif on downtown storefronts. The two are pictured here during Love's October 1970 visit to Windsor. (*Windsor Beacon*.)

townsfolk from the back of a pickup truck parked at the intersection of Main and Fifth streets. "Love reminisced about the afternoon a few years ago when he stopped here; the GW sugar factory had just announced its plan to close in Windsor," the *Beacon* reported. "The governor complemented mayor Wayne Miller, and the town, for the coming 'new look' on Main Street."¹⁸⁰ Certainly the governor was not alone. Upon the completion of the façade for Dr. Kadlub's office (424 Main Street, SWL.5618), the *Beacon* made a profound observation: "As is true of many stores on Main Street, the 'old look' wasn't bad...but the 'new look' is decidedly more interesting and distinctive." Distinction was at the heart of the struggle for identity.

The German Old-World motif was part of a larger design movement in the latter 1960s and throughout the 1970s to revive historicist styles by over-expressing certain elements, such as roof forms and light fixtures. In their *A Field Guide to American Houses*, Virginia and Lee McAlester classify this movement as the Neoeclectic, including the Mansard, Neocolonial, Neo-French, Neo-Tudor, Neo-Mediterranean, Neoclassical Revival, and Neo-Victorian. "The Neoeclectic movement...appears to have been first introduced by builders of modest houses who sensed the public's resurgent interest in traditional designs," the McAlesters wrote.¹⁸¹ The historicist styles showed up in shopping plazas and malls, houses and apartment buildings. Perhaps the most notable style of the period was the Mansard, with heavy, shingle-covered mansard roofs. The style was built across northern Colorado, especially applied to apartment complexes.

The Windsor Old-World motif was meant to recreate the downtown as a quaint German village. However the folly of the design precedent was that the so-called "German" heritage

of Windsor was in fact German-Russian, not purely German. As previously mentioned, the German experience on the inhospitable steppes of Russia changed their worldview and subsequently their architecture. Yet the resulting façades had nothing in common with German-Russian heritage or any defined Germanic style for that matter. The Old-World motif was instead based more on German fairy tales than any real architectural precedent. It was meant to make what businessmen and civic leaders considered a banal downtown become more charming, not necessarily more practical or even more vibrant. In the process, they made it less Colorado. For instance, many of the remade façades featured uncoursed sandstone veneers. Yet the stone is not native Stout or Lyons sandstone, but more what would be found well east of the Front Range. Moreover, the most notable character-defining features were the heavy awnings, pent roofs, and bulkheads, great for providing protection from the rain but out of place in Colorado's arid climate.

CONCLUSION

Despite Kodak and despite remodeling Main Street, downtown Windsor continued to struggle to define itself and prosper. In 1970, Mayor Wayne Miller told a crowd gathered at the Windsor Theater that their town was going to change and that change was going to be big and permanent:

In the presentation he [mayor Miller] pointed out that, with a stable population up to now, Windsor can expect to grow to 10,000 in the next ten years. ...But the town is going to need 3,000 residential units (including a lot of apartments), water and sewage, seven new schools and expanded junior and senior high schools, recreation spaces, road system, and nine times as big a commercial area.¹⁸¹

The Mayor's predictions proved correct. The 2000 U.S. Census found that Windsor had 9,896 residents, with thousands more in the surrounding area.¹⁸² With the opening of the Windsor West Shopping Center in 1973, the seat of commerce moved from downtown to what is now a sea of shopping centers, stores, restaurants, and offices extending westward along State Highway 392, nearly to the county line. In many ways, Mayor Miller's prognostication that Windsor would require

nine times the commercial area it previously contained came true. So too did the prediction that Windsor's historic two-block downtown would someday become a secondary rather than primary center of commerce. That downtown is now just a tiny part of a geographically enormous town. But in its struggle for identity, the downtown has retained a sense of place that is at the same time both malleable and permanent—in a word, adaptable. It has proven its ability to weather all storms.

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SECTION 4

Results

The downtown Windsor survey resulted in the inventory of forty-six properties, creating over 400 pages of geographical, architectural, and historical information, and 172 photographs. Of these properties, Historitecture determined five buildings (or 10.9 percent of the properties surveyed) were field eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. The same properties were determined field eligible for the Colorado State Register of Historic Properties. As for Windsor landmarks, the consultant determined fourteen properties (or 30.4 percent) were field eligible, including the four National Register-eligible properties.

The study area lacked the distribution and density of resources necessary to constitute a district. The period of significance for the study area in general begins circa 1884, the approximate date of construction of the oldest building in-

ventoried. It extends through 1958, when the area continued to serve as Windsor's central business district, but within the fifty-year period generally required for listing in the National Register.

A massive and highly destructive tornado struck Windsor on May 22, 2008, after the completion of survey fieldwork. Historitecture reassessed previously inventoried properties a few months following the storm. The results of this reassessment are included at the end of this section.

The results of this survey are summarized in the following tables. In general, the property naming convention used in the tables is first name, last name, and building type (e.g. building or house). For the historic property name, Historitecture listed the most common names used for the building during its period of significance.

