1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: Lafayette Park

Other Name/Site Number: Gratiot Redevelopment Area

Designated a National Historic Landmark by the Secretary of the Interior on July 21, 2015.

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: N/A Not for publication:

City/Town: Detroit Vicinity:

State: Michigan County: Wayne Code: 163 Zip Code: 48207

3. CLASSIFICATION

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

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing		Noncontributing	
buildings	66	buildings	0
sites	1	sites	0
structures	0	structures	0
objects	0	objects	0
Total	67	Total	0

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 27

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing: N/A

4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this ____ nomination ____ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

Signature of Certifying Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register criteria.

Signature of Commenting or Other Official Date

State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

___ Entered in the National Register
___ Determined eligible for the National Register
___ Determined not eligible for the National Register
___ Removed from the National Register

___ Other (explain): _____

Signature of Keeper Date of Action

6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic:	Sub:
DOMESTIC	Multiple Dwelling – Apartment Building
DOMESTIC	Multiple Dwelling – Townhouse/Court House
EDUCATION	School – Elementary School
COMMERCE	Business – Retail Shopping Center
LANDSCAPE	Park – City Park

Current:	Sub:
DOMESTIC	Multiple Dwelling – Apartment Building
DOMESTIC	Multiple Dwelling – Townhouse/Court House
EDUCATION	School – Elementary School
COMMERCE	Business – Retail Shopping Center
LANDSCAPE	Park – City Park

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: MODERN MOVEMENT/International Style – Miesian

MATERIALS:

Foundation:	Concrete
Walls:	Aluminum
	Glass
	Brick
	Concrete
Roof:	Asphalt
Other:	

SUMMARY

Lafayette Park is nationally significant under National Historic Landmark (NHL) Criterion 1, as one of the best and most successful examples of a residential urban renewal development in the nation, and NHL Criterion 4, as the collaboration between one of the twentieth century's most influential Modern architects, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, and developer Herbert Greenwald, planner Ludwig Hilberseimer, and landscape architect Alfred Caldwell. It is also the largest collection of Mies van der Rohe designed buildings in the world. One of the first planned urban renewal projects in the country, Lafayette Park was and has remained one of the most fully realized and most successful urban renewal developments of the mid-twentieth century. The site, an excellent example of the "superblock" urban planning ideal married with the principles of International style architecture and Prairie style landscape design, remains highly intact and reflective of its period of significance.

Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.

CURRENT DESCRIPTION OF THE OVERALL PROPERTY

Located just to the east of Detroit's downtown central business district, Lafayette Park is a 78 acre urban renewal project based on a "superblock" plan devised by planner Ludwig Hilberseimer, architect Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (also known simply as "Mies"), landscape architect Alfred Caldwell, and developer Harold Greenwald in the mid-1950s.[1] Bounded by East Lafayette Street on the south, Rivard Street on the west, Antietam Avenue on the north, and Orleans Street on the east, Lafayette Park is dominated by a central, thirteen-acre public park, the Lafayette Plaisance, featuring a rolling meadow of manicured grass with curvilinear paths dotted by mature specimen trees. Grouped around the Plaisance are eight residential developments, a shopping center, and a public school, which together create a sense of enclosure for the Plaisance.

Architecturally, Lafayette Park is dominated by the International style high- and low-rise apartment buildings designed by Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, a collection unparalleled in the world. Consisting of three high-rise towers and twenty-one low-rise townhouse and court house buildings, these reflect Mies' mature style, as he had worked out his approach to expressing structure on glass and metal curtain wall buildings. The remaining residential buildings, school, and shopping center, while completed by other architects, continued the example set by Mies.

Reflecting the superblock concept as uniquely developed here by Ludwig Hilberseimer, there are no through-streets in the development; instead, vehicular circulation is limited to access roads that connect to the perimeter streets and terminate in parking areas and garages for the associated residences. Parking set below grade further subjugates its importance in the landscape while providing better views for residents.

Aesthetically, the physical environment of Lafayette Park is an urban neighborhood within a lush, mature landscape, owing much to the designs of landscape architect Alfred Caldwell. The thoughtful placement of buildings of varying scales is enhanced by sympathetic planting designs. The strong verticality of the high-rise buildings is balanced with wide horizontal planes created by clusters of townhouses and the open green space of the park. The majority of the residential units include intimate relationships between the indoor and outdoor spaces, and pleasant views of the surrounding area from within the living quarters. The landscape design provides a series of public open spaces, semi-private, and private outdoor spaces in a variety of scales and characters. Excellent pedestrian access and the relative absence of conflict between pedestrian and vehicular circulation are among the features that help define the uniqueness of Lafayette Park.

[1] For more on his name, see "Ludwig Mies van der Rohe" in Section 8.

METHODOLOGY: CULTURAL LANDSCAPE APPROACH

The cultural landscape at Lafayette Park is a large and complex assemblage of resources that are addressed in this nomination as one resource that contributes to the overall significance of the district. A cultural landscape methodology has been applied to documenting and evaluating the landscape. This approach is based upon Federal standards guiding the evaluation of historic resources including *National Register Bulletin 30: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes, The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes*, and *A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports: Contents, Process, and Techniques*, and other pertinent documents.[2] The process includes building a foundation of historical information as a basis for understanding the evolution of significant landscapes, documenting existing conditions, and analyzing landscape integrity.

The guidelines indicate that large landscapes may be divided into landscape character areas for the purpose of documentation and evaluation. Landscape character areas are defined by the physical qualities and the cultural resources present within a location. Information related to existing landscape conditions and the analysis of landscape integrity is organized according to landscape character areas and landscape characteristics.

Landscape Character Areas
Eleven landscape character areas are used to organize discussions about the landscape (see drawing S-1: Overall Site Plan) at Lafayette Park. These include:

1. **The Pavilion**
2. **Mies van der Rohe Townhouses**
3. **Lafayette Plaisance**
4. **Chrysler Elementary School**
5. **Lafayette Shopping Center**
6. **Lafayette Towers**
7. **Cherboneau Place South**
8. **Cherboneau Place North**
9. **Chateaufort Place**
10. **Regency Square**
11. **Four Freedoms House**

LANDSCAPE CHARACTERISTICS

For each landscape character area, the pertinent landscape characteristics are assessed. Landscape characteristics include tangible and intangible aspects of a landscape from the historic periods; these aspects individually and collectively give a landscape its historic character and aid in the understanding of its cultural importance. Landscape characteristics relevant to Lafayette Park include: spatial organization, cluster arrangement, land use, circulation, topography, vegetation, views and vistas, buildings and structures, constructed water features, and small scale features.

The Lafayette Park property is a significant historic designed landscape. Evaluation of the integrity of the landscape character areas and characteristics associated with them is undertaken with careful consideration of

[2] Linda Flint McClelland, J. Timothy Keller, Genevieve P. Keller, Robert Z. Melnick, *National Register Bulletin 30: Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1989, revised 1999); Robert R. Page, Cathy A. Gilbert, and Susan A. Dolan, *A Guide to Cultural Landscape Reports: Contents, Process, and Techniques* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1998), and Charles A. Birnbaum and Christine Capella Peters, *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes* (Washington DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1996), 3-5.

the intent of the original designers. Large scale master plans for urban developments are regularly revised as sections of the property are constructed over a period of years or decades. This was the case with Lafayette Park. While some of the landscape character areas followed the master plan directly, others changed the layouts of buildings, roads, sidewalks, open spaces, and other features. When considering the significance of these complexes, it is possible for the intent of the original designers to be followed without adhering to the exact physical plan they provided. Consideration of the planning and design philosophies of Hilberseimer, Mies van der Rohe, and Caldwell, as well as analysis of the master plan and site designs for each of the landscape character areas, has enabled the generation of a list of primary planning principles related to the conceptual design of the superblock master plan for Lafayette Park and a list of site design principles that relate to the physical design of landscapes within the development. These two sets of principles are used as a basis for analysis of the landscapes associated with Lafayette Park.

Planning Principles (conceptual design)

- Build on a superblock concept (instead of a traditional city street grid)
- Increased density residences used to leverage expanded public open space.
- Provide a hierarchy of types of open space including:
    - Public open space
    - Semi-private open space
    - Private open space
- Pedestrian access to public parks and open space (prioritization of open space)
- Interior/exterior relationship (careful consideration of views from and to residential units)
- Vehicular access good but not dominant—pedestrians primary (access accommodates automobiles but is not dominated by them)
    - Streets and parking lowered 3-4' below surrounding grade
    - No through traffic
    - Parking hidden in garages leaving surface for public open space
- Combination of low- and high-rise housing interspersed with public green space, commercial space and a school.

Site Design Principles (physical design)

- Use of plants to define public and private spaces
- Use of plants to define outdoor rooms
- Use of plants to add variety and interest in the landscape
- Reflection of Prairie style landscape design
- Reflection of Modern architectural design
- Human scale spaces/character
- Design of outdoor spaces for public recreation and safe places for children to play

Finally, the current conditions are compared to conditions during the period of significance to determine the integrity of the landscape. The period of significance for Lafayette Park is 1956 to 1967. The period begins with the initial construction of the Mies van der Rohe designed townhouses and Pavilion and ends with the completion of the final development of buildings, Regency Square, in 1967.

A Note on Nomenclature and Abbreviations

A number of the developments within Lafayette Park have been renamed over the years. To conform to National Register of Historic Places/National Historic Landmark standards, these are referred to with their original (historic) name. Current names are also listed below. For ease of reference, the following abbreviations are used (see also drawing S-1: Overall Site Plan):

MTH = Mies van der Rohe Townhouses
CTH = Mies van der Rohe Court Houses
P = The Pavilion (high-rise)
LP = The Lafayette Plaisance
FF = The Four Freedoms House (currently Skyview Tower)
RS = Regency Square (currently Parc Lafayette)
CF = Chateaufort Place
CBN = Cherboneau Place North
CBS = Cherboneau Place South
LT = Lafayette Towers
LS = Lafayette Shopping Center
CE = Chrysler Elementary School

RESOURCE COUNT

Contributing Buildings
The Pavilion Tower – 1
The Pavilion Bath House – 1
Mies van der Rohe Townhouses – 17
Mies van der Rohe Court Houses – 4
Townhouse/Court House Storage Shed – 1
Chrysler Elementary School – 1
Lafayette Shopping Center – 2
Lafayette Towers – 2
Lafayette Towers Parking Garage – 1
Cherboneau Place South – 6
Cherboneau Place North – 7
Chateaufort Place – 16
Regency Square – 6
Four Freedoms House – 1

Contributing Site
Lafayette Park (entire site) – 1

LANDSCAPE CHARACTER AREA 01: THE PAVILION

Overall Description
The Pavilion Tower at Lafayette Park was built in 1956-58 on a five-acre site immediately north of the Mies van der Rohe Townhouses and Court Houses. The area includes two buildings, a high-rise apartment building and a bath house. Both buildings were designed by Mies van der Rohe in the International style. The twenty-two-story tower is rectangular in plan measuring about 66 feet by 206 feet and contains approximately 300 apartments. The relatively small apartments (ranging from studios at five hundred forty square feet to two-bedroom apartments at eleven hundred forty square feet) have a spacious feeling due to the large expanses of glass affording views of the surrounding landscape. The first floor of the building is inset, creating a pedestrian plaza that surrounds the base of the building. The plaza is paved with solid concrete and surrounded on three sides by asphalt driveways. The fourth (east) side has a small rectangular lawn, a few shrubs, and a paved patio adjacent to it. The long dimension of the building is oriented east-west, and the main entrance is located on the south elevation. A vehicular drop-off area dominates the landscape in this location. A landscape island with a turf-covered berm and two mature honey locust trees is located at the southwest corner of the building, and a

rectangular planting island with two honey locust and pruned shrubs is located in the center of the driveway. There are lawn areas to the east and south of the driveway; both are bermed in an effort to screen the vehicular traffic from the adjacent park and Mies van der Rohe Townhouses and Court Houses.

