

POST-WORLD WAR II RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT OF LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS, 1945-1970

PREPARED FOR THE CITY OF
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The Post-World War II Residential Development of Little Rock, Arkansas, 1945-1970 historic and architectural context includes an introduction, a historical overview of the cityôs growth and development, a discussion of residential property types from this period and registration requirements for National Register eligibility. This context only focuses on residential architecture and no other property types or archeological resources from this period are included in this study.

In the years just before and after World War II, the continued rise in automobile ownership led to the subdivision of rural land on the edges of cities for residential development. The Great Depression of the 1930s significantly slowed home construction as did the war years of World War II, when materials and labor were directed toward the war effort. With so few houses built between 1930 and 1945, post-war there was a high demand for housing, particularly as military personnel returned from overseas. In response to the housing crisis, the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and the Veterans Administration (VA) incentivized housing construction and homeownership. Federal policies encouraged home loans as well as road construction projects during this period. These factors were responsible for the rapid development of residential subdivisions in suburban settings. On the periphery of cities, large land parcels were subdivided for tract housing. Several house forms and designs became ubiquitous in this post-war climate of rapid suburbanization. At the same time, commercial businesses began following the migration to the suburbs as new highways were constructed. This trend can be seen in Little Rock during the post-World War II period.

This context first provides an introduction to the cityôs past historic preservation efforts and the growing interest in post-World War II resources. The context then includes an examination of Little Rockôs history prior to World War II and the status of the city as it entered the post-World War II period. The context then examines governmental and societal trends which affected the growth and development of cities nationwide and how these trends were reflected in Little Rock. A discussion of residential architectural development nationwide follows along with a specific review of Little Rockôs residential resources from 1945 to 1970. Finally, the context concludes with a discussion of significance and registration requirements to assess the National Register eligibility of individual properties and subdivisions from this period.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Little Rock is Arkansasøs most populous city, the state capital, and the county seat of Pulaski County. Clustered around Little Rock in the center of the state are a number of smaller cities, including North Little Rock, Conway, and Jacksonville, which comprise Arkansasøs primary metropolitan corridor, with a total population of 850,000. Little Rock was platted in 1820 and became the Territorial Capitol in 1821. Little Rock derived its colorful name from a rock formation on the south bank of the Arkansas called *la Petite Roche* (meaning ñthe little rockò) by French explorers.

Little Rock has a long tradition of recognizing and protecting its historic resources. The rise of the historic preservation movement in America in the 1960s led to the formation of the Quapaw Quarter Association in 1968. This association was the cityøs first non-profit historic preservation advocacy organization. The Arkansas Legislature also made a strong commitment to historic preservation when it created the Capitol Zoning District in 1975 to protect residential (and commercial) areas around the Capitol and Governorøs Mansion. In 1976, the Little Rock Historic District Commission was established and this was followed in 1981 with the creation of the MacArthur Park local ordinance district.

The cityøs revitalization and preservation efforts have had a number of positive results in recent decades. The Governorøs Mansion and MacArthur Park Historic Districts contain the largest number of protected historic dwellings in the state and rehabilitation and property values have both increased significantly. Central High School was listed as a National Historic Landmark and the adjacent Visitor Center now attracts thousands of tourists annually. The Clinton Presidential Center receives thousands of visitors each month and has spurred additional development along the river. The River Market District is thriving and downtown residential development is increasing. Little Rock currently has twenty-one historic districts listed in the National Register as well as over two hundred individual listings. Financial incentives for rehabilitation have been enhanced, especially through the passage in 2009 of the Arkansas Historic Rehabilitation Tax Credit.

In 2009, the ñLittle Rock Citywide Historic Preservation Planò was completed which examined past preservation efforts and recommended a series of future actions. One of the recommendations of the plan was to identify and evaluate individual properties and districts built after World War II which may meet the criteria for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. Once considered the ñrecent past,ò the post-World War II residential development of the city has been the subject of numerous studies in recent years. Interest in the architectural styles and historic contexts from this period is expressed in new scholarship and research not only in Little Rock but in communities across the country.

As part of this trend, the Arkansas Historic Preservation Program completed a study of post-World War II residential architecture in the state in 2014. This report, ñLow, Light and Livable, From Modern to Ranch, 1945-1970ò was written by Preservation Specialist Holly Hope and examines the architectural and historical development of Arkansas in

the post-War period. Although Little Rock was prominently featured, this document had a statewide focus and was not an in-depth analysis of the city. In keeping with the recommendations of the 2009 preservation plan, the City of Little Rock commissioned this study in 2017 to provide an overall context of the residential development of the city and identify those areas or properties which may have particular significance. The context is to serve as a basis for assessing the significance of residential architecture from the post-World War II period and identifying those properties which may meet the criteria for listing in the National Register of Historic Places.

A primary resource for this report was ñLow, Light and Livable, From Modern to Ranch, 1945-1970ò written by Holly Hope. Ms. Hope completed extensive research on the architecture and historical contexts of the period from 1945 to 1970. This research included many magazine articles and Arkansas newspaper accounts, copies of relevant books, architectural publications and other source material. This data was utilized for this report and access to Ms. Hopeôs files is greatly appreciated. Special thanks goes to Mason Toms, Preservation Service and Design Coordinator with the Arkansas Historic Preservation Program for his insights and advice on Little Rockôs mid-century architecture.

Other resources utilized for this context include USGS quad maps and historic maps of Little Rock from the Arkansas History Commission. Also reviewed were previously published histories, city directories, National Register-listed resources, and historic photos of Little Rock. Dates for construction of dwellings were determined largely from Pulaski County Tax Assessor and GIS data. This data also provided dates and plats of subdivisions from 1945 to 1970. Assistance was solicited from members of the Quapaw Quarter Association, the University of Arkansas School of Architecture and Little Rock members of the American Institute of Architects (AIA) regarding their opinions of the most significant properties built in Little Rock between 1945 and 1970. Social media was also used to inform Little Rock residents of this project and numerous comments were received through this outreach. Field work consisted of driving the majority of the streets in the subdivisions, taking representative photographs and identifying particular property types as well as architectural forms and styles. Interviews were held with a number of property owners concerning the histories of their homes and the author is grateful for their information and access to their property.



Figure 1: Map of Little Rock, Arkansas. The majority of the city's 1945-1970 subdivisions are bounded by Interstate 430 on the west, Interstate 30 on the south, University Avenue on the east and the Arkansas River on the north.

I. HISTORICAL CONTEXT – LITTLE ROCK'S GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

A. Little Rock's Growth and Development to 1945

By 1799, the name Little Rock (*la Petite Roche*) had begun to appear on the maps of French explorers traveling the frontier west of the Mississippi River. The geologic formation initially referred to as the "French Rock" (now "Big Rock") was included in the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, but the first settlement near the landmark was not made until the spring of 1812 when a trapper named William Lewis built a cabin on the bank of the river where the Old Southwest Trail crossed the Arkansas River. Arkansas became a territory in 1819.[1] Half a dozen log buildings were all that marked the new territorial capital, but one of them housed the *Arkansas Gazette*, the territory's only newspaper, which on December 29, 1821 optimistically predicted that "in a few years we shall have the most flourishing and pleasant town west of the Mississippi."

Though the town was located on the Arkansas River, only in spring did the waters of the slow, sluggish waterway rise high enough and run fast enough to clear its channel of driftwood, snags, and sandbars. As a result, the cost of trade and consumer goods was often double what those goods cost in other towns along the western frontier. While Little Rock was the region's leading community from the first year it was founded, the capital city remained little more than a village. The town boasted about 60 buildings, mostly log but a handful of them brick or frame. In 1831, a decade after the first Anglo settlers built their cabins, Little Rock incorporated as a town, numbering less than 1,500 people contained within a twelve-block area stretching south from the river.[2]

Growth came to Little Rock with the opening of the Arkansas River in 1832. That year, President Andrew Jackson signed a bill authorizing the construction arm of the War Department (soon to become the Corps of Engineers) to clear and maintain a channel on the Arkansas River, thus joining the Arkansas to the Ohio, Mississippi and Missouri Rivers as part of the nation's strategic infrastructure. With reduced hazards and travel time, steamboats docked in greater numbers below the "little rock" on the river. In 1830, it typically required a steamboat more than two weeks to travel from Little Rock to New Orleans. By 1840, that time had been reduced to four or five days.[3]

At the same time, the War Department confronted growing border tension between Mexico and the United States. The U.S. recommissioned Fort Smith west of Little Rock and built a thirty-six-acre Army Arsenal in Little Rock with barracks, officers' quarters, stables, gun repair shops and storage facilities for 100 tons of ordnance. The installation was formally commissioned on June 23, 1838. During the 1830s, Little Rock also served as a supply point for the Native Americans on the Trail of Tears. In May of 1830, Congress passed the Indian Removal Act, mandating the removal of native tribes east

[1] C. Fred Williams, *Historic Little Rock: An illustrated History* (San Antonio, TX: Historical Publishing Network, 2008), 5-6.

[2] *Ibid*., 19.

[3] *Ibid*., 23.

of the Mississippi to new ñIndian Territoryò carved out of the Louisiana Purchase. Some 30,000 Native Americans crossed Arkansas to present-day Oklahoma, many of them on the southern route through North Little Rock. Throughout the 1830s, Little Rock was a center for travelers heading west resulting in more than $100,000 injected into the Arkansas economy during that decade.[4]

In 1833, construction began on the territorial capitol building, now called the Old State House, the first building in Arkansas constructed with public funds and the first designed by a professional architect. Construction was well under way by 1836, when Arkansas entered the Union as a slave state. Little Rock continued its rapid growth during the 1830s and with 1,500 people in 1840, the Arkansas capital rivaled Memphis in size.[5]

The Greek Revival-style Old State House harmonized with the homes built by affluent Little Rock citizens of the early 1840s in what is now the MacArthur Park Historic District. Notable among these prominent homes was the Pike-Fletcher-Terry House, home of lawyer and newspaper editor Albert Pike. Distinguished by six Ionic columns, the house occupied the entire 400 block of 7th Street. Two other homes now listed on the National Register survive from the early 1840s, Trapnall Hall and Curran Hall. Both are located on Capitol Avenue within the MacArthur Park Historic District.

Little Rock continued its steady growth in the years before the Civil War with its population increasing from 2,000 in 1850 to 3,800 in 1860. During the 1850s, there were several attempts to fund construction of a railroad through the state and to Little Rock but these never came to fruition. However, the steamboat traffic continued to bring commerce to the city and in 1858, 317 boats docked at the Little Rock wharf in only six monthsô time. Wharf fees on vessels were the single greatest source of city revenue and kept Little Rock prosperous until the Civil War.[6]

In 1861, Arkansas seceded from the United States along with other southern states to form the Confederacy. As the capital, Little Rock was the seat of the stateôs Confederate government and a training center for troops. Little Rock sent hundreds of men into the Confederate army and contained a number of hospitals to house wounded and sick soldiers. As the war continued, the population increased with refugees who fled other parts of the state.

On September 10, 1863, Union troops skirmished along the north side of the Arkansas River as a diversion, meanwhile putting put up a pontoon bridge nine miles south of the city and crossing the Arkansas River. Thus flanking Confederate rifle pits and breastworks, Federal troops occupied Little Rock by afternoon. The city then surrendered to Union occupation. The city was then occupied by federal troops for the duration of the war. Union dollars and planning did much to transform the city as the

[4] *Ibid*., 21-22.
[5] *Ibid*., 26-28.
[6] *Ibid.*

Quartermasterôs Department constructed facilities to house, feed, transport, and support 12,000 occupying soldiers.[7]

The Civil War and Reconstruction radically changed Little Rockôs demographics. In 1860, 23% of Little Rock citizens were African American. By 1870, that number had grown to 43%. Hostility towards African Americans and Unionists flared, especially as black voters helped elect new, Republican candidates to government, and former Confederates were not permitted to participate in Reconstruction politics.

Reconstruction also brought an infusion of northern capital accompanied by a building boom. The cityôs three brick yards ran at capacity during the late 1860s. More than 400 houses were built in 1867, and 200 more in 1869. The peak of building came in 1871 and 1872 when 1200 houses were built. Investment continued into the 1870s when three new banks were established. The Baring Cross Bridge, completed in 1873, spanned the Arkansas River and provided the final railroad connection between Memphis and Little Rock. In 1877, the cityôs first streetcars began running on Main Street.

During this post-war surge of construction, architectural trends in Little Rock evolved, as the Victorian styles became popular. Built in 1868, the First Hotze House on Main Street is a good example of the Italianate style, which often features elongated, narrow windows, arched upper sashes or hoods, bay windows, decorative entrances, bracketed eaves and sometimes a cupola. The Pollock House on Scott Street from 1870 and the Garland-Mitchell House from 1873 are two more prominent examples of the Italianate style in Little Rock.

During the 1870s, many of Little Rockôs investors chose to build homes along a new street named Lincoln Avenue, just west of newly constructed Baring Cross Bridge. One of the most prominent of the homes was built in ñCarpet Bagger Rowò by Alexander McDonald who moved to Little Rock in 1868. He constructed a large example, now known as the Packet House, of the Second Empire style with a distinctive mansard roof.[8] A decade later, Italian immigrant Angelo Marre, having amassed a fortune in the liquor import and saloon business, built a Second Empire home in the MacArthur Park area called the Villa Marre.

The 1880s and 1890s have been called Little Rockôs Gilded Age, a time of robust growth during which the cityôs population doubled to 38,000 residents. New public buildings distinguished the downtown including a new Post Office and Courts building, a Board of Trade building, the new Pulaski County Courthouse and the Union Station Depot. In 1893 the federal arsenal grounds became City Park. A second bridge spanning the Arkansas, Junction Bridge, opened in 1885, and the Free Bridge was completed in 1897.[9]

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[7] *Ibid*., 33-34.
[8] *Ibid*., 41.
[9] *Ibid*. 45-47.

In residential architecture, the Queen Anne style, featuring asymmetrical facades, bays, balconies, towers and turrets, became popular. The regionôs most flamboyant (surviving) example of Queen Anne style is the Hornibrook House located on Louisiana Street. The historic areas of Little Rock have many outstanding examples of Queen Anne architecture. Typical among them are the Dibrell House on Spring Street and the Turner-Ledbetter House on Louisiana Street.

In 1891, electric streetcars replaced those drawn by mules, allowing for expansion into areas farther from downtown. A group of Michigan investors purchased 800 acres west of town for a residential development known as Pulaski Heights. The area was attractive for its higher (300-foot) elevation, allowing residents to escape summer insects and disease. Located west of downtown, the development accentuated the historic disparity between white and black citizens of Little Rock. Since the end of the Civil War, African-Americans had settled in the marshy bottom lands on the cityôs east side. Additional African-American residents settled west of Mount Holly Cemetery between 9th and 12th streets. In time, this population extended to form the nucleus for the cityôs African-American neighborhoods in the 20th century. A four-block section along West 9th Street between Broadway and Chester was the center of the black business district. Boundaries between the white and black communities were clear. Those boundaries became more evident in 1903 when Arkansas passed the Gantt Bill (or Jim Crow Law). This bill provided for the separation of races on public transit systems.[10]

By 1890, Little Rockôs growing African-American community was served by two institutions of higher learning: Philander Smith College, founded in 1877, and Arkansas Baptist College, founded in 1884. Resisting the national trend of educating African Americans only in manual skills subjects, Philander Smith also offered courses in journalism and advertising and, later, classical and scientific degrees with courses in Greek, Latin, algebra, and natural philosophy. The presence of Philander Smith bolstered the number of educated, professional African-Americans in the city, and fostered pride and cohesion within the black community. Founded in 1884 by the Colored Baptists of the State of Arkansas, Arkansas Baptist College was committed to academic and cultural excellence in educating future African-American ministers. The school also sought to make higher education available to young black men and women. In 1885 the school moved to 16th and High Streets (now Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Drive), where the campus remains today.[11]

Downtown Little Rock gained a prominent addition in the new century as a new State Capitol building was begun in late 1900 and finished in 1914. The construction of the monumental Neo-classical structure was a symbol of a new, progressive era in the state. At the same time, Little Rock built a new city hall. Completed in 1908, City Hall still stands at the corner of Markham and Broadway.

While these new public buildings were under construction, Little Rockôs business community was building turn-of-the-century retail skyscrapers. One of the best extant

[10] *Ibid*., 49-50.
[11] *Ibid*., 51.

examples is the eleven-story, State Bank Building built in 1909 on the corner of Fifth and Main. Another significant commercial building of this period is the seven-story Gus Blass Department Store Building on Main Street. Built in 1912, it became the cityôs fifth skyscraper. A well-known Little Rock landmark, the Gazette Building on West Third Street, is also a distinctive example of architecture of the period.

While downtown grew upward, residential areas grew outward, mainly to the west. In 1903, a streetcar line was constructed from downtown to Pulaski Heights. The following year, Forest Park was developed offering a bandstand, dancing pavilion, picnic area and skating rink. By 1905, the upscale suburb had 400 residents. Pulaski Heights featured homes in a wide array of newly popular architectural styles, including Colonial Revival, American Foursquare, Tudor Revival, Spanish Revival, and Craftsman houses. Bungalow dwellings were also the predominant house type in the Hillcrest Historic District. Also, these new styles of homes were constructed in older neighborhoods like the Governorôs Mansion District.

Despite the boom of residential construction during the decade before World War I, city revenues declined and the city was more than $1 million in debt. In order to support the war effort and to boost the regional economy, a group of Little Rock businessmen raised $500,000, bought 13,000 acres northwest of the city, and donated it to the U.S. government for a military training camp commissioned as Camp Pike. The new military base became the training ground for more than 50,000 recruits, most of which came through Little Rock and used city services while on leave.[12]

Despite wartime prosperity, Little Rock was not able to keep pace with providing services for military personnel and covering interest payments on its loans. Voters were forced to reconsider an õoccupation tax.ò For the first time in nearly two decades, the city had cash flow sufficient to meet its monthly obligations. Little Rock entered the 1920s with a burst of civic enthusiasm. This energy was reflected in the number of new buildings. A new Union Station depot was built when the old one burned in 1921, and, in 1926, the cityôs tallest structure to date was completed, the fourteen-story Donaghey Building at the corner of 7th and Main. It dominated the skyline until the 1960s.

During the 1920s, Little Rockôs population grew by more than 25% from 65,000 to 82,000. A number of apartments were built throughout the city to house this surge of new residents to the city. Typically two or three stories in height, these multi-unit dwellings are found in a variety of neighborhoods. Like single-family homes of the era, they were often built in Colonial Revival or Craftsman styles.

Among Little Rockôs many civic projects during the prosperous 1920s were two new high schools. The first was Little Rock High, built to house more than 2,000 students and widely recognized as one of the most beautiful schools in the country. Nine blocks

[12] *Ibid*., 59.

to the east, a second school, Dunbar High, with an emphasis on industrial subjects, served African-American students.[13]

The Great Depression of the 1930s slowed construction considerably in Little Rock and the population grew by only 6,000 residents during this decade. Many businesses closed and residential development was limited during these years. Houses which were built during the 1930s tended to reflect simpler forms - Craftsman and Revival styles gradually gave way to new "modern" homes with cleaner lines. While the periodôs Art Deco and Art Moderne styles were limited for home construction, their emphasis on streamlining and sleek materials also influenced house designs with restrained ornamentation. Few examples of the Art Deco or Art Moderne styles were built in Little Rock during the 1930s. A notable exception was the Art Moderne Werner Knoop House at 6 Ozark Point completed in 1937 (NR-listed 1990).

By the late 1930s, another world war was taking shape in Europe, and Camp Pike in North Little Rock, renamed Camp Joseph T. Robinson, was activated. The Army leased more land and expanded the base to more than 70,000 acres. Training began there in 1940 and with Americaôs entry into World War II many new jobs in construction were provided for Little Rock residents. During the war, Camp Robinson drew more than 25,000 new citizens to Little Rock, and thousands of soldiers with weekend passes visited the city regularly. This increase in population caused a housing shortage, and the military contracted with the city to build three new housing projects for personnel involved in the war effort. Sunset Terrace and Highland Park in southern and western sections of the city were constructed for whites and Tuxedo Courts on the cityôs southeast side housed African-American families.[14]

With the end of World War II in 1945, Little Rock was a changed city. Its population increased significantly during the war and it gained prominence as the largest and most commercially successful city in the state. The cityôs prominent business leaders banded together as ñThe Committee of 100ò and purchased 600 acres southwest of the city for the development of an industrial park. State leaders were eager to assist Little Rock development, as Arkansas experienced a population loss from rural communities.

B. Little Rock's Growth and Development, 1945-1970

By the early 20th century, the planners and designers across the country steered the development of new neighborhoods, promoting a model of larger residential lots with landscaped yards as country living. Intellectuals tied this ideal to moralism, citing the social and aesthetic superiority of a suburban way of life. Reformers stressed the physical and psychological benefits of living in a location with plenty of fresh air and sunshine, far removed from the grimy, germ-infested confines of urban tenements, and the harmony and safety inherent in a neighborhood composed of residents with shared

[13] *Ibid*., 62, 65.
[14] *Ibid*., 69-70.

values.[15] In Little Rock, the development of Pulaski Heights was the first example. In 1891, Michigan lawyers H.F. Auten and Edgar E. Moss purchased 800 acres far from the center of town in anticipation of streetcars. When the streetcars were placed into service in 1903, Little Rockôs first suburb was created. By 1905, there were 300 families living in Pulaski Heights which was incorporated that year. The town became Little Rockôs Ninth Ward in 1916.

The suburban movement was also a vehicle for a shift in architectural preferences. In the early twentieth century, Americans came to embrace their roots by turning away from the ornamented, formal, cluttered designs of Victorian architecture for symmetrical, orderly Colonial Revival, American Foursquare, and Neo-Classical designs, and architecture with vernacular overtones such as Tudor Revival and Craftsman. The Pulaski Heights Land Company published a promotional pamphlet in 1911 featuring Tudor Revival-style dwellings and Craftsman Bungalows.[16] Prominent Arkansas architects of the period were George Mann and Charles Thompson, who designed several Pulaski Heights homes.

As in most cities across the country, construction in Little Rock slowed significantly during the Great Depression. In response to the crisis, the administration of President Franklin Roosevelt created federal agencies to assist with housing, employment, and conservation. In 1934, the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) was established as part of economic recovery and stimulus, and created standards for home construction and privately financed home loans. FHA standards institutionalized principles for both neighborhood planning and house design. To help stabilize the real estate market, developers advocated zoning and subdivision regulations. Among FHA standards for community planning were subdivisions featuring curvilinear streets and cul-de-sacs, promoting a distinctly ex-urban setting and sense of community cohesion.[17]

Subsequent legislation, beginning with a 1938 amendment to the National Housing Act that made it easier to purchase new, small homes on credit, shifted the focus to facilitating home ownership for consumers, including those whose financial situations would previously have prohibited them from making such an investment, such as war workers.[18] Not only was home ownership promoted, increasingly it was expedited through government assistance. Such financing aids included low-interest bank loans, and long-term, low-interest mortgages. Developers, too, had access to FHA funding opportunities, particularly to construct subdivisions of new housing, which expanded dramatically post-World War II.

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[15] Clifford Edward Clark, Jr., *The American Family Home, 1800-1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 182-183.

[16] Todd Traub, ñA Century of Growth: The History of Little Rockôs Heights and Hillcrest Neighborhoods,ò Little Rock Soiree, February 28, 2017. http://www.littlerocksoiree.com/post/98858/100-years-of-growth-the-history-of-little-rocks-heights-and-hillcrest-neighborhoods.

[17] National Park Service, ñLand Use and Site Development: Suburban Land Development Practices,ò at NPS website https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/suburbs/part2.htm, accessed August 10, 2016.

[18] Leo Grebler, editor, *The Role of Federal Credit Aids in Residential Construction* (National Bureau of Economic Research, 1953), 22.

To alleviate the housing shortage resulting from the Depression and military restrictions on materials and labor during World War II, other new programs were initiated to stimulate construction and home ownership. The Veterans Administrationôs (VA) mortgage guarantee program of 1944 eliminated down payments on new homes for veterans. The Housing Act of 1949, intended to replace slums with decent homes for families, expanded the role of the federal government in fostering affordable mortgages for and promoting construction of public housing.[19] The Veterans Emergency Housing Program (VEHP), headed by the National Housing Expediter, was organized in 1945 when Civilian Production Administration Priorities Regulation 33 was issued for the purpose of funneling building materials to low- and medium-priced housing.

These programs and others continued to favor new construction. Between 1935 and 1951 nearly four million new residential units were financed via the FHA or VA.[20] In the 1940s, FHA standards went so far as to prohibit financial assistance to older neighborhoods - a clear policy to encourage new development on the periphery of cities. Other factors influencing the national trend of suburbanization included the increased affordability of automobiles, federal funding for new highway construction, growth of public utilities capacity, the ease of obtaining credit for home buying, and the general prosperity of the period.

During the post-World War II period, the economy shifted from manual labor to office work, and white-collar employment surpassed blue-collar work by 1953. The Gross National Product surged from $200 billion in 1940 to $300 billion in 1950. The average age at marriage for women dropped from twenty-two to twenty, and two out of three university-enrolled, white women left school to marry and start a family. The multi-generational household of pre-war decades declined as young families established independent homes. Home ownership rose from 43.6 percent in 1940 to 55 percent in 1950.[21] These economic and cultural shifts underpinned the national trend of suburbanization and the boom in home construction.

Politicians promoted the idea of working citizens, producer-purchasers of goods. Consumerism came to define good citizenship beginning in the Great Depression era and merged with Cold War ideology following World War II. In her book *A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America*, Lizabeth Cohen contends that during the Depression, spending was encouraged as a civic-minded effort to get money flowing. Thus, a good citizen spent, not hoarded, money. The citizen-consumer was at once concerned with societal responsibility and personal materialism. At warôs end, when the American economy and population boomed, the values of

[19] Holly Hope, ñLow Light and Livable ï From Modern to Ranch in Arkansas, 1945-1970,ò Report on file with the Arkansas Historic Preservation Program, Little Rock, Arkansas, 2014, 29.

[20] Grebler, 16.

[21] Kathryn M. Kuranda, ñHousing an Air Force and a Navy: The Wherry and Capehart Era Solutions to the Postwar Family Housing Shortage (1949-1962),ò Report prepared for the United States Department of the Air Force and the United States Department of the Navy, (2007), 50.