TABLE 4.1: SURVEY LOG SORTED BY ADDRESS

| Address | Historic Property Name | Current Property Name | Site Number | Nat. Reg. Eligibility | State Reg. Eligibility | Local Ldmk Eligibility |
|---------------------|--|--|-------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| 201-205 4th Street | Dowding Opera House/Windsor Opera House/Masonic Lodge | 201-205 4th Street | 5WL.5598 | Not eligible | Not eligible | 1a, 2b |
| 207 4th Street | National Guard Armory/Windsor Theatre/Kindred's Garage/Schlitt's Garage | Tom Ladd Plumbing | 5WL.5599 | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 213-215 4th Street | Wilson Chevrolet/Foster Chevrolet/Kennedy Chevrolet/Starck Blacksmith Shop | Ross Building | 5WL.5600 | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 113-115 5th Street | 113-115 5th Street | Kunz Building | 5WL.5601 | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 214 5th Street | Windsor Public Library | Pat Weakland DDS | 5WL.5602 | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 216 5th Street | Windsor Hospital/Vaughn Apartments | Riverbend Apartments | 5WL.2525 | A, C | A, C | 1a, 2b |
| 217 5th Street | Mountain States Telephone & Telegraph Company Windsor Telephone Exchange | Velasquez Building/Natural Therapy's | 5WL.834 | Not eligible | Not eligible | 2b |
| 230 5th Street | Dr. Thomas B. and Cora Gormly House | Elizabeth S. Meyer House | 5WL.3172 | Not eligible | Not eligible | 1a, 2b |
| 321 Main Street | Minckwitz House/Windsor Milling & Elevator Company House/Stoll House | Schmittling House | 5WL.5603 | Not eligible | Not eligible | 2b |
| 400 Main Street | George Manweiler Agricultural Implements | Martin & Martin Building | 5WL.5604 | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 401 Main Street | Vern's Conoco Service Station | Shell Gas Station and Convenience Store | 5WL.5605 | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 404 Main Street | Wilson Blacksmith Shop/Manweiler Blacksmith Shop/Ehrlich Building | The Border Restaurant | 5WL.5606 | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 406 Main Street | J.M. Cobbs Building | Chimney Park Bistro | 5WL.5607 | A, C | A, C | 1a, 2b |
| 408 Main Street | Edwards & Hunt Butcher Shop/Duck Inn | Bizarber/Hair Sculptors | 5WL.5608 | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 411 Main Street | Osterhout Building/Windsor Barber Shop/George Onstot Barber Shop | Absolute Hair | 5WL.5609 | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 414 Main Street | Windsor Mercantile Company/Windsor Odd Fellows Hall | Manweiler Appliance Company/My Favorite Things | 5WL.5610 | Not eligible | Not eligible | 1a, 2b |
| 415 Main Street | Hahn & Springer Building/Florence & Harrington Building/Felmlee Building | Windsor Veterinary Clinic | 5WL.5611 | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 417 Main Street | L.C. Schmidt Building/Middleton Furniture Company | Li'l Flower Shop | 5WL.5612 | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 418-420 Main Street | Cobbs-Peterson Block/Peterson Hardware/Windsor Pharmacy/Frazier's Drug Store | Manweiler Hardware | 5WL.5613 | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 419 Main Street | Felmlee-Schmidt Block/Huntington Bowling Alley/Ben Franklin/Gambles | A+ Interior Design | 5WL.5614 | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 421 Main Street | S.G. Fuller & Company General Mercantile/Olson's Clothing Store | Starck Building | 5WL.5615 | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 422 Main Street | T.R. Brooks Building/Windsor Hardware & Supply Company | Public Service Credit Union | 5WL.5616 | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 423 Main Street | Perkins Merchandise Co./Post Office/Darnell & Sons Market/Lorenz Market | Windsor Now | 5WL.5617 | Not eligible | Not eligible | 1a, 2b |
| 424 Main Street | Weld County Bank/Farmers State Bank | Blushing Bride | 5WL.5618 | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 425 Main Street | J.M. Cobbs Block (South)/Farmers State Bank/The Poudre Valley Newspaper Office | Windsor Beacon Newspaper Office | 5WL.5619 | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 426 Main Street | Schwalm Building/Cable Brothers Merchandise Co./Cory Store/Koehler Supply Co. | Memory Lane Antiques & Refinishing | 5WL.5620 | Not eligible | Not eligible | 1a, 2b |
| 427 Main Street | J.M. Cobbs Block (South)/E.C. Wagle Amusement Parlor | 427 Main Street | 5WL.5621 | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 428 Main Street | McNeil Building/F.N. Briggs & Co./Ferguson-Morrow Supply/Windsor Masonic Hall | Memory Lane Antiques & Refinishing | 5WL.5622 | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 429 Main Street | Porter Building/Windsor Drug Store/Windsor Mortuary/Richards & Son Mortuary | Little Wool Shoppe | 5WL.5623 | Not eligible | Not eligible | 1a, 2b |
| 430 Main Street | Springer Building/F.N. Briggs Merchandise Co./Koehler Supply Co./Morris Store | House of Windsor | 5WL.5624 | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 431 Main Street | Cloud Hall/Alamo Hotel/Windsor Drug Company/Terry's Corner Drug Store | Okole Maluna Hawaiian Restaurant | 5WL.5625 | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 500 Main Street | First National Bank of Windsor Motor Bank | Pike's Auto Care Center | 5WL.5626 | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 501 Main Street | First National Bank of Windsor/Bank Hotel | Windsor Professional Plaza | 5WL.5627 | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 503-507 Main Street | Benton Motor Company | Fil Pete Building | 5WL.5628 | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 508-510 Main Street | Yancey Building/Alex Lorenz Tailor Shop/Cozy Inn | Windsor Old Town Rentals | 5WL.5629 | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 509 Main Street | C.J. Sawyer Bakery/Windsor Bakery | Vacations in Paradise | 5WL.5630 | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 512 Main Street | Yancey Livery Stable/Windsor Motor Car Company/Streeb's Garage | Brunner Building/John Brunner & Company | 5WL.5631 | A, C | A, C | 1a, 2b |