The majority of the property landscape is dedicated to vehicular circulation and street level parking. Large parking lots are located to the east and west of the building. Honey locust trees are planted around the edges of these lots, and within the western lot. An outdoor swimming pool and bath house, enclosed by a buff-colored brick wall, are located at the far eastern boundary of the property, adjacent to the Lafayette Plaisance (park). The pool complex was added in 1962 and is surrounded on the south, west, and north by parking. The entire property is surrounded by an eight-foot black aluminum fence.

The master plan laid out by Ludwig Hilberseimer, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, and Alfred Caldwell used deliberate organization of spaces as a major foundation of the design for the urban renewal project at Lafayette Park. Hilberseimer focused on classification of building types fitted into the layout of the roads and open space. A major component of the superblock concept at Lafayette Park was the deliberate use of high-density residential complexes to leverage expansion of public open space. The high-rise towers are of primary importance to this concept. Based on this design principle, at a broad scale, the Pavilion Tower fulfils its role within the superblock and is a contributing resource to the overall plan. Spatially, the relationship between the tower and the surrounding park and low-rise complexes creates a balance of vertical and horizontal elements in the landscape.

The Pavilion Landscape (part of the contributing site)

Spatial Organization and Land Use – The Pavilion
This high-rise residential complex in Lafayette Park is an important component related to leveraging maximal open space with high-density housing. The tower's reflecting walls of glass provide a dramatic backdrop above the treetops of the park and adjacent residential complexes. The relationship to the Mies van der Rohe Townhouses and Court Houses, as well as to the Lafayette Towers, is particularly dramatic. The proportions of the towers echo the proportions of the lower units and delineate exterior space providing spatial variety throughout the landscape.

The overall arrangement of landscape elements reflects the original construction, although alterations have been made that remove open space and replace it with vehicular circulation and parking. The original design was implemented with a large pedestrian plaza at the south side (entrance) of the building, and no vehicular traffic in this area. This provided a strong pedestrian connection between the Pavilion Tower and the Mies van der Rohe Townhouse and Court House complex as well as the Lafayette Plaisance (park). The plaza and surrounding landscape provided a communal open space for use by the building residents, separated from automobiles. The alteration of this space to create a vehicular drop-off at the south entrance of the building eradicated the communal open space and replaced it with an awkward planter and driveway that appears as though it could lead right into the building door.

On the north side of the building, the original design and construction included an open green space that provided a spatial and visual buffer between the high-rise building and the adjacent street to the north. This green space has been replaced with a parking lot that includes cars parked overhanging the building plaza.

The original design included an open landscape plan that provided pedestrian access to the park and adjacent areas, as well as a clean visual plane upon which the building was situated. The construction of an eight-foot-high security fence around the property has imposed upon the visual character of the complex and has greatly reduced pedestrian access to adjacent sites.

Circulation – The Pavilion
Although the superblock design principles indicate that vehicular circulation should not impose upon pedestrian use of a site, that is no longer the case at the Pavilion. Vehicular use dominates the landscape at this complex. The majority of the property is dedicated to parking lots and access roads. The west and east parking lots have honey locust planted around them. The north parking lot includes no vegetation. At the south side of the building, the original pedestrian plaza has been replaced with an asphalt vehicular drop-off driveway.

Pedestrian circulation is limited to the plaza that surrounds the base of the tower, a small open space and patio at the east side of the building, and a couple of sidewalks that provide links to the south and west. At the north side of the building, the plaza pavement has been extended with concrete that does not match the original. Adjacent to the plaza on the north side are parking, bike parking, and dumpsters.

Topography – The Pavilion
The majority of the property is fairly flat, with the exception of several berms located near the south entrance of the building. These may be reduced versions of larger berms constructed around the original pedestrian plaza at the south entrance of the building. The honey locusts on the berms are mature, but it is difficult to know when they were planted. No documentation has been found to confirm the grading at the south entrance of the building associated with the original construction. If the berms were part of the original design, they have been altered and no longer represent their original form.

Vegetation – The Pavilion
Vegetation at the Pavilion complex is very limited. Honey locust trees are located around the perimeters of the site, in small planting strips in the west parking lot, and at the south entrance to the building. A few shrubs are situated near the east side of the tower in the adjacent open space. A rectangular plant bed at the drop-off area on the south side of the tower contains honey locust, red twig dogwood, and hosta. A plant bed at the entrance sign on Lafayette Plaisance Street has taxus, ornamental grasses, and annuals. Annuals are also found in planters located on the plaza and terrace at the tower. The only significant plants on the property are the honey locust, which continue the use of that species from the Mies van der Rohe Townhouses and Court Houses.

Views – The Pavilion
Significant views associated with the Pavilion landscape include the visual relationship between the tower and the Mies van der Rohe Townhouses and Court Houses as well as the views of the tower from the Lafayette Plaisance and the other complexes within Lafayette Park.

Small Scale Features – The Pavilion
A number of small-scale features are present within the Pavilion complex including an entrance sign, security fence, circular planters, bike racks, globe lights, and bollards. The only significant small-scale feature is the entrance sign, which reflects the Mies van der Rohe graphic style applied to Lafayette Park and appears to be an original feature.

Landscape Integrity Assessment
The landscape associated with this property is mostly intact, retaining integrity of design, materials, location and association. Alterations that have reduced integrity include the replacement of open spaces and pedestrian circulation routes with drives and parking lots and the addition of security fences that reduce pedestrian access to adjacent open space. The fences are reversible and therefore do not greatly diminish integrity. The parking lot and driveway have reduced integrity of design, feeling, and setting, but enough of the original implementation exists to retain overall integrity.

Buildings and Structures – The Pavilion

The Pavilion Tower (contributing building)

Building Exterior Description (P-1)
Completed in 1958, the Pavilion Tower is a twenty-two-story apartment building completed in the International style to the design of Ludwig Mies van der Rohe. The building exterior is the classic Miesian glass and aluminum curtain wall, while the recessed, double height colonnade at the base creates the characteristic floating effect often employed by Mies.

The building is approximately sixty-six feet wide by two-hundred-six-feet long. The structural framing for the floors is reinforced concrete, and the columns, also reinforced concrete, are set back slightly from the floor slabs and disengaged from the curtain wall.

Mies and his associate, Joseph Fujikawa, established a standard cladding unit ten feet high and eleven and a half feet wide. Two aluminum cladding panels paired side by side formed a bay between each structural column. The design placed vertical mullion channels back-to-back, creating the effect of the commonly used wide-flange for other projects. This fenestration configuration created ten structural bays on the north and south elevations and three structural bays on the west and east elevations. Aluminum spandrel panels covered the floor slabs at each elevation creating a planar façade punctuated by the paired channels running vertically the length of the building. Each curtain wall panel contains a rectangular hopper window centered in the bottom of the panel, flanked on each side by a square fixed window.

Use of uniform curtain wall panel sizes and columns set back from the slab edges creates a unique and distinctive corner condition that creates a sense of depth on the façade. Also adding to the overall composition is the recessed, double-height colonnade at the base of the building. This colonnade includes a deep soffit with down lights that extends nearly to the outside columns. At the recessed portion of the building envelope, translucent glazing, historically with clear anodized aluminum framing, wrapped the building in the upper band immediately below the ceiling. At the ground plane, clear glazing was used historically. The building entrance and main lobby is articulated with clear glazing that extends to the underside of the exterior soffit. The recessed portion of the building envelope engages the interior columns at the short ends of the building, and on the longer sides is located mid-way between the outer and inner columns.

The ground plane around the entrance is defined by concrete paving that extends slightly beyond the concrete columns and forms a uniform plane reinforcing the rigid geometry of the building. The exterior ground plane is linked visually with the interior lobby at the entrance zone.

Building Exterior Integrity Assessment – Pavilion Tower (P-1)
With the Pavilion Tower, Mies van der Rohe's design for the first high-rise building at Lafayette Park experimented with the model for the standardized curtain wall to create vertical architecture with an industrial aesthetic. Using back-to-back channels instead of the eye shape that graced buildings like 860/880 Wacker Drive in Chicago, made erection easier. Although built with a more modest budget than some of Mies' previous commissions, the Pavilion Tower achieves a level of sophistication through the use of strong proportions and detailing.

It is testament to the quality of the Mies design that the building today maintains its sense of modernity. The exterior of the Pavilion Tower is remarkably intact and has a high level of integrity. Its curtain wall system, with single pane glazing, has been maintained and is unchanged. The terrazzo on the colonnade plaza is in fair condition but appears to be original.

The most significant exterior change to the Pavilion is the replacement of some of the dark brown translucent glazing on the upper mezzanine band of the ground level with translucent glazing that has a frosted appearance. On the lower, ground level bands of glass, some of the panels of glazing that were originally clear have been replaced with frosted glass.

The Pavilion Tower exterior retains a high degree of integrity. Although some replacement of glazing has occurred and deviates from the original design, the material and visual change are not significant in the context of the overall exterior design. Exterior building features and materials, particularly the building's massing and curtain wall, contribute to the significance of the building.

Interiors Description – Pavilion Tower (P-1)
The entrance lobby is located at the center of the ground floor on the south side of the building. A full-height glass vestibule has a small (non-original) security desk and the original building directory. The vestibule opens into the main lobby, which includes a bank of three elevators on the south wall and a seating area. Walls are finished with green Verde marble above and below a painted horizontal concrete band that forms the floor of the storage areas on the mezzanine level. Ceilings are painted plaster matching the height of the exterior soffit. Elevator doors and door surrounds are stainless steel. Windows with aluminum frames are used at the perimeter walls and extend from the floor to the ceiling. Flooring in the main lobby is green terrazzo with aluminum divider strips creating a grid. The lobby features two leather-covered original couches from Mies' studio.