American individualism and a free-market economy were increasingly contrasted with state-imposed Communism of the Soviet Union.[22]

Cold War rhetoric shaped the collective ideology of American culture. Domestic policies during the Cold War era reinforced the suburban, nuclear family paradigm with a bread-winner husband and stay-at-home mother through low interest home loans, preferential treatment of male veterans in college enrollment, and tax credits that rewarded parents with children. Women were praised as good citizens when they stayed at home, tended to the family economy, and raised patriotic children. Conversely, single women were generally unable to obtain home loans. This white, middle class, suburban household model, however, ignored real demographics, which included low-income households, the elderly, inner-city African-Americans, working women, and influxes of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans.[23]

Despite societal pressures to stay at home to nurture the family, women played a major role in increasing home ownership and changing the form of residential living. By mid-century, American women were becoming more active outside the home even as they maintained their traditional roles of housekeeper and caregiver. The number of women in the U.S. labor force increased from less than 11,000,000 just prior to World War II to over 18,000,000 in 1950. By 1960, 35 percent of American women ages 14 and older were employed (up from 25 percent in 1940, 29 percent in 1950).[24] In 1955 the percentage of women in the labor force who had children between the ages of 6 and 17 was 27 percent; by 1965 the number had risen to nearly 46 percent.[25] As more women entered the work force in these decades family spending jumped with the increase in income provided by working mothers. In turn, this allowed families to have more discretionary spending to buy new homes.

The competition to sell suburban homes led builders and developers to identify house plans, appliances and other amenities to lure homebuyers to their development and away from rival subdivisions. Research into what couples - and especially women - wanted in a new home became the subject of numerous magazine articles and government studies. In 1956 the Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA), which included the FHA and the Federal National Mortgage Association, convened the Womenôs Congress on Housing in Washington to take the pulse of housing trends from the female homeownerôs perspective. The data collected resulted in a list of 59

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[22] Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Knopf, 2003), 19, 55, 123, 195.

[23] Cohen, 134, 144, 212; Stephanie Coontz, *The Way We Never Were: American Families and the Nostalgia Trap* (New York: Basic Books, 1992); 26, 29, 41, 78.

[24] Clifford Edward Clark, Jr., *The American Family Home, 1800-1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 206.

[25] Kristen Peeler, et al, *Housing an Air Force and a Navy: The Wherry and Capehart Era Solutions to the Postwar Family Housing Shortage (1949-1962),* (Frederick, MA: R. Christopher Goodwin & Associates, 2007), 50; ñWomen in the Labor Force,ò online article at www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0104673.html, accessed 01/08/2013; ñMothers in the Labor Force, 1955-2010,ò online article at www.infoplease.com/ipa/A0104670.html, accessed 01/08/2013.

desirable characteristics of the ideal home, including a separate family room, plenty of closets, and a dedicated laundry space.

Illustrative of the research into womenôs preferences were articles that appeared in *McCall's* magazine in 1944 entitled *What Women Want in Their Living Rooms of Tomorrow*, *What Women Want in Their Dining Rooms of Tomorrow*, *What Women Want in Their Kitchens of Tomorrow*, and *What Women Want in Their Bedrooms of Tomorrow*. The bedroom article included data on the style of house 4,432 of the contestants preferred, which leaned toward ñmodernò as opposed to ñtraditional.ò Many of those who responded favored interior designs and décor that would later be associated with the modern Ranch style.[26] Advertisements by developers and builders increasingly focused on such houses, which had open floor plans, separation of adult and children spaces, and outdoor living areas such as backyard patios and decks. Other successful campaigns were promulgated by utility-focused companies, such as ñGold Medallion Home ï Live Better Electricallyòand ñAll-Gas Homes.ò

With the rise of the Ranch and similar period styles took hold in the late 1940s, the terms ñinformal,ò ñconvenience,ò ñeasygoing,ò ñefficiency,òand ñlivabilityòwere the types of catchwords and phrases used in realtor ads and home magazines to describe these homes.[27] Concurrently the architectural design community stressed such concepts as ñindividuality, honesty, functionalityòto establish new standards of taste while satisfying the needs of contemporary families.[28] The editors of *Architectural Forum* at the time also promoted incorporation of advanced building technology to create homes that were both practical and modern.[29]

The California builder Cliff May is often singled out as a primary promoter of the Ranch house, through *Sunset* magazine and various house-plan books that influenced builders, architects, and contractors across the country.[30] May drew inspiration from the Southern California ranchos, which were low and ñrambling,òand exhibited close indoor-outdoor connectivity. May thus advocated homes with informal, open-flow floor plans, and easy transitions to outdoor living spaces.[31] Split-Level designs, also increasing in popularity along with the Ranch, were multi-level but maintained the same Ranch sense of informality and openness by staggering the floor levels and incorporating short stairways, often with a wide run and shallow rise.

A primary focus of the new suburban home was the kitchen. The kitchen was where the stay-at-home wife could cook during the day or the employed wife could produce a

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[26] Mary Davis Gillies, *What Women Want in Their Bedrooms of Tomorrow, A Report From the Bedroom of Tomorrow Contest*, (McCallôs Corporation: New York, NY, 1944), 17, 26-27.

[27] Hope, ñLow, Light and Livable,ò 36.

[28] Clark, 199.

[29] *Ibid.*, 199, 201.

[30] Virginia Savage McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf , 2013), 603.

[31] Daniel P. Gregory, *Cliff May and the Modern Ranch House* (New York, NY: Rizzoli International Publications, 2008) 23.

quick dinner when she got home from work. Home-building and decorating magazines often contained articles and advertisements detailing the design and modern functionality of the kitchen and associated appliances. In 1953, author Robert Woods Kennedy stated that ñThe housewife cannot be expected to enjoy cooking as long as it is thought of and expressed as a duty which interferes with life. It must be a part, an important part, of life itself.ò[32] Rather than a site of drudgery or an isolated ñlaboratoryò devoted to food preparation, the kitchen instead became a social site, central to the active spaces of the house, especially in combination with the dining or living room.[33] Open floor plans, built-in tables and eating nooks, colorful kitchen appliances, strategically placed wall openings and windows allowing for supervision of children, and proximity to both family room and patio gave the kitchen a new role as living space, or as a 1953 article in *House Beautiful* terms it, a ñliving kitchen.ò[34]

Another aspect of the new suburban home was the differentiation of public and private spaces. Eighteenth and nineteenth-century homes often did not demarcate sleeping areas as strictly private, a trend that began to take hold during the Progressive Era. In two-story homes separating upstairs private bedrooms from downstairs public rooms was simple. But one-story and Split-Level homes required a different contextualization. Modern houses were thus designed to create ñactive zonesò where informal gatherings and activities took place, and ñquiet zones,ò including bedroom areas.[35] A distinct parentsô bedroom, or master bedroom, with an associated master bath emerged in larger homes. As the kitchen, and often a separate den, assumed an ñactiveò function, the living room decreased in importance as the primary family gathering space. The formal living room instead became a semi-public ñquietò space, or ñadultò area, where a parent could relax away from the kids after a long day at work, and, coupled with a formal dining room, provide a place for entertaining special guests and staging more formal events and activities. The formal spaces also became locations for teaching children proper etiquette.[36]

New technology such as air conditioning and television also influenced both exterior architecture and interior space in the mid-twentieth century. Air conditioning had been used in industrial and commercial settings but its application to homes was rare until after World War II. The first window air conditioner was invented in 1931 but sales were slow due to their expense. Improvements to these units brought down the costs and increased their efficiency after the war. Window units for the home were must-have items in Arkansas by 1953 and one million units were sold nationwide that year.[37] With

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[32] Robert Woods Kennedy, *The House and the Art of its Design* (New York, NY: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1953), 253.

[33] Clark, 204.

[34] Wolfgang Langewiesche, ñThe Next American House; By a Man whoôs Going to Build One,ò *House Beautiful* (April 1953), 145.

[35] Hope, ñLow, Light and Livable,ò 37.

[36] Kennedy, 87; Albert M. Cole, *Women's Congress on Housing* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1956), 79-80; and Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America* (Cambridge, MA, London, England: The MIT Press, 1981), 255.

[37] Hope, ñLow, Light and Livable,ò 38.

air conditioning, not all windows needed to be fully functional, and large, fixed picture windows became central features of many mid-century designs.

Little Rock received its first television station in 1953 and television sales soared. It was predicted that by 1960 there would be 38 stations.[38] To accommodate this new popular house addition, builders encountered a dilemma ï how to allot space in a modern open-concept floor plan for a noisy, distracting entertainment center. A multi-faceted research program conducted by the Housing and Home Finance Agency, authorized in 1949, addressed such issues as part of new-home ñlivability.ò The trend that developed among builders was to set aside ñfamily roomsò or ñrecreation roomsò to provide a place for families to gather around the television.[39] An article appearing in 1953 in the *Arkansas Democrat* offered ñHelpful Hints on TV Arranging,ò noting that the ideal placement for a television was in a separate social space such as a game room or study.[40]

Mid-century homes also changed the way residents used their outdoor spaces and interacted with their neighbors, emphasizing family over community.[41] In fact, very few mid-century subdivisions in Little Rock were built with sidewalks, thus discouraging pedestrian traffic through the neighborhoods. The outdoor space at the front of the house, including the front porch, declined as a significant area for interaction. Most outdoor activities instead took place in the area behind the house, where families enjoyed landscaped backyards and rear patios, often thought of as an extension of the indoor living space. The extensive use of glass at the rear of the home also served to bring the outdoors in and connect the home with nature. The catch phrase of home magazines in the early 1950s for an exterior activity space was ñoutdoor living room.ò[42]

To provide the greatest amount of space in backyards, garages and carports were generally not sited at the back but instead made contiguous with the front façade. Other solutions for garage/carport placement included a slightly projecting or recessed bay but still mainly in line with the front plane of the house. This approach can be seen principally in the subdivisions built for middle-class customers, rather than the higher-income neighborhoods with larger lot lines.[43] The more expensive homes could include a more substantial garage or carport front-facing wing.

The post-war confluence of available land, improved automobile access, federal housing programs and general prosperity combined to stimulate the development of dozens of subdivisions and construction of thousands of homes in Little Rockôs suburbs between 1945 and 1960. Stimulating the local economy were updates to the Little Rock airport, the building of U.S. Interstate 30, construction of the McClellan-Kerr Arkansas

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[38] ñFirst TV Station Due Here Next Year,ò *Arkansas Democrat*, September 25, 1952.

[39] Clarke Beach, ñTelevision Is the Architectsô Headache,ò *Arkansas Gazette,* April 16, 1950.

[40] ñHelpful Hints on TV Arranging: Sets Bring Problems to Homemakers,ò *Arkansas Democrat*, March 15, 1953.

[41] Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 279-280.

[42] Hope, ñLow, Light and Livable,ò 39.

[43] ñTurning House Around to Get View of Yard Can Pose Problems,ò *Arkansas Democrat*, July 2, 1950.

River Navigation System and the Little Rock Port Authority. In the mid-1950s the Little Rock Industrial District was also completed.[44]

Between 1940 and 1950, the population of Little Rock grew by 16.1 percent to 102,213 residents. Population growth was also reflected in business sector growth. The Chamber of Commerce launched a recruitment campaign with the slogan ñArkansas: The Land of Opportunity.ò Between 1954 and 1956, recruiters persuaded thirty-four firms to relocate to the Little Rock area. These included major employers such as the Reynolds Metal Company and the Aluminum Company of America. Additionally, Jacksonville was chosen in 1952 as the site of the Little Rock Air Force Base (LRAFB), activated in October of 1955. Approximately 85,000 people attended an open house held for the public.

By 1952, city officials and developers predicted a future of rapid development in Little Rock, both residential and industrial. As a means of managing and guiding the growth, and controlling zoning at an early stage, it was proposed to put a new county planning code in place to extend Little Rockôs city limits. This harmonized with the goals of developers, who were keen to create and market planned communities in the suburbs. Controlling growth through proper city planning was enough of a national concern that the topic was the focus of the 1952 meeting of the National Association of Homebuilders.[45]

Facilitating Little Rockôs expansion were new and modernized roads. Judge Arch Campbell is credited with the construction and paving of about 200 miles of roadways in Pulaski County during the 1950s. These routes included Hayes Street (now University Avenue) in Little Rock, built in phases between 1952 and 1955, which linked Arkansas Highway 10 to Asher Avenue, or State Highway 5.[46] Also dating to 1959 was the construction of expressways, the widening of roads, and the building of road extensions.

Residential developments accounted for a significant portion of the cityôs post-World War II expansion. Such growth was accelerated by easier financing options, including government programs. In Arkansas the availability of GI loans prompted 13,840 veterans to acquire new homes or make home improvements by 1949.[47] It was predicted then that by 1957, 50,000 Arkansas veterans would be homeowners thanks to the GI Bill, if the stateôs veterans followed the national trend.[48] Home financing was also facilitated by increased funding opportunities through the Federal National Mortgage Association, and private investors becoming more amenable to honoring a 4-percent

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[44] F. Hampton Roy, Sr., Charles Witsell, Jr., and Cheryl Griffith Nichols, (*How We Lived: Little Rock as an American City*. Little Rock, AR: August House, 1984), 207-210.

[45] ñóEdge of Cityô Planning Mandatory: Little Rock 5-Mile Belt Is Advised,ò *Arkansas Democrat*, February 17, 1952.

[46] ñMore than 400 Miles Paved: Campbell Cites 8-Year Mark,ò Arkansas Gazette, March 22, 1959; ónEdge of Cityò Planning Mandatory,ò *Arkansas Democrat,* February 17, 1952.

[47] Hope, ñLow, Light and Livable,ò 41.

[48] ñ50,000 New Homeowners by 1957 Under GI Program,ò *Arkansas Gazette*, April 17, 1949.

interest rate on mortgages. Other factors promoting home ownership included the generally low pricing for new houses, and the decline of rent control.[49]

Nationally, the FHA pushed suburban growth over urban density, precipitating a trend toward high-profit-margin, developer-built homes, which were clustered in peripheral subdivisions rather than the city core.[50] Developers rushed to take advantage of national and local circumstances, marketing hundreds of single-family homes in dozens of new suburban neighborhoods. In 1950 the city planning commission of Little Rock approved 16 new subdivisions, including Queen Manor and Scenic Heights.[51]. Over the next decade, builders constructed over 10,000 new homes in the city, concentrated to the west and southwest of downtown.

Local news reporting about construction in Little Rock and Arkansas expressed enthusiasm and high optimism. In a July 1950 issue of the *Arkansas Democrat* it was noted that during the first five months of the year new construction had already hit the $7 million mark. In 1954 home construction totals outpaced 1953 by 92 percent, and in 1955 figures for new-home building in Arkansas were higher still.[52] The growth continued through the 1960s as the population of Arkansas increased by 8 percent (137,000) and housing units increased by 15 percent.[53]

The development and marketing of subdivisions depended heavily on developersô consideration of the automobile, including the incorporation of carports, garages, auto courts, and paved driveways as standard components on new homes, and proximity to retail venues with ample parking. Promotion of new suburbs also stressed the qualities of internal roads. A 1959 *Arkansas Gazette* article on the Sheraton Park subdivision noted ñThe streets are of asphalt construction and are sufficiently wide for two-way traffic.ò[54] For an open-house event in 1960 at the Brookfield subdivision, developers Rector-Phillips-Morse even joined forces with Dumas Milner Pontiac to promote both a viewing of homes and a chance to ñSee the new 1960 Pontiac.ò[55]

No other method of transportation contributed as much to the growth of homebuilding and the establishment of symbiotic links between suburban residential neighborhoods and nearby commercial strips, as well as the decline of home delivery services and downtown commercial venues. After World War II the car was proclaimed a necessity of

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[49] ñGetting GI Loans Now Easier,ò *Arkansas Democrat,* December 4, 1949; ñWar Vet Important To Arkansas Market,ò *Arkansas Democrat,* October 16, 1949; ñBuilding Boom Erases Spring Slump,ò *Arkansas Democrat,* September 25, 1949.

[50] Wright, 248.

[51] ñ6 Bridges, Expressways Will Lead Into Future,ò *Arkansas Gazette*, June 21, 1959; Little Rock City Planning Commission, *City of Little Rock Annual Report, 1959*, (Little Rock, AR: Little Rock City Planning Commission, 1959), 2, 9.

[52] "Building Tops $7 Million in Five Months,ò *Arkansas Democrat,* July 2, 1950; ñState Home Construction Up 92 Pct.,ò *Arkansas Democrat,* December 12, 1954.

[53] Hope, ñLow, Light and Livable,ò 41.

[54] ñBracy Realty Plans 200 Homes in 4 Years at Sheraton Park,ò *Arkansas Gazette*, November 22, 1959.

[55] *Arkansas Gazette*, January 1, 1960.

life by the Bureau of Labor Statistics and it became an integral part of new housing forms and new cultural norms.[56] Much of the suburban front yard was sacrificed to the needs of the car and paved over for carports, driveways, and additional parking spaces for visitors. Even the kitchen was affected, with house plans positioning it near an entrance with easy access to the car to unload groceries.[57] The car became ñthe critical link between our homes, jobs, and social lives.ò[58]

The ubiquity of the automobile and homeownersô dependency on it as their primary mode of transportation necessitated improved roads, especially as a tool for attracting business interests and new residents to an area, including to the proliferating mid-century subdivisions. Post-World War II in Arkansas, road improvements were financed by a general obligation bond issue, advanced by Governor Sid McMath, intended to boost highway maintenance and construction.[59] As part of a national plan to implement an interstate system to get travelers from coast to coast, as well as provide a national defense transportation network, interstate highways in Arkansas, beginning with Interstate 30 and Interstate 40, were constructed in the 1950s. Funding from various state and federal programs was utilized for building access highways. Such roadway improvements contributed to the development of rural areas ripe for residential and industrial growth.[60]

As in many cities, most residents in Little Rock continued to work and shop downtown, commuting from suburbs by automobile. This led to traffic congestion and parking issues in the cityôs core. The American Planning and Civic Association, composed of civic leaders and professional planners from across the country, held its annual conference in Little Rock in 1957, entitled ñMain Street 1969,ò to study the future development of downtowns in small and medium-size cities. Two key issues were how best to refashion and maintain downtown shopping areas, and how to alleviate the traffic problem.[61] For Little Rock city officials and business leaders one solution to the parking problem was to demolish older downtown buildings and sections of blocks to make way for surface parking and high-rise garages. The opening of a parking deck at Fourth and Louisiana streets in 1957 was celebrated with a sports-car parade.[62] The

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[56] Martin Wachs, Margaret Cranford, eds., *The Car and the City: The Automobile, The Built Environment and Daily Urban Life*, (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 1992), 138.

[57] ñLife with the Auto,ò *Sunset*, vol. 116 (June 1956), 75.

[58] Martin Wachs and Margaret Crawford, eds., *The Car and the City: The Automobile, the Built Environment, and Daily Urban Life* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 86.

[59] Hope, ñLow, Light and Livable,ò 31.

[60] Arkansas State Highway and Transportation Department, *Historical Review: Arkansas State Highway Commission and Arkansas State Highway and Transportation Department, 1913-1992*, (Little Rock, AR: Arkansas State Highway and Transportation Department, 1992), 54, 61, 64, 76, 86, 90; Ben Johnson, *Arkansas in Modern America, 1930-1999*, (Fayetteville, AR: The University of Arkansas Press, 2000), 95; Christie McLaren, ñArkansas Highway History and Architecture, 1910-1965,ò (Little Rock, AR: Arkansas Historic Preservation Program, 1999), 10-11.

[61] ñNational Planners Open Little Rock Session Today,ò *Arkansas Gazette*, June 10, 1957; ñTraffic-choked Main Street Outmoded, Cars Must Go, National Planners Told,ò *Arkansas Gazette*, June 11, 1957.

[62] Hope, ñLow, Light and Livable,ò 32.

opening of a second parking deck with drive-in facilities for Worthen Bank on Main Street, built later that same year, also made the news.[63]

Despite the efforts of Little Rockôs downtown merchants and businesses, the construction of shopping centers away from the city core gained momentum during mid-century, particularly in the western suburbs. Plans for the Village Shopping Center, at the intersection of the new U.S. 67-70 highway, were begun in 1955.[64] At the same intersection and less than a mile away from the burgeoning Broadmoor neighborhood, the 1956 Town and Country Shopping Center was touted as the ñfirst integrated shopping center with all the stores under one roof.ò[65] Such venues held the promise of creating essentially self-sufficient ñtowns.ò[66] By 1960 there were at least eleven shopping centers in the Little Rock area, with three more in the works.[67]



Figure 2: Advertisement for Park Plaza in the Arkansas Gazette, November 1, 1960.

[63] ñA New Dimension in Downtown Parking: Newrock,ò *Arkansas Gazette*, June 2, 1957; ñNew Parking Deck For Little Rock Plans Office Space,ò *Arkansas Gazette*, July 14, 1957.

[64] ñNew Center at Geyer Springs Set,ò *Arkansas Democrat*, August 28, 1955; ñNew Shopping Center Planned," *Arkansas Democrat*, August 28, 1955.

[65] F. Hampton Roy, Sr., Charles Witsell, Jr., and Cheryl Griffith Nichols, *How We Lived: Little Rock as an American City*, (Little Rock, AR: August House, 1984), 215.

[66] ñHayes Street: A New Town Is Booming,ò *Arkansas Gazette*, September 14, 1958.

[67] ñShopping Centers: Suburbiaôs Gold Mines,ò *Arkansas Gazette*, November 27, 1960.

Developers like Elbert Fausett and Jack Bracy took full advantage of the improved and new roads to promote their new subdivisions, such as Broadmoor and Meadowcliff. They also recognized that the national trend of bringing goods to the people would translate to Little Rock and provide an added incentive to purchase suburban homes. To this end, Fausett created shopping venues close to his subdivisions, such as the EZ Center on Hayes Street near Broadmoor and the Park Plaza Shopping Center at West Markham and University Avenue.[68] Promotions of Meadowcliff and other neighborhoods continued to extol ñready access to downtown Little Rockò as well as to the host of new suburban shopping centers.[69] But it was obvious even in the 1950s that downtown could suffer as a consequence of the new developments. A 1958 article in the *Arkansas Gazette* pointed out the superiority and convenience of parking at the shopping centers in comparison to downtown, noting that ñThe shopping centers will provide stiff competition for downtown stores.ò But the broader economic implications were still in question. The article quoted Thomas Burleigh, chief planner for the Metropolitan Area Planning Commission, as saying ñtoo much fringe development can sap the downtown, or compete with itself until it helps the downtown.ò[70]

The 23-acre Park Plaza Shopping Center, which held its grand opening in December 1960, included a virtual ñvillageò of stores, including a grocery, drugstore, clothing stores, florist, hardware store, laundry and dry cleaner, shoe store, laundromat, cafeteria, tire and auto-supply store, gas station, bowling alley, barbershop, and doughnut shop.[71] The configuration of the center and its parking area represented a new wave in commercial architecture that separated shoppers from motorists. Its 1,870-slot parking lot was intended to eliminate the need to cross busy intersections, and required only short walks, less than a block, to go from car to center. To accommodate wet weather, there were also covered walkways. Access for delivery of goods was constructed below ground, removing the need for alleys and loading docks behind the stores.[72] The shopping center thus allowed consumers to easily get to the center via automobile on a wide, paved thoroughfare, and conveniently park within a comfortable distance of a concentrated collection of stores.[73] As a 1960 *Arkansas Gazette* article noted, ña potential customer on the hoof is worth many dozens behind the wheel.ò[74]

Simultaneous with the rise of the suburbs, urban renewal projects were developed to address areas of blight within American cities. The Federal Housing Act of 1949 ostensibly addressed poor conditions of inner-city housing with the construction of new public housing buildings. Its application in Little Rock, though, reinforced racial divisions. Little Rock Housing Authority (LRHA) Director B. Finley Vinson openly stated that the

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[68] Hope, ñLow, Light and Livable,ò 33.

[69] ñNew Little Rock Subdivisions Provide Modern Background for Home Show,ò *Arkansas Democrat*, April 26, 1953.

[70] ñHayes Street: A New Town is Booming,ò *Arkansas Gazette*, September 14, 1958.

[71] ñPark Plaza Makes Formal Bow Today, with Beauty in a Shopping Center,ò *Arkansas Gazette*, December 1, 1960.

[72] ñPlaza Takes Sprawl Out of Center, Brings Togetherness,ò *Arkansas Gazette*, December 1, 1960.

[73] *Ibid*.

[74] *Ibid*.

city and the LRHA systematically perpetuated segregation.[75] The first neighborhood targeted for demolition and clearance was a ten-block area of the historically African-American Dunbar neighborhood. Dunbar was within walking distance of the business district of Little Rock and was the location of many black churches and the black high school.[76] The Housing Authority razed more than 200 buildings, based on Health Department data showing that only one in four houses was substandard. The LRHA evicted residents and moved them to new public housing built at the edge of the city limits. The public housing development of Sunset Terrace built in 1950 was for whites on the west side of town while the Booker Homes for African Americans was on the far east side of the city. These projects, which removed residents from single-family dwellings and placed them in multi-family apartments were considered modern and progressive models of urban design. Yet, middle class families at the same time manifested the opposite pattern, disbanding multi-generation households and re-locating to suburbia in single-family dwellings with more space and amenities.

The suburban housing boom was greatly influenced by government agencies, such as the FHA and the Urban Land Institute, steering everything from the spatial layout of a tract development to house style and floor plan to loan requirements for a single family home. Subdivision developers became savvy marketers, selling the American dream of suburban family homes, often hundreds within a single subdivision. The FHAôs influence in the suburbanization of American cities is evident in its requirements for home loans in new subdivisions. At a minimum, a new development in the post-war period was required to illustrate:

1. Location exhibiting a healthy and active demand for homes.
2. Location possessing a suitable site in terms of topography, soil condition, tree cover, and absence of hazards such as flood, fog, smoke, obnoxious odors, etc.
3. Accessibility by means of public transportation (streetcars and buses) and adequate highways to schools, employment, and shopping centers.
4. Installation of appropriate utilities and street improvements (meeting city or county specifications), and carefully related to needs of the development.
5. Compliance with city, county or regional plans and regulations, particularly local zoning and subdivision regulations to ensure that the neighborhood will become stable (and real estate values as well.)
6. Protection of values through "appropriate" deed restrictions (including setbacks, lot sizes, minimum costs of construction).
7. Guarantee of a sound financial set up, whereby subdividers were financially able to carry through their sales and development program, and where taxes and

[75] Kirk, John A., and Jess Porter. ñThe Roots of Little Rockôs Segregated Neighborhoods,ò *Arkansas Times*, July 10, 2014, pp. 12ï 16. Online at http://www.arktimes.com/arkansas/the-roots-of-little-rocks-segregated-neighborhoods/Content?oid=3383298 (accessed August 30, 2017).