| Address | Historic Property Name | Current Property Name | Site Number | Nat. Reg. Eligibility | State Reg. Eligibility | Local Ldmk Eligibility |
|---------------------|--|---|-------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| 513-515 Main Street | Yancey Block | Rasmussen Block | 5WL.5632 | A, C | A, C | 1a, 2b |
| 514 Main Street | Raines & Hainey Building | Rexford Building | 5WL.5633 | Not eligible | Not eligible | 1a, 2b |
| 516 Main Street | 516 Main Street | Edward Jones Investments | 5WL.5634 | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 517-519 Main Street | Yancey Building | Bella Salon/Family Dentistry Judson D. Valstad DMD, LLC | 5WL.5635 | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 520 Main Street | 520 Main Street | Hergenreder Real Estate/Papa Hank's BBQ | 5WL.5636 | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 521 Main Street | Nauman-Shane Building/Bartz Building/Walker Building | Hudson's Bay Salon | 5WL.5637 | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 522-526 Main Street | Bartz Garage/Service Garage/Charles A. Flinn Agency/Star Lite Café | Duke of Windsor Sports Bar & Grill/Moonlight Grille | 5WL.5638 | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 529 Main Street | Kraft Frontier Station/Jim's Frontier Station/Jim's Husky Service | Vogel Sales | 5WL.5639 | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 530 Main Street | Dr. Frank R. Porter House | Porter House Bed & Breakfast Inn | 5WL.2464 | A | A | 1a,1c, 2b |

TABLE 4.2: SURVEY LOG SORTED BY SITE NUMBER

| Site Number | Historic Property Name | Current Property Name | Address | Nat. Reg. Eligibility | State Reg. Eligibility | Local Ldmk Eligibility |
|-------------|--|--|---------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| 5WL.834 | Mountain States Telephone & Telegraph Company Windsor Telephone Exchange | Velasquez Building/Natural Therapy's | 217 5th Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | 2b |
| 5WL.2464 | Dr. Frank R. Porter House | Porter House Bed & Breakfast Inn | 530 Main Street | A | A | 1a,1c, 2b |
| 5WL.2525 | Windsor Hospital/Vaughn Apartments | Riverbend Apartments | 216 5th Street | A, C | A, C | 1a, 2b |
| 5WL.3172 | Dr. Thomas B. and Cora Gormly House | Elizabeth S. Meyer House | 230 5th Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | 1a, 2b |
| 5WL.5598 | Dowding Opera House/Windsor Opera House/Masonic Lodge | 201-205 4th Street | 201-205 4th Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | 1a, 2b |
| 5WL.5599 | National Guard Armory/Windsor Theatre/Kindred's Garage/Schlitt's Garage | Tom Ladd Plumbing | 207 4th Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 5WL.5600 | Wilson Chevrolet/Foster Chevrolet/Kennedy Chevrolet/Starck Blacksmith Shop | Ross Building | 213-215 4th Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 5WL.5601 | 113-115 5th Street | Kunz Building | 113-115 5th Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 5WL.5602 | Windsor Public Library | Pat Weakland DDS | 214 5th Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 5WL.5603 | Minckwitz House/Windsor Milling & Elevator Company House/Stoll House | Schmittling House | 321 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | 2b |
| 5WL.5604 | George Manweiler Agricultural Implements | Martin & Martin Building | 400 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 5WL.5605 | Vern's Conoco Service Station | Shell Gas Station and Convenience Store | 401 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 5WL.5606 | Wilson Blacksmith Shop/Manweiler Blacksmith Shop/Ehrlich Building | The Border Restaurant | 404 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 5WL.5607 | J.M. Cobbs Building | Chimney Park Bistro | 406 Main Street | A, C | A, C | 1a, 2b |
| 5WL.5608 | Edwards & Hunt Butcher Shop/Duck Inn | Bizarber/Hair Sculptors | 408 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 5WL.5609 | Osterhout Building/Windsor Barber Shop/George Onstot Barber Shop | Absolute Hair | 411 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 5WL.5610 | Windsor Mercantile Company/Windsor Odd Fellows Hall | Manweiler Appliance Company/My Favorite Things | 414 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | 1a, 2b |
| 5WL.5611 | Hahn & Springer Building/Florence & Harrington Building/Felmlee Building | Windsor Veterinary Clinic | 415 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 5WL.5612 | L.C. Schmidt Building/Middleton Furniture Company | Li'l Flower Shop | 417 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 5WL.5613 | Cobbs-Peterson Block/Peterson Hardware/Windsor Pharmacy/Frazier's Drug Store | Manweiler Hardware | 418-420 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 5WL.5614 | Felmlee-Schmidt Block/Huntington Bowling Alley/Ben Franklin/Gambles | A+ Interior Design | 419 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 5WL.5615 | S.G. Fuller & Company General Mercantile/Olson's Clothing Store | Starck Building | 421 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 5WL.5616 | T.R. Brooks Building/Windsor Hardware & Supply Company | Public Service Credit Union | 422 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 5WL.5617 | Perkins Merchandise Co./Post Office/Darnell & Sons Market/Lorenz Market | Windsor Now | 423 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | 1a, 2b |
| 5WL.5618 | Weld County Bank/Farmers State Bank | Blushing Bride | 424 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 5WL.5619 | J.M. Cobbs Block (South)/Farmers State Bank/The Poudre Valley Newspaper Office | Windsor Beacon Newspaper Office | 425 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 5WL.5620 | Schwalm Building/Cable Brothers Merchandise Co./Cory Store/Koehler Supply Co. | Memory Lane Antiques & Refinishing | 426 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | 1a, 2b |
| 5WL.5621 | J.M. Cobbs Block (South)/E.C. Wigle Amusement Parlor | 427 Main Street | 427 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 5WL.5622 | McNeil Building/F.N. Briggs & Co./Ferguson-Morrow Supply/Windsor Masonic Hall | Memory Lane Antiques & Refinishing | 428 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 5WL.5623 | Porter Building/Windsor Drug Store/Windsor Mortuary/Richards & Son Mortuary | Little Wool Shoppe | 429 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | 1a, 2b |
| 5WL.5624 | Springer Building/F.N. Briggs Merchandise Co./Koehler Supply Co./Morris Store | House of Windsor | 430 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 5WL.5625 | Cloud Hall/Alamo Hotel/Windsor Drug Company/Terry's Corner Drug Store | Okole Maluna Hawaiian Restaurant | 431 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 5WL.5626 | First National Bank of Windsor Motor Bank | Pike's Auto Care Center | 500 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 5WL.5627 | First National Bank of Windsor/Bank Hotel | Windsor Professional Plaza | 501 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 5WL.5628 | Benton Motor Company | Fil Pete Building | 503-507 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 5WL.5629 | Yancey Building/Alex Lorenz Tailor Shop/Cozy Inn | Windsor Old Town Rentals | 508-510 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 5WL.5630 | C.J. Sawyer Bakery/Windsor Bakery | Vacations in Paradise | 509 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |

| Site Number | Historic Property Name | Current Property Name | Address | Nat. Reg. Eligibility | State Reg. Eligibility | Local Ldmk Eligibility |
|-------------|--|---|---------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| 5WL.5631 | Yancey Livery Stable/Windsor Motor Car Company/Streeb's Garage | Brunner Building/John Brunner & Company | 512 Main Street | A, C | A, C | 1a, 2b |
| 5WL.5632 | Yancey Block | Rasmussen Block | 513-515 Main Street | A, C | A, C | 1a, 2b |
| 5WL.5633 | Raines & Hainey Building | Rexford Building | 514 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | 1a, 2b |
| 5WL.5634 | 516 Main Street | Edward Jones Investments | 516 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 5WL.5635 | Yancey Building | Bella Salon/Family Dentistry Judson D. Valstad DMD, LLC | 517-519 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 5WL.5636 | 520 Main Street | Hergenreder Real Estate/Papa Hank's BBQ | 520 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 5WL.5637 | Nauman-Shane Building/Bartz Building/Walker Building | Hudson's Bay Salon | 521 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 5WL.5638 | Bartz Garage/Service Garage/Charles A. Flinn Agency/Star Lite Café | Duke of Windsor Sports Bar & Grill/Moonlight Grille | 522-526 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |
| 5WL.5639 | Kraft Frontier Station/Jim's Frontier Station/Jim's Husky Service | Vogel Sales | 529 Main Street | Not eligible | Not eligible | Not eligible |

Map 4.1. Downtown Windsor, depicting the individual eligibility status of surveyed properties. The prefix for Weld County, "5WL," precedes all site numbers. (Town of Windsor/Historitecture.)



VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURAL STYLE

Historitecture identified one local vernacular architectural style in this survey. As detailed in the preceding historical and architectural context, the Windsor German Old-World motif style evolved from planning and urban renewal efforts following the arrival of Kodak in Windsor in 1968. The first façades were remade in the style in 1970 and continued through the decade. The character-defining features of the style are as follows:

1. Heavy, pent-roof awnings or bulkheads. Often these structures extend from the parapet and are mansard in form. They are most often covered in wood shingles, but many feature standing-seam metal cladding;
2. Overall asymmetry, even when applied to buildings with formerly symmetrical façades;
3. Stucco veneers, often with false half-timbering that may have been later removed; other common wall claddings include vinyl or aluminum siding and vertically scored plywood;
4. Random-coursed sandstone veneers;
5. Curvilinear forms;
6. Multi-paned, divided-light windows; and
7. German-inspired signage fonts (see Manweiler Hardware, 418-420 Main Street, 5WL.5613).

DISTRICT ELIGIBILITY

Considering Windsor's traditional central business district as an historic district presents some unusual challenges, mostly related to the installation of German Old-World façades in the 1970s. Few towns have been so radically altered in such

Figures 4.1 and 4.2. Windsor German Old-World style applied to the façades of 422 Main Street (5WL.5616) (top) and 517-519 Main Street (5WL.5635) (bottom). (Historitecture.)