Aluminum doors and walls with translucent framing connect the main lobby to the mail room, which retains its original aluminum mail boxes. Aluminum doors on the east and west sides of the main lobby open into corridors to a variety of support spaces, including a small grocery store, a hair salon, a business center, and the leasing offices. The retail space was part of the original plan for the building.

The plan for the interior of the residential floors of the Pavilion Tower includes a combination of studio, one-bedroom, and two-bedroom units arranged around a central elevator core. Apartment units are located off a double-loaded corridor. With the exception of the two adjacent units on each end of the building, all of the demising partitions terminate at the perimeter columns.

The public corridors are distinguished by floor-to-ceiling doors with painted black metal frames. Aluminum knockers with a cut out for the eye-hole and unit numbers are located on each door. Recessed lighting with aluminum canopies is used throughout the corridors.

Each apartment unit has a low-profile fan coil unit, typically located between each operable portion of the windows. Corner units include galley kitchens separated with the living room by only a thin plaster partition. The remaining units have kitchens adjacent to the corridor walls. The kitchens in most of the units retain their original Republic Steel cabinets with aluminum knobs and pulls.

Interior Integrity Assessment – Pavilion Tower (P-1)
The main lobby possesses a high degree of design, materials, setting, and feeling. A small, additive security desk has been inserted in the lobby vestibule, the double doors between the vestibule and main lobby have been replaced with a single door and fixed side light, some surface-mounted conduit has been introduced, and the elevator doors, door surrounds, and cabs have been replaced. However, these changes do not diminish the overall design significantly. Most of the lobby's materials are original, including the terrazzo flooring, revolving door, window framing/glazing, aluminum doors, and marble wall cladding. Additional original elements include the black diffuser registers and recessed down lights. As a result, the lobby space—with its strong connection to the exterior plaza and views to the Mies Townhouses—retains its original feeling and relationship to the larger Lafayette Park complex.

Secondary spaces on the first floor include the east and west corridors off the lobby, and each corridor is largely unchanged from its original design. Finishes in these corridors are less significant and include painted concrete-block walls and black nine inch by nine-inch vinyl tile that appears to be original. Metal doors and associated frames in the corridors are also original. The mail room retains the original mail boxes, some of which are recessed in the wall and some of which are contained in a floating, aluminum-framed box in the center of the room.

Although the interior survey did not include every apartment unit, it appears that the original Mies layouts have been maintained with their original partitions. Each unit retains the strong spatial connection to Lafayette Park with the expansive views from the floor-to-ceiling windows. Features such as the floor-to-ceiling doors, surface-mounted light fixtures, and floor-to-ceiling sliding closet doors are unchanged. Many of the units still have their original Republic Steel cabinets, although the original countertops and sinks have been replaced.

Pavilion Bath House (contributing building)

Between the lots on the east side of the building are an outdoor swimming pool and bath house enclosed by a buff-colored brick wall. The bath house is a one-story rectangular structure constructed of buff colored brick. Designed by Mies, the pool complex was added in 1962.

LANDSCAPE CHARACTER AREA 02: MIES VAN DER ROHE TOWNHOUSES AND COURT HOUSES

Overall Description
The Mies van der Rohe Townhouses and Court Houses were built in 1958-60 on an eighteen-acre site west of Lafayette Park's central park (Lafayette Plaisance) (see drawing S-1: Overall Site Plan). The complex includes twenty-one buildings and 186 units that are owned by four cooperative associations. Four of the buildings are one-story and contain "court house" units with walled courtyards in the rear (court house units are indicated as "MCH" buildings on drawing S-1). Approximately two hundred eighteen feet long and forty-two feet deep, each of these buildings houses six units. All other buildings are two-story townhouses. Fifteen of these contain ten units each and are about one hundred eighty-two feet long and thirty-eight feet deep. The remaining two buildings both contain six units; they have the same depth as the other two-story structures but are roughly one hundred ten feet long. Each unit has a full basement with a door opening onto an underground service corridor that runs the length of the building.

A network of concrete sidewalks links all areas of the townhouse complex and also provides access to the park. Like the park, the complex has no through traffic, nor does it have parking garages. Two public cul-de-sacs (Nicolet Place and Joliet Place), each with a tree-lined median, and three driveways into parking lots provide the only means of automobile access. These roadways, together with all parking areas, are about four feet below grade level. Commenting on this feature in the May 1960 *Architectural Forum,* it was noted that "the camera... cannot convey the deftness with which Detroit's own strident contribution to the world's landscape, the automobile, has for once been digested into a city street scene, instead of being allowed to dominate it."[3]

Mirrored in the glass walls of the townhouses, landscape architect Alfred Caldwell's naturalistic landscape further reduces the impact of the automobile, and with its free-flowing informality, it also makes an excellent counterpoint to the austerity of the architecture. Various types of native trees and shrubs delineate open and sheltered areas and provide screening. Honey locusts with their fernlike foliage dominate the canopy; the understory includes flowering crabapple, dogwood, lilac, and viburnum. Hawthorn hedges demarcate the small

[3] Sarah Evans, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form for the "Mies van der Rohe Residential District, Lafayette Park" (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1996), Section 7, 1-2.

front lawns of the two-story units, and at the rear of these buildings are semi-private lawns. Toward the center of the complex, situated between two buildings, is the "meadow," a fairly open green. On the east side of the complex, between other sets of facing buildings, are more open areas, two of which contain playgrounds. Together with the landscaping, the layout of the townhouse buildings defines the exterior spaces but does not completely enclose them. The overall effect is one of considerable privacy and intimacy, to which the scale of the buildings, the cul-de-sac road system, and the suppressed parking contribute. With a density of almost twelve units per acre, the townhouse complex in 1960 had what *Architectural Forum* described as an air of "comfortable repose." As Caldwell's trees and shrubs have matured, that feeling has increased. Well-maintained and in good condition, the townhouse complex has experienced relatively few exterior changes. The natural maturing of its landscaping has been the most noticeable one, but over the years, each of the four cooperative associations has also made some landscaping changes, including the construction of berms and wooden fences, the introduction of nonindigenous species, and the planting of bulbs and annuals around the bases of trees and shrubs. Although the landscape is no longer as open as in Caldwell's original plan, honey locusts with an understory of other native trees and shrubs still predominate. Other changes to the townhouse complex landscape include the installation of handicap-access ramps, the replacement of some sidewalks with new ones of a different composition, and the addition of a storage shed in the early 1960s. (Although Mies did not design the shed, the plans for it were approved by his office. Built of buff-colored brick, it is roughly eighteen feet square and eight feet tall and is situated at the end of a suppressed parking lot, where a terrace was dug out to screen part of its side and rear walls.) So far, these changes have not altered the original character of the property.[4]

Mies van der Rohe Townhouses and Court Houses Complex (part of the contributing site)

Spatial Organization – Mies van der Rohe Townhouses and Court Houses
The master plan laid out by Ludwig Hilberseimer, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, and Alfred Caldwell used deliberate organization of spaces as a major foundation of the design for the urban renewal project at Lafayette Park. Hilberseimer focused on classification of building types fitted into the layout of the roads and open space. At the Mies van der Rohe Townhouses and Court Houses, Mies and Caldwell transformed this framework into "…a site of lived and sensed interweavings and interrelationships between buildings and landscapes, private and public domains, enclosed and open spaces."[5]

The rows of low-rise buildings were oriented perpendicular to each other to augment the spatial hierarchy by taking advantage of the formal tensions within the space and the expert use of planting arrangements softened the abstract rigors of the layout. The unit plans and dramatic shifts in building orientation also create open spaces with a variety of levels of privacy and opportunities for borrowed views and diversity in spatial arrangements.[6]

The Mies van der Rohe Townhouses and Court Houses are significant representatives of the urban renewal efforts at Lafayette Park. They clearly reflect the Hilberseimer, Mies van der Rohe, and Caldwell master plan for the overall complex, reflecting the majority of the design tenets in exemplary fashion. The site plans prepared for the complex are exceptional works that further enhance the quality of the outdoor spaces through careful arrangement of buildings, walkways, plants, semi-private spaces, private spaces, public areas, and vehicular routes and parking. The existing conditions closely reflect the site plans and the overall complex

[4] Ibid.
[5] Caroline Constant, "Hilberseimer and Caldwell: Merging Ideologies of Lafayette Park Landscape," in *CASE: Lafayette Park Detroit – Hilberseimer/Mies van der Rohe*, ed. Charles Waldheim (New York: Prestel Publishing, 2004), 106.
[6] Ibid.

retains integrity of design, materials, workmanship, setting, feeling, association, and location related to spatial organization.

Cluster Arrangement – Mies van der Rohe Townhouses and Court Houses
At the Mies van der Rohe Townhouses and Court Houses, the buildings, plants and circulation routes are intricately interwoven to create a variety of small to moderate scale outdoor spaces and views. The expert placement of buildings in clusters that are slightly off-set from each other, results in the creation of a diversity of three-dimensional spaces on the ground. During the design phase, this area was addressed as four parcels (parcels 19, 20, 21, and 22 in the overall development). Three of the parcels (20, 21, and 22) include clusters of five buildings. These each include three two-story townhouse buildings oriented north-south and aligned with each other, creating definitions of the east and west sides of the parcels.

Each parcel also includes one court house building and one townhouse building oriented east-west, located between north-south oriented buildings and offset from each other. This offset is shifted from one parcel to the next. The fourth parcel (19) includes six buildings. The four western-most buildings repeat the pattern found in parcel 21. In place of the single north-south oriented townhouse at the eastern side of the parcel, parcel 21 instead has two smaller townhouse buildings that are oriented east-west. This change in orientation helps to buffer the relationship between these townhouses and the high-rise Pavilion Tower that is adjacent to the north.

The offset of the east-west oriented buildings, combined with thoughtful plantings that alternate between formal, geometric patterns (closest to the buildings) and informal masses used to define, enhance and enclose spaces of varying sizes, results in a landscape that presents a dynamic sequence of experiences. The complex includes cozy enclosed court yards and front-yard gardens, semi-private back-yard spaces with common views, comfortable communal outdoor sitting areas and playgrounds, pleasant narrow pedestrian corridors, small parking areas, and boulevards.