[76] John A. Kirk, ñUrban Renewal,ò at the Encyclopedia of Arkansas History & Culture website at http://www.encyclopediaofarkansas.net accessed June 27, 2017.

assessments were in line with the type of development contemplated and likely to remain stable.[77]

Public and private housing construction practices created clearly defined neighborhoods in Little Rock divided by race, with white, affluent suburbs to the west and north of the city and black neighborhoods to the east and south. A notable exception was University Park, where middle-class African Americans were able to purchase homes in western Little Rock. For the most part, Little Rock neighborhoods were so separated by racial lines that forced integration of public schools by law had little effect without cross-city busing. Additionally, infrastructure planning influenced the development of outlying tracts, intensifying the cityôs demographic patterns.

The movement of whites out of the central city to the suburbs was accelerated by the cityôs prominent role in desegregating the public schools. In 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that racial segregation in public education was a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Little Rock received news of the decision at a time when the baby boom was adding 1,000 new students to city schools every year. District officials decided to begin token desegregation in the fall of 1957 at Central High School.[78]

Meanwhile, across the South, white resistance to desegregation grew. Nineteen U.S. senators and eighty-one congressmen, including all congressional members from Arkansas, signed the ñSouthern Manifestoò denouncing the U.S. Supreme Courtôs decision and urging Southern states to resist it. In fall of 1957 the conflict reached crisis proportions, and Arkansasôs governor called out units of the Arkansas National Guard. On September 4, 1957, nine African-American students attempted to enter Central High School. Several of them made their way to one corner of the campus where the National Guard turned them away. As the conflict became more violent, the city asked the federal government for assistance and army troops were sent in, and the African-American students went to class under guard of federal troops. By then, the Central High Crisis had come to symbolize massive resistance to social change and the federal governmentôs commitment to enforcing African-American civil rights.[79]

Both the Dunbar neighborhood and Central High School have been recognized for the roles they played in Little Rockôs African-American history. Little Rock Central High School is now a National Historic Landmark, designated in 1998. The Paul Laurence Dunbar School Neighborhood Historic District was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 2013.

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[77] Linda Flint McClelland, David L. Ames, Sarah Dillard Pope, ñHistoric Residential Suburbs in the United States, 1830-1960ò National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form (Washington, D. C. : National Park Service, 2002), E-22.

[78] C. Fred Williams, *Historic Little Rock: An Illustrated History* (San Antonio: Historical Publishing Network, 2008), 73-74.

[79] Ibid, 79-81.

In the 1960s, as more people of means abandoned the gritty and increasingly gridlocked urban core, Little Rock became a city of three dominant regions. The east side was predominately African American, the southwest was blue-collar white, and the northwest was essentially upper-middle-class white. City government, public services and the school system were all organized to reflect this arrangement and its attendant tensions. The decade of the 1960s continued to witness the continued expansion of Little Rockôs suburbs and between 1960 and 1969 an additional 15,430 housing units were either built or annexed into the city by 1970. At the same time, urban renewal programs continued to result in the demolition of historically African-American neighborhoods, as well as many of Little Rockôs downtown commercial structures, replacing them with parking lots and high-rise buildings. The character and appearance of downtown changed rapidly. Twenty-story buildings transformed the downtown area from a predominately retail center to a district dominated by office space. Thousands of commuters retreated to the suburbs at the end of each business day.

Little Rockôs post-World War II history of Sun Belt suburbanization and economic growth is similar to many cities across the country. Factors including the availability of inexpensive land, state and federal policies which encouraged housing construction, improved highways and transportation, technological improvements such as air conditioning, and changes in demographics all led to a wave of suburban development in most American cities and in particular those in the South. The majority of Little Rockôs suburbs which developed from 1945-1970 are now fifty years old or older and constitute an important historical and architectural legacy of the city.

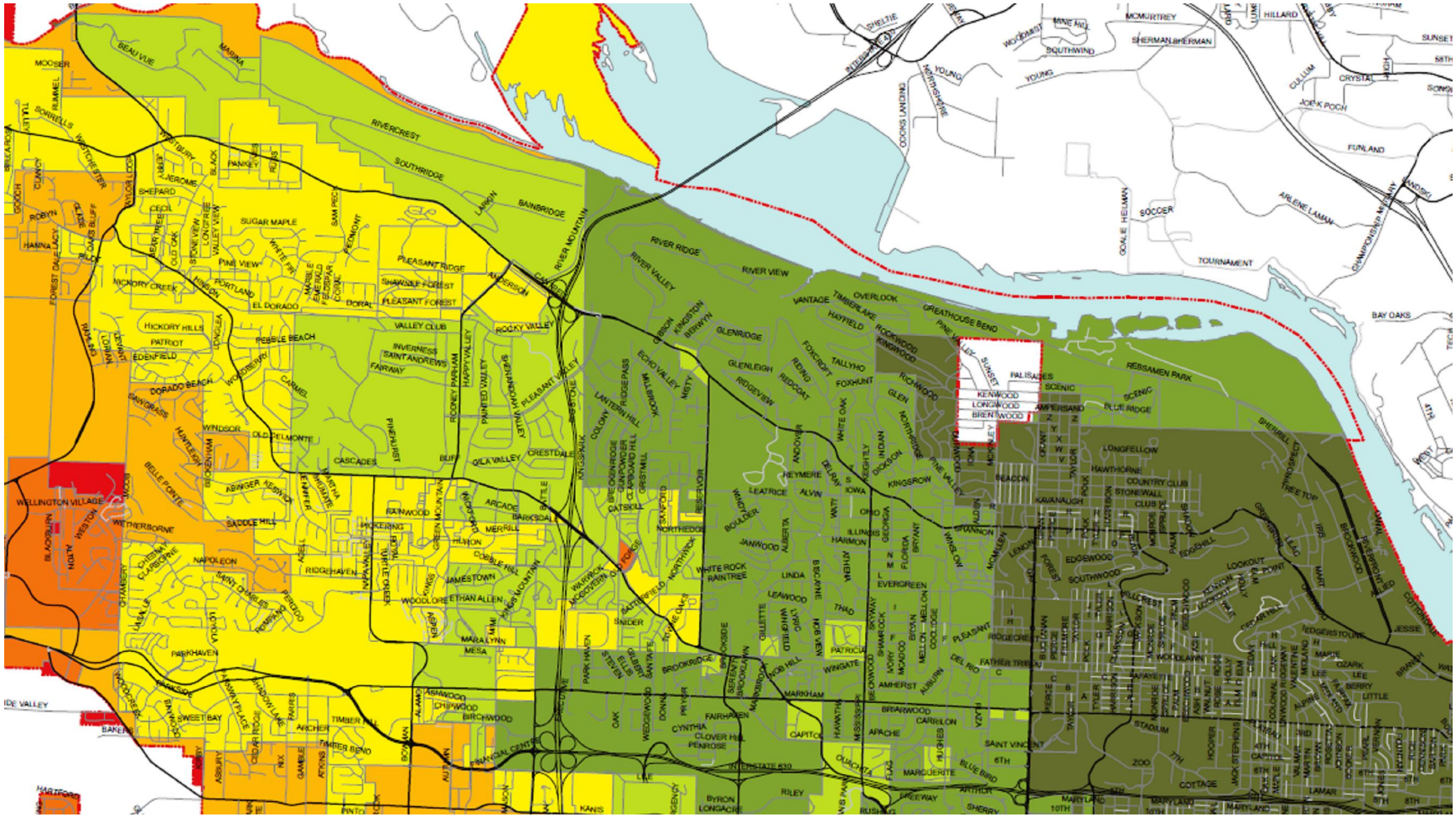


Figure 3: The medium and dark green shaded areas were annexed into the northwest section of the city before 1970.

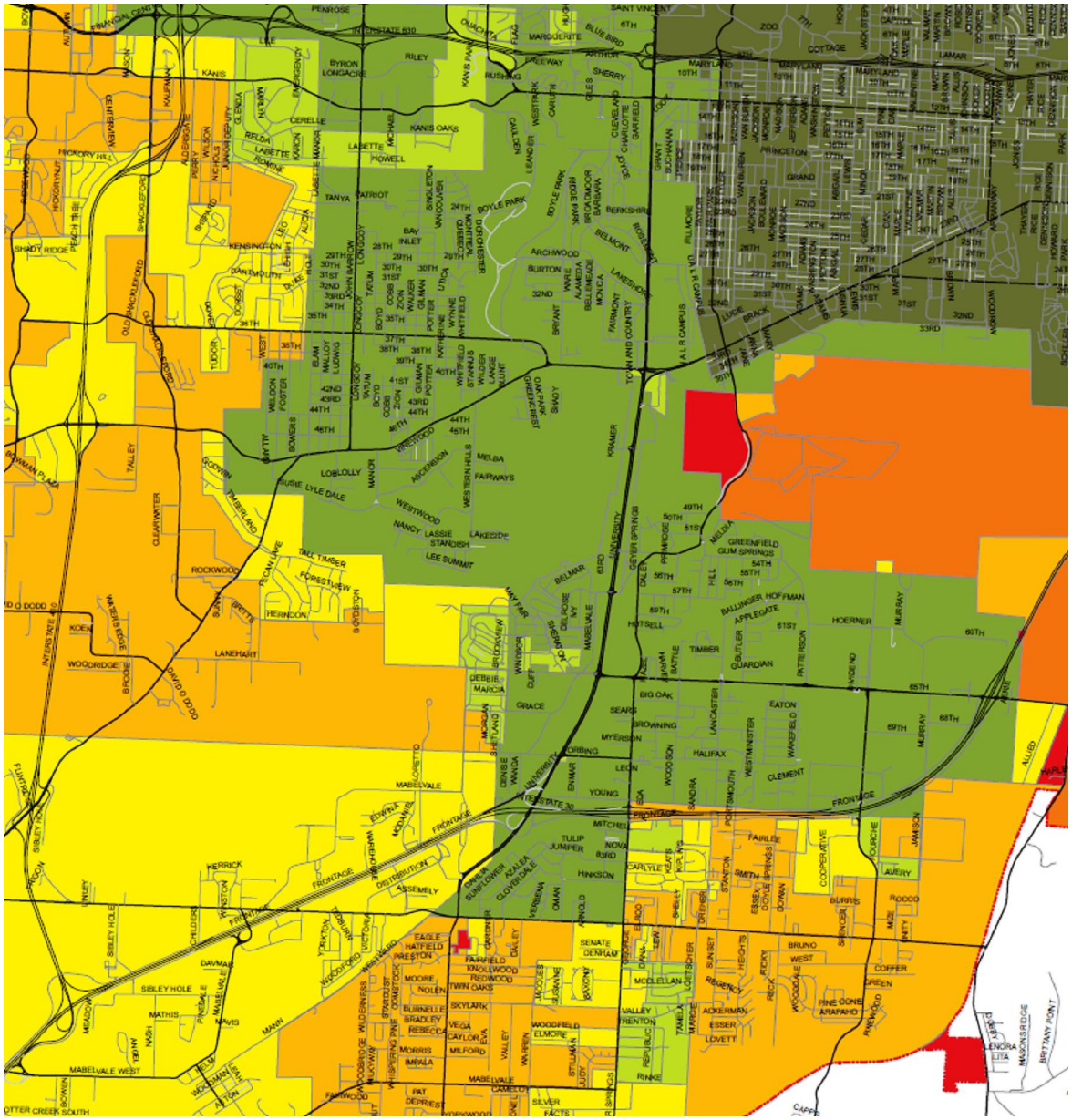


Figure 4: The medium and dark green shaded areas were annexed into the southwest section of the city before 1970.

II. RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT IN LITTLE ROCK, 1945-1970

A. Introduction

The residential architecture of Little Rock in the post-World War II period has several primary property types as follows:

1. Single-Family Dwellings
2. Multi-Family Dwellings ï Low Rise Apartments
3. Multi-Family Dwellings ï High Rise Apartments
4. Residential Subdivisions

Between 1940 and 1970, 31,623 housing units were constructed in Little Rock according to the U.S. Housing Census. The great majority of these are single-family dwellings built in the suburban areas of the city west and south of the downtown area. In addition to the single-family dwellings, many multi-family units such as duplexes and apartments were constructed in the city to provide rental housing in low- and high-rise buildings. Low-rise buildings are generally defined as those which are four-stories or less while medium to high-rise buildings are five stories or more.

While many of these housing units were built on established streets or roads already platted and laid out by 1945, the great majority were built within formal subdivisions of the period. Many subdivisions were designed with standardized plan dwellings and with interconnected streets to create a unique and identifiable neighborhood. Because of the distinctiveness of suburban areas from this era, residential subdivisions compose their own property type when evaluating the growth and development of the city.

B. Single-Family Dwellings, 1945-1970

Architecture changed greatly after World War I as America became more urban than rural and technological advances brought new lifestyles. Unlike Victorian homes, most dwellings constructed in cities and small towns after 1920 featured a bathroom, central heating system, and electricity. New electrical devices such as refrigerators, washing machines and vacuum cleaners were available to the homeowner. Builders continued to design homes in traditional Tudor Revival and Colonial Revival styles but this decade witnessed the great popularity of the Craftsman style with its large porches and wide eaves.[80] Also called ñCraftsman Bungalows,ò these brick and frame dwellings were widely built in Little Rockôs neighborhoods which developed in the 1910s and 1920s.[81]

The stock market crash of 1929 drastically decreased residential construction across the country and led to a movement away from the Bungalow and Craftsman forms of the centuryôs first two decades. The Bungalow and Craftsman dwellings gradually gave

[80] Clifford Edward Clark Jr., *The American Family Home, 1800-1960*. (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), 173.

[81] Rachel Carley, *The Visual Dictionary of American Domestic Architecture*. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1994), 212.

way to new "modern" homes with cleaner lines. While the period's Art Deco and Art Moderne styles were limited for home construction, their emphasis on streamlining and sleek materials also resulted in designs with restrained ornamentation. In Little Rock, few dwellings were built in the Art Deco and Art Moderne styles during the 1930s. The most notable is the Werner Koop House completed in 1937 at 6 Ozark Point which is listed in the National Register of Historic Places (Figure 5).



Figure 5: The 1937 Art Moderne Werner Koop House at 6 Ozark Point is one of the few examples of this style built in Little Rock.

As part of this movement towards simpler lines and smaller floor plans, there was the emergence of the Minimal Traditional style home. This house form was based on the traditional shapes of the Colonial and Tudor Revival styles. These designs were modest with narrow eaves and ornamentation often limited to arched door openings or a mixture of materials such as weatherboard siding and brick on the main façade. The use of asbestos shingles as an exterior cladding material was also popular in these years. Many of these homes from the 1930s and early 1940s were small and measured 1,200 square feet or less in living space. Most had two bedrooms, a bathroom, kitchen, and living room. They might have an eat-in kitchen, a dining alcove, or a small dining room.

During World War II, materials were scarce and there was little new residential construction built in America except for defense-related housing. With the end of the war in 1945, there was a huge pent-up demand for homes. In response, builders and architects constructed small but efficient homes to meet this demand and experimented with methods of pre-fabricated materials. While the Minimal Traditional and Revival

styles were still utilized in the post-war years, more contemporary homes such as Ranch and Split-Level emerged as the dominant styles by the early 1950s. Ranch-style homes were first seen during the 1930s in California and these dwellings continued the horizontal forms of the Bungalow but with minimal detailing and an emphasis on private outdoor spaces. The small ñUsonianò homes of Frank Lloyd Wright also influenced the Ranch style. Split-Level homes emerged in the late 1930s to provide for separate living and bedroom spaces on different floors. The Split-Level was also popular for sloping building sites since it provided a large amount of living space for the lot size.[82] These common house forms ï Minimal Traditional, Ranch and its variations, and Split- Level ï make up the vast majority of the tens of thousands of single-family dwellings built in Little Rock from 1945 to 1970.

One of the responses to the housing shortage were companies which provided prefabricated plans and shipped the entire house and materials to the ownerôs lot for construction. Companies such as Sears, Montgomery Ward, Gordon Van Tine and Aladdin Homes had been in the house manufacturing business since the early 1900s and continued to send homes by train or truck throughout America into the 1950s. Mass produced, prefabricated homes were also manufactured by other companies during this period such as Gunnison Homes which built thousands of houses across the country.

Another prefabricated design was the ñLustronò home which was produced from 1947 to 1950 by the Lustron Corporation of Columbus, Ohio. This companyôs plant utilized steel and porcelain panels to build one-story, standardized plan houses. The houses are one-story in height, have large picture windows, incised porches supported by a steel post and steel roofs. The interiors have porcelain walls and concrete floors. The company was never able to manufacture enough houses to be profitable and the company was foreclosed on by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) in 1950.[83] By the time the company closed it had produced 2,500 Lustrons which were sold across the country. While twelve are known to have been shipped to Arkansas only four are known to be extant. Two of these are in Little Rock; the Mary H. Matthews House at 5201 Maryland Avenue and the dwelling at 1302 Tyler Street (Figure 6). The Mary H. Matthews House (Figure 7) was listed in the National Register in 2014.

[82] Nelson Burbank and Oscar Shaftel, *House Construction Details*. (New York: Simmons-Boardman Publishing Corporation. 1959), 7.

[83] Thomas T. Fetters, *The Lustron Home; The History of a Postwar Prefabricated Housing Experiment*, (North Carolina, London: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2002), 141.



Figure 6: Lustron House at 1302 Tyler Street in the Fair Park neighborhood.



Figure 7: National Register-listed Mary H. Matthews House at 5201 Maryland Avenue.

The houses which were built in Little Rock in the post-war years differed in many ways from those built in the early 20th century. House styles such as Craftsman, Tudor Revival and Colonial Revival gradually gave way to new "modern" homes characterized by limited embellishment, streamlined floor plans, and affordability. One result of this movement was the Minimal Traditional style, a stripped down version of the Colonial and Tudor Revival styles.[84] The Minimal Traditional-style dwelling is massed to have a small footprint and can have both symmetrical and asymmetrical façades. This house type is usually one- or one-and-one-half stories in height. It was popular during the 1930s into the 1950s. Interiors generally lacked the built-ins of previous Craftsman designs. Exteriors often were clad in asbestos siding, evidencing the use of new building materials. Introduced as early as the 1920s, asbestos shingle siding was created by incorporating the naturally occurring mineral asbestos with Portland cement. The resulting product was durable, easy to paint, cheap to manufacture and ideal for application on thousands of new-homes in suburbs across the country (Figures 8 and 9).



Figure 8: A row of identical plan Minimal Traditional-style dwellings in the 4700 block of W. 24th Street built in 1944-1945.

[84] McAlester, 589.



Figure 9: The Minimal Traditional dwelling at 1901 S. Taylor Street was built in 1948 and reflects the transition towards the Ranch style with its large picture window.

The Ranch dwelling, with a horizontal emphasis and sprawling linear plan took advantage of large suburban lots. Detailing was usually minimal with plain, wide eaves, picture windows, and minimal or absent porches on the main façade. These dwellings are usually one-story in height and have low-pitched roofs. Antecedents of this architecture range from Frank Lloyd Wrightôs open floor plans and low-profile designs to Marcel Breuerôs glass walls set amidst the natural landscape.[85] Ranch-style houses may have exteriors of brick or stone veneer and/or wood siding and integral garages - another common trait of Ranch-style houses. Previously, detached garages occupied a large space at the rear or sides of a dwelling. Post-war suburban home plans featured attached garages or carports, freeing up the back yard for leisure patios, recreation, pools, and barbeques. Outdoor space of the post-war dwelling was also valued for family togetherness.

Ranch interiors also emphasized a new sense of family. Floor plans became more open compared to previous designs that tended to separate family members rather than bring them together. Formal dining rooms of the past became blended with kitchens. The extra space could then be allotted for a recreational room or an additional childôs room. Laundry rooms were located adjacent to kitchen areas, streamlining domestic work. The rambling design appealed to Americansônew desire for open space. Ranch-style homes often feature a large picture window on the façade, usually located in the dwellingôs main gathering room. The picture window opens the room to the front yard landscape,

[85] Mary Mix Foley, *The American House*. (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1980), 260.

offering a substitute view that a front porch traditionally offered. People no longer passed time on the street-facing façade of their homes, instead spending indoor time in recreation rooms or outdoor family time in the spacious backyard or patios. The increasing availability of modern amenities ï air-conditioning, electrical appliances, and television ï influenced residential design of the period. The prominent front porch of previous architectural styles and forms disappeared or shrank dramatically.



Figure 10: The Graystone is an example of a Ranch style plan from the Aladdin Homes catalog of 1952.

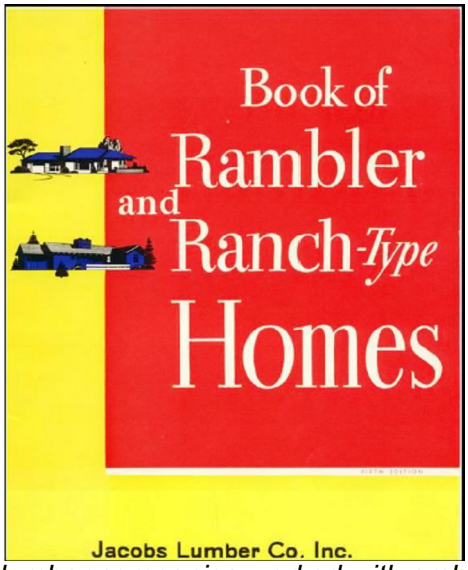


Figure 11: Many builders and lumber companies worked with architects to produce standardized plan catalogs such as this one from the Jacobs Lumber Company ca. 1950.

While there is a general agreement among architectural historians what a õRanchò house is, there is less consensus on the terminology to describe its sub-types. A recent study in Georgia assessed the stateôs post-war housing and called the common one-story, hipped roof and side-gabled designs õLinearò Ranch Houses.[86] A survey of post-war houses in Boulder, Colorado calls these same designs õSimpleò Ranch houses.[87] Other common terms for this one-story Ranch House are õMassed Ranch,ò and õCompact Ranch.ò These terms correspond with Virginia McAlesterôs description of these common, one-story designs as õMinimalò Ranch houses.[88] For the purposes of this study the term Linear Ranch is used to describe these modest Ranch style houses (Figures 12-20).

Character-defining elements of a Linear Ranch include a horizontal emphasis, a one-story, rectangular plan, a low-pitched hipped or gable roof, and large chimneys. Picture windows on the primary façade are also common elements. It is common for the Linear Ranch house to have a simple exterior of all brick veneer with little other detailing. Other common forms in Little Rock have skirt walls of brick veneer with wood siding above. This form generally has a front-to-side ratio of at least 2:1 (i.e., the front is at least twice as long as the sides). The Linear Ranch sub-type may be transverse, with its narrow side facing the street and its long elevation extending into the depth of the parcel. Often the long side will have a projecting bay containing a carport or garage with its entrance facing the street.

Larger Ranch style plans are called õComposite,ò õMassed,ò or õRamblersò and these designs build off of the basic plan, adding to the façade a projecting wing with a cross gable roof to the main body of the dwelling. This Ranch sub-type often has more than one projecting bay on the main facade, giving the house an L or T plan. The linear rectangle, however, remains the predominate shape. The exterior may have siding and a brick or stone veneer skirt wall that adds a contrasting texture to vertical or horizontal wood siding, illustrating the use of mixed forms of exterior cladding (Figure 21-23).

Another subtype is the õColonialò Ranch, with modest Colonial Revival elements on the façade. This styleôs precursor appeared during the early twentieth century during the Colonial Revival movement. The Colonial Ranch (Figures 24-25) appears in post-war suburban subdivisions in the mid-1950s, and it remained popular for several more decades. Also built during this period were designs which featured elements of German or Swiss Chalet designs and often referred to as õFairy Taleò Ranch houses (Figure 26). Reflective of traditional forms from these countries, these Ranch houses feature scalloped fascia boards at the eaves, eave brackets, faux bird houses at gables and board and batten wood siding. These types of designs were identified in the Boulder

[86] Richard Clouse, *Ranch Houses in Georgia: A Guide to House Types (Subtypes),* (Atlanta, Georgia: Department of Natural Resources, Historic Preservation Division, 2010), 11.

[87] Jennifer Bryant and Carrie Schomig. *Historic Context and Survey of Post-World War II Residential Architecture, Boulder, Colorado*, (Boulder, Colorado: City of Boulder, 2010), 140.

[88] McAlester, 600.

survey and two clusters of these types of Ranch houses have been noted in Little Rock.[89]

In Little Rock one of the most common house designs of this period is a one-story, Linear Ranch plan with a hipped roof and exterior of brick veneer. A variation is a similar plan dwelling with a low brick skirt wall and wood or added synthetic siding above the brick. These houses often have attached carports or attached garage wings. Standardized plans of this house form were used in the majority of the cityôs subdivisions and especially in neighborhoods such as Broadmoor, Meadowcliff, and Briarwood. This house form was also built in some of the older neighborhoods of the city such as along the 1500 block of S. Pulaski Street (Figure 20).



Figure 12: Linear Ranch at 2 Eaton Drive built in 1957 in the Wakefield Village Subdivision.



Figure 13: Linear Ranch built in 1961 at 24 Windsor Drive in the Meadowcliff subdivision.

[89] Bryant and Schomig, 154.



Figure 14: Hipped roof example of a Linear Ranch dwelling at 6907 E. Wakefield Drive built in 1958 in the Wakefield Village subdivision.



Figure 15: One of the most common Ranch style house forms is this type of Linear design with a hipped roof, brick skirt wall and attached carport such as the house at 24 Lamont Drive built in 1957 in the Meadowbrook subdivision.



Figure 16: This brick veneer Linear Ranch house has an attached carport and was built in 1954 at 10 Berkshire Drive in the Broadmoor subdivision.