Figure 4.3. The arrow on this image indicates that, behind the German Old-World façade of this building, is the intact brick veneer of its original façade. Charles Yancey constructed this building, at 508-510 Main Street (SWL.5629), and the bricks appear similar if not identical to those used for the Yancey Block (513-515 Main Street, SWL.5632). (*Historitecture.*)



a short period of time.

Downtown Windsor is not eligible as a National Register historic district as one would traditionally apply its criteria. It simply lacks the distribution and density of contributing resources, especially since so many façades date to the 1970s. At this point, those buildings with German Old-World motifs must necessarily be considered to have low physical integrity since the period of significance for this survey extended from 1884 to 1958. To improve the density and distribution of contributing resources, the downtown could embark upon two different strategies.

Strategy 1: Restore Façades

The application of the German Old-World motif was a façade improvement program, not generally a remodeling of entire buildings. In most cases the projects involved removing or enclosing original features, applying a veneer (usually stucco or sandstone) and building false bulkheads or awnings. During the survey, *Historitecture* noted that the original brick façades of some remodeled buildings were still visible at the corners, under the newer façades. Thus, it could be possible to remove the German Old-World motif elements and restore the original façades.

Of course this scenario presents its own problems. The extent of the original façades remaining intact beneath the German Old-World veneers is entirely unknown. Moreover, many features would have to be replicated, including kick plates, windows, sign bands, and, most importantly, cornices. To accurately replicate these features would require a detailed photographic or other architectural record for each building to be restored. However, research for this project turned up few photographs of downtown façades, particularly any detailed

enough to accurately replicate missing historical features.

Strategy 2: Maintain German Old-World Façades

If Windsor maintained its German Old-World façades, it could have an intact National Register historic district, particularly if the survey area is reassessed after 2020 (fifty years after the installation of the first façades in 1970). Also, the Town could make a strong case that the National Register's fifty-year rule should be suspended in creating a Windsor historic district, given the unusual and monumentally important local historical circumstances (e.g. the arrival of Kodak with its resulting planning innovations and urban renewal projects).

Creating a district sooner than later may also be necessary to preserve the existing German Old-World façades. This survey found that many of the style's character-defining features have already been altered or removed. Particularly noticeable has been the removal of false half-timbering, the replacement of multi-light windows with single-light windows, and the recovering of awnings with asphalt or metal rather than wood shingles. One of the most notable differences between the German Old-World façades as they were installed and what exists today is signage. In the 1970s, downtown signage was much more coherent, with German-like fonts and traditional signage media.

Maintaining the German Old-World façades presents its own share of problems. Firstly, based on in-field observations and building-owner interviews, *Historitecture* found that the 1970s façades were not particularly well installed and did not use the best materials. Retaining the façades may actually cause more damage to the buildings than removing or updating them. Secondly, in-field interviews suggested that the German Old-World style is not generally well regarded in



Figures 4.4 and 4.5. Changes to Windsor's German Old-World façades often made buildings more less interesting and diminished the impact of a coherent design motif. One example is 508-510 Main Street (SWL.5629), pictured after the installation of the Old-World façade in 1970 (left) and in 2008 (right). The 2008 façade reveals the removal of false half-timbering, divided-light windows, German-styled signage fonts, and lamps. (*Windsor Beacon*, left, *Historitecture*, right.)

Map 4.2. Façade styles in downtown Windsor. Because some façades have elements of more than one style, Historitecture indicates only the most notable styles on this map. (*Town of Windsor/Historitecture.*)



Windsor today and considered to be at best outdated, at worst tacky. Much of the perception, however, may stem from the more recent alterations of the 1970s façades. For instance, many of the buildings have lost their distinctive false half-timbering and carriage lamps. These remodeling projects have made the façades generally more generic. Thus what exists in Windsor today is not entirely representative of the more design-cohesive downtown of the 1970s.

ASSESSMENT OF TORNADO DAMAGE

On May 22, 2008, one of the most destructive tornadoes ever recorded in northern Colorado left a path of destruction from Greeley, through Windsor and Fort Collins, to the Wyoming border. Newer residential neighborhoods in Windsor, particularly those southeast of downtown, were devastated, with the storm leveling some houses.

The tornado was more forgiving to the historic downtown. Ironically, however, it inflicted the most damage on the survey area's two National Register-listed properties. The storm collapsed two stories of the three-story brick wing of the Windsor Milling & Elevator Company flour mill, at 301 Main Street

(5WL.838), a State Historical Fund grant recipient. The storm's fury destroyed over a third of the entire building. At the time of this writing, the building appears to have been nominally stabilized but its future remains uncertain.

Contractors were in the midst of a State Historical Fund-financed restoration of the old Windsor Town Hall, at 116 Fifth Street (5WL.2050), when the storm ripped away the building's roof and other structural supports, causing the masonry walls to bow outward. This disaster also exposed the interior of the building to the elements. At the time of this writing, restoration work had resumed on old Town Hall and it is expected to be fully restored.

Damage to other resources in the survey area was remarkably minimal, given the ferocity of the storm. Many buildings lost roof coverings, canvas awnings, and other non-permanent features that were not character-defining. The most notable destruction of historic fabric was the loss of the cornice on the Raines & Hainey Building/Rexford Building, at 514 Main Street (5WL.5633). Sadly, this was one of the last intact cornices left in downtown Windsor. The building owner replaced the feature with a band of sandstone veneer.