Land Use – Mies van der Rohe Townhouses and Court Houses
The residential Mies van der Rohe Townhouse and Court House development is one component of the overall superblock plan for Lafayette Park. The concentration of residential density in high-rise towers and clusters of multi-unit townhouses and court houses provides for the decentralization of buildings upon the landscape and affords opportunities for increased open space. In this way, residents are rewarded with "more humane and livable relations to exterior spaces enlivened by public landscapes …"[7] This is especially true in the Mies van der Rohe Townhouses and Court Houses, where the landscape associated with the residences provides a range of outdoor environments as noted above.

Circulation – Mies van der Rohe Townhouses and Court Houses
Pedestrian and vehicular circulation are carefully organized within the Mies van der Rohe Townhouse and Court House landscape character area. Placement of streets, driveways, and parking areas is arranged to provide easy access to vehicles from residences while limiting interactions between pedestrians and vehicles. This is achieved through: arrangement of pedestrian circulation routes with careful consideration given to access to residences, parks, surrounding sidewalks, and open space; location of parking areas, streets and driveways, so that they do not impose on pedestrian circulation, views from residential units, or the atmosphere of private, semi-private and public open spaces. In addition, topography and vegetation are used to enhance separation between vehicular circulation and other uses.

Concrete sidewalks provide pedestrian links throughout the complex between units, parking areas, surrounding streets, and the Lafayette Plaisance (the park). Additional links are provided via paths through the park to

[7] *CASE: Lafayette Park Detroit—Hilberseimer/Mies van der Rohe*, ed. Charles Waldheim (New York: Prestel Publishing, 2004), 24-26.

Chrysler Elementary School, Lafayette Shopping Center, and the other residential complexes that surround the park. Each residential unit has a concrete sidewalk that leads to the front door. In addition, Court House units have concrete sidewalks that lead to the (back) courthouse doors. Townhouse units have back doors with small concrete stoops, but do not have sidewalks extending from the stoops.

Vehicular circulation includes asphalt streets and parking areas that are depressed three to four feet below the surrounding grade to minimize views of vehicles from the residential units. Their arrangement includes access from East Lafayette Street, Rivard Street and Lafayette Plaisance Street. None of the routes provide through traffic. Two boulevards provide central access routes into the complex from Rivard Street. These include Joliet Place and Nicolet Place. Each of these boulevards is oriented in an east-west direction and is flanked on the north and south by Court House units with private driveways. The one-way streets have sidewalks and allow for parallel parking on the building sides of the street. The center island is landscaped with lawn, canopy and ornamental trees. At the eastern end of each of the boulevards is a parking lot for visitors, flanked on the north and south by parking lots for the adjacent units. The three other vehicular access routes are driveways to parking lots that serve nearby residences. A variety of planting treatments are found surrounding the perimeters of the parking lots. Several have sloped lawn terraces and canopy trees while others have dense masses of ground cover, shrubs and ornamental trees and a few have only lawn.

The circulation patterns present at the Mies van der Rohe Townhouses and Court Houses are significant as representatives of the implementation of the superblock concept at Lafayette Park, and for their important role in the success of the site design and development of the complex. The designs by Hilberseimer, Mies van der Rohe, and Caldwell were followed carefully and have remained unaltered resulting in a high level of integrity related to circulation.

Topography – Mies van der Rohe Townhouses and Court Houses
Throughout the Mies van der Rohe Townhouse and Court House complex, expert manipulation of topography enhances views and separates vehicular use from pedestrian use. Roads and parking areas are situated at a grade three to four feet lower than that of the surrounding sidewalks, playgrounds, and yards of the residential units. This change in elevation essentially hides the automobile from view from within the units (despite the floor to ceiling glass curtain walls) and greatly diminishes the presence of vehicles on outdoor spaces, despite the relatively small size and close proximity of these spaces to each other. In addition, this use of topography to screen vehicular use areas that are integrated into the overall site plan creates an undulating landscape. This effectively adds variety to the north-south views and pedestrian circulation routes where the lines of rectangular townhouses might otherwise seem monotonous.

Vegetation – Mies van der Rohe Townhouses and Court Houses
Vegetation is a significant component in the success of the Mies van der Rohe Townhouses and Court Houses. "Mirrored in the glass walls of the townhouses, landscape architect Alfred Caldwell's naturalistic landscape further reduces the impact of the automobile, and with its free-flowing informality, it also makes an excellent counterpoint to the austerity of the architecture."[8] A palette of plants that relies mainly on native species clearly reflects Caldwell's planting plans. Plants serve several roles in this landscape including delineation of private, semi-private, and communal open spaces, screening of vehicular use areas, buffers between residences and surrounding city streets, enhancing views from inside residences, and creating diversity and interest in the outdoor environment of the complex. Throughout the complex, honey locust is the dominant canopy tree. Today these mature trees provide a filtered shade in the summer that allows sufficient sunlight to maintain healthy lawns and understory plants. The canopy created by these trees is well scaled to the two-story townhouses; being roughly twice the height of the buildings, they provide a three-dimensional ceiling for the outdoor spaces

[8] Evans, "Mies van der Rohe Residential District, Lafayette Park," Section 7, 1-2.

within the complex. Understory plants include dogwood, crabapple, redbud, plum, lilac, sumac, rose, juniper and viburnum. These are used in masses and as specimen plants. Pruned Hawthorn hedges enclose front-entrance spaces at the townhouse units, extending the geometry of the buildings into the landscape and adding privacy to the fronts of the residences. The majority of the outside edges of the complex are planted heavily with masses of trees and shrubs that provide a dense vegetative buffer between the glass-walled residential buildings and the surrounding streets. These enclose semi-private lawns.

Views – Mies van der Rohe Townhouses and Court Houses
There are several types of significant views related to the Mies van der Rohe Townhouses and Court Houses. Of primary importance are the views from the inside of the residences looking out to the surrounding landscape. The arrangement of buildings, plants and topography in the landscape enhances the relationship between indoor and outdoor spaces while also providing a sense of privacy in the residences. Borrowed views of the landscape in the adjacent park create a sense of spaciousness within the complex while glimpses of the high-rise towers terminate views and give a feeling of enclosure. As one moves through the landscape of the complex, views of a variety of scales of spaces are encountered. Vegetation plays a major role in defining private, semi-private and communal open spaces as well as screening undesirable views toward the surrounding streets. Another important aspect is the use of topography and vegetation to screen views of vehicles and parking areas.

Small Scale Features – Mies van der Rohe Townhouses and Court Houses
A number of small-scale features are present within the complex including signs, lights and fences (limited). These elements are minimal, unobtrusive, and limited to certain locations. The only significant small-scale features are the signs at the pedestrian entrances to the complex. These reflect the modern graphic style applied to Lafayette Park and appear to be original features.

Landscape Integrity Assessment
The landscape associated with the Mies van der Rohe Townhouses and Court Houses retains integrity of location, setting, design, materials, feeling and association. The current landscape conditions clearly reflect the development as constructed, with the added benefit of the maturation of the plants over time. Minor changes have included the replacement of some shrubs with species that differ from those originally specified, although these mostly present similar characteristics to the original plant. Alterations to parking areas and the addition of a small storage building have all occurred in ways that are sensitive to the design principles and do not reduce integrity of the overall complex.

Buildings – Mies van der Rohe Townhouses and Court Houses

Mies van der Rohe Townhouses (seventeen contributing buildings)

Building Exterior Description – Townhouses (MTH-1-MTH-17)
The Mies van der Rohe Townhouses, as a collection, are unique in Mies' body of work. The International style buildings are characterized by their strong horizontal orientation and the expansive glass and aluminum curtain walls terminating at the contrasting buff brick end walls.

The townhouses are two-story structures with a full basement. Fifteen of the townhouse groupings contain ten individual units and two of the groupings contain six units. The longer, ten-unit groupings are approximately one hundred eighty-two feet long and thirty-eight feet deep, and the shorter, six-unit buildings are approximately one hundred ten feet long and thirty-eight feet deep. All of the townhouse are nineteen feet six inches in height.

Designed to a twelve-foot structural module, the townhouses are constructed with a steel frame and concrete floor slabs. The roofs are framed with corrugated metal decking. Below-grade walls are reinforced concrete.

End walls of each building are infilled with masonry (four-inch buff colored brick with four-inch concrete blocks). Along the long elevations, aluminum windows are used to infill between the vertical wide-flange columns and the horizontal 9-inch fascia channels. At the cornice, a cap angle projects slightly forward of the main horizontal fascia channel.

The front façade of each building includes five repetitive bays (formed by three structural bays) that establish a consistent rhythm along each building. Paired entries to units are located within a recessed entry zone that is framed with painted steel tubes and includes painted solid wood doors, fixed side lights with glass, and concrete stoops. A cement plaster soffit forms the ceiling of the recessed entries. Additional features at the entries include aluminum mail slots, aluminum unit address numbers, and recessed down lighting.

A similar arrangement of repetitive bays is used on the rear façades of each building. Rear elevations are defined solely by the infill glazing and single aluminum doors in the same plane. All infill wall elements on the long elevations are symmetrical about the structural bays formed by the distinctive painted steel columns that project from the façade.

The overall expression of the townhouses is one that juxtaposes the steel framing members that are painted black with the aluminum infill glazing and brick at the end walls. The strong horizontal nature of each building is reinforced by the fenestration. Horizontal window mullions at the first and second floors define fixed windows and the operable hopper windows that have projecting insect screens. Mies utilized a subtle play of relief elements within the overall planar composition of the building massing.

An areaway with steps is located at one end of each townhouse building, providing access to the common corridor that extends across the building basement. These areaway stairs are enclosed by a simple painted steel railing fabricated from bar stock and gate. Smaller areaways that are located on the opposite end of each building have been infilled at grade level. Each areaway originally included louvered openings in the basement walls. Corrugated metal areaways on the front elevations provide access to basement window on each side of the unit entries. On the rear elevations, similar areaways and basement windows are located on each side of the projecting steel columns.

Building Exteriors Integrity Assessment – Townhouses (MTH-1-MTH-17)
Mies van der Rohe's design for the Lafayette Park townhouse and court houses created a series of dynamic relationships between the buildings and their associated landscape. Placement of the linear rows of buildings created interstitial spaces—some communal and some private—that created a distinct district that contributes to the larger whole of Lafayette Park. The buildings work because of the landscape, but the landscapes are successful because of the location, massing, and detailing of the two- and one-story buildings. No place is this clearer than with the indoor-outdoor relationships that Mies established with the townhouse and court house forms.

The success of the design is also due to the many juxtapositions created: private and collective, building and landscape, solid and void, enclosed and open, industrial and natural, to name but a few. At the building level, the Mies designs created, on the one hand, ordered and regular boxes (containers). However, the simplicity of the regular façades and massing belies the complexity and variety of each container's contents.