Figure 17: This same house form was used in the design of the dwelling at 1207 W. 28th Street when it was built in 1955 as the home of L.C. and Daisy Bates. Daisy Bates was a leader in the desegregation of Little Rock and this property is listed in the National Register and designated a National Historic Landmark.



Figure 18: A row of hipped roof Linear Ranch houses in the 6000 block of Sandpiper Drive in the Cardinal Heights subdivision.



Figure 19: Streetscape of hipped roof Linear Ranch houses built in the early 1960s in the 7000 block of Fairfield Drive in the Fairfield subdivision.



Figure 20: Streetscape of the 1500 block of S. Pulaski Street.

Another popular design in Little Rockôs subdivisions is the Rambler Ranch house (also called ñCompositeò or ñMassedò plan Ranch house). These designs feature a projecting hipped or gable roof wing on the main façade. This wing may contain the dwellingôs carport or garage. The linear rectangle remains the predominate shape but it can have one or more projecting wings depending on the size of the house and lot. The exteriors are generally of brick veneer or with brick skirt walls and wood or synthetic siding above.

The Ranch subtype known as ñColonialò Ranch is reflected in a number of subdivisions such as Briarwood (Figures 24-25). This design is generally a Linear Ranch which has a gable roof or pedimented entry porch on the main façade with Doric or Tuscan columns. There may also be limited decoration such as dentils at the roofline. A small number of Ranch houses featuring German or ñSwiss Chaletò designs were built in the Story Book Village and Glenwood Heights subdivisions (Figure 26).



Figure 21: Example of a simple Rambler Ranch house at 16 Dellwood Drive built in 1965 in the Eastwood Heights subdivision.



Figure 22: This hipped roof Rambler Ranch house was built in 1958 at 18 Wingate Drive in the Wingate subdivision.



Figure 23: This large Rambler Ranch house was built with an extended garage wing. It was constructed in 1956 at 29 Wingate Drive in the Wingate subdivision.



Figure 24: Example of a pedimented Colonial Ranch at 8 Sun Valley Road built in 1960 in the Briarwood subdivision.



Figure 25: Also in the Briarwood subdivision at 14 Bertwood is this dwelling with Tuscan porch columns built in 1959.



Figure 26: In the Glenwood Heights subdivision is this Swiss Chalet design built in 1960 at 7202 Evergreen Drive.

Concurrent with the Ranch house plans was the popularity of the Split-Level design. Split-Level houses (Figures 27-29) were built with two to three distinct levels connected by short staircases. This house form features massed components with varying stories such as bi-level and tri-level.[90] The main entrance on the façade often enters into a foyer with steps ascending and descending into different floors. Tri-level plans typically have stairs down to a garage and/or recreation room and then stairs up to bedrooms with the kitchen, dining room and living room on the main floor. The exterior may have mixed materials of stone veneer, brick, wood siding and asbestos shingles. The plan may be contained under one continuous roof or be contained under two separate roofs. Especially popular in the 1950s and 1960s these designs can be found in subdivisions such as Leawood and Brookfield.



Figure 27: Constructed in 1954, the dwelling at 504 N. Mellon Street in the Success subdivision is an example of a tri-level, Split--Level plan.

[90] McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 614.



Figure 28: This tri-level, Split-Level house was built in 1960 at 15 Cinderella Circle in the Story Book Village subdivision and also reflects the Swiss Chalet influence.



Figure 29: Constructed in 1961, the dwelling at 7 Brookridge Cove in the Brookfield subdivision is an example of a tri-level, Split--Level plan.

Of particular significance in Little Rock are the dwellings known as "Mid-Century Modern." These types of dwellings are also referred to as "Contemporary" by McAlester and other studies of post-war architecture.[91] Mid-Century Modern has its roots from Germany's Bauhaus school of the 1920s. Ornamentation was considered a weakness to design, and practical use of space became an utmost concern for this emerging Modern movement. Architects such as Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Walter Gropius, Marcel Breuer, and Le Corbusier pioneered an innovative perspective on architecture that began within the building, rather than outside. A building's exterior, they posited, should be determined by its functional interior purpose. The dimensions and spatial arrangement of interior rooms dictated the plan and exterior appearance.[92]

Introducing modernism to the built U.S. landscape came largely from the immigration to America of Europe's foremost designers. With the approach of World War II, Mies van der Rohe, Gropius, and Breuer left Europe, finding greater freedom for their projects stateside. In the post-war economic boom, a prosperous middle class could afford to buy new homes, and architect George Nelson and editor Henry Wright published the forward-minded *Tomorrow's House – A Complete Guide for the Home Builder*. The book emphasized Americans' embrace of technology in the form of automobiles and home appliances in order to engender their shift in attitude towards contemporary home design. The emerging "contemporary" style incorporated the Art Moderne emphasis on streamlined geometric shapes with a sprawling floor plan introduced by the Ranch style.

In its simplest form, the influence of the Mid-Century Modern movement can be seen in one-story house plans that are streamlined versions of Wright's Usonian homes (Figure 30). Wright's Usonian concept was an attempt to create modest affordable homes using a variety of materials such as sheet metal and brick and stone veneers.[93] This type of house form utilized flat or slightly sloping gable roofs, narrow-height or clerestory windows on the main façade and attached carports and garages. In Little Rock, these designs were widely built in the Meadowbrook subdivision and in nearby neighborhoods. A standardized plan in Meadowbrook features wide eaves, an attached carport and small, sliding track windows below the roofline (Figure 31).

Architects such as Joseph Eichler, Donald Wexler and Richard Neutra of California promoted more expansive variations of this style and influenced builders and designers across the country. In these types of dwellings the open floor plan of the Ranch style was utilized within a more freestyle expression. Interesting angles deconstruct the traditional rectilinear plan, and changes in plane are accentuated with mixed materials. A number of these houses were designed with front facing gables and with large expanses of glass (Figure 32). Large fixed windows were utilized for a minimalist emphasis of a building's structure, however, their use became equated with Modernism, and therefore middle-class homeowners desired ample, large windows in their modern

[91] McAlester, 630.

[92] Carole Rifkind, *A Field Guide to Contemporary American Architecture.* (New York: Plume Publishing Co., 2001), 6-7.

[93] John Sergeant, *Frank Lloyd Wright's Usonian Houses*. (New York: Watson-Guptill Publications, 1976), 16.

homes. Roofs of these dwellings are often flat or very low-pitched gable or shed profiles, sometime in unique rooflines that sweep dramatically or create multi-angle shapes, like a butterfly form. Roofing materials range from standard asphalt shingles to metal panels to rolled or stretched skin-like covers. Wide eaves and clerestory windows add emphasis to the roofline of Mid-Century Modern architecture. Subdivisions such as Broadmoor and Briarwood display a number of standardized plans of this type of Mid-Century design (Figures 34-35).

While many of Little Rockôs dwellings built in Mid-Century Modern designs in the subdivisions came from pattern books or catalogs of the period, others were designed by local or regional architects. Architect designed Mid-Century Modern homes are generally larger than the typical standardized plan subdivision dwelling and are sited to take advantage of the topography of the lot. These types of homes often featured large expanses of glass, multiple roof forms, mixtures of exterior wall materials and asymmetrical plans and wings. In these dwellings stacked cut stone, concrete and random-course field stone are frequently used materials for exterior walls. Another common material in houses of the period was vertical wood siding as well as the more traditional horizontal weatherboard.



Figure 30: Reflecting the influence of the Usonian design houses is the dwelling at 36 Belmar Drive built in 1955 in the Meadowcliff subdivision.



Figure 31: Another variation of this Usonian design influenced house is this flat roofed dwelling at 35 Greenway Drive built in 1955 in the Meadowcliff subdivision.



Figure 32: Built in 1959, the dwelling at 7206 Apache Road was constructed in the Briarwood subdivision.



Figure 33: The dwelling at 1 Rolling Lane was built in 1960 in the Rolling Hills subdivision.



Figure 34: Built in 1955, the dwelling at 91 Belmont Drive was constructed in the Broadmoor subdivision.



Figure 35: Another standardized plan dwelling in the Broadmoor subdivision is the dwelling at 19 Glenmere Drive built in 1955.

In 1945, nine architects and architectural firms advertised in Little Rockôs City Directory.[94] Some of these were sole practitioners with a few employees such as H. Ray Burks, Theodore Sanders and Thomas Harding Sr. Others were large established firms such as Wittenberg and Delony founded in 1919, Erhart and Eichenbaum created in 1931, Breugemann, Swaim and Allen founded in 1932, and Frank Ginocchio teamed with Edwin Cromwell in 1941. The number of practicing architects doubled over the next decade as Little Rock expanded its residential areas and new buildings were constructed downtown. By the early 1950s there were twenty-one architectural firms advertised in Little Rockôs City Directory.[95]

The University of Arkansas School of Architecture trained a number of architects who later practiced in Little Rock. The school opened in 1946 and had its first graduating class in 1951. Architect E. Fay Jones was one of the first graduates and his modernist approach was embraced by a number of students.[96] Many of these architects proved skillful in designing Mid-Century Modern homes not only for clients but also for their own family dwellings. At least six dwellings designed by architects as their own homes are known to exist in the city. An example of this type of architect designed Mid-Century Modern dwelling is the house at 4 Ranch Valley Road (Figure 36). Built as the

[94] *Little Rock City Directory, 1945*. (St. Louis: R.L. Polk Company) 972.

[95] *Little Rock City Directory, 1954*. (St. Louis: R.L. Polk Company, 1954), 84.

[96] Ethel Goodstein-Murphree, University of Arkansas School of Architecture. Telephone Interview, 14 July, 2017.

residence of architect Kenneth E.N. Cole, Jr., this house was completed in 1959. Cole was the son of contractor Kenneth Cole, Sr., who built numerous houses in the Hillcrest neighborhood. Cole, Jr., opened his firm in the early 1950s and he practiced architecture throughout this decade. The dwelling features a low-pitched gable roof which extends to cover a carport, a stone veneer exterior, and exposed purlins.

Architect Julian Davidson completed his own house in 1951 on a hill overlooking the State Capitol on S. Battery Street (Figures 37-38). Davidson was born in Little Rock in 1906 and graduated from the Architecture School at Washington University in 1928. He returned to Little Rock after school where he joined the architectural firm of Wittenberg and Delony. The firm later changed its name to Wittenberg, Delony and Davidson and Davidson practiced architecture with the firm throughout his career before retiring in 1972. The firm was responsible for designing many public buildings for the city government of Little Rock as well as several state office buildings. Davidson died at age ninety-one in 1997.[97]

In 1951, Davidson designed his family's dwelling at 410 S. Battery Street on a hillside overlooking the State Capitol and Union Station. This Mid-Century Modern dwelling features a sloping roof, vertical board wood siding and an attached carport. The interior features a large sunken living room as well as a ceiling surface throughout the house of corrugated aluminum. This material continues past the wall of the house into the breezeway and carport. The house has been well preserved and contains offices of the Capitol Zoning Commission District. It was listed in the National Register for its architectural significance on March 10, 2014.

The dwelling at 7620 Harmon Drive in the Shamrock subdivision was built in1960 as the home of architect Lugean Chilcote. Chilcote worked in the firm of Erhart and Eichenbaum and was eventually made a partner in the company.[98] His dwelling reflects the influence of architect Joseph Eichler with its front facing gable, exposed purlins, and combination of a brick skirt wall and vertical board siding (Figure 39). Fred Arnold was an architect who worked with Wittenberg, Delony and Davidson. He designed his dwelling at 10115 Rodney Parham Road in 1957 (Figure 40). Arnold's design features a flat roof, small porches supported by steel posts and large windows. In August of 2017 this dwelling was vacant and its lot was for sale for commercial development. Another notable home is that of architect Lynn Wassell at 31 River Valley Road (Figure 41). Wassell was a partner in the firm of Robinson & Wassell during the 1960s and this dwelling was built in 1966. The house has an exterior of vertical board siding and stone veneer and features an integral carport. The dwelling is supported by steel posts above a sloping hillside.

[97] Charles Witsell and Gordon Wittenberg. *Architects of Little Rock, 1833-1950,* (Fayetteville, Arkansas: University of Arkansas Press, 2014), 84.

[98] Witsell and Wittenberg, 97.



Figure 36: Mid-Century Modern dwelling at 4 Ranch Valley Road. This was built in 1959 in the Ranch Valley Subdivision as the home of architect Kenneth E.N. Cole, Jr.



Figure 37: Located at 410 S. Battery Street is the dwelling of Julian Davidson completed in 1951.



Figure 38: The interior of the Julian Davidson House retains its original lower level living room which is now used as meeting space.



Figure 39: Dwelling of architect Lugean Chilcote at 7620 Harmon Drive.



Figure 40: Dwelling of architect Fred Arnold at 10115 Rodney Parham Road.



Figure 41: The house at 31 River Valley Road was designed as the home of architect Lynn Wassell in 1966.

Two of the more notable Little Rock architects who designed dwellings in the Mid-century Modern style were Noland Blass, Jr., and Yandell Johnson. Noland Blass Jr. was the grandson of Gus Blass who founded one of the cityôs most prominent department stores in the city. Blass joined the firm of Erhart and Eichenbaum in 1946. By the mid-1960s Blass was a partner of the firm which by 1968 was known as Erhart, Eichenbaum, Rauch, Blass and Reddick.[99] Blass designed numerous downtown buildings and schools and was prominent in civic affairs.[100] He designed his own dwelling at 217 Normandy Road which was completed in 1952 (Figure 42). The house has a low-pitched gable roof, exposed purlins and a large garage bay. The main entrance is within a recessed bay which has a tile floor and floor to ceiling windows.

Blass is noted for designing a series of homes on property developed by Eugene Pfeifer on River Oaks Circle on a ridge overlooking the Arkansas River. Blass designed the house at 14 River Oaks Drive (Figure 43) for Pfeifer and his wife Fay in 1955 followed by the David and Maureen Grundfest House at 12 River Oaks Circle (Figures 44-45) in 1962. Blass also designed homes for Grundfestôs children, David Grundfest Jr. and wife Julianne at 8 River Oaks Circle (Figure 46) in 1962 and Barbara Grundfest Baumann and her husband Stanley at 6 River Oaks Circle (Figures 47-48) which was remodeled into its present form in 1964.[101] These dwellings share a number of similarities such as the use of asymmetrical plans and varying rooflines, expansive glass on the rooms facing the river, and interiors with large floor to ceiling heights and wood paneled walls in the living rooms. Blass was also the architect for the Sam and Shirley Strauss House built in 1964 in neighboring Cammack Village. This Mid-Century Modern dwelling was listed in the National Register in 2015 for its architectural significance.



Figure 42: Dwelling of architect Noland Blass Jr. at 217 Normandy Road.

[99] *Little Rock City Directory, 1968* (Dallas, Texas: R.L Polk Company, 1968), 69.

[100] Carolyn Gray LeMaster, *A Corner of the Tapestry, A History of the Jewish Experience in Arkansas, 1820s-1990s*. (Fayetteville, Arkansas: University of Arkansas press, 1994), 410.

[101] Richard Williams, Larry Alman and Jan Alman, Personal Interviews, 25 July, 2017.



Figure 43: Eugene Pfeifer House at 14 River Oaks Circle built in 1955.



Figure 44: David Grundfest House at 12 River Oaks Circle built in 1962.



Figure 45: David Grundfest living room with brick chimney and original paneled walls.



Figure 46: Home of David Grundfest Jr. at 8 River Oaks Circle built in 1962.



Figure 47: Stanley and Barbara Baumann House at 6 River Oaks Circle built in 1964.



Figure 48: Living room of the Baumann House with the original stone chimney and exposed beam ceiling.

Another notable Little Rock architect of the period was J. Yandell Johnson, a native of St. Louis who earned his masterôs degree from Washington University, received the James Harrison Steadman Fellowship in 1936, and studied low-cost housing in Europe. In 1938 Johnson moved with his architect wife Mary to Jonesboro, Arkansas. After Johnson finished service in World War II, the couple launched an architectural practice in Little Rock in 1946, which is credited with 385 residential and commercial projects in Arkansas undertaken during the next several decades, including the National Old Line Insurance Company Building. Completed in 1954, the original section of this insurance building is noted as one of the most prominent examples of the International style in the city.[102] In a 1950 *Arkansas Gazette* article, one of the Johnsonsôresidential projects, on Lakeview Road in Lakewood, was described as ñProbably the most ultra-modern four-room house ever to be built in the Greater Little Rock area,ò and ñexpected to set a trend.ò[103] Mary defined Modernism as ñé a state of mind, not an architectural style, and the state of mind can be applied to any preferred type of building.ò[104] In 1967 Johnson closed his architectural firm, afterwards working for two other Arkansas firms until he retired in 1978.[105].

Johnson designed residences throughout Arkansas and a complete listing of his commissions in Little Rock is still being assessed. His individual commissions reveal his Modern take on architecture, which sometimes translated into a more typical Ranch form. Johnsonôs residential designs often display cantilevered elements, which emphasize the horizontality of the dwelling, and he used windows of varying sizes and styles placed asymmetrically on the same elevation. His favored window type was the awning, appearing in pairs, multi-paned banks, window walls, and short single openings, or he would incorporate them into ribbons placed high on the elevation.[106] He also favored folded rooflines with monitors, and projecting eaves with close-set rafter tails that swept upward from shingled elevations. Johnson collaborated with Jack Bracey of Bralei Homes to design small, middle-class houses for the mid-1950s Meadowcliff Subdivision in Little Rock.[107] It is unclear if Johnson designed all the homes in the neighborhood or just a few. Meadowcliff does feature a mix of traditional small Ranch houses, with an occasional exaggerated folded-gable or shed-roof design with multi-paned picture windows that look much like Johnsonôs larger individual commissions.

E. Fay Jones was another prominent architect in Arkansas who designed houses in the Mid-Century Modern style throughout the state. Jones studied architecture at the University of Arkansas and later met architect Frank Lloyd Wright and studied under him for a period at Wrightôs studio, Taliesin in Wisconsin. Wrightôs designs influenced Jones and he introduced a similar compatibility with his residential designs and the landscape.

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[102] Witsell and Wittenberg, *Architects of Little Rock, 1833-1950*, 116.

[103] ñPrivacy Is Assured in New House,ò *Arkansas Gazette* (January 29, 1950).

[104] *Arkansas Gazette*, (01/07/1951) in Yandell Johnson papers, on file at Butler Center, Little Rock, AR, Series 1, Box 4, File 17.

[105] *Witsell and Wittenberg. Architects of Little Rock, 1833-1950,* 116.

[106] Hope, ñLow, Light and Livable,ò 26.

[107] Ibid.

Jones opened his own architectural firm in 1953 in Fayetteville and also taught architecture at the University of Arkansas. Using native materials and expressing functionalism, Jones designed a number of notable residences. Many of his more significant dwellings are in Fayetteville but his design for ñPine Knollò in Little Rock is also highly regarded. This dwelling reflects his philosophy to meld a dwellingôs interior and exterior to inspire an appreciation for nature on the part of the resident and the viewer. [108] Constructed in 1964, this dwelling features a stone veneer exterior, wide eaves and large floor-to-ceiling windows (Figures 49-50).

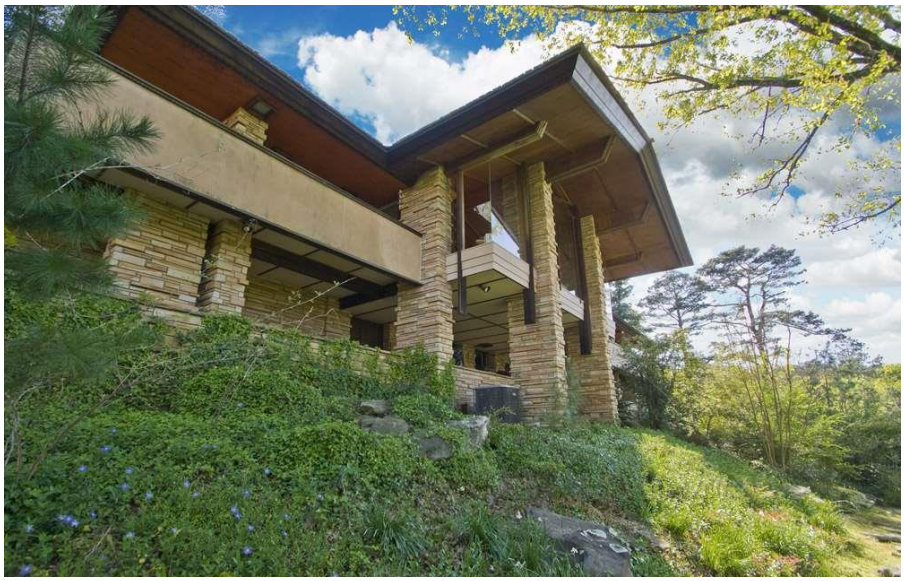


Figure 49: View of Pine Knoll designed by E. Fay Jones and constructed in 1964.

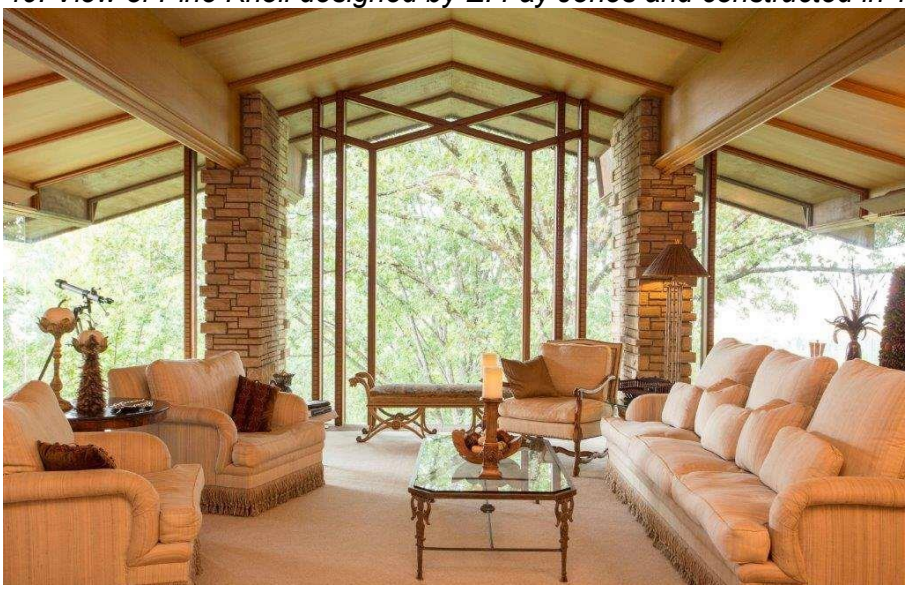


Figure 50: Living room of Pine Knoll displaying its large expanses of windows and exposed ceiling beams.

[108] *Dana Lawrence & Kara Ousterhaus, "Hantz House,"* National Register nomination on file at Arkansas Historic Preservation Program: Little Rock: AR, 2001; Department of Arkansas Heritage, Outside the Pale: The Architecture of Fay Jones, (Fayetteville, AR: The University of Arkansas Press, 1999), xi.

In addition to these architect-designed homes, Little Rockôs suburbs contain other notable Mid-Century Modern dwellings from the 1940s to the 1960s. The dwelling at 27 River Ridge Road was designed by Lugean Chilcote and features an exterior of stone veneer, vertical board siding and floor-to-ceiling windows (Figure 51). Another notable design is the ñYò shaped dwelling at 52 Wingate Drive built in 1963 which features an exterior of stone veneer and vertical board siding. Fenestration is limited on the main elevation and the windows open onto rear private patios (Figure 52). Other noted Mid-Century Modern dwellings noted from this period include the house at 1 E. Palisades Drive (Figure 53) built in 1953, 2 Ranch Valley Road (Figure 54) built in 1957, and the dwelling at 33 E. Palisades Drive (Figure 55) built in 1962.

By 1968, the number of architects and architectural firms listed in the Little Rock City Directory was thirty-six and many of these continued on into later decades.[109] In 2014, the book *Architects of Little Rock, 1833-1950*, by architects Charles Witsell and Gordon Wittenberg was published which identified and described a number of the architects and firms in business to the mid-twentieth century. While many of the architects cited in this study are mentioned in this book, information on many of the architects and firms of the 1950s and 1960s continues to be researched.



Figure 51: Designed by architect Lugean Chilcote, this house at 27 River Ridge Road was built in 1966.

[109] *Little Rock City Directory, 1968* (Dallas, Texas: R.L Polk Company, 1968), 69.



Figure 52: Built in the shape of a "Y" this Mid-Century Modern dwelling was completed in 1963 at 52 Wingate Drive in the Wingate subdivision.



Figure 53: Dwelling at 1 E. Palisades Drive built in 1953.



Figure 54: Dwelling at 2 Ranch Valley Road built in 1957.



Figure 55: Dwelling at 33 E. Palisades Drive built in 1962.

2. Multi-Family Dwellings – Low Rise Apartments

The expansion of Little Rockôs suburban areas in the post-war era included the construction of dozens of low-rise apartment buildings to provide rental housing. Low-rise is defined as four-stories or less and these apartment buildings were often built along major streets or highways. The majority of these apartment buildings were designed in functional or utilitarian forms and few have been identified as having architectural significance. Many of those built in the 1950s and 1960s have been demolished or extensively altered through replacement of doors and windows and application of synthetic sidings.

In response to the housing shortage after the war, a number of low-rise housing projects were built in the city. In Little Rock these early apartments were segregated and those built for African Americans were located in the inner city and away from the suburban subdivisions. Public housing apartments for African Americans included the Joseph A. Booker Homes built in 1950 and Hollingsworth Grove built in 1955. These were built on the east side of the city in contrast to Sunset Terrace (1950) and Highland Park (1955) which were built for white residents on the west side. Sunset Terrace was designed as one-story duplexes as opposed to the low-rise apartments built for African Americans. With the exception of Sunset terrace, these early low-rise housing projects have been demolished.

One of the best-preserved apartment buildings from this period is the Prospect Terrace apartments at 3603 Kavanaugh Boulevard built in 1948 (Figure 56). Designed by the firm of Ginocchio and Cromwell, this two-story apartment building reflects the International style in its flat roof and steel casement windows. Another notable apartment building is the two-story frame apartment at 2423 Kavanaugh Boulevard built ca. 1964. This building was designed with carports on the first floor and balconies and full-height windows on the second floor (Figure 57). This apartment building was converted to condominiums in 2008.