Figure 4.6. The May 22, 2008, tornado destroyed the cornice of the Rexford Building, at 514 Main Street (5WL.5633). It was one of only a few original cornices remaining in downtown Windsor. (*Historitecture.*)

SECTION 5

Recommendations

RECOMMENDATION 1: NOMINATE ELIGIBLE PROPERTIES

Many of the properties determined field eligible for listing in the National Register or as Windsor Landmarks have been fastidiously maintained and preserved by the building owners and the business people who occupied them. They have managed to preserve their beloved buildings despite a pervasive urban renewal project in the 1970s and the 2008 tornado. National Register and Windsor Landmark designations would not only appropriately recognize these property owners for their efforts, but also would provide incentives, financial and otherwise, to continue their preservation efforts.

RECOMMENDATION 2: CONSIDER DOWNTOWN HISTORIC DISTRICTS

The previous section outline the difficulties creating a historic district within or encompassing Windsor's traditional center of commerce. But creating a district, particularly at the local landmark level, may be possible. Historic districts can provide a number of distinct advantages, particularly for a downtown. Historic districts: Typically historic districts...

- Do not freeze or reduce property values;
- Sometimes appreciate property values faster than the community as a whole;
- Actually protect properties from wild fluctuations in the

real estate market;

- Can be a significant catalyst for private investment because public interest in the area makes investments less risky; and
- Provide a competitive marketing advantage over newer commercial areas.

For more information on the impact of historic district designations on real estate values, see Colorado Historical Society publication 1620, *The Economic Benefits of Historic Preservation in Colorado* (available at www.coloradohistory-oahp.org/publications/1620.htm). See also Donovan Rypkema's *The Economics of Historic Preservation: A Community Leader's Guide* (Washington, D.C.: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1994).

RECOMMENDATION 3: SURVEY RESIDENTIAL NEIGHBORHOODS

This survey report and context only address half the story in Windsor: the commercial development of the downtown. Historitecture strongly recommends surveying the town's residential neighborhoods to provide the historical and architectural information necessary for informed preservation planning efforts in those areas and of those particular resources. Windsor's residential neighborhoods have not been comprehensively surveyed. Historitecture's cursory observa-

tions of these areas indicate that they have substantially higher levels of physical integrity than the downtown and may be eligible as historic districts.

RECOMMENDATION 4: DIGITIZE WINDSOR'S NEWSPAPER COLLECTION

The most important historical resource Historitecture used to complete this project were Windsor's historic newspapers: the *Windsor Leader*, *The Poudre Valley*, and the *Windsor Beacon*. However, only one, irreplaceable copy of the first several decades of these newspapers exist. The *Windsor Beacon* stores the newspapers in its vault and highly restricts access. Nonetheless, the newspapers are in very deteriorated condition. A fire, tornado, or even simple carelessness could destroy these newspapers—and erase forever one of the few sources historians have to research Windsor's early history.

Thus Historitecture recommends digitizing the collection.

This would provide several advantages for researchers and for the *Beacon*:

- Opens the resource to anyone interested in Windsor history;
- With current technology, the newspapers could be text searchable, providing an extremely powerful research tool currently unavailable;
- Once digitized, the originals could be stored professionally and permanently; and
- Researchers could access the newspapers at anytime, without inconveniencing *Beacon* staff.

Historitecture recommends the *Beacon* work with the Town of Windsor, the local historical society, or other interested nonprofit organization to secure a State Historical Fund grant for the project. It could be digitized as part of the on-line Colorado Historic Newspapers Collection at www.coloradohistoricnewspapers.org.

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NOMINATIONS, SURVEY FORMS, AND CULTURAL RESOURCE RECORDS

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- _____. Colorado Cultural Resource Architectural Inventory Form (OAHP 1403) for 213-215 Fourth Street (SWL.5600), 29 April 2008.
- _____. Colorado Cultural Resource Architectural Inventory Form (OAHP 1403) for 401 Main Street (SWL.5605), 4 September 2007.
- _____. Colorado Cultural Resource Architectural Inventory Form (OAHP 1403) for 414 Main Street (SWL.5610), 4 September 2007.
- _____. Colorado Cultural Resource Architectural Inventory Form (OAHP 1403) for 428 Main Street (SWL.5622), 15 April 2008.
- _____. Colorado Cultural Resource Architectural Inventory Form (OAHP 1403) for 500 Main Street (SWL.5626), 15 April 2008.
- _____. Colorado Cultural Resource Architectural Inventory Form (OAHP 1403) for 501 Main Street (SWL.5627), 15 April 2008.
- _____. Colorado Cultural Resource Architectural Inventory Form (OAHP 1403) for 512 Main Street (SWL.5631), 15 April 2008.
- _____. Colorado Cultural Resource Architectural Inventory Form (OAHP 1403) for 513-515 Main Street (SWL.5632), 26 October 2007.
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APPENDIX A

Photograph Log

The following tables contain information for each of the digital images recorded on the CD-ROM accompanying this report. They are stored as 300 dots-per-inch, four-by-six-inch images in Tagged Image File Format (TIFF). The disc itself is for-

matted in a generic Unix-based file hierarchy compatible with any Windows- or Macintosh-based operating system. The photographers were Adam Thomas and Jeffrey DeHerrera, Historitecture, L.L.C.