All of these characteristics have been maintained, with only a few minor exceptions. All of the original townhouses and court houses remain unchanged in massing, and no new buildings have been introduced with the exception of a maintenance shed that was approved by Mies' office. The setting—the immediate surrounding landscape and the urban context within Lafayette Park—is largely unchanged.

Changes to the design, where they have occurred, do not diminish the complex's overall integrity. Vent piping that is not original has been added to many of the townhouses in a regular, consistent manner, as has security lighting. Small areaways at the ends of the townhouses have been infilled with concrete slabs but do not create a visible intrusion. Some of the areaways with stairs have been altered slightly. Louvered openings have been infilled with concrete blocks, chain link fencing has been added to the railings, and a few stairs have been modified.

Perhaps the most significant changes to the townhouses and court houses have been to the window systems. The entire window system has been replaced in half of the buildings (MTH 1-MTH-9 and MCH-1, MCH-2). The replacement window system, which introduced insulated glazing, is generally sympathetic to the original design details, including the framing dimensions. The new insect screen for these windows, however, does not match the projecting box screen on the original hopper windows, which added relief to the façades. The remaining buildings (MTH-10, MTH-17 and MCH-3 and MCH-4) were retrofitted with insulated glazing units in the existing frames. Custom interior stops maintain the original window sight lines, and the overall treatment is very respectful.

Overall, the Mies van der Rohe Townhouses and Court Houses retain a high degree of integrity. The visual and material changes to the townhouses and courthouses are minor in relation to the overall design of the building.

Interiors Description – Townhouses (MTH-1-MTH-17)
The plan configuration of the Mies townhouses is complex despite the regular, repetitive bays established by the structural grid. Two units are created within three bays. Each unit is approximately eighteen feet wide on the first level, the demising partitions running down the middle of a structural bay and framing into a mullion and not the structural column. At the second level the units are interlocked such that the demising partition between units does not match the first level. Interior bedroom partitions and demising partitions on the second level frame into the perimeter walls at the structural columns. The first floor of each unit includes a foyer, dining room, powder room, galley kitchen, and living room. An open, painted stair leads to the second floor, which includes three bedrooms and a bathroom. A basement laundry/storage room is located at the bottom of the stair from the first floor.

Because the windows extend from floor to ceiling, the indoor-outdoor relationship is prominent. Views through the interior from one space to the next on the first floor are also notable. The interior walls were finished with plaster. Flooring was originally black vinyl asbestos tile. Reflecting the modern aesthetic of the Mies design, fixtures on the interiors—recessed lights, door knobs, pulls, diffuser registers, switch plates, and cover plates—were aluminum. Walls and ceilings were painted white, and the steel stair stringers and railings were painted black to match the exterior steel design. Interior doors were flush hollow core wood. Ceramic tile was used for the floors and walls in the bathrooms.

Decorative plastic laminates with a wood grain finish were used originally for the kitchen cabinets and counters, and only a few remain extant throughout the complex. Kitchens were also originally furnished with Frigidaire "drop down" cook top stove and Frigidaire ovens and refrigerators. As with the kitchen cabinets, few of the original appliances remain in the units.

Interiors Integrity Assessment – Townhouses (MTH-1-MTH-17)
Although it was not possible to survey all the interiors of the Mies Townhouses, it is worth noting that nearly all of the units appear to maintain their original interior layout. Flooring in many of the units has been replaced, and kitchens in all but a few units have been renovated since being constructed. Many bathrooms have also been updated over the years. Despite these common changes, the spatial openness has been maintained by and large, and the most common alterations to the units do not diminish the overall integrity of the townhouses.

Mies van der Rohe Court Houses (four contributing buildings)

Building Exterior Description – Court Houses (MCH-1-MCH-4)
The Mies van der Rohe Court Houses, as a collection, are unique in Mies' body of work. The International style buildings are characterized by their strong horizontal orientation and the expansive glass and aluminum curtain walls terminating at the contrasting buff brick end walls.

The Mies Court Houses are one-story structures with a full basement. Four court houses are located in the complex, and each building contains six residential units. The court house residences are approximately two hundred eighteen feet long and forty two feet deep. All of the court houses are approximately nine feet six inches in height.

Like the townhouses, the court houses are designed to a twelve-foot structural module and are constructed with a steel frame and concrete floor slabs. The roofs are framed with corrugated metal decking. Below-grade walls are reinforced concrete. Matching the overall aesthetic and details of the townhouses, the end walls of each building are infilled with masonry (four-inch buff colored bricks with four inch concrete blocks). Along the long elevations, aluminum windows are used to infill between the vertical wide-flange columns and the horizontal nine-inch fascia channels. At the cornice, a cap angle projects slightly forward of the main horizontal fascia channel.

Low brick site walls with stone copings define the front yards of each court house, and the private rear yards are defined by seven-foot-high brick walls with stone copings. Today all of the rear yard site walls have full-height gate doors opening onto adjacent sidewalks, but the design of the doors is not consistent, and the original Mies design did not include any doors.

The front façade of each building includes three repetitive symmetrical bays (formed by six structural bays) that establish a consistent rhythm along each building. Paired entries to units are located within a recessed entry zone that is framed with painted steel tubes and includes painted solid wood doors, fixed side lights with glass, and concrete stoops. A cement plaster soffit forms the ceiling of the recessed entries. Additional features at the entries include aluminum mail slots, aluminum unit address numbers, and recessed down lighting.

A similar arrangement of repetitive bays is used on the rear façades of each building. Rear elevations are defined solely by the infill glazing and single aluminum doors in the same plane. All infill wall elements on the long elevations are symmetrical about the structural bays formed by the distinctive painted steel columns that project from the façade.

Areaway changes similar to those found at the townhouses are also present at the court houses, but these changes are not visually obtrusive or significant.

Like the townhouses, the overall expression of the court houses is one that juxtaposes the steel framing members that are painted black with the aluminum infill glazing and brick at the end walls. The single-story configuration of the court houses creates a pronounced horizontal composition that is reinforced by the fenestration. Horizontal window mullions at the first level define fixed windows and the operable hopper windows that have projecting insect screens.

Building Exterior Integrity Assessment – Court Houses (MCH-1-MCH-4)
As with the townhouses, the most significant change to the court houses has been to the window systems. The entire window system has been replaced in half of the buildings (MCH-1 and MCH-2). The replacement window system, which introduced insulated glazing, is generally sympathetic to the original design details, including the framing dimensions. The new insect screen for these windows, however, does not match the

projecting box screen on the original hopper windows, which added relief to the facades. The remaining buildings (MCH-3 and MCH-4) were retrofitted with insulated glazing units in the existing frames. Custom interior stops maintain the original window sight lines, and the overall glazing replacement design and execution is very respectful and successful.

It appears that the original design for the taller court house site walls that form the backyards did not include doors or gates. All of these openings in the walls now have doors, and the designs vary considerably. Without any consistent design for this newly introduced element, some diminution of integrity has occurred. Despite this change, the overall integrity of the court houses remains very high.

Interiors – Court Houses (MCH-1-MCH-4)
The plan configuration of the Mies Court Houses works within the twelve-foot structural bay. End units are three-bedroom units within three structural bays. Two interlocking units on each side of the end units create a two-bedroom unit and four-bedroom unit within the next six structural bays. As a result of this subdivision, each court house includes two units with two bedrooms, two units with three bedrooms, and two units with four bedrooms.

Differing slightly from the townhouses, the court houses include dining rooms that are immediately adjacent and open to the living rooms as well as breakfast rooms between the kitchen and entrance foyer. A six-foot-high partition separates the foyer and breakfast room. The long, open corridor between the entrance foyer and living room/dining room permits views to the outdoors, accentuating the indoor-outdoor relationship established by the Mies design.

The finishes on the interior of the Mies Court Houses match those used in the Mies Townhouses. Interior walls were finished with plaster. Flooring was originally black vinyl asbestos tile. Fixtures, including recessed lights, door knobs, pulls, diffuser registers, switch plates, and cover plates, were aluminum. Walls and ceilings were painted white. Interior doors were flush hollow core wood. Ceramic tile was used for the floors and walls in the bathrooms.

Interiors Integrity Assessment – Court Houses (MCH-1-MCH-4)
Although it was not possible to survey all the interiors of the Mies Court Houses, it is worth noting that nearly all of the units appear to maintain their original interior layout. Flooring in many of the units has been replaced, and kitchens in all but a few units have been renovated since being constructed. Many bathrooms have also been updated over the years. Despite these common changes, the spatial openness has been maintained by and large, and the most common alterations to the units do not diminish the overall integrity of the court houses.

LANDSCAPE CHARACTER AREA 03: LAFAYETTE PLAISANCE

Overall Description
The heart of the Lafayette Park superblock development is the park in the center of the property. The thirteen-acre public park is adjacent to all of the other landscape character areas within the development, providing convenient pedestrian access to open space. The park includes a network of curved paths that provide links to the adjacent complexes and open fields, tennis courts, a playground, and landscape buffers. Views from the park of the surrounding building complexes present a variety of scenes including high-rise towers and modern townhouses whose proportions, colors, and spatial relationships to the surrounding landscape seem to change as one moves through the park from one vantage point to the next. The vegetation in the park plays a major role in defining intimate and expansive spaces and enhancing views.

Lafayette Plaisance (part of the contributing site)

Spatial Organization and Land Use – Lafayette Plaisance
The master plan laid out by Ludwig Hilberseimer, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, and Alfred Caldwell used deliberate organization of spaces as a major foundation of the design for the urban renewal project at Lafayette Park. Hilberseimer focused on classification of building types fitted into the layout of the roads and open space. A major component of the superblock concept at Lafayette Park was the deliberate use of high-density residential complexes to leverage expansion of public open space. This emphasis on open space highlights the significance of the park, Lafayette Plaisance, to the overall development. Spatially, the relationship between the park and the surrounding residential, commercial, and institutional developments creates a balance of vertical and horizontal masses in the landscape. The width of the park balances the height of the towers and provides a harmony of scale rather than the dwarfing sensation that can result from towers placed in close proximity.

Circulation – Lafayette Plaisance
The park includes a curved path that provides pedestrian circulation around the perimeter, excepting the far north end where the path ends at the Four Freedoms House complex. Three east-west paths provide links across the park. Additional routes provide connections to the sidewalks at adjacent complexes. The existing paths are similar to those proposed in the 1959-60 superblock master plan. The alignment of the paths in the original master plan included gentler curves and a complete loop that extended to the north around a proposed ball field (the Four Freedoms House complex was constructed in the location of the proposed ball field and path). The pedestrian circulation routes in the park are significant components of the superblock master plan.

It is also significant that the park does not include any dedicated vehicular access routes and there are no streets running through the park. The establishment of the park in its current form required the removal of existing city streets, representing a significant effort that was made to ensure the park circulation would be dedicated to pedestrians.