Figure 56: Prospect Terrace Apartments at 3603 Kavanaugh Boulevard.



Figure 57: Apartments built ca. 1964 at 2423 Kavanaugh Boulevard.

3. Multi-Family Dwellings – High Rise Apartments

Developers responded to the demand for apartments downtown by building several high-rise towers after World War II. The oldest of these is Rivercliff Apartments (Figure 58) which were completed in 1949. Composed of four primary buildings, these six-story steel and brick apartments feature curved concrete canopies over the entrances. Built in cross shapes the buildings are sited on a ridge overlooking the Arkansas River at 2000 Magnolia Drive. The buildings are modest examples of the International styles.

At 3500 Cedar Hill Road is the Westriver Tower (Figure 59) which was designed by the firm of Wassell and Ferrell and completed in 1960. This nine-story building is distinguished by its large expanses of glass on the main facade facing the Arkansas River. Constructed of steel frame with a brick and concrete exterior, the main façade is divided into four major bays and each unit has a balcony on this elevation. This building is now composed of condominium units.

A notable high-rise apartment building is the Summit House Apartments at 400 N. University Avenue built in 1964 (Figure 60). This 14-story building contains 165 units and was one of the first high-rise apartment buildings constructed in the west side of the city. The International style building is distinguished by its fluted concrete panels which divide window bays. It was designed by the firm of Erhart, Eichenbaum, Rauch and Blass. Another notable apartment building is Quapaw Tower located at 700 E. 9th Street constructed in 1965 (Figure 61). This thirteen-story building was one of the first apartment buildings built downtown. Constructed of steel with a brick exterior, it was designed with balconies for each unit with breeze block concrete railings.

The Parkview Towers at 1200 Commerce Street (Figure 62) was completed in 1965 as senior housing for retired school teachers. The building contains a variety of studio, one-bedroom and two-bedroom apartments. The nine-story building has an exterior of textured concrete and concrete canopies are over each window bank. The building continues to be owned and operated by the Retired Teacher Housing organization.

Three of the cityôs high-rise apartment buildings were constructed in the early 1970s by Little Rock Housing Authority. The Fred W. Parris (Figure 62), Cumberland (Figure 63), and Jesse Powell (Figure 64) Towers were built to provide senior housing with funding in part from the Federal Housing Act of 1956.This act responded to the number of Americans who were living longer life spans and needed housing suited to the needs of the elderly.[110] The Fred W. Parris Towers is a fourteen-story high rise constructed in 1972 at 1800 S. Broadway Street as senior citizen public housing and it contains 250 units. Just over half of the units are studio efficiencies with the remainder consisting of one- and two-bedroom units. Designed in the International Style by the firm of Wittenberg, Delony & Davidson, the tower was built of steel with a reinforced concrete and brick veneer exterior.

[110] John M. Tess, *Fred W. Parris Towers*. National Register Nomination on file with the Arkansas Historic Preservation Program, 2017, Section 8-Page 13.

The Cumberland and Jesse Powell Towers both have similar histories to the Fred W. Parris Towers and were constructed for senior housing by the Little Rock Housing Authority. Both towers were designed with influences of the International style and The Cumberland Towers is an eleven-story high-rise building completed in 1974 at 311 E. 8th Street. This steel frame building has a stuccoed brick exterior and was designed with influences of the International style by the architectural firm of Wittenberg, Delony & Davidson. The building contains 178 housing units of which 106 are studio apartments and the remainder are one-and-two bedroom units. The Jesse Powell Towers at 1010 Wolfe Street was built in 1975 and is a nine-story steel, brick and concrete building which is ñVò-shape in form. This tower has 169 units of which 100 are studio apartments and the remainder one- and two-bedroom units. This building was designed by architect Dan Stowers, Jr. All three of these senior housing projects were listed in the National Register in 2017 for their significance in politics/government.



Figure 58: Rivercliff Apartments built in 1949 at 2000 Magnolia Drive.



Figure 59: Westriver Tower built in 1960 at 3500 Cedar Hill Road.



Figure 60: Summit House Apartments, 400 N. University Avenue built in 1964.



Figure 61: Quapaw Tower constructed downtown in 1965.



Figure 62: The Parkview Towers was constructed to house retired teachers.



Figure 63: Fred W. Parris Towers built in 1972 at 1800 S. Broadway Street.



Figure 64: Cumberland Towers built in 1974.



Figure 65: Jesse Powell Towers completed in 1975.

4. Residential Subdivisions

Little Rockôs suburban development after 1945 was constrained by its geography. Bordered by the Arkansas River on the north and east, development was also constrained on the southeast by the presence of Fourche Creek and its flood plain. Only the flat lands and hills west and northwest of the city limits provided the opportunities for land purchases and attractive building lots. The open space available in these areas soon attracted investors in the years after the war.

Real estate developers across the country adopted a whole new approach to subdivisions in the post-war years. Often employing landscape architects or similar designers, developers planned every aspect of their subdivisions from start to finish. Community development became an engineered process as subdivisions were built on large tracts not necessarily contiguous to existing neighborhoods or infrastructure. New schools, churches, and shopping centers usurped the traditional role of their historic counterparts as commercial and social centers near the urban core.

Some of the earliest subdivisions which were platted and developed in the 1940s included the Cherry and Cox subdivision which contained all or parts of fifty-six blocks west of S. Harrison Street. Platted in 1941, this development followed a traditional grid street pattern characteristic of Little Rock. The adjacent subdivision of Oak Forest platted the next year also followed this grid street pattern. However, most subdivisions platted after 1945 were designed to follow land contours or to create a distinctive identity through curvilinear streets and cul-de-sacs.

The evolution of subdivision planning coincided with changing tastes for residential designs and federal housing policies. In the early 20th century, city planners addressed issues of congestion and how to create housing which was the most healthful and fulfilling for citizens. The rise of the automobile made street patterns and traffic flow an important factor in community planning. From the first technical circular produced by the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) in 1935, the agency advocated accommodating the natural environment of a proposed subdivision in order for a developer to receive guaranteed mortgage insurance. A monotonous street grid was rejected for a calming conformation to the land. Other patterns that promoted safety, saved money on paving, and provided a pleasing setting were cul-de-sacs, courts and lanes separated by grassy medians. [111] Such arrangements became typical of early mid-century neighborhoods in Little Rock.

Little Rockôs subdivisions platted after 1945 moved away from grid street patterns also in response to the emergence of the Ranch house, Split-Level and other period house forms. These dwellings were typically one- to two-stories in height with an emphasis on horizontality requiring wider lots rather than the narrow and deep lots more traditional to

[111] Michael Southworth and Eran Ben-Joseph, ñStreet Standards and the Shaping of Suburbia,ò *APA Journal*, (Winter 1995), 71, 74; Federal Housing Administration, *Subdivision Development: Standards for the Insurance of Mortgages on Properties Located in Undeveloped Subdivisions*, Circular No. 5, (Federal Housing Administration: Washington, D.C.), January 10, 1935, 8.

the city. Lot orientation changed as the backyard became a focal point of the home and the desire for more privacy led to new planning methods.[112] For example, the lot size for homes in the 1907 Wat Worthen Addition of Little Rock was 45 feet wide by approximately 150 feet long. In 1950, the Little Rock City Planning Commission revised what it considered õoutmodedò regulations initially established in 1939. The commission determined that lots in new subdivisions should be at least 60 feet wide and should not contain less than 6,000 square feet.[113] In that year the Coolwood Addition was platted with lots between 60 and 70 feet in width. The irregular contours of this subdivision allowed lot depths of between 117 and 301 feet. After 1945, lot widths in subdivisions continued to expand, such as the Scenic Heights subdivision, platted in 1950, which featured some lot widths up to 142 feet. This increase in lot sizes made it easier to accommodate the wide Ranch and other house forms of the period.

Between 1945 and 1970, hundreds of subdivisions were platted in Little Rockôs growing suburban areas. Much of this development occurred in the 1950s and the North Little Rock and Little Rock USGS quadrangle maps of 1961 and 1970 show this steady progression to the northwest, west and southwest (Figures 65-70). While some of the streets continue to show grid patterns, most of the subdivisions have angled or curvilinear streets to follow land forms and topography. The major subdivisions from the 1950s north of Markham Street were Success, Plaza Heights, Kingwood Place and Westover Hills. In the 1960s this area expanded further west with the subdivisions of Leawood Heights and Leawood Manor. The high hills south of the Arkansas River were also subdivided in the 1960s with houses sited to take advantage of the views to the north.

South of Markham Street and west of University Avenue are the Broadmoor, Point Oô Woods, College Terrace and Westwood subdivisions developed in the 1950s. Further west is the older community of Rosedale (John Barrow) which has numerous dwellings built prior to 1945. South of Fourche Creek are the major subdivisions of Meadowcliff, Cloverdale, Geyer Springs and Wakefield Village which were platted and developed in the 1950s. In addition to the westward expansion of the city, other subdivisions were platted in previously undeveloped areas near downtown. These include the subdivisions of Coolwood and Riverside Plot located just off Cantrell Road which display dozens of homes built in the 1950s.

[112] Miles Colean, *American Housing: Problems and Prospects, the Factual Findings*, (New York, NY: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1944), 19.

[113] City Planning Commission, *Land Subdivision Regulations, Little Rock, Ark.*, (Little Rock, AR: City Planning Commission, 1950), 9.

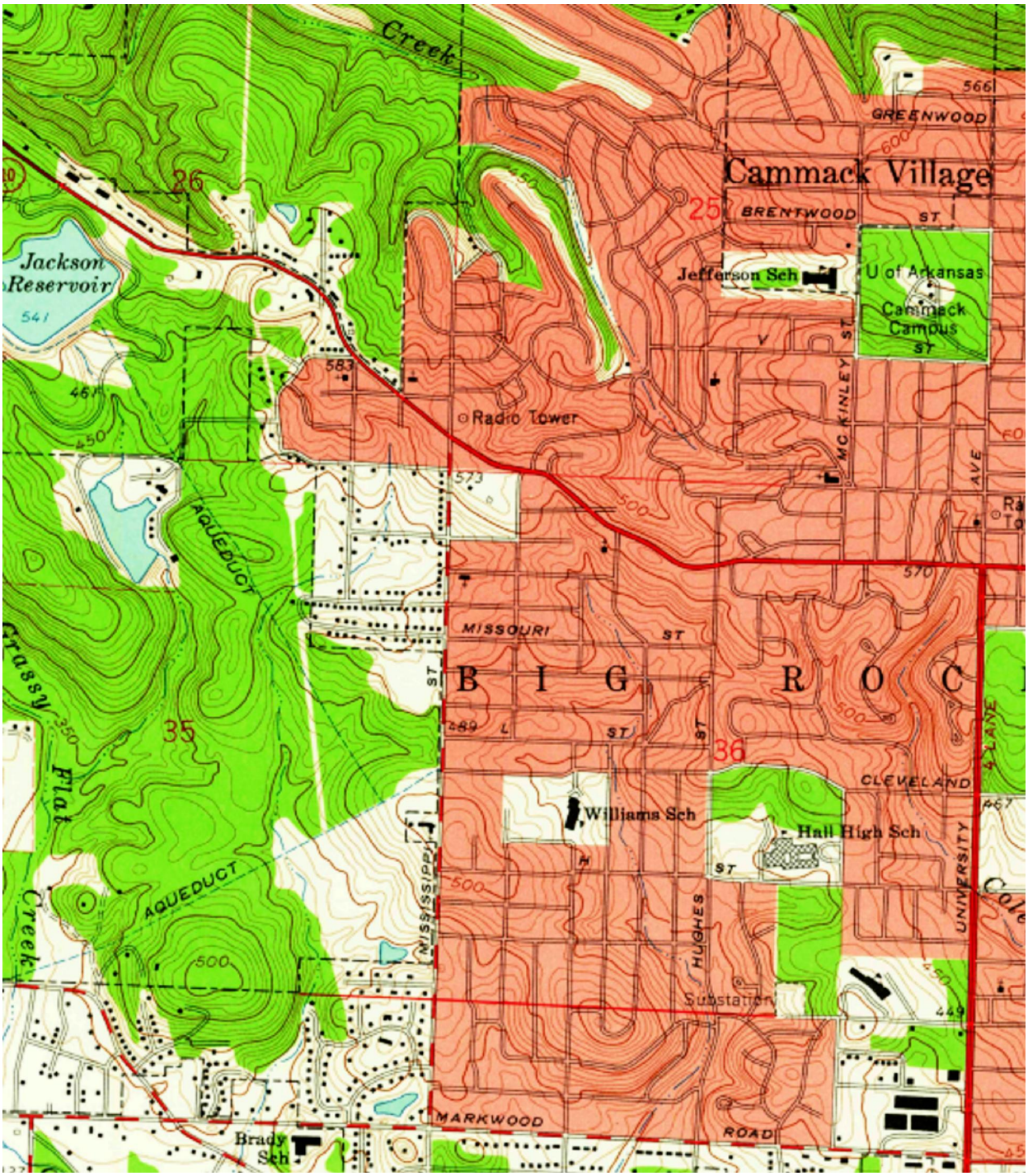


Figure 66: The North Little Rock USGS Quad map of 1961 shows the major northwest suburban expansion of the city. West of University Avenue the major subdivisions include Success, Plaza Heights, Pine Manor, Kingwood Place, Westover Hills, Wingate and Queen Manor.

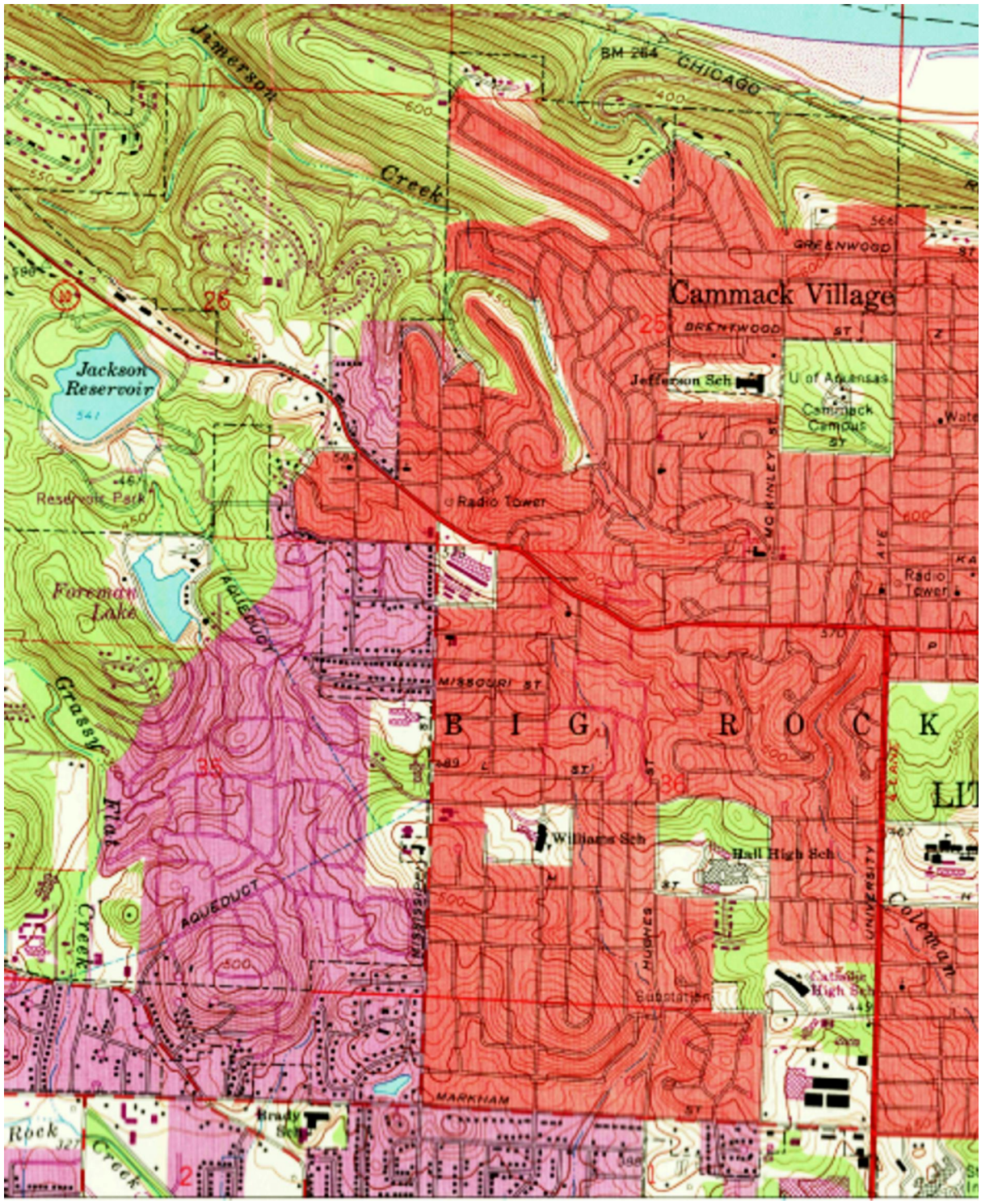


Figure 67: The 1970 North Little Rock USGS Quad map shows the areas which were developed in the 1960s shaded in purple. To the south of Markham Street are the northern streets of Briarwood and Plaza Terrace. North of Markham Street are the major subdivisions of Leawood Heights, Leawood Manor, Foxcroft and Robinwood.

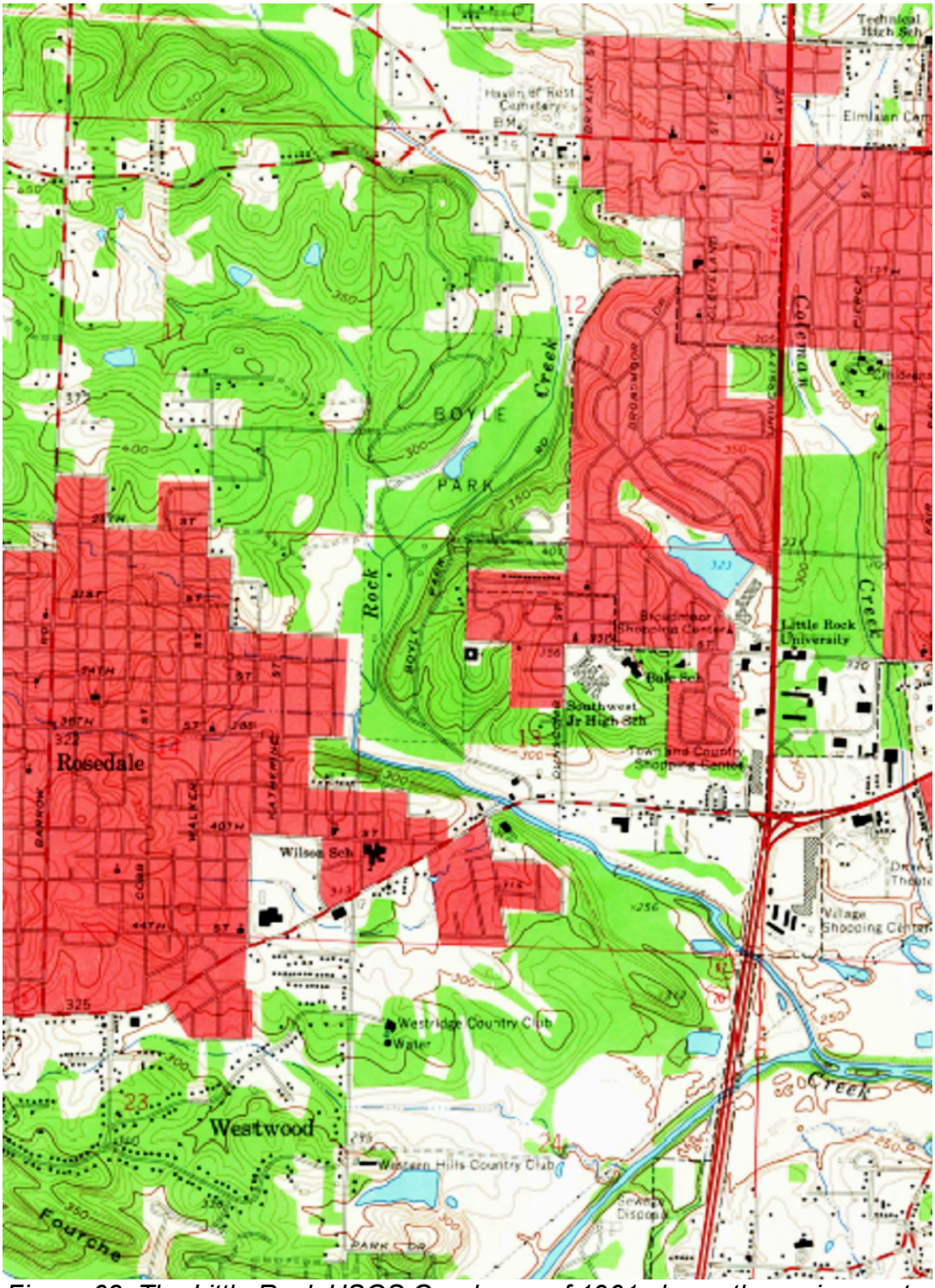


Figure 68: The Little Rock USGS Quad map of 1961 shows the major western suburbs of Broadmoor, Westwood and Rosedale (John Barrow) west of University Drive. Shown contiguous to Broadmoor are the subdivisions of College Terrace and Point O' Woods.

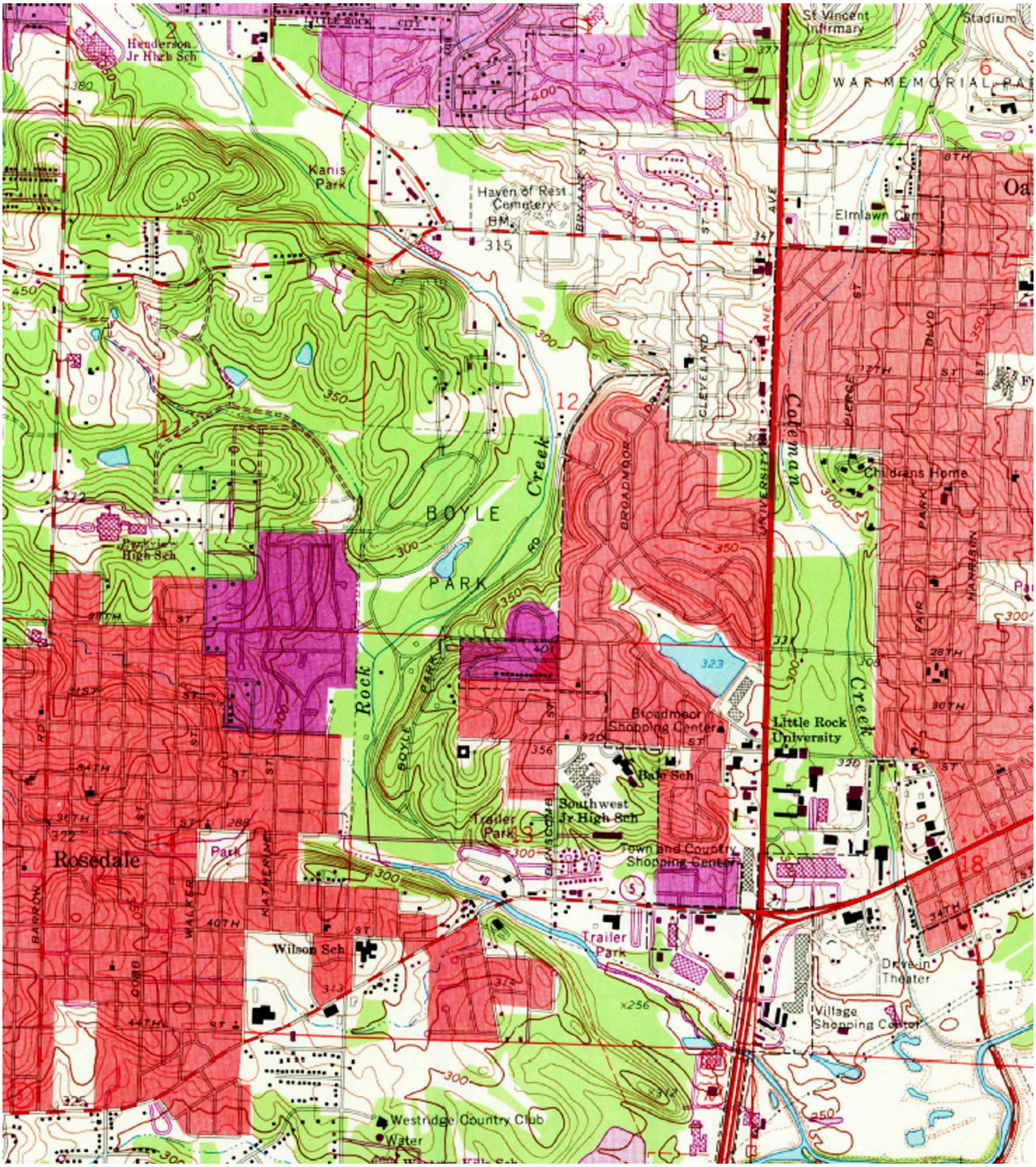


Figure 69: The Little Rock USGS Quad map of 1970 details the subdivisions that developed in the 1960s and are shaded in purple. At the top of the map are the Briarwood and Cardinal Heights subdivisions and the two larger purple shaded areas west of University Drive are Maryton Park, and Meadow Lark.