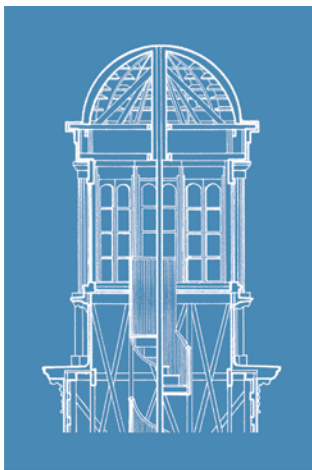
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| 201-205 4th Street | 5WL.5598 | 4thst201-205 - 5.tif | east | | west | detail of southern doorways | 4/29/08 |
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| 207 4th Street | 5WL.5599 | 4thst207 - 3.tif | northeast | | south and west | | 4/29/08 |
| 207 4th Street | 5WL.5599 | 4thst207 - 4.tif | west | | east | | 4/29/08 |
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| 230 5th Street | 5WL.3172 | 5thst230 - 2.tif | west | | east | | 4/29/08 |
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| 230 5th Street | 5WL.3172 | 5thst230 - 6.tif | southwest | garage | north and east | | 4/29/08 |
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| 431 Main Street | 5WL.5625 | mainst431 - 2.tif | southeast | | north and west | | 4/15/08 |
| 431 Main Street | 5WL.5625 | mainst431 - 3.tif | northwest | | south and east | | 4/15/08 |
| 431 Main Street | 5WL.5625 | mainst431 - 4.tif | northeast | | south and west | | 4/15/08 |
| 431 Main Street | 5WL.5625 | mainst431 - 5.tif | northeast | | south and west | | 4/15/08 |
| 431 Main Street | 5WL.5625 | mainst431 - 6.tif | northeast | | south and west | | 4/15/08 |
| 500 Main Street | 5WL.5626 | mainst500 - 1.tif | north | | south | | 4/15/08 |
| 500 Main Street | 5WL.5626 | mainst500 - 2.tif | northwest | | south and east | | 4/15/08 |
| 500 Main Street | 5WL.5626 | mainst500 - 3.tif | southwest | | north and east | | 4/15/08 |
| 500 Main Street | 5WL.5626 | mainst500 - 4.tif | southeast | | north and west | | 4/15/08 |
| 501 Main Street | 5WL.5627 | mainst501 - 1.tif | southwest | | north and east | | 4/15/08 |
| 501 Main Street | 5WL.5627 | mainst501 - 2.tif | southeast | | north and west | | 4/15/08 |
| 501 Main Street | 5WL.5627 | mainst501 - 3.tif | northwest | | south and east | | 4/15/08 |
| 501 Main Street | 5WL.5627 | mainst501 - 4.tif | northeast | | south and west | | 4/15/08 |
| 503-507 Main Street | 5WL.5628 | mainst503-507 - 1.tif | south | | north | | 4/15/08 |
| 503-507 Main Street | 5WL.5628 | mainst503-507 - 2.tif | northeast | | south and west | | 4/15/08 |
| 503-507 Main Street | 5WL.5628 | mainst503-507 - 3.tif | north | | south | | 4/15/08 |
| 503-507 Main Street | 5WL.5628 | mainst503-507 - 4.tif | east | | west | ghost sign reading "CHRYSLER/PLYMOUTH/SALE & SERVICE" | 4/15/08 |
| 508-510 Main Street | 5WL.5629 | mainst508-510 - 1.tif | north | | south | | 4/15/08 |
| 508-510 Main Street | 5WL.5629 | mainst508-510 - 2.tif | northwest | | south and east | | 4/15/08 |
| 508-510 Main Street | 5WL.5629 | mainst508-510 - 3.tif | northwest | | south and east | detail of "CAFE" sign; original and Old-World façade interface | 4/15/08 |
| 508-510 Main Street | 5WL.5629 | mainst508-510 - 4.tif | southwest | | north and east | shed in foreground | 4/15/08 |