Vegetation – Lafayette Plaisance
Vegetation within the park includes a variety of ornamental and canopy trees clustered in the southern portion of the park, and spaced more widely in the central and northern areas. Species found in the park include hackberry, hawthorn, maple, honey locust, flowering crabapple, poplar, linden, beech, ginkgo, sycamore, elm, redbud, chestnut, oak and ash. In the southern portion of the park, vegetation is arranged in clusters that create a naturalistic quality commonly associated with the Prairie style of landscape design, pioneered by Jens Jensen and mastered by Alfred Caldwell. The central portion of the park includes a central open lawn that is loosely framed by canopy and ornamental trees. The northern area includes open fields for baseball, tennis courts, and very few plantings.

Views – Lafayette Plaisance
Views from the park of the surrounding building complexes present a variety of scenes including high-rise towers and modern townhouses whose proportions, colors, and spatial relationships to the surrounding landscape seem to change as one moves through the park from one vantage point to the next. The vegetation in the park plays a major role in defining intimate and expansive spaces and enhancing views. Views into the park from the surrounding complexes provide visual access to vistas of open space that enhance the living environments within the residential areas.

Small Scale Features – Lafayette Plaisance
A number of small-scale features are present within the Lafayette Plaisance park including fences, lights and signs. These elements represent a variety of styles and appear to have been added to the park incrementally without careful consideration of design. They are not a significant part of the historic landscape of the park.

Landscape Integrity Assessment
The landscape associated with the Lafayette Plaisance is intact, retaining integrity of design, materials, location, setting, feeling and association. Alterations to the park have been minor, including the addition of playground equipment, vegetation and pedestrian paths which do not impact the integrity of the overall park.

LANDSCAPE CHARACTER AREA 04: CHRYSLER ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Overall Description
Walter P. Chrysler Elementary School was constructed in 1961 and is located at 1445 East Lafayette Street, at the south end of the Lafayette Park development. The property is situated between the Mies van der Rohe Townhouse and Court House complex to the west and the Lafayette Shopping Center to the east. The school property includes approximately three acres of land upon which the school building, a playground, vehicular drop-off and parking are situated. The school building is set back about two hundred feet from the north side of East Lafayette Street. The eastern portion of the lot on the south side of the school includes a driveway, drop-off area, and small parking lot. The remainder of the landscape at the front of the school is a broad lawn with scattered canopy and ornamental trees. A concrete sidewalk provides pedestrian access to the front of the school from East Lafayette Street. A second path extends along the western side of the school property connecting the Lafayette Plaisance (park) to East Lafayette Street. A courtyard at the southwest corner of the building is enclosed by a three-foot high brick tapestry wall. A playground is located at the back (north) side of the building adjacent to the south end of the Lafayette Plaisance (park).

The school reflects the urban renewal superblock concept by providing an elementary school within walking distance of the residential complexes. All Lafayette Park residents can walk to the school without crossing any major streets; of note is the lack of parking lots surrounding the building. Only a few parking spaces are provided near the building's entrance. The remainder of the property is reserved for pedestrian use. Also, the school has immediate access at its rear elevation to the large open space of the Lafayette Plaisance, where the school's playground merges into the Plaisance. Although not designed by the original team (the architects were Gould, Moss & Joseph), the horizontality and simple details of the building complement the adjacent Mies van der Rohe Townhouse and Court House complex.

Chrysler Elementary School Grounds (part of the contributing site)

Spatial Organization and Land Use – Chrysler Elementary School
The school building is located in roughly the location, with the same relationship to the residential complexes and park, indicated in the superblock Master Plan prepared by van der Rohe, Hilberseimer, and Caldwell. The conceptual Master Plan did not provide much detail related to the school property but did indicate that the school was to be surrounded by green space and pedestrian walkways. These concepts were applied and continue to be evident at the property.

Circulation – Chrysler Elementary School
Pedestrian circulation to the school is provided by a concrete sidewalk to the front of the school from East Lafayette Street and a second path that extends along the western side of the school property connecting the Lafayette Plaisance (park) to East Lafayette Street. A playground is located at the back (north) side of the building adjacent to the south end of the Lafayette Plaisance (park). The school reflects the urban renewal superblock concept by providing an elementary school in walking distance of the residential complexes. All Lafayette Park residents can walk to the school without crossing any major streets.

Vehicular circulation is deliberately limited. The school grounds are dedicated to open space and pedestrian use, rather than extensive parking and vehicular access routes. There is a driveway, drop-off area, and small parking lot at the southeast corner of the property.

Vegetation – Chrysler Elementary School
The property includes broad lawns at the south and north sides of the school with clusters of mature canopy and ornamental trees.

Small Scale Features – Chrysler Elementary School
A number of small-scale features are present including an entrance sign, flagpole, chain link fence, and a brick tapestry wall. The brick tapestry wall contributes to the historic site, but none of the other features are historically significant.

Landscape Integrity Assessment
The original master plan called for a neighborhood school in this location and was shown on all subsequent revisions to the development's plans. The school continues to serve the surrounding neighborhood and additional children in a setting well back from busy E. Lafayette Street and opening directly onto the southern edge of the Plaisance. The design, materials, and location are well chosen for a school, and the structure has an obvious association with its original purpose, confirming a high level of integrity for the structure. The landscape has changed very little since the original construction was implemented. The landscape retains integrity of design, materials, workmanship, location, setting, feeling and association.

Buildings and Structures – Chrysler Elementary School

Chrysler Elementary School (contributing building)

Exterior Description
Chrysler Elementary is a one story International style building located on the south end of the Lafayette Plaisance. The main entrance and vehicular drive is off of East Lafayette Street, leaving the north side of the building open to the park.

The building mass has a strong horizontal focus which is expressed in its modest height and long narrow footprint. The roof line is consistent in height, with the exception of the cafeteria/gym which contains a clerestory band of windows raised above the lower roof. The mass for the double height cafeteria is to the east side and is respectful of the Mies townhouses to the west. The large expanse of wall on the south elevation is broken up by a roof overhang containing ribbon windows. The use of floor-to-ceiling windows within a brick wall module is in line with the International style aesthetic. Low site walls are used to define an outdoor space around the west and south sides of the building which helps to connect the building to the landscape.

The exterior building material is buff brick with window glazing flush with the exterior walls. The roof is flat, except for the complex pitched roof over the cafeteria/gym. A black metal gravel stop edges the roof. The aluminum window system includes operable hoppers to ventilate the classrooms, and horizontal bands of clerestory windows below the roof edge. The hexagonal entrance canopy is a distinctive feature on the south elevation with cantilevers in two directions resting on wide-flange steel columns.

Integrity Assessment
The original master plan called for a neighborhood school in this location and was shown on all subsequent revisions to the development's plans. The school continues to serve the surrounding neighborhood and additional children in a setting well back from busy East Lafayette Street and opening directly onto the southern edge of the Plaisance. The design, materials, and location are well chosen for a school, and the structure has an obvious association with its original purpose, confirming a high level of integrity for the structure.

LANDSCAPE CHARACTER AREA 05: LAFAYETTE SHOPPING CENTER

Overall Description
The Lafayette Shopping Center was constructed in 1962 at the southeast corner of the Lafayette Park development. Its location at the corner of East Lafayette Street and Orleans Street "…was a significant component of the Mies-Hilberseimer plan. Its location, at the edge of the Gratiot project but in the middle of the larger urban renewal area subsequently built known as Lafayette/Elmwood, together with its pedestrian-friendly arrangement, was meant to provide a 'town square-like' atmosphere."[9] The commercial development reflects the urban renewal superblock concept by providing a commercial shopping center within walking distance of the residential complexes. All Lafayette Park residents can walk to the shopping center without crossing any major streets. The five-acre development includes two commercial buildings, surface parking, and a pedestrian plaza that provides a link to Lafayette Plaisance to the north.

The shopping center was designed by local architectural firm King and Lewis, the partnership of Harry S. King and Maxwell Lewis. Although not designed by Mies, the shopping center had been an integral part of the plan and as constructed it closely reflects the original vision, both planning and style-wise, for Lafayette Park. When it was originally constructed, the property included three commercial buildings arranged to create a pedestrian oriented plaza between them (see 1981 aerial). Removal of the third building and its replacement with surface parking has diminished the integrity of this property.

Lafayette Shopping Center Complex (part of the contributing site)

Spatial Organization and Land Use – Lafayette Shopping Center
The shopping center is situated in the location indicated in the superblock master plan prepared by Mies van der Rohe, Hilberseimer, and Caldwell. The conceptual master plan indicated that the southeast corner of the property was to be dedicated to commercial use. The plan did not provide a great amount of detail related to this parcel but did indicate one large building at the west side of the parcel and surface parking extending from the building to the east boundary of the property. The original construction of the property divided the commercial use into three buildings and provided wide pedestrian plazas between the buildings. Also, a wide pedestrian space was located between the southeast building and East Lafayette Street. The removal of the southeast building changed the original dynamic of the shopping center by eliminating the majority of the pedestrian plaza that had been flanked on two sides by buildings.

Circulation – Lafayette Shopping Center
Three vehicular entrances are provided to the property from East Lafayette Street, and one connects to Orleans Street. Pedestrian access to the center is provided by sidewalks along the surrounding streets and a pedestrian plaza that extends between the two buildings to the Lafayette Plaisance. The plaza was re-designed recently and a large planter with sculptures and native grasses was added to the space.

Topography – Lafayette Shopping Center
The overall site is fairly level and is considerably lower than the Lafayette Towers and Lafayette Plaisance located to the north. A six-foot high retaining wall at the north boundary of the parcel, in addition to sloping grade north of the wall, helps to screen the center's service area from Lafayette Towers and keeps the profiles of the commercial buildings below views from Lafayette Plaisance. This grade change requires a stairway from the north end of the pedestrian plaza leading up to the Plaisance.

[9] Deborah Goldstein, "Proposed Lafayette Park/Mies van der Rohe Historic District, Final Report," Local Historic District nomination (Detroit: City of Detroit, 2003), 14.

Vegetation – Lafayette Shopping Center
The original vegetation associated with the complex is not clearly documented. It is clear that the vegetation present on the property is mostly new and may not reflect the original implementation.

Views – Lafayette Shopping Center
Today, the shopping center is clearly visible from East Lafayette Street and Orleans Street. When the third building was present, it was closer to East Lafayette and would have had more of a street presence. Also, removal of the building changed the views for pedestrians shopping in the complex. Originally, they would have focused on the building façades on both sides, while today one side is dominated by parking lots. An important aspect related to views is the use of topography and architecture to minimize views of the commercial development from the park to the north.

Small Scale Features – Lafayette Shopping Center
A rectangular raised planter was added recently to the plaza. Located within the planter is a sculpture surrounded by native grasses.