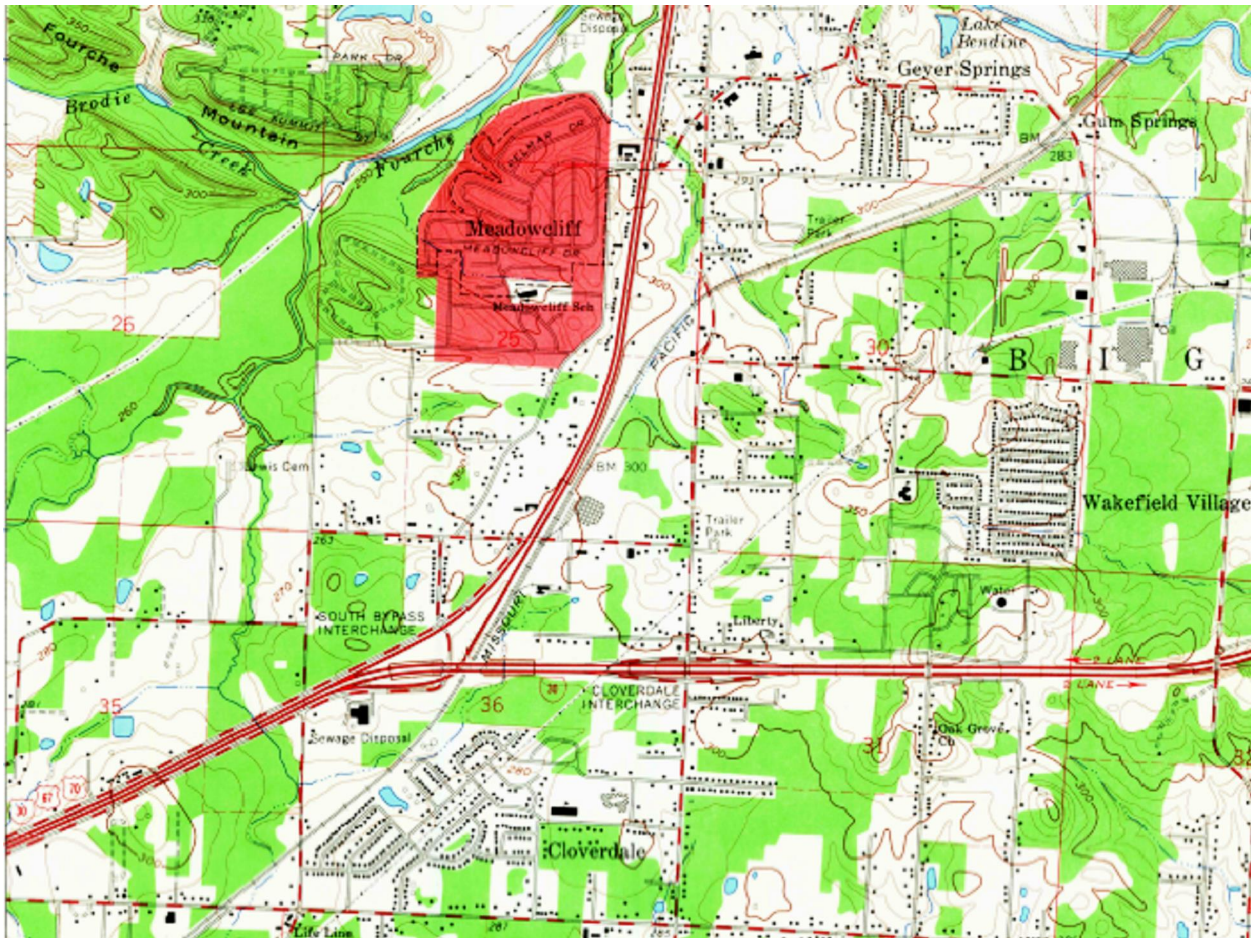


Figure 70: The Little Rock USGS Quad map of 1961 shows the major southwest suburbs of Meadowcliff, Wakefield Village, Geyer Springs and Cloverdale.

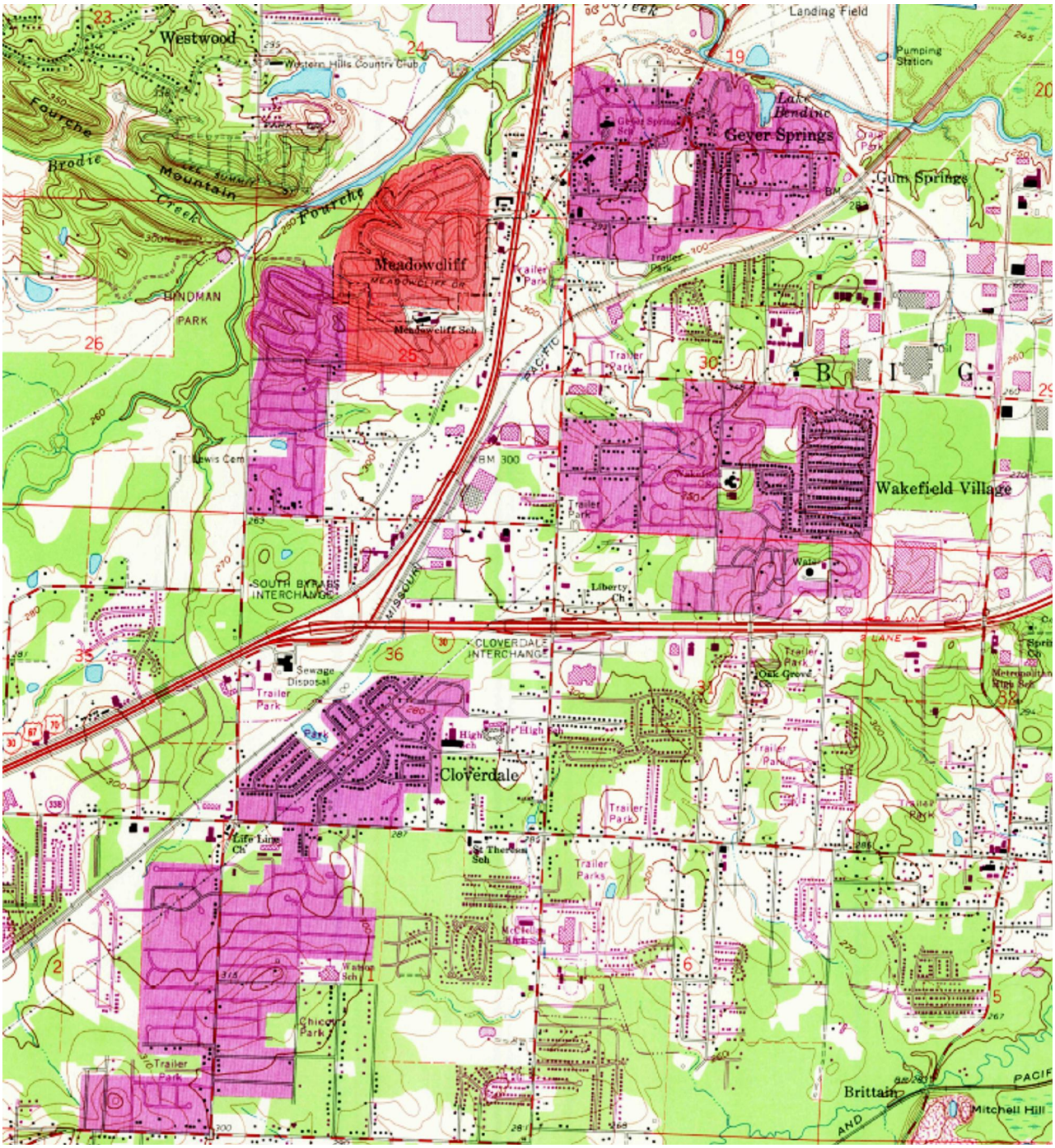


Figure 71: By 1970, the Little Rock USGS Quad map continues to show the major subdivisions of Meadowcliff, Geyer Springs, Wakefield Village and Cloverdale. West of Meadowcliff shown in purple is the Brookwood subdivision. Much of the area around Geyer Springs and Wakefield Village are composed of small subdivisions such as Windamere and Stonegate.

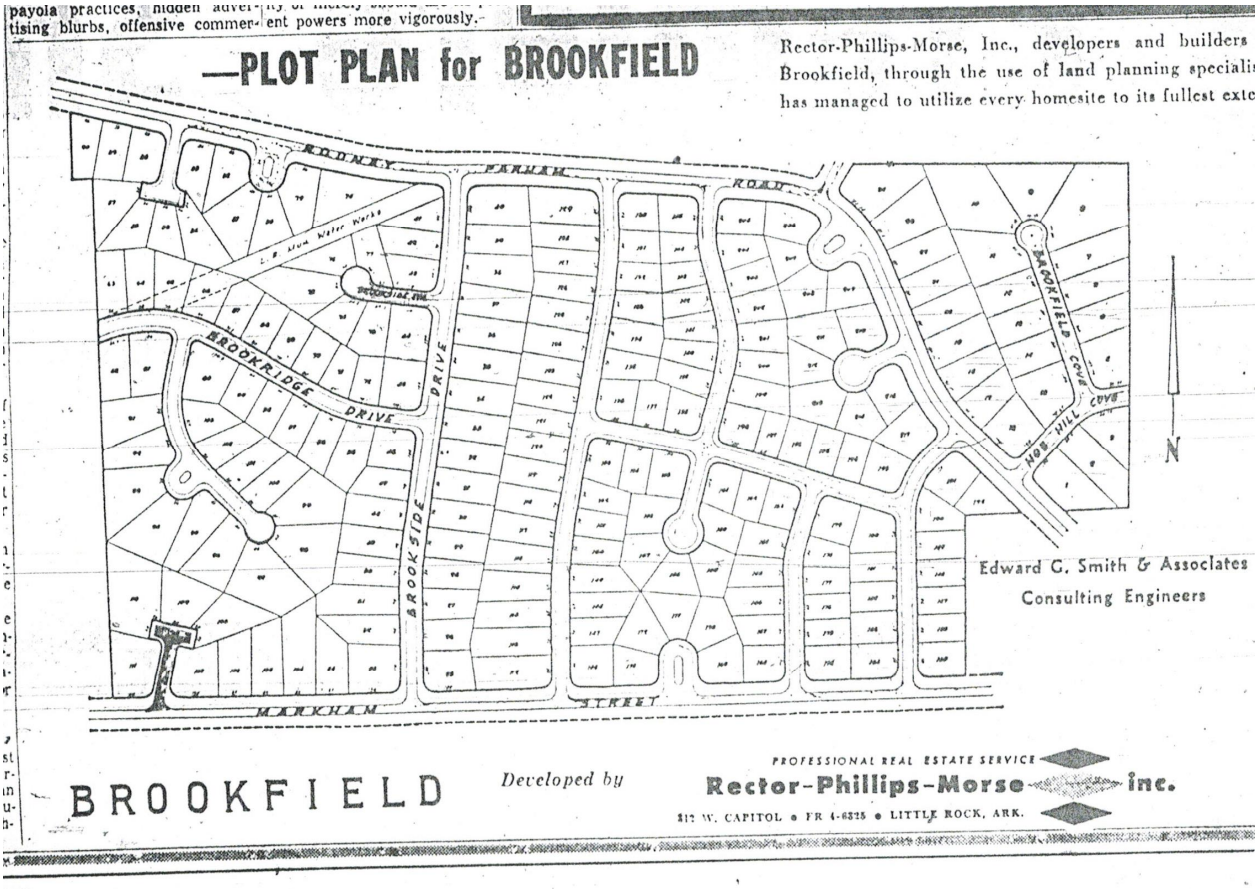


Figure 72: Brookfield is typical of the types of subdivision plans which were platted in the 1950s and 1960s in Little Rock. It features curved streets and cul-de-sacs in conformance with the area's hills. This ad for the subdivision was printed in the January 1, 1960 edition of the Arkansas Gazette.

Subdivisions which were developed in Little Rock from the late 1940s to the 1960s have a remarkable degree of similarities in their architectural designs (Figures 73-79). The Linear and Composite Ranch forms dominate most neighborhoods and are typically one-story in height, have hipped or gable roofs and exteriors of brick veneer or combinations of brick, wood and stone. Most were built with integral or attached carports and garages. Often developers would utilize standardized plans which were repeated on each street such as in Coolwood, Meadowbrook and Broadmoor. While some streetscapes feature Split-Level and Mid-Century Modern designs, the Linear and Composite Ranch style forms are found in most of the subdivisions developed in this 25-year period.



Figure 73: Streetscape of Linear Ranch houses on Pine Manor Drive in the Pine Manor neighborhood.



Figure 74: Streetscape of Belmont Drive in the Broadmoor subdivision.



Figure 75: View of Fairmount Drive in the College Terrace subdivision.



Figure 76: Streetscape of Linear Ranch homes on Southmont Drive in the Meadowcliff subdivision.



Figure 77: Streetscape of Cloverdale Drive in the Cloverdale subdivision.



Figure 78: Streetscape of Durham Drive in the Wakefield Village subdivision.



Figure 79: Streetscape of Split-Level dwellings on N. Mellon Street in the Hall Cove subdivision.

The marketing and selling of Little Rockôs new homes after World War II was designed to appeal to new residents as well as attract existing residents from the older neighborhoods of the city. Extolling the virtues of clean air, large yards, functional and attractive houses and easy commuting to downtown, developers funded a wide variety of advertisements in newspapers and promotional brochures. Another event which developers and builders marketed were homes tours. The annual Parade of Homes, sponsored by the Arkansas Home Builders Association (Figure 80), began in Little Rock in 1952. Twelve houses were presented at the parade, which was attended by 30,000 people over the period of a week. Attendees could use the tour to help them make decisions on building products, technological advances and housing styles that would be most appropriate for their family. The decision on which houses to feature fell to an American Institute of Architects committee who reviewed plans presented by Pulaski County builders.[114] The homes were mapped in the newspapers in their respective subdivisions, which became gradually more widespread.

Such a sales system was new in the mid-century period and the Parade of Homes was an expansion of the groundbreaking ñmodel homeò method. A landscaped, furnished house with the newest conveniences was advertised as an example of a new subdivisionôs offerings. The developers of the Kingwood Place subdivision used this sales practice as early as 1951 as soon as a complete home was built.[115] Home building shows such as the ñComparearamaò at the Barton Coliseum featured home building vendors.

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[114] Arkansas Home Builders Association, ñParade of Homes Plan Book é Presenting a Preview of 1953 Homes,ò promotional brochure, 1953, 4; ñParade of Homes Hit Since õ52,ò *Arkansas Democrat*, September 11, 1955; ñHome Purchase $ Goes Long Way,ò *Arkansas Gazette*, September 21, 1958;

[115] ñNew Sales Technique Adds To Demand for New Housing,ò *Arkansas Gazette*, December 11, 1949.

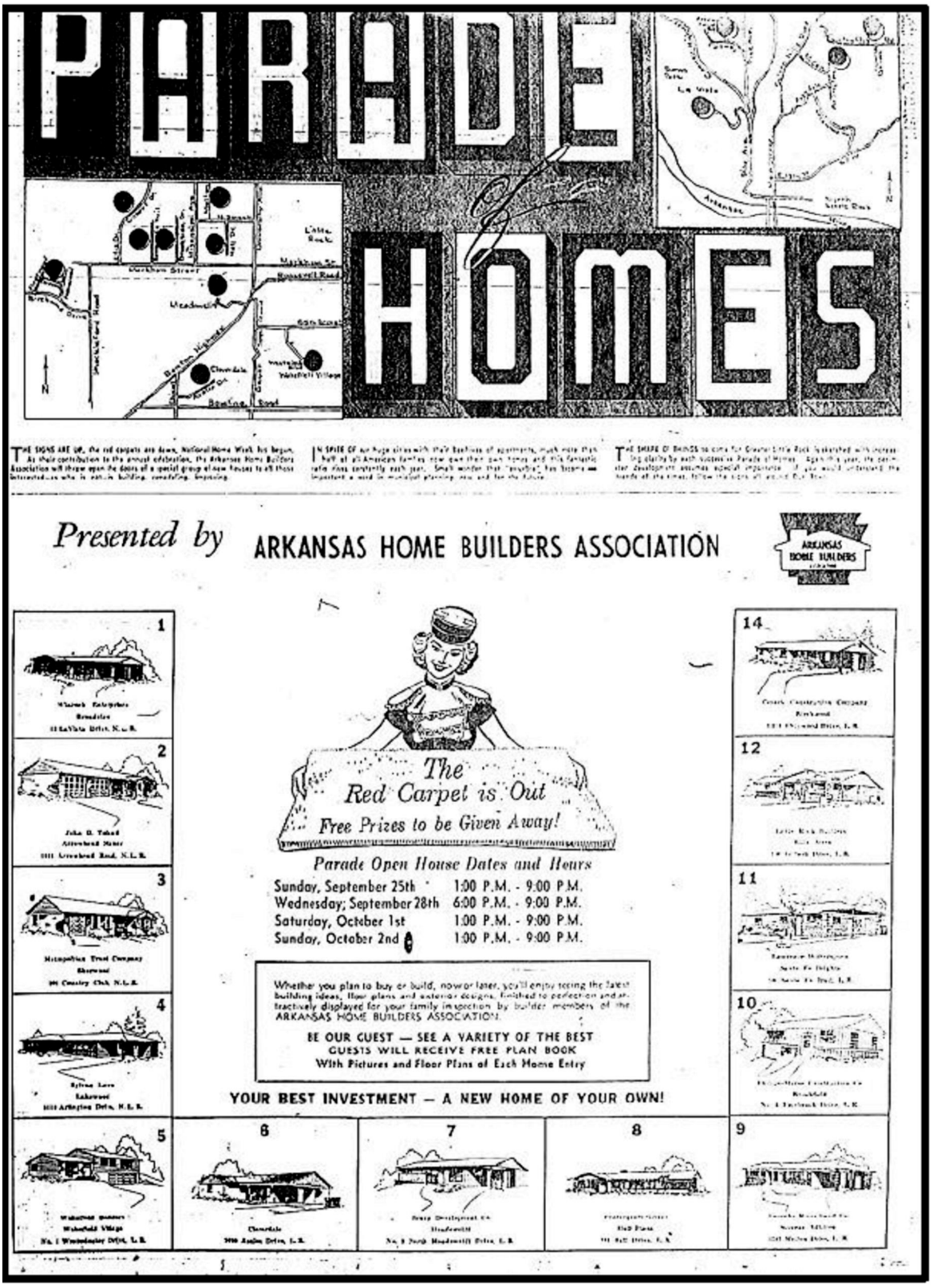


Figure 80: Parade of Homes brochure from 1953.

Another method to sell houses was to accentuate the virtues of an ñall-electricò house or the financial savings of buying a pre-fabricated home. National programs such as ñLiving Better Electricallyò and the ñBlue Flame Houseò were promoted by energy companies to feature homes with modern appliances and heating and cooling systems. In May of 1960 a full-page ad in the *Arkansas Gazette* featured the ñWestinghouse Total Electric Homeò at 305 Gilbert Drive in the Ellis Acres subdivision. Described as ñOne of 16 Homes in America Made to Order for Electric Livingò this house featured an electric heat pump, air conditioning and an all-electric kitchen with the most recent appliances.[116] At 6 Brookside Circle in the Brookside subdivision is a pre-fabricated dwelling built as a model home by the National Homes Corporation of Lafayette, Indiana. This Split-Level house (Figures 81-82) was built with an exterior of vertical aluminum panels on the main facade, aluminum windows and aluminum shutters. An example of a factory-built home, this dwelling was promoted for its quality and cost savings and advertised in the *Arkansas Gazette* in January of 1960.[117]

Subdivisions developed during this period and significant in community planning and architecture include Coolwood, Broadmoor, Meadowcliff and Cloverdale. These subdivisions were planned and promoted by astute businessmen who influenced other developers and builders in the city and worked with city officials expand utilities and improve streets and highways. These neighborhoods are also examples of the use of standardized plans and pre-fabrication for house construction.

A primary mover in the real estate world in post-war Arkansas was Elbert L. Fausett. Born on a farm near Sheridan in 1903, he pursued several other career paths prior to his entry into real-estate development, including car salesman, publicist, and legislator. In January of 1945 he founded Fausett & Co., which became nationally known, in part because. Fausett pioneered the use of advertising, from newspaper ads to billboards to radio spots, to attract home buyers to his subdivisions. For some of his marketing campaigns Fausett partnered with relevant products and utilities, such as Sterling 12 Star Paints, and Arkansas Louisiana Gas Co. Many Fausett & Co. ads billed the company as ñArkansasôLargest Realtors,ò a claim that appears largely accurate. During the companyôs first decade it was responsible for 1,800 new homes in Pulaski, Faulkner, and Saline counties, as well as rental units and service stations. A count of building permits in 1954 by the Little Rock engineerôs office showed that Fausett was issued over half of the permits in Little Rock, many of them for new housing within the 12 subdivisions attributable to Fausett by that year. In 1955, 46 percent of new homes in Little Rock were built by Fausett & Co.[118]

Two of Fausettôs best known Little Rock subdivisions were Coolwood and Broadmoor, targeted specifically to middle-income customers, another innovation by Fausett since other Arkansas builders had previously focused on housing for low-income families. In 1951, ads for Coolwood, ñLittle Rockôs Newest Residential Development,ò touted it as ña

[116] *Arkansas Gazette*, May 8, 1960.

[117] *Arkansas Gazette*, January 1, 1960

[118] ñFausett Builds Half of Cityôs New Homes,ò *Arkansas Democrat*, September 11, 1955; ñBroadmoor Latest Step in ôFabulousô Career,ò *Arkansas Democrat*, September 19, 1954.

masterpiece in residential development and home planning and construction,ò offering custom designs. Convenience of location was used as another selling point. Close to Cantrell Road, the subdivision was described as ñOnly 5 Minutes from Main Street and on City Bus Lines.ò Coolwood was a small development of 47 houses, in the latest small-Ranch style, with two or three bedrooms; one, one and a half, or two bathrooms; oversized lots; and either a garage or carport.[119] Unlike Fausettôs later Broadmoor and College Terrace subdivisions, Coolwood did not include related resources like parks and schools.

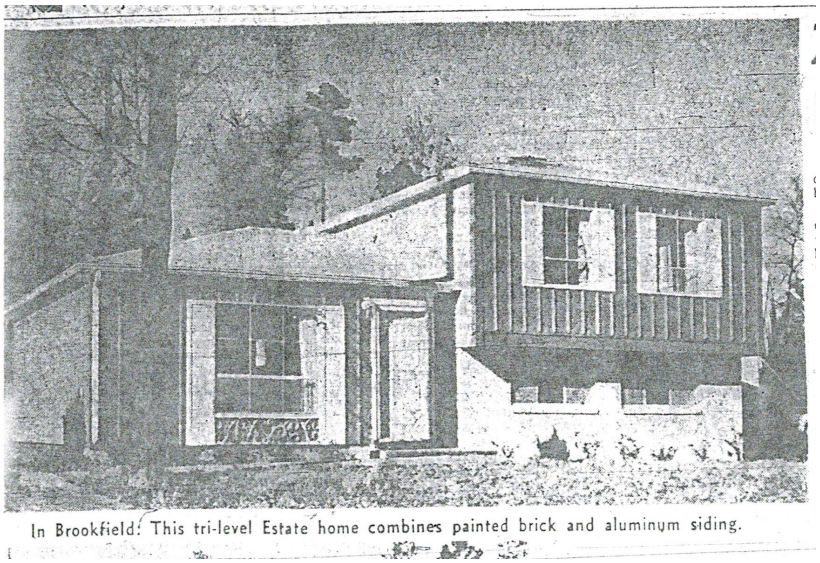


Figure 81: An ad in the Arkansas Gazette promoted the cost-savings of pre-fabrication for the home at 6 Brookside Circle.



Figure 82: The same house in 2017 – still retaining integrity of its original design.

[119] Coolwood ads, *Arkansas Democrat*, January 21, 1951; *Arkansas Gazette*, May 27, 1951.

Coolwood homes were veneered in brick or stone, often in combination with horizontal or vertical siding (Figures 83-85). Some were all-brick with vertical siding in the carport. Only a few of the houses had enclosed garages. Fausettôs advertisements stated that every home was unique, and planned so that it took advantage of the natural terrain of the site, retaining as much as possible ñall trees and natural beauty.ò He also directed promotions to women consumers by stating ñThere are scores of features that women like,ò such as closets, built-ins, labor-saving kitchens, and interiors to suit individual tastes.[120] The random placement and size of windows was not used by Fausett in the Coolwood Addition. In that neighborhood he instead utilized two-over-two horizontal double-hung openings.[121] Some of the houses were built with picture windows flanked by double-hung windows, or pairs of windows emulating the picture-window form. Front porches were small and wrought-iron supports for porch and carport roofs were common.

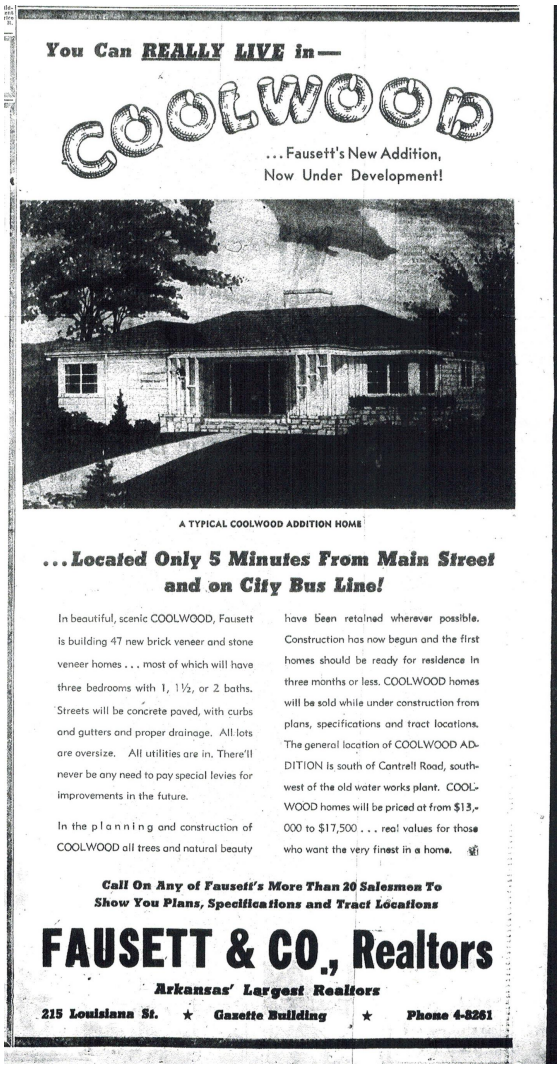


Figure 83: Advertisement for the Coolwood subdivision in the Arkansas Gazette in May of 1951.

[120] *Arkansas Gazette*, May 27, 1951.

[121] Hope, ñLow, Light and Livable,ò 43.



Figure 84: Streetscape on Coolwood Drive in the Coolwood subdivision.



Figure 85: Standardized plan dwelling at 13 Coolwood Drive in the Coolwood subdivision.