| Address | Site No. | File Name | View To | Object | Elevations | Notes | Date |
|---------------------|----------|-----------------------|-----------|------------|----------------|--------------------------|----------|
| 508-510 Main Street | 5WL.5629 | mainst508-510 - 5.tif | southeast | | north and west | shed in foreground, left | 4/15/08 |
| 508-510 Main Street | 5WL.5629 | mainst508-510 - 6.tif | southwest | metal shop | north and east | | 4/15/08 |
| 508-510 Main Street | 5WL.5629 | mainst508-510 - 7.tif | northwest | metal shop | south and east | | 4/15/08 |
| 509 Main Street | 5WL.5630 | mainst509 - 1.tif | south | | north | | 4/15/08 |
| 509 Main Street | 5WL.5630 | mainst509 - 2.tif | southeast | | north and west | | 4/15/08 |
| 509 Main Street | 5WL.5630 | mainst509 - 3.tif | northeast | | south and west | | 4/15/08 |
| 512 Main Street | 5WL.5631 | mainst512 - 1.tif | north | | south | | 4/29/08 |
| 512 Main Street | 5WL.5631 | mainst512 - 2.tif | northwest | | south and east | | 4/29/08 |
| 512 Main Street | 5WL.5631 | mainst512 - 3.tif | south | | north | | 4/29/08 |
| 512 Main Street | 5WL.5631 | mainst512 - 4.tif | southwest | | north and east | detail of east elevation | 4/29/08 |
| 513-515 Main Street | 5WL.5632 | mainst513-515 - 1.tif | south | | north | | 10/26/07 |
| 513-515 Main Street | 5WL.5632 | mainst513-515 - 2.tif | southeast | | north and west | | 10/26/07 |
| 513-515 Main Street | 5WL.5632 | mainst513-515 - 3.tif | north | | south | | 10/26/07 |
| 513-515 Main Street | 5WL.5632 | mainst513-515 - 4.tif | northeast | | south and west | | 10/26/07 |
| 514 Main Street | 5WL.5633 | mainst514 - 1.tif | north | | south | | 4/15/08 |
| 514 Main Street | 5WL.5633 | mainst514 - 2.tif | southeast | | north and west | | 4/15/08 |
| 514 Main Street | 5WL.5633 | mainst514 - 3.tif | south | | north | | 4/15/08 |
| 516 Main Street | 5WL.5634 | mainst516 - 1.tif | north | | south | | 4/15/08 |
| 516 Main Street | 5WL.5634 | mainst516 - 2.tif | south | | north | | 4/15/08 |
| 517-519 Main Street | 5WL.5635 | mainst517-519 - 1.tif | south | | north | | 4/15/08 |
| 517-519 Main Street | 5WL.5635 | mainst517-519 - 2.tif | southeast | | north and west | | 4/15/08 |
| 517-519 Main Street | 5WL.5635 | mainst517-519 - 3.tif | northeast | | south and west | | 4/15/08 |
| 517-519 Main Street | 5WL.5635 | mainst517-519 - 4.tif | northwest | | south and east | | 4/15/08 |
| 520 Main Street | 5WL.5636 | mainst520 - 1.tif | north | | south | | 4/15/08 |
| 520 Main Street | 5WL.5636 | mainst520 - 2.tif | south | | north | | 4/15/08 |
| 520 Main Street | 5WL.5636 | mainst520 - 3.tif | southwest | | north and east | | 4/15/08 |
| 521 Main Street | 5WL.5637 | mainst521 - 1.tif | south | | north | | 4/15/08 |
| 521 Main Street | 5WL.5637 | mainst521 - 2.tif | southeast | | north and west | | 4/15/08 |
| 521 Main Street | 5WL.5637 | mainst521 - 3.tif | north | | south | | 4/15/08 |
| 521 Main Street | 5WL.5637 | mainst521 - 4.tif | northwest | | south and east | | 4/15/08 |
| 522-526 Main Street | 5WL.5638 | mainst522-526 - 1.tif | north | | south | | 4/15/08 |
| 522-526 Main Street | 5WL.5638 | mainst522-526 - 2.tif | northeast | | south and west | | 4/15/08 |
| 522-526 Main Street | 5WL.5638 | mainst522-526 - 3.tif | northwest | | south and east | detail of west elevation | 4/15/08 |
| 522-526 Main Street | 5WL.5638 | mainst522-526 - 4.tif | southwest | | north and east | | 4/15/08 |
| 522-526 Main Street | 5WL.5638 | mainst522-526 - 5.tif | southwest | | north and east | | 4/15/08 |
| 522-526 Main Street | 5WL.5638 | mainst522-526 - 6.tif | south | | north | | 4/15/08 |
| 529 Main Street | 5WL.5639 | mainst529 - 1.tif | southeast | | north and west | | 4/15/08 |
| 529 Main Street | 5WL.5639 | mainst529 - 2.tif | south | | north | | 4/15/08 |
| 529 Main Street | 5WL.5639 | mainst529 - 3.tif | northeast | | south and west | | 4/15/08 |
| 529 Main Street | 5WL.5639 | mainst529 - 4.tif | northwest | | south and east | | 4/15/08 |
| 529 Main Street | 5WL.5639 | mainst529 - 5.tif | southwest | shed | north and east | | 4/15/08 |

| Address | Site No. | File Name | View To | Object | Elevations | Notes | Date |
|-----------------|----------|-------------------|-----------|-----------------------------|----------------|--|---------|
| 530 Main Street | 5WL.2464 | mainst530 - 1.tif | northeast | | south and west | | 4/15/08 |
| 530 Main Street | 5WL.2464 | mainst530 - 2.tif | north | | south | | 4/15/08 |
| 530 Main Street | 5WL.2464 | mainst530 - 3.tif | east | | west | | 4/15/08 |
| 530 Main Street | 5WL.2464 | mainst530 - 4.tif | southeast | | north and west | | 4/15/08 |
| 530 Main Street | 5WL.2464 | mainst530 - 5.tif | west | | east | detail of stained-glass window at interior staircase landing | 4/15/08 |
| 530 Main Street | 5WL.2464 | mainst530 - 6.tif | southeast | carriage house/conf. center | north and west | | 4/15/08 |
| 530 Main Street | 5WL.2464 | mainst530 - 7.tif | north | carriage house/conf. center | south | | 4/15/08 |



HISTORITECTURE_{LLC}

architectural history | preservation planning | digital preservation media