Landscape Integrity Assessment
Removal of the southeast building from the complex, and re-design of the plaza between the two remaining buildings altered the landscape of this shopping center reducing integrity of design, materials, and feeling. The landscape retains integrity of location, setting, and association.

Buildings and Structures – Lafayette Shopping Center

Lafayette Shopping Center (two contributing buildings)

Exterior Description
The Lafayette Shopping Center is a one-story complex containing two buildings that are very similar in form and mass. One of the three original shopping center buildings at the south end of the site has been demolished and replaced with parking; however, the complex retains its non-traditional configuration that is more oriented to the pedestrian rather than the automobile.

Both buildings feature a continuous loggia that faces the plaza and the parking lot. The loggia roofs are flat with black metal gravel stops. The upper roof of the main building mass has a slight overhang, below which a continuous metal louver wraps the exterior. The building mass has a strong horizontal focus that is broken up into bays by the structural columns exposed on each elevation.

The buildings are constructed of buff brick, cement plaster, and steel wide-flange columns which maintain the simple aesthetic of the International style as interpreted by Mies van der Rohe. The storefront windows are floor-to-ceiling glass set in frames of mill finish aluminum.

Integrity Assessment
The original master plan for Lafayette Park called for commercial use in the southeast corner, but without actual design of the individual buildings. The 1967 as-built site plan shows the three original commercial buildings, the smallest of which was removed around 2002. The remaining buildings with their original aluminum storefronts, exposed black columns and roof edge, and functional loggias give this corner of the site high integrity for its design, intentional use of modern materials, and setting that anchors this corner of the complex. Loss of some original entrance doors and replacement of some of the buff brick with a lighter color brick does not compromise the overall integrity of the design.

LANDSCAPE CHARACTER AREA 06: LAFAYETTE TOWERS

Overall Description
The Lafayette Towers complex at Lafayette Park was built in 1963, when Mies van der Rohe was no longer the architect in charge of the redevelopment project. The property includes roughly ten acres at the eastern side of the superblock, immediately north of the Lafayette Shopping Center development. The property contains two high-rise towers with outdoor terraces built-in to their first floors, a low-rise parking structure with rooftop deck, pool, and bathhouse, a large surface parking lot, other smaller parking lots and landscaped open spaces. The layout of the site deviates from the original superblock master plan that included three towers (one with a large footprint and two with smaller footprints), several open spaces at a variety of scales, a parking garage, and a low-rise building adjacent to a swimming pool.

The two twenty-two story towers are rectangular in plan measuring about sixty-six feet by two-hundred-six feet and containing approximately three hundred apartments each. The relatively small apartments have a spacious feeling due to the large expanses of glass affording views of the surrounding landscape. The Lafayette Towers' ground floors are approximately sixteen feet tall, the equivalent of two stories. The glass walls that enclose the ground floors are set back from the buildings' perimeters, exposing the outer structural columns and providing outdoor terraces around the bases of the buildings.[10] The terraces are paved with terrazzo panels; some have been replaced with plain concrete, others with colored concrete, and still others with exposed aggregate paving panels. The terraces at both towers have been extended to the south with concrete pavement.

The two rectangular towers are aligned with each other. The long dimensions of the towers are oriented north-south, and the main building entrance of each building faces the other building. The parking garage is located between the two buildings. The parking structure has two levels, one below grade. On its roof are a plaza, outdoor swimming pool, and bathhouse. The vehicular entrance to the garage is on the north side of the structure. The portion of the property that lies to the north of the three buildings is depressed about ten feet below the first-floor level of the buildings and contains asphalt parking, driveways, and service areas. Driveways extend between the towers and the garage building and pedestrian drop-off areas are located on the east side of the west tower and the west side of the east tower. Broad lawns extend from the opposite sides of both buildings. The lawn on the eastern side of the east tower slopes gradually down toward Orleans Street. Vegetation in this area is composed of a large rectangular planting of red shrub roses, mature flowering crabapple trees, and a row of Bradford pear trees along the sidewalk at Orleans Street. The broad lawn extends to the entrance road for the development and beyond to the southern boundary of the property. The lawn on the west side of the west tower extends toward the park. The south side of this tower is also adjacent to lawn and a rectangular bed of red shrub roses. The southern half of the landscape is occupied by a large asphalt parking lot.

The master plan laid out by Ludwig Hilberseimer, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, and Alfred Caldwell used deliberate organization of spaces as a major foundation of the design for the urban renewal project at Lafayette Park. Hilberseimer focused on classification of building types fitted into the layout of the roads and open space. A major component of the superblock concept at Lafayette Park was the deliberate use of high-density residential complexes to leverage expansion of public open space. The high-rise towers are of primary importance to this concept. Based on this design tenet, at a broad scale, the Lafayette Towers complex fulfills its role within the superblock and is significant according to NHL Criterion 1. Three-dimensionally, the relationship between the towers and the surrounding park and low-rise complexes creates a balance of vertical and horizontal elements in the landscape.

[10] Evans, "Mies van der Rohe Residential District, Lafayette Park," Section 7, 11-13.

The constructed development differs from the historic plan in several ways. The master plan for this property indicates three towers, offset from each other, a parking garage, and a pool, all arranged around a series of open spaces of a variety of sizes. The developed complex landscape contains two basic components, the south side that is dominated by surface parking, and the north side that is mainly occupied by buildings, although outdoor spaces are incorporated into the building designs. The original plan provided many more opportunities for a variety of communal open spaces that could be accessed by pedestrians. As in the other complexes, efforts were made to limit the impact of vehicles on outdoor spaces. This aspect of the master plan was not successfully accomplished in the implemented Lafayette Towers site plan.

Lafayette Towers Complex (part of the contributing site)

Spatial Organization and Circulation– Lafayette Towers
Related to the superblock development, the spatial organization of the Lafayette Towers site is historically significant. The tower's reflecting walls of glass are visible above the treetops of the park and adjacent residential complexes, providing a dramatic backdrop. The relationship to the park, Lafayette Plaisance, and the Mies van der Rohe Townhouses and Court Houses, as well as the Pavilion Tower, is particularly dramatic. The proportions of the towers echo the proportions of the lower units and delineate exterior space providing spatial variety throughout the landscape.

At the level of the individual site design, the northern and eastern portions of the property are significant related to spatial organization. The three buildings are balanced by the green spaces on the east and west, and their spacing and relationship to the garage provides a proportionally balanced rooftop plaza and pool area that seems to be situated within a canyon created by the expansive glass walls of the towers on the east and west. This communal open space is the best example of its kind on the property. The plazas surrounding the towers extend the lobby floors out into the landscape most successfully on the east side of the east Tower and the west side of the west Tower. The spaces between the towers and the parking garage are utilized for vehicular circulation and drop off areas whose views are mundane facing in, but expansive and appealing as one looks into the building lobbies which are situated in a backdrop of the surrounding landscape. The design includes an open landscape plan that provides pedestrian access to the park on the west side of the complex and the adjacent green space on the east. The significant green space at the southeastern side of the property includes a simple green lawn, and mature trees and shrubs that present a dramatic arrival view of the property. It also includes the historic "Lafayette Park" sign, a long, low dark block with light colored letters.

The majority of the southern portion of the property is a large parking area that does not reflect the design principles identified with the master plan. Although a wide pedestrian walkway extends east-west along the northern side of the parking lot, the remainder of the lot is solely dedicated to automobiles. Vacant of comfortable pedestrian routes or vegetation to buffer the large expanse of asphalt, this space does not reflect any efforts to separate pedestrian and vehicular traffic, utilize topography or vegetation to buffer and enhance the landscape, or provide pleasant links between indoor and outdoor spaces.

Vegetation – Lafayette Towers
Significant vegetation associated with the Lafayette Towers property is located in three areas. On the west and south sides of the west Tower, the property abuts the park, Lafayette Plaisance. Vegetation in these areas includes broad lawns, a large rectangular bed of shrub roses, and ornamental and canopy trees (in the park). The rose bed is proportioned to balance the shape of the tower and is a significant feature. Although the trees are in the park, they are a part of the character of the tower landscape, as views of these features are prevalent from the building and plaza. The mass of hawthorn at the west side of the parking lot is particularly elegant.

On the east side of the east tower, the broad lawn, rectangular rose bed, and crabapple trees are all significant elements. The Bradford pear trees along the sidewalk provide a pleasant edge but are short-lived and smaller than the canopy trees found in other parts of the Lafayette Park development, where honey locust, oaks, hickories, and other large canopy trees are more common.

Directly south of this area, the lawn and mature evergreen and deciduous trees provide a significant transition between the tall towers and the surrounding landscape.

Topography – Lafayette Towers
The development is elevated above the surrounding areas, giving additional height to the towers, and enabling an at-grade entrance for the parking garage. No substantial changes to topography have occurred since the original development of the property.

Views – Lafayette Towers
Significant views associated with the Lafayette Towers landscape include the visual relationship between the towers and the surrounding area and views of the tower from the Lafayette Plaisance and the other complexes within Lafayette Park. Also, views from the windows within the towers present a panorama of the surrounding development and cityscape beyond. The visual relationships between the tower windows and the garage roof-top plaza and pool are especially significant, as the rectangular shapes and vertical-to-horizontal proportions are emphasized in this space.

Small Scale Features – Lafayette Towers
The remaining terrazzo paving at the plazas surrounding the bases of the Towers is significant, as is the shape and size of the pavers, two-foot by four-foot panels.

Landscape Integrity Assessment
The condition of the landscape associated with this property has degraded over time, however changes have been minimal. The landscape retains integrity of design, location, setting, association, and feeling. Historic materials and workmanship are still apparent; however, repairs and replacements have diminished integrity related to these aspects.

Buildings and Structures – Lafayette Towers

Lafayette Towers (two contributing buildings)

Building Exterior Description (LT-1 and LT-3)
Completed in 1963, the Lafayette Towers are twin twenty-two story apartment buildings completed in the International style to the design of Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, although construction was completed by others in his firm. Like the Pavilion Tower, the building exterior is the classic Miesian glass and aluminum curtain wall, while the recessed, double height colonnade at the base creates the characteristic floating effect often employed by Mies.

The rectangular buildings are approximately sixty-six feet wide by two-hundred-six feet long. The structural framing for the floors is reinforced concrete, and the columns, also reinforced concrete, are set back slightly from the floor slabs and disengaged from the curtain wall.

This distinctly vertical fenestration configuration is based on ten structural bays on the east and west elevations and three structural bays on the north and south elevations. Mies associate Joseph Fujikawa, the primary designer, established a regular cladding module approximately ten feet high and five feet wide. A single clear anodized (naturally-colored) aluminum spandrel panel is positioned between each vertical mullion, the classic

Mies expressed I-beam detail. The spandrel unit, the interior of which is painted dark grey, includes a cast-aluminum ventilation grille. Above each spandrel assembly is the fixed window of tinted grey glass (single-glazed).