Fausettôs most ambitious residential development was Broadmoor, a 500-plus-home project on Hayes Street (now University Avenue) in Southwest Little Rock. Prior to development the property, which included a small lake and log lodge, was owned by Raymond Rebsamen who used it for hunting (Figure 86). Fausett purchased it in 1953. At completion, Broadmoor encompassed 190 acres and had seven miles of paved roads.[122] Fausett also installed a swimming beach by the lake and a shopping center with a ñbuffer zoneò to allow for later construction of a church. Conveniently located schools were also part of the complex, including a kindergarten dedicated in 1955, an elementary school built just south of Broadmoor, and a junior high school that opened in 1956.[123]

Construction on Broadmoor began in 1953, and homes were listed starting at $11,500 to $21,625 (in 2017 dollars this would equal $104,000 to $196,000). Promotional literature touted these brick-veneer homes featuring aluminum windows, copper plumbing, washing-machine connections, fiberglass insulation, ceramic-tile baths, and central air conditioning. The Broadmoor subdivision is believed to be one of the first in the nation to offer the amenity of central air conditioning. These air conditioning units were placed on concrete pads at the rear of the houses and the cool air conveyed to the house via underground pipes. Many owners found these units to be unreliable after a few years and had to install new air conditioning systems.[124] Additional selling points for the development included paved streets, landscaping, and its location adjacent to a proposed twelve-acre shopping center. FHA or GI financing was available for home purchases.

Fausett originally offered eighteen standardized plans (Figure 87) which were later expanded to twenty-four to accommodate the terrain. All were built in variations of the Ranch style as well as some influences of more Mid-Century Modern designs (Figures 88-89).[125] At the construction site, builders assembled house parts and took the prefabricated parts to individual lots for installation. This process kept the pace of construction at one complete house per week to ten days.[126] Residents organized the Broadmoor Property Owners Association in 1954, as well as two garden clubs, a bowling league, bridge groups, Tupperware parties, annual Easter egg hunts and Christmas parties, and numerous childrenôs playtime activities. Broadmoor epitomized American suburbs of the baby-boom period. By 1956, the subdivision contained 553 homes, and in 1957, the city government annexed the neighborhood.[127] Broadmoor was publicized as the largest subdivision in the state from 1953 to 1955.

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[122] Ibid.

[123] ñNew Views and Home Plans Set in Broadmoor,ò *Arkansas Democrat*, September 11, 1955;

[124] Jack Percival, Broadmoor Neighborhood Association. Personal Interview, 25 July, 2017.

[125] ñBroadmoor Displays Air-conditioned Home Plan to Public,ò *Arkansas Democrat*, September 20, 1953; ñThis is Fausettôs Broadmoor,ò Information provided by Lanita Reynolds, Little Rock, 7/25/2012; ñFausett Sees Completion of Broadmoor by 1956,ò *Arkansas Democrat*, September 19, 1954.

[126] Hope, ñLow, Light and Livable,ò 44.

[127] Lanita Reynolds, ñThe Early Days of Broadmoor,ò Unpublished, 2004.



Figure 86: Aerial view of the Broadmoor subdivision ca. 1955.

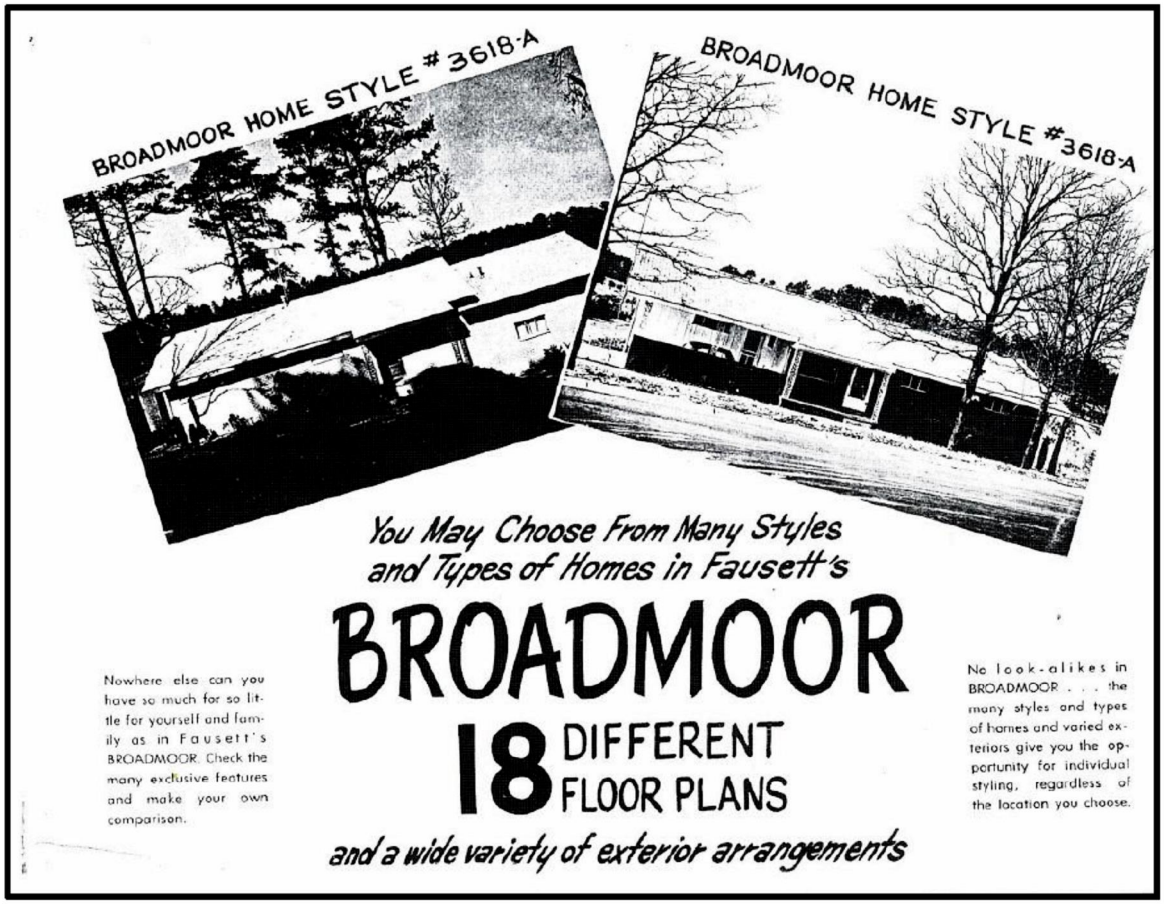


Figure 87: Promotional brochure of house plans for the Broadmoor subdivision.



Figure 88: The dwelling at 18 Broadmoor Drive built in 1954 illustrates one of the standardized plan dwellings built in the subdivision.



Figure 89: Hipped roof Linear Ranch built in 1954 at 37 Belmont Drive in Broadmoor.

The subdivision of Meadowcliff, south of Asher Avenue and near the Broadmoor subdivision, was initiated by Bralei Corporation in 1952. Founded by Buford Bracy in North Little Rock in 1946, Bralei had previously contributed several homes to the Park Hill neighborhood, and by 1952, General Manager Jack Bracy had completed the Miramar subdivision in Pine Bluff. The company hoped to replicate the Miramar success in Little Rock with Meadowcliff, where Bracy planned for 450 homes.[128] Meadowcliff was built in separate phases and included small Ranch-style homes as well as Mid-Century Modern-influenced one-story plans with flat roofs (Figures 90-92). Development began in 1954 and 68 houses were sold before the model home had even been completed. The first family moved to the neighborhood in 1955. By 1959, the Meadowcliff Addition contained 515 finished homes and Bracy had plans for an additional 34.

Bracy touted the many styles available in Meadowcliff, claiming he could ñsatisfy virtually any architectural taste,ò from traditional to ranch to contemporary. Architect Yandell Johnson collaborated with Bracy in designing homes for both the Miramar and Meadowcliff subdivisions.[129] The houses Johnson designed in Meadowcliff were larger, and termed ñPremiereò and ñDeLuxe.ò Bracy planned for completion of the project in 1957, and, like Fausett and Matthews, he provided residents with park facilities and a school. The firm later changed its name to Bracy Realty and by 1959 had constructed other Little Rock projects, including Kavanaugh Place, South Road Terrace, and Sheraton Park.[130]



Figure 90: Standardized plan dwelling built in 1957 at 17 Sheraton Drive in Meadowcliff.

[128] Hope, ñLow, Light and Livable,ò 45.

[129] Ibid.

[130] ñMeadowcliff Grows Fast,ò *Arkansas Democrat*, April 22, 1956; ñTwo Ultra Modern Model Homes to Be Unveiled This Afternoon at Open House in Meadowcliff,ò *Arkansas Democrat*, April 25, 1956; ñBracy Realty Plans 200 Homes in 4 Years at Sheraton Park,ò *Arkansas Gazette*, November 22, 1959.



Figure 91: One-story dwelling built in 1955 at 9 Belmar Drive in Meadowcliff.



Figure 92: This gable front plan dwelling was built in 1955 at 4 Ardmore Drive in Meadowcliff.

Another major subdivision of the 1950s was Cloverdale developed in the southwest section of the city. Brothers Leonard and Gus Ottenheimer incorporated with other investors as the O. B. G. Corporation in the purchase of 145 acres in 1954.[131] Their development planned for the construction of 425 homes and Cloverdale was promoted for its ten-minute commute to downtown. Other amenities included the construction of new elementary and junior high schools, and a proposed shopping center. The homes of Cloverdale ranged in price from $11,895 to $16,995, and FHA and VA financing was available at two percent down.

Homes in Cloverdale were available in eighteen different floor plans with combination living-dining rooms and a family-room-kitchen that illustrated the interior design trends of the period (Figures 93-95). The Ottenheimer brothers built their houses with slab foundations, terrazzo interior floors, sliding-glass doors, outdoor patios, and concrete tile roofs. Other materials and features of Cloverdale dwellings were aluminum windows, air-conditioning, wall ovens, exhaust fans, and garbage disposals. Double carports evidenced the prosperity of the post-war years. Homes followed typical Ranch forms with hipped roofs, carports, and combinations of double-hung windows. An unusual feature of some of the homes are slanted concrete pylons which support the carports. Eighteen floor plans with forty home styles were available.[132] ñBuilt for todayôs outdoor living,ò the Cloverdale concept included two six-acre community parks and a lake. The first installment of the subdivision was formally opened in 1956.

Several other features also made Cloverdale stand out. It had its own sewage treatment plant and the wiring for each home was certified by the Arkansas Adequate Wiring Bureau.[133] This certification meant Cloverdale homes could meet the demands of mid-century electrical technology, including air-conditioning.[134] Cloverdale continued to be at the forefront of on-going development in the southwest part of the city during the 1960s.

Broadmoor, Meadowbrook and Cloverdale are notable also for exemplifying home construction techniques developed in the mid-century. As early as 1944, the Prefabricated Homes Institute circulated a proposed commercial standard to the building industry. By 1945, the United States Department of Commerce published guidelines for developers, ñCommercial Standard for Pre-fabricated Homes.ò The guidelines addressed design load and heating, plumbing, and electrical requirements. These guidelines were voluntary but developers often used them in their promotional materials to show their compliance with federal standards. Most firms signing onto the guidelines were located in New York, Los Angeles, or Chicago. Only a handful of firms from the Mid-South, including Bralei Homes, Inc. of Little Rock, were included.[135]

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[131] Hope, ñLow, Light and Livable,ò 46.

[132] *Arkansas Democrat*, May 20, 1956; Carolyn Guay Lemaster, *The Ottenheimers of Arkansas* (Self Published, 1995), 43.

[133] Hope, ñLow, Light and Livable,ò 46.

[134] ñPlanned-For-Future Cloverdale Offers Convenient Living,ò *Arkansas Gazette*, May 20, 1956; Percy Knighton, ñThe Ottenheimers Are Optimists,ò *Southwest Arc*, May 9, 1957, 4.

[135] United States Department of Commerce, *Prefabricated Homes, Commercial Standard CS125-47 (Second Edition)* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1947), ii, 6-14, 19, 20.



Figure 93: Hipped roof Linear Ranch built in 1958 at 7009 Dahlia Drive in Cloverdale.


Figure 94: Ranch style dwelling built in 1956 at 7219 Azalea Drive in Cloverdale.



Figure 95: Detail of the slanted concrete carport pylons at 7219 Azalea Drive.

In construction practices, companies like Colonial Lumber Company of Little Rock promoted pre-cut lumber and pre-assembled roof framing to help cut costs and labor. Other local contractors employed similar construction short-cuts, including the installation of flooring and overhead sheet rock before interior partitions, which eliminated labor to cut and fit. At Broadmoor, Fausett used assembly-line, prefabrication construction processes in on-site workshops set up in the subdivision.[136] Workmen with specialized skills operated a metal shop, as well as a cabinet shop where woodwork was completed for installation in sections. At a mill on Broadmoor Drive workmen pre-cut lumber before taking it to lots for construction. Broadmoor also had a yard for prepping roofing supplies and decking. The assembly-line process enabled crews to complete a house in one to two weeks, which not only lowered Fausettôs construction expenditures but also allowed him to sell homes quickly, especially since the interior amenities he included in his homes made them more attractive to lenders. By 1955, over 350 homes in Broadmoor had already been completed, surpassing Fausettôs expectations.[137] The initial projection for Broadmoor was 700 homes; when the last home was finished in 1957 the tally was 553.[138] For the Cloverdale development, the Ottenheimers followed Fausettôs lead, preparing lumber and concrete roof tiles in an on-site fabrication mill.

[136] Hope, ñLow, Light and Livable,ò 44.

[137] Ibid.

[138] Reynolds.

Two areas in Little Rock contain unique ñSwiss Chaletò or ñGermanò Ranch house plans. In 1959, Putnam-Mobley Realtors opened the first subdivision of this type in Arkansas, Storybook Village, on Cinderella Circle and Gingerbread Lane in southwest Little Rock.[139] It featured Ranch homes influenced by ñprovincial German sourcesò in four styles, named ñThunderbird,ò ñSnow White,ò ñHansel & Gretel,ò and ñCinderellaò (Figures 96 and 97). Other terms for these house designs are ñFairytale Ranchesò and ñStorybook Housesò and these types of designs were especially popular in the West. The Storybook house form dates to the 1920s but there was a resurgence of interest in these designs in the 1950s following the rise of the Walt Disney entertainment empire, especially after the opening of Disneyland in 1955.

The homes included belcast bays with what can only be described as faux birdhouses in the pediment of the gable, which was further embellished with scalloped bargeboards. The gable ends of the homes featured either a flamboyant jerkinhead with ñbirdhouseò or upswept hip with the birdhouse. The veneer of the houses was a combination of brick with board and batten and wood shingles in the gable fields. Windows contained diamond-pane (called ñcriss-crossò in advertising) muntins. Front porches were small, set beneath gabled ells, and porch supports were often oversized turned spindles set at a slant. Enclosed garages had an applied cross-bracing design.[140] Only about eleven Swiss Chalet-influenced homes are extant in Storybook Village today, all of them architecturally intact. Another collection of these homes can be found in the 7200-7500 blocks of Evergreen Road. These are similar to those built in Storybook Village but differ slightly in floor plans and detailing. Eleven of these design homes remain in these blocks along Evergreen Drive giving the street a distinct identity (Figures 98-99).

Several small clusters of Mid-Century Modern dwellings can also be found in various locations in the subdivisions. The dwellings designed by Noland Blass Jr. on River Oaks Circle are representative of this type of concentration as well as several houses adjacent to one another on Ranch Valley Road. Four houses on Coffee Pot Lane just off Cantrell Road is another grouping of Mid-Century houses which retain a high degree of integrity (Figures 100-101)

Overall, Little Rockôs subdivisions built from 1945 to 1970 largely contain modest Ranch and Split-Level architectural designs reflective of trends nationwide. The acceptance of more contemporary Mid-Century Modern designs was restrained in the city compared with other sections of the country. While reflecting the architecture of the period, subdivisions such as Broadmoor, Meadowcliff, Coolwood, and Cloverdale are notable for their role in community planning and influencing later suburban plats and landscaping. With over 30,000 housing units built in these years, this era provides many opportunities for further research into subdivision development, their builders and their architects and planners.

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[139] Hope, ñLow, Light and Livable,ò 47.

[140] ñLong-Bell is Introducing a New Trend in Home Construction,ò *Arkansas Gazette*, March 22, 1959; ñUnusual Subdivision Will Be Previewed,ò *Arkansas Gazette*, October 26, 1958; ñStorybook Village Medallion Homes,ò *Arkansas Gazette*, November 2, 1958.



Figure 96: The dwelling at 8 Cinderella Circle in Storybook Village was constructed in 1960 ï its house plan is the ñSnow White.ò



Figure 97: At 6912 Gingerbread Lane in Storybook Village, this dwelling was built in 1959 - its house is the ñHansel & Gretel.ò



Figure 98: Composite Ranch dwelling at 7004 Evergreen Drive built in 1954 in the Glenwood Heights subdivision with the influence of the Swiss Chalet design.



Figure 99: Another example of the Swiss Chalet Ranch is at 7304 Evergreen Drive completed in 1964.



Figure 100: Dwelling at 2 Coffee Pot Lane built in 1952.



Figure 101: Built in 1953, the dwelling at 4 Coffee Pot Lane is a notable Mid-Century Modern design.

III. REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS

Properties within the historic context of ñPost-World War II Residential Architecture in Little Rock, 1945-1970ò may be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places or the Arkansas Register of Historic Places. The National Register is the nationôs official list of properties which possess significance in architecture, history and archeology. The National Register criteria recognize that historic resources may have associative value, design or construction value, or informational value. When evaluated within its historic context, a resource must be shown to be significant in at least one of the following areas to be considered potentially eligible for listing on the National Register:

Criterion A: Events/Patterns of History

The resource is associated with an event (or events) and/or with a pattern of events or historic trend(s) that has made a significant contribution to the history of a community, the state, or the nation; or

Criterion B: Person(s)

The person(s) associated with the resource is (are) individually significant and made demonstrated contributions to the history of a community, the state, or the nation; and the resource is associated with the person(s)ôs productive life, reflecting the time period in which he or she achieved significance; or

Criterion C: Design/Construction

The resource embodies distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction; and/or the resource represents the work of a master; and/or the resource possesses high artistic value; or the resource represents a significant and distinguished entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or

Criterion D: Information Potential

The resource has yielded information important to history or prehistory; or the resource may be likely to yield information important to history or prehistory (this criterion is most commonly applied to archaeological sites).

Unlike the National Register, the Arkansas Register does not specifically preclude the nomination of commemorative properties, structures that have been moved from their original locations, and reconstructed buildings, nor does the inclusion require that eligible properties retain 51% of the historic integrity; any properties in the aforementioned categories might qualify for the State Register providing they meet at least one of the four criteria noted above. Buildings with non-historic synthetic siding may be deemed eligible for inclusion in the Arkansas State Register providing that criteria A, B, or C requirements can be satisfied. All historic places within the state listed

in or nominated to the National Register will automatically be placed in the Arkansas Register.

The following registration requirements for the post-war residential context of Little Rock are based on the National Park Service Multiple Property Documentation Form ñHistoric Residential Suburbs in the United States, 1830-1960,ò ñA Model for Identifying and Evaluating the Historic Significance of Post-World War II Housingòby the Transportation Research Board and various statewide studies of post-war architecture and national Register eligibility.

Evaluation is the process by which the significance of identified resources is determined within its historic context. Because age alone is insufficient grounds for historic designation, evaluation of historic resources is based on architectural, historical and/or cultural significance. As resources associated with this context are surveyed, they should be evaluated for significance and integrity and should be classified according to appropriate rating or ranking systems.

Generally speaking, a resource must be at least 50 years of age to be considered historic. The National Register of Historic Places makes exceptions for ñyoungerò resources, but the exceptions are stringent and based on truly exceptional quality or importance of a resource.

Criteria for evaluation are set forth in the National Register of Historic Places guidelines (see *National Register Bulletin: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*). These criteria address the significance and integrity of historic resources, including buildings, structures, sites, objects and districts.

Significance

All resources associated with post-war construction in Little Rock share a common associative attribute in that they were built during the post-World War II construction boom that swept the country, state and city between 1945 and 1970. Generally speaking, for resources evaluated in association with this context, construction would have been begun after V-J Day, August 15, 1945 (the official end of the war) and would have been substantially complete by 1970.

All resources eligible for the National Register under this context will be significant under Criterion A. They are important for their direct association with an unprecedented period of growth in Little Rockôs history and the post-war building boom that affected the social history and the economics of the city for decades to follow.

A number of resources may also be eligible under Criterion B. To be considered eligible in this context, the resource must be associated with the personôs productive life and it must be shown that the person gained importance within his or her profession or group during the post-war period. The resource must also represent the most important property associated with the person, or be the last remaining property associated with

that person, to be considered eligible. An example of a Criterion B property in Little Rock is the Daisy Bates House, listed in the National Register and designated a National Historic Landmark for its association with a leader of the school desegregation movement.

Resources within this context that clearly embody distinctive characteristics associated with post-war construction may be considered eligible under Criterion C. Distinctive characteristics include the use of Modern architectural styles, including (but not limited to) the International Style, the Ranch Style, the Split-Level style and Mid-Century Modern style. In addition the use of modern buildings materials, such as aluminum, concrete, and glass, should be considered an important distinctive characteristic, although resources constructed with traditional building materials should not be discounted if they demonstrate the embodiment of other distinctive characteristics of the time. In addition, if a resource represents the work of a master or possesses high artistic values, it may be eligible under this criterion as outlined in the National Register guidelines.

Resources may also be eligible under Criterion D if it can be demonstrated that they have yielded or are likely to yield information important to history in the context of post-World War II construction in Little Rock. This generally applies to archeological resources.

The post-war residential study for Little Rock identified four main property types: Single-Family Dwellings; Multi-Family Dwellings ï Low Rise Apartments; Multi-Family Dwellings ï High Rise Apartments, and Residential Subdivisions.

Single-Family Dwellings

An individual single-family dwelling must demonstrate significance beyond its date of construction in the post-war period to meet National or Arkansas Register Criteria. Contextual information should illustrate a particular aspect of post-war housing. The post-World War II period was a boom for single-family residential construction, suburbanization, and the American dream of homeownership. Between 1945 and 1970, over 30,000 housing units were built in Little Rock, and most of these were single-family homes. Home design was greatly influenced by industry standards developed by the FHA, as well as local ordinances. Consequently, there is a great deal of similarity in house design from this post-war period. To be eligible for National Register listing, single-family dwelling must possess significance in at least one of the four aspects of cultural heritage specified by Criteria A, B, C, and D of the National Register Criteria for Evaluation.

Post-war housing is a significant national trend in American domestic architecture, though mere association with this time period is not sufficient to meet National Register Criteria. Date of construction itself does not provide sufficient historical context on which to evaluate significance, even at the local level. The dwelling must illustrate a particular aspect or theme significant to postwar housing to be eligible for listing in the National

Register. While the national trend of booming construction and sales of houses provides a basic context, local influences contribute to the differentiation of eligible from ineligible neighborhoods. To distinguish relative importance among similar properties, consider:

ÅWas it one of the first of its type?
ÅA model that influenced other property development?
ÅA design that introduced a new concept?
ÅHow and why is it distinctive from other examples?

Criterion A is more likely applied to neighborhoods or groups of houses than individual residences, as groups of houses are more likely to convey broad themes of significance. It is more challenging for a single property to demonstrate a trend or pattern of association. To be eligible, a property should demonstrate the area of significance and also retain sufficient integrity to represent the area of significance. Post-war properties that meet Criterion C: Community Planning and Development will likely be grouped within subdivisions and neighborhoods that are able to convey patterns of land use and development and are better evaluated as districts.

To demonstrate significance, individual properties should retain enough distinct characteristics to be considered a true representative of a particular type, period, or method of construction. Properties may be significant as an example of the popular architectural styles or forms from the post-war period if they display key character-defining features and if they are important within the context of the city. A comparison with similar post-war properties within the city is necessary to determine if the individual property is a distinguishable example of the type, period, or method of construction.

Criterion B may be applicable if the dwelling is associated with the personôs productive life and it must be shown that the person gained importance within his or her profession or was influential in the city during the post-war period. The resource must also represent the most important property associated with the person, or be the last remaining property associated with that person, to be considered eligible.

Criterion C for architectural significance requires that a property be a notable example of its style and have a high degree of integrity. Styles and forms such as Ranch, Split-Level, Minimal Traditional and Mid-Century Modern were employed in the construction of the thousands of single-family dwellings in the city. To merit individual National or Arkansas Register eligibility, single-family dwellings should:

- Å Retain original exterior materials or have replacement materials that are compatible with the original materials.
- Å Retain original massing, and additions, if present, should not detract from the historic appearance.
- Å Retain original door and window openings.
- Å Have replacement windows, if present, with a similar sash configuration to the original windows.
- Å Retain original roofline and eave overhang.
- Å Display minimal alterations to the garage or carport, if attached.

Single-family dwellings should also retain the majority of the seven aspects of integrity. Integrity is the authenticity of a resourceôs historic identity, or its intactness of historic form and original construction materials. Integrity is essential to the resourceôs ability to convey its significance. Alterations, either historic or contemporary, should be examined for compatibility. There must be identifiable evidence in all or some of the seven aspects of integrity for a historic resource to be considered eligible for the National Register.

A resource must possess sufficient integrity to convey its significance within its context. Generally, a resource will possess several, and usually most, of the following aspects of integrity:

(1) Location: Because the relationship between a resource and its historic associations is usually destroyed if the resource is moved, it is most desirable that the resource remain in its original location.

(2) Design: As previously noted, a single-family dwelling should retain a combination of elements that conveys its original design. These elements may include the form, plan, organization of space, structural systems, technology, materials, and style. Generally, a resource should retain its overall original form and massing. Subsequent additions to resources should be set back so as to not obstruct the original form, should be of a compatible scale, and should not be on the primary façade of a building. Window replacement in single-family dwellings may be acceptable if fenestration patterns remain intact. Enlargement of window or door openings may render a dwelling ineligible if the alterations significantly change the wall-to-opening ratio. Original plans and organization of interior space should be evident, even if the use of the space has changed over time. Original surface materials should remain intact. The type, amount and style of ornamentation must reflect the original design.

(3) Setting: The physical environment in which the dwelling exists should reflect its historic features, including topography, vegetation, simple constructed features, and the relationship between the resource and its surroundings. Natural and created landscape features should be evaluated for significance in relation to the resource.

(4) Materials: A dwelling must retain the key materials dating from the period of its historic significance. If a resource has been rehabilitated, historic materials and significant features must be preserved.

(5) Workmanship: A resource must retain the physical evidence of workmanship.

(6) Feeling: A resource should retain sufficient original physical features that, when taken together, convey the dwellingôs historic character. This will generally include the combination of original design, materials, workmanship, and setting. Because feeling depends on individual perceptions, its retention alone is never sufficient to support eligibility for the National Register.

(7) Association: To retain association, the direct link between the dwelling and its association with an important historic event or person must be sufficiently intact to convey that relationship to an observer. Association, like feeling, requires the presence of original physical features that convey the resourceôs historic character. Because association depends on individual perceptions, its retention alone is never sufficient to support eligibility for the National Register.

A number of single-family dwellings noted for this study may be eligible for the National or Arkansas Registers for their architectural significance. In most cases these dwellings were assessed as potentially eligible based on their exterior designs. Because of the importance of interior design and integrity for dwellings of this era, more detailed analysis to determine eligibility will be required. The Julian B. Davidson House is a notable Mid-Century Modern design which was recognized for its architectural significance and listed in the National Register in 2014. In addition to this dwelling, ñPine Knoll,ò by E. Fay Jones, the Lugean Chilcote House, Noland Blass Jr. House and others may meet National Register eligibility depending upon overall assessments of their original designs, alterations and additions, interior designs and integrity of materials.

In addition to individual eligibility, single-family dwellings in Little Rock may also be eligible as part of a contiguous collection or grouping of resources. These may be eligible as a historic district even if the resources themselves lack sufficient individual significance. This may include the concentrations of Mid-Century Modern designs on River Oaks Circle and Coffee Pot Lane and the Swiss Chalet dwellings on Evergreen Drive.

Multi-Family Dwellings, Low-Rise and High-Rise Apartments

An individual low-rise or high-rise apartment building must demonstrate significance beyond its date of construction in the post-war period to meet National Register Criteria. Contextual information should illustrate a particular aspect of post-war multi-family housing. To be eligible for National or Arkansas Register listing, multi-family dwellings must possess significance in at least one of the four aspects of cultural heritage specified by Criteria A, B, C, and D of the National Register Criteria for Evaluation.

Criterion A significance for low-rise and high-rise units may include their role in community planning, government programs, ethnic history or other broad patterns of historic development from this period. To be eligible, a property should demonstrate the area of significance and also retain sufficient integrity to represent the area of significance. To demonstrate significance, individual properties should retain enough distinct characteristics to be considered a true representative of a particular type, period, or method of construction. Properties may be significant as an example of the popular architectural styles or forms from the post-war period if they display key character-defining features and if they are important within the context of the city. A comparison with similar post-war properties within the city is necessary to determine if the individual property is a distinguishable example of the type, period, or method of construction.

Criterion B may be applicable if the property is associated with the personôs productive life and it must be shown that the person gained importance within his or her profession or was influential in the city during the post-war period. The resource must also represent the most important property associated with the person, or be the last remaining property associated with that person, to be considered eligible.

Criterion C for architectural significance requires that low-rise or high-rise multi-family properties be a notable example of their style and have a high degree of integrity. Styles and forms such as International were employed in the construction of the multi-family dwellings in the city. To merit individual National or Arkansas Register eligibility, multi-family properties should:

- Retain original exterior materials or have replacement materials that are compatible with the original materials.
- Retain original massing, and additions, if present, should not detract from the historic appearance.
- Retain original door and window openings.
- Have replacement windows, if present, with a similar sash configuration to the original windows.
- Retain original roofline and eave overhang.

Multi-family properties should also retain the majority of the seven aspects of integrity. Integrity is the authenticity of a resourceôs historic identity, or its intactness of historic form and original construction materials. Integrity is essential to the resourceôs ability to convey its significance. Alterations, either historic or contemporary, should be examined for compatibility. There must be identifiable evidence in all or some of the seven aspects of integrity for a historic resource to be considered eligible for the National Register.

A resource must possess sufficient integrity to convey its significance within its context. Generally, a resource will possess several, and usually most, of the following aspects of integrity:

(1) Location: Because the relationship between a resource and its historic associations is usually destroyed if the resource is moved, it is most desirable that the resource remain in its original location.

(2) Design: As previously noted, multi-family properties should retain a combination of elements that convey their original design. These elements may include the form, plan, organization of space, structural systems, technology, materials, and style. Generally, a resource should retain its overall original form and massing. Subsequent additions to resources should be set back so as to not obstruct the original form, should be of a compatible scale, and should not be on the primary façade of a building. Window replacement may be acceptable if fenestration patterns remain intact. Enlargement of window or door openings may render a property ineligible if the alterations significantly change the wall-to-opening ratio. Original plans and organization of interior space should be evident, even if the

use of the space has changed over time. Original surface materials should remain intact. The type, amount and style of ornamentation must reflect the original design.

(3) Setting: The physical environment in which the property exists should reflect its historic features, including topography, vegetation, simple constructed features, and the relationship between the resource and its surroundings. Natural and created landscape features should be evaluated for significance in relation to the resource.

(4) Materials: A property must retain the key materials dating from the period of its historic significance. If a resource has been rehabilitated, historic materials and significant features must be preserved.

(5) Workmanship: A resource must retain the physical evidence of workmanship.

(6) Feeling: A resource should retain sufficient original physical features that, when taken together, convey the dwellingôs historic character. This will generally include the combination of original design, materials, workmanship, and setting. Because feeling depends on individual perceptions, its retention alone is never sufficient to support eligibility for the National Register.

(7) Association: To retain association, the direct link between the property and its association with an important historic event or person must be sufficiently intact to convey that relationship to an observer. Association, like feeling, requires the presence of original physical features that convey the resourceôs historic character. Because association depends on individual perceptions, its retention alone is never sufficient to support eligibility for the National Register.

Several multi-family apartment buildings noted for this study may be eligible for the National or Arkansas Registers for their architectural significance. In most cases these properties were assessed as potentially eligible based on their exterior designs. Because of the importance of interior design and integrity for properties of this era, more detailed analysis to determine eligibility will be required.

Three of the cityôs high-rise apartment buildings constructed in the early 1970s by the Little Rock Housing Authority were listed in the National Register in 2017. The Fred W. Parris, Jesse Powell and Cumberland Towers were built to provide senior housing with funding in part from the Federal Housing Act of 1956.

Residential Subdivisions

To be eligible for listing in the National or Arkansas Register of Historic Places, a historic residential subdivision in Little Rock shall meet the requirements based on the criteria outlined in the ñHistoric Residential Suburbs in the United States, 1830-1960ò Multiple Property Documentation. Even though this study includes subdivisions built to 1970, this criterion appears to be applicable to the decade of the 1960s as well. The National Park Service has also issued a bulletin which provides contexts and criteria for the listing of subdivisions in the National Register.[141]

Subdivision design of the period 1945-1970 closely followed the layouts introduced by the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) in the 1930s. These subdivisions were characterized by horizontally oriented houses on wide lots arranged on curvilinear streets. The houses were characterized by the use of prefabricated construction methods and mass-produced materials, such as asbestos siding and steel casement windows. FHA requirements and the greater prosperity of the period influenced spatial layout, lot dimensions, construction materials, interior floor plan and amenities. The homes were physical manifestations of the new American lifestyle in their open plans and streamline efficiency. Thus, there is great continuity of suburban design and demographics among neighborhoods in Little Rock from this period.

To be eligible for National Register listing, a historic residential subdivision must possess significance in at least one of the four aspects of cultural heritage specified by Criteria A, B, C, and D of the National Register Criteria for Evaluation. In addition, neighborhoods less than 50 years of age must meet Criteria Consideration G by possessing exceptional importance.

Post-war housing is a significant national trend in American domestic architecture, though mere association with this time period is not sufficient to meet National Register Criteria. Date of construction itself does not provide sufficient historical context on which to evaluate significance, even at the local level. The subdivision must illustrate a particular aspect or theme significant to post-war housing to be eligible for listing in the National Register. While the national trend of booming construction and sales of houses provides a basic context, local influences contribute to the differentiation of eligible from ineligible subdivisions. To distinguish relative importance among similar subdivisions, consider:

ÅWas it one of the first of its type?
ÅA model that influenced other property development?
ÅA subdivision that introduced a new concept?
ÅHow and why is it distinctive from other examples?

[141] David Ames and Linda Flint McLelland. ñ*National Register Bulletin, Historic Residential Suburbs, Guidelines for Evaluation and Documentation for the National Register of Historic Places*.ò (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 2002).

Historic residential subdivisions reflect the outward growth and development of Little Rock and they should be evaluated under Criterion A for their association with important events or patterns in city history, industry, government, education, or social reform.

Criterion A applies when:

- A subdivision reflects an important historic trend in the development and growth of the city.
- A subdivision represents an important event or association, such as the expansion of housing associated with wartime industries during World War II.
- A subdivision introduces conventions of community planning important in the history of suburbanization, such as zoning, deed restrictions, or subdivision regulations.
- A subdivision is associated with the heritage of social, economic, racial, or ethnic groups important in the history of the city.
- A subdivision is associated with a group of individuals, including merchants, industrialists, educators, and community leaders, important in the history and development of the city.

It is not uncommon for a subdivision to illustrate more than one area of significance under Criterion A.

Criterion B applies to subdivisions with direct association to one or more individuals who made important historical contributions, influencing the subdivisionôs historic identity and gaining considerable recognition from their work in politics, social reform, or suburban development. Subdivisions representing the work of prominent site planners, architects, or landscape architects should be evaluated under Criterion C, unless the individual resided in the subdivision during an important period of his or her career.

The following areas of significance are commonly applied to historic subdivisions important under Criterion A or B for their association with important events and persons.

Social history recognizes planning principles or the extension of the American dream of suburban life or home ownership to an increasing broad spectrum of Americans. Social History is defined in the National Register Bulletin as the history of efforts to promote the welfare of society; the history of society and the lifeways of its social groups. This area of significance may also demonstrate trends in choices of residential location and demographics. Residences developed to respond to changes in lifestyles and family needs following World War II may be eligible under Social History.

For the application of the theme of Social History, consider:

- Does the subdivision exemplify the American dream of homeownership for a distinct group of individuals?

- Does the subdivision have a model or housing type considered locally, regionally, or nationally innovative in improving living conditions?

- Was the subdivision associated with important local events that have an key role in suburban growth and development?

Ethnic Heritage recognizes the significant association of a historic neighborhood with a particular ethnic or racial group. Ethnic Heritage is defined in the National Register Bulletins as the history of persons having a common ethnic or racial identity. The significance may be seen in trends in racial, ethnic, or religious segregation through restrictive covenants, sales, or financing. When applying the theme of Ethnic Heritage, consider:

- Does the neighborhood illustrate an association with an ethnic group and a response to segregation, restrictive covenants, or other issues with financing or home ownership?

Community Planning and Development recognizes the contribution a subdivision makes to the historic growth and development of the city, for example, by providing much-needed housing to serve a local industry or by introducing a concept of community planning that influenced subsequent patterns of local or metropolitan development. This area of significance includes the influence of developers or municipalities on subdivision planning and land use, such as the introduction of an important trend that led to the growth of a locality or suburban area. Community Planning and Development as an area of significance is often interrelated with another area of significance: Social History. Both areas of significance relate to neighborhood planning principles that influence residential growth and human lifeways

For the theme of Community Planning and Development, consider:

- Is the subdivision important as an innovative or trendsetting response to community planning?

- Did an important local or metropolitan trend in subdivision development originate in the subdivision?

- Did a particular subdivision develop in response to housing shortages following World War II and introduce new planning ideas, or did it influence other developments or community planning?

- Was the subdivision associated with a particular industry during its development or was it associated with a significant local event?

Other themes of significance for subdivisions may include:

Government applies to subdivisions that reflect early or important responses to government financing, adherence to government standards, or the institution of zoning by local governments.

Transportation applies to a subdivision associated with important advances in transportation.

Criterion C applies when evaluating significance based on distinctive characteristics of design. Historic residential subdivisions often reflect popular national trends in design, such as FHA-recommended curvilinear plans, and popular architectural styles, housing types, and principles of landscape architecture. Criterion C is used to determine if the subdivision embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, style, or method of construction; or represent the work of a master architect, landscape architect, or community planner. Even if individual houses lack distinction, as a group they may compose a neighborhood of historic significance.

Criterion C is the most likely criterion applied to individual post-war residential subdivisions. Although architect-designed and high-style examples of post-war residences may qualify as the work of a master or for high artistic value, the majority of traditional and vernacular post-war residential properties will be significant for embodying distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction. Groups of post-war properties that lack individual distinction yet represent a significant and distinguishable entity may be eligible as a historic district.

Qualifying physical characteristics, under Criterion C, may be present in the overall plan, the architectural design of dwellings and other buildings, and the landscape design of the overall subdivision or of individual homes, parks, or parkways. Significance under Criterion C requires that the features that mark distinction in planning, architecture, and landscape design remain intact and recognizable. Organization of space is a key factor in ascribing significance in community planning and landscape architecture. The original general or master plan and aerial photographs can help in the analysis of spatial organization - the relationship between design and natural topography, the arrangement of streets and house lots, the arrangement of buildings and landscape features on each lot, and the provision of common spaces, such as walkways, playgrounds, and parks. The examination of local planning and zoning records, development companies, and architectural firms can also illuminate important local patterns may, as well as draw comparisons with other suburbs in the local area from the same period of time. Significance in landscape architecture may also derive from special features such as a unified program of street lighting or tree plantings; the landscape design of yards, entrance ways, or roadways; the presence of scenic vistas; or conservation of natural features.

Homogeneity or diversity of housing types and style may be an important architectural characteristic. Information about the developer and the various architects and landscape architects involved in the design of a subdivision is important to understanding the character of a residential subdivision, ascribing design significance, and placing a suburb in a local, metropolitan, state, or national context.

Criterion C applies when:

- Collection of residential architecture is an important example of distinctive period of construction, method of construction, or the work of one or more notable architects.
- The subdivision reflects principles of design important in the history of community planning and landscape architecture, or is the work of a master landscape architect, site planner, or design firm.
- The subdivision embodies high artistic values through its overall plan or the design of entranceways, streets, homes, and community spaces.

Areas of Significance commonly applied to residential historic subdivisions eligible under Criterion C:

Community Planning and Development applies to areas reflecting important patterns of physical development, land division, or land use. As noted under Criterion A, Community Planning and Development is defined as the design or development of the physical structure of communities. The theme is also an area of significance under Criterion C. Under Criterion A, the theme emphasizes trends in development and subdivision planning, as opposed to the physical features of buildings. Post-war properties that meet Criterion C: Community Planning and Development will likely be grouped within subdivisions that are able to convey patterns of land use and development and are better evaluated as districts.

When applying Community Planning and Development under Criterion C, the following questions may assist in determining if a property or district possesses significance related to this theme:

- Does the subdivision convey historic design principles related to community development?

- Does the subdivision plan reflect important advances, established principles, or popular trends in community planning?

- Did the subdivision win an award or receive recognition from professional, trade, architectural, or housing research organizations?

- Did the subdivision introduce patterns of subdivision design, housing, financing, or building practices that became influential in the local community or regional area?

Landscape Architecture is the practical art of designing or arranging the land for human use and enjoyment. This theme applies to subdivisions when significant qualities are embodied in the overall design or plan of the suburb and the artistic design of landscape features such as paths, roadways, parks, and vegetation. Subdivisions may have significance for Landscape Architecture if they have special features that reflect design

of the period, such as tree plantings, street lighting, landscaped yards and open spaces, scenic vistas, roadways and entrances, or conservation of natural features.

Architecture is used when significant qualities are embodied in the design, style, or method of construction of buildings and structures, such as houses, garages, and community facilities. The group of properties under consideration should retain enough distinct characteristics to exemplify a particular type, period, or method of construction. Properties may be significant as examples of the popular architectural styles or forms from the post-war period if they display key character-defining features and if they are important within the context of the city. The group of properties should prevail as a distinguishable example of the type, period, or method of construction when compared with similar local post-war properties. A historic context should clearly link the subdivision to the introduction of an innovation in design or materials. Due to the large number of post-war subdivisions in Little Rock, the historic context should identify local development patterns comparing local neighborhoods to determine which are significant within the context of post-war residential architecture. A group of properties must stand out amongst other examples within the city to be considered eligible.

It is unlikely that vernacular or traditional post-war residences will be eligible for Architecture as the work of a master or for possessing high artistic value. Subdivisions, however, may have significance as the work of a noted architect who is influential in the community or region.

Engineering applies when a subdivision reflects important advances in reshaping land for residential purposes or providing utilities, such as water and electric power.

More than one area of significance may relate to historic districts under Criterion C. A subdivision that resulted from the collaborative efforts of real estate developers, architects, and landscape architects, for example, may have significance in the areas of Community Planning and Development, Architecture, and Landscape Architecture.

Criterion D is applied to the evaluation of significance based on the ability to yield important information. Such pre- or post-contact sites as remnant buildings and farmsteads that predate land subdivision and remain intact in parks, stream valleys, floodplain, or steep hillsides. They may provide information important to historic contexts other than suburbanization. In addition, historical archeology of home grounds may provide important information about the organization of domestic grounds, vernacular house types, gardening practices, or patterns of domestic life. When used in tandem with documentary sources, historical archeology helps define data sets and research questions important in understanding patterns of suburbanization and domestic life.

Criterion D applies when:

- A neighborhood, or portion of it, is likely to yield important information about vernacular house types, yard design, gardening practices, and patterns of domestic life.

Criterion Consideration G states that properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years may qualify for National Register listing if they are an integral part of a historic district that meets the criteria or if they have exceptional importance. Because subdivisions in Little Rock were often constructed over a period of many years, it is not uncommon to encounter a subdivision where streets and utilities were laid out and home construction begun more than 50 years ago, but where construction was completed more recently. In such cases, the period of significance may be extended a reasonable length of time (e.g., five or six years) to cover the resources less than fifty years of age, provided they are consistent with the neighborhood's historic plan and character.

A case for exceptional importance (Criteria Consideration G) is required where the majority of homes and other resources are less than 50 years of age. Exceptional significance must be evaluated within Little Rockôs context and may be based on highly significant aspects of local history. They should retain a high degree of historic integrity and have had a leading role in the introduction of important advances in subdivision planning or house design, or be associated with events that were highly influential or pivotal in affecting the course of history at the local, metropolitan, state, or national level. If exceptional significance is unsubstantiated, the subdivision should be reevaluated when the majority of resources achieve 50 years of age.

Residential Subdivision Integrity

To be eligible for listing in the National Register, residential subdivisions in Little Rock must retain most or all of the seven aspects of integrity. The subdivision must possess historic integrity, visibly reflecting the overall physical appearance it gained during the period of historical significance. Historic integrity is the composite of seven qualities:

Location - A resource must be located at its original site. The historic boundaries of the subdivision should remain intact, with streets unchanged from their original arrangement in relation to structures within the subdivision. The location of the subdivision should reflect the original plat.

Design - A subdivision must retain the majority of its historic design elements. A subdivision should retain its historic appearance and configuration, including as relates to design and function. Post-World War II subdivisions were planned groups of homes arranged along winding streets. Sometimes the natural topography influenced the design and arrangement of infrastructure and house lots. Houses were sited in a manner that accentuated wide lots for outdoor enjoyment. Changes to the original lot size or additions to a dwelling can affect integrity of design. Small-scale additions, such

as the construction of modest porches or garages, may not detract in a major way from the historic character of individual homes and the subdivision. Large-scale additions, however, altering the spatial relationship between houses and the street generally compromises integrity of design.

Setting - A subdivisionôs historic physical setting must be intact. Post-war subdivisions in Little Rock were marketed as offering country life to single family units. These subdivisions were characterized by large lots and even sometimes included a common open space such as a playground or park with a lake. Trees or other landscaping were incorporated into the overall setting, whether natural or planted. These elements of setting should be undisturbed and reflect the original cohesive setting of the subdivision.

Materials - A subdivision must retain and exhibit its historic materials. In subdivisions, original materials are those on the exterior of each dwelling as well as the infrastructure and landscaping of the neighborhood. Integrity of materials in an architecturally significant neighborhood requires that the majority of dwellings retain the key exterior materials that marked their identity during the historic period. In-kind replacement materials may not compromise integrity, but replacement materials that do not imitate those from a resourceôs period of significance, or where there is a substantial loss of historic fabric, will result in a loss of integrity.

Workmanship - A subdivision must retain the qualities of workmanship that were imbued in its historic design and materials. Workmanship is evident in the ways materials have been fashioned for functional and decorative purposes to create houses, other buildings and structures, and a landscaped setting.

Feeling - Resources must retain a sense of time and place from its period of significance. Integrity of feeling reflects the cumulative effect of setting, design, materials, and workmanship.

Association - Resources must be able to convey its original role as a new suburb of the post-World War II period. These subdivisions represented the American dream to young families buying their first homes. The subdivision was an enclave of domestic life without the intrusion of commercial activity and traffic. It should continue to reflect the historic associations that shaped it during the period of significance.

The 2009 *Little Rock Citywide Historic Preservation Plan* identified a number of post-World War II subdivisions as potentially eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. At that time the recommendations for listing included the Broadmoor and Briarwood subdivisions. Areas also deemed worthy of consideration were the Westwood/Pecan Lake neighborhoods, Meadowcliff, and the subdivisions of Wakefield Village, Cloverdale and Geyer Springs.

Based on additional field survey, research and the application of the registration requirements the subdivisions of Broadmoor, Briarwood, Meadowcliff and Cloverdale appear to meet National Register criteria for their significance in community planning

and architecture. These subdivisions are associated with notable developers of the period and reflect building construction techniques and styles of their era. Many of the dwellings in the other subdivisions and neighborhoods recommended in the 2009 plan have had alterations in the past eight years and integrity of these areas will need to be reassessed. In addition to these subdivisions, Coolwood also appears to meet eligibility requirements as one of the first developments of the Fausett Company and its role in community planning. The Storybook Village subdivision also appears to meet eligibility requirements for its unique Swiss Chalet or ñFairytale Ranchò architecture.

With the passage of time additional subdivisions may be identified as National Register eligible as the majority of dwellings reach fifty years of age. Subdivisions such as Leawood Heights, Leawood Manor, and Kingwood Place are representative of areas which display a diversity of mid-century architectural styles and follow planning concepts widely used in Little Rockôs suburbs.

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APPENDIX A – LITTLE ROCK ARCHITECTS, 1945 – 1970

During the period of concentrated suburbanization in Little Rock, numerous architects were active. Some architects were sole practitioners while others worked in partnerships. This study reviewed architectural firms in Little Rock over the course of three decades when Little Rockôs suburban development was vigorous. The following lists indicate architectural businesses in increments between 1945 and 1970, as listed in city directories.

Little Rock Architects as listed in *Polk's City Directory* (St. Louis: R. L. Polk Co., 1945), 972.

Associated Architects
Brueggeman, Swaim & Allen
H. Ray Burks
Erhart and Eichenbaum
Ginocchio and Cromwell
Thomas Harding
Theodore Sanders
Harry Wanger
Wittenberg and Delony

Little Rock Architects as listed in *Business Directory* (St. Louis: R. L. Polk Co., 1951), 5.

Bruce Anderson
Brueggeman, Swaim & Allen
Erhart, Eichenbaum, and Rauch
Clyde Ferrell
Ginocchio and Cromwell
Thomas Harding
Yarnell Johnson
McAninch and Mahnker
Morris Smith
Trapp and Clippard
Harry Wanger
Weaver and Stowers
Wittenberg, Delony & Davidson

Little Rock Architects as listed in *Polk's City Directory* (St. Louis: R. L. Polk Co., 1954), 84.

Bruce Anderson
J. Carroll Barber
Harold Boyce
Edward F. Brueggeman
Ivis Brummett
Burgh Burnet
Kenneth E. N. Cole, Jr.
Erhart, Eichenbaum, and Rauch
Ginocchio and Cromwell
Richard Groh
Thomas Harding

Yarnell Johnson
Mack Kellum
McAninch and Mahnker
Smith and Sparks
Dan Stowers
Swaim and Allen
Trapp, Clippard & Phelps
Weaver and Hiegel
Frank Withrow
Wittenberg, Delony & Davidson

Little Rock Architects as listed in *Polk's City Directory* (St. Louis: R. L. Polk Co., 1962), 6.

John Almand
Bruce Anderson
Harold Blackwood
Raymond Blanton
Stanley Brown
Edward F. Brueggeman
Ivis Brummett
Burgh Burnet
Cowling and Roark
Erhart, Eichenbaum, and Rauch
Ginocchio, Cromwell, Carter, Dees, and Neyland
Richard Groh
Yarnell Johnson
McAninch and Mahnker
Morris Smith
Norris Sparks
Stowers and Boyce
Swaim, Allen, Wellborn & Associates
Trapp, Clippard & Phelps
Weaver and Hiegel
F. Eugene Withrow
Wittenberg, Delony & Davidson

Little Rock Architects as listed in *Polk's City Directory* (St. Louis: R. L. Polk Co., 1968), 69.

John Almand
Bruce Anderson
Architectural Associates, Inc.
Associated Planners, Inc.
Robert Bailey
Harold Blackwood
David Baline
Harold Boyce
Raymond Blanton
Stanley Brown Architects
Edward F. Brueggeman
Miller Colvin
Dan Cowling and Associates

G. E. Ellefson and Associates
Erhart, Eichenbaum, Rauch, Blass & Riddick
Ginocchio, Cromwell, Carter, and Neyland, Inc.
Richard Groh
Roland Hawn
D. M. Lewis
Mahnker Architects
Daniel May
Kip Moore
Neil Park
Hal W. Phelps
Horace Piazza
Frank Pillert
Price H. Roark
Robinson & Wassell Architects
Dan Stowers
Swaim, Allen, Wellborn & Associates
Trapp, Clippard & Phelps
Weaver and Hiegel
Wilbur, Butcher & Ferguson Architects
F. Eugene Withrow
Wittenberg, Delony & Davidson, Inc.