Like the Pavilion Tower, use of uniform curtain wall panel sizes and columns set back from the slab edges creates a unique and distinctive corner condition that creates a sense of depth on the façade. At each corner, a portion of the reinforced concrete column is exposed vertically. Also adding to the overall composition is the recessed, double-height loggia at the base of the building. This loggia includes a deep soffit with down lights that extends nearly to the outside columns. At the recessed portion of the building envelope, nearly 16 feet in height, is a continuous band of clear glazing that extends from the floor to the underside of the exterior soffit and encloses the lobbies, offices, exercise rooms, and mail rooms. The recessed portion of the building envelope engages the interior columns at the short ends of the building, and on the longer sides is located mid-way between the outer and inner columns.

Though now deteriorated and faded, the ground plane around the entrance is defined by green-colored terrazzo panels that extend slightly beyond the concrete columns and form a uniform plane reinforcing the rigid geometry of the building. Portions of the terrazzo have been replaced with plain concrete over the years, most recently at the entrances. The exterior ground plane is linked visually with the interior spaces.

Building Exterior Integrity Assessment – Lafayette Towers (LT-1 and LT-3)
With the Lafayette Towers curtain walls, Mies van der Rohe's design for the later high-rise buildings at Lafayette Park utilized an evolving aesthetic. Mies' office returned to the larger twenty by ten-foot modules that had caused erection problems on earlier projects. Although built with a more modest budget than some of Mies' previous commissions, the Lafayette Towers designs nevertheless achieved a level of sophistication through the use of strong proportions and the clever ventilation grille that maintained the planar façade between each expressed vertical mullion.

Despite their age and need for some repairs and upgrades, the exteriors of the towers are remarkably intact and have a high level of integrity. The curtain walls, with single pane glazing, have been maintained and are unchanged. Where the original plaza terrazzo is extant its condition is fair to poor. Replacement sections do not match the original design or material. At the north ends of each building, the plaza railings are original. Some are loose due to the poor condition of the plaza and its concrete substrate. Also intact is the cement plaster soffit that forms the ceiling under the exterior loggia.

The exteriors of the Lafayette Towers retain a high degree of integrity. Although some changes have occurred that deviate from the original design, the material and visual changes are not significant in the context of the overall exterior design. Exterior building features and materials, particularly the building's massing and curtain wall, contribute to the significance of the building.

Interiors Description – Lafayette Towers (LT-1 and LT-3)
On the first floors of the buildings, the spaces are almost 16 feet high with large expanses of glazing at the perimeter. The entrance lobby of the east tower is located at the southwest side of the first floor and opens to the main lobby. (The west tower's main entrance is located on the east side of the building.) Occupying the middle of the first floor, the main lobby includes the centrally located elevator core and seating areas. The mail rooms, directly behind the elevator cores, are accessed from either end of the elevator banks and include aluminum mailboxes recessed in the marble. At the north ends of the first-floor lobbies are exercise rooms, and the south ends of the first floor include management offices in the east tower and a community room in the west tower.

The walls of the central core, including the elevator and mailboxes, are finished with green Verde marble that extends from the floor to the ceiling. Around the core at the ceiling plane is a continuous recessed lighting cove.

Ceilings are painted plaster matching the height of the exterior soffit. Elevator doors and door surrounds are stainless steel. Windows with aluminum frames are used at the perimeter walls and extend from the floor to the ceiling. Flooring in the main lobby is green terrazzo with aluminum divider strips creating a grid that aligns with the terrazzo on the exterior plaza.

Like the central core, the exit stairs at the north and south ends of the lobby are finished with green Verde marble from floor to ceiling. The overall effect is one that allows the three marble clad core zones to be read within the larger lobby, and the full-height glazing permits views all the way through the building between each core and at each end of the building.

The plan for the interior of the residential floors of the Lafayette Towers includes a combination of studio, one-bedroom, and two-bedroom units arranged around a central elevator core. Apartment units are located off a double-loaded corridor. With the exception of the two adjacent units on each end of the building, all of the demising partitions terminate at the perimeter columns. Some interior bedroom partitions along the long (east-west) sides of the buildings terminate at curtain wall mullions.

The public corridors are distinguished by floor-to-ceiling doors with painted black metal frames. Aluminum knockers and unit numbers are located on each door. Recessed lighting with aluminum canopies are used throughout the corridors.

Living rooms are open spaces with nearly floor-to-ceiling windows. Low-profile heating and air conditioning enclosure of painted steel run along the perimeter of the windows in each apartment unit. Where ventilation grilles are located in the façade, the top of the enclosure opens and allows fresh air to enter the unit. Kitchens are typically located adjacent to the corridor walls. The kitchens in most of the units retain their original Republic Steel cabinets with aluminum knobs and pulls. Some corner unit layouts permit views to the outside window walls from the entrance foyer through the kitchen, and the studio units are oriented to permit views from the kitchen to the window walls.

Interior Integrity Assessment – Lafayette Towers (LT-1 and LT-3)
Although the interior survey did not include every apartment unit, it appears that the original Mies layouts have been maintained with their original partitions. Each unit retains the strong spatial connection to Lafayette Park with the expansive views from the nearly floor-to-ceiling windows. Features such as the floor-to-ceiling doors, surface-mounted light fixtures, and floor-to-ceiling sliding closet doors are unchanged. Many of the units still have their original Republic Steel cabinets, although the original countertops and sinks have been replaced.

The main lobbies and mail rooms also possess a high degree of design, materials, setting, and feeling. Most of the lobby's materials are original, including the terrazzo flooring, window framing/glazing, aluminum doors, and marble wall cladding. The stainless steel elevator doors and surrounds are original, and most of the light fixture and aluminum ceiling diffusers are original. In the mail room, the mail boxes are original and are in good condition. As a result, the primary public spaces on the first floor, each with their strong connection to the exterior plazas, retain their original feeling and relationship to the larger Lafayette Park complex.

Features that have been altered in the first-floor spaces include renovations to the south zone where the management offices are located. Benches have been added to the main lobby, the original drapes along the perimeter have been removed, and it is likely that the entrance doors and vestibule doors have been replaced. However, these changes do not diminish the original design significantly.

Lafayette Towers – Parking Structure (one contributing building)

Building Exterior Description (LT-2)
The Lafayette Towers parking structure, located directly between the two high rise apartment towers, is a two-story structure, the ground floor of which is sunken a half-story below grade. A plaza with a swimming pool and small bath house structure is located on the roof deck. Entry stairs to the garage are located on the east and west sides of the garage near the entries to the tower buildings.

In contrast to the vertical massing of the towers, the massing of the parking deck is horizontal and features wide banding of buff-colored brick at the first level and thinner band of brick above the roof slab. Both are capped with a stone coping.

Building Exterior Integrity Assessment (LT-2)
The Lafayette Towers parking structure retains its integrity of location, design, materials, feeling, and association. Although suffering from deferred maintenance, the structure has been unchanged since construction.

LANDSCAPE CHARACTER AREA 07: CHERBONEAU PLACE SOUTH

Overall Description
The Cherboneau Place South complex of fifty-eight units was built in 1964 on an approximately four-acre parcel located at the east side of Lafayette Park's central park, Lafayette Plaisance (see drawing S-1: Overall Site Plan). The complex contains six buildings that are all connected, forming a roughly H-shaped plan. Access to the individual units is obtained by interior hallways, limiting the relationship between interior living spaces and outdoor environments. The building complex is located at the western side of the parcel. Like the park, the complex has no through traffic, nor does it have parking garages. The complex shares a centrally located public cul-de-sac entrance boulevard with the Cherboneau Place North development. This street is the main spine providing all vehicular access to the complex. A large surface parking lot is on the east side of the property.

Although the buildings and site at Cherboneau Place South were not designed by the original team of Mies van der Rohe-Hilberseimer-Caldwell, the superblock Master Plan did indicate the development of townhouses and court houses, and one central entrance road in this location. Cherboneau Place South was completed by Clifford N. Wright and Associates. Both the Chateaufort Place and Cherboneau Place entrance cul-de-sacs were constructed by 1961.

Cherboneau Place South Complex (part of the contributing site)

Spatial Organization and Land Use– Cherboneau Place South
This residential townhouse complex in Lafayette Park reflects several of the planning principles related to spatial organization and land use. It responds to the superblock concept for vehicular circulation, providing access from Orleans Street with an entrance boulevard and cul-de-sac, rather than a traditional city street grid. It provides medium density residences as part of providing expanded open spaces throughout Lafayette Park.

Cluster Arrangement – Cherboneau Place South
The constructed development differs from the historic plan in several ways. While the historic plan indicated that the pattern of townhouse and courthouse relationships established at the Mies van der Rohe Townhouses and Court Houses complex continue in this location, the implemented design does not reflect either the architectural style or the elegant site relationships of the earlier development. Rather than the Master Plan proposal of four separate buildings oriented to provide dedicated pedestrian circulation and semi-private outdoor spaces, the implemented development essentially has one building that limits outdoor pedestrian access

and circulation. Although the building arrangement creates a series of four partially enclosed outdoor environments, the lack of access to these spaces from within the living quarters and other outdoor areas, as well as the deficiency in the appeal of these environments, has resulted in disused outdoor space. The shared boulevard creates a connection to the Cherboneau Place North complex, but potential connections to the Lafayette Towers development are stymied by security fences around the southern boundary of the property and around the parking lot.

Circulation – Cherboneau Place South
The complex shares a centrally located public cul-de-sac entrance boulevard with the Cherboneau Place North development. This street is the main spine providing all vehicular access to the complex. A large surface parking lot is on the east side of the property. Pedestrian access between the boulevard and the park is good, while links between the residential units and the park are minimalistic. Parking is removed from pedestrian open spaces and no through traffic is accommodated.

Vegetation – Cherboneau Place South
Vegetation at this property is minimal and not emphasized as a design feature.

Views – Cherboneau Place South
Views into the complex from the park are limited by the cluster arrangement and placement at the edge of the park. From Orleans Street the large parking lot, enclosed by a security fence, dominate views into the property. The building windows that face the park provide a strong link between the indoor and outdoor spaces.

Landscape Integrity Assessment
The landscape at this complex appears to remain unchanged since its construction. It retains integrity of location, setting, design, materials, feeling, association, and setting.

Buildings and Structures – Cherboneau Place South
This building type includes 6 discreet but connected and unnamed structures; three of the buildings at each end of the site are joined together by a shared entrance and stairway structure.

Cherboneau Place South (six contributing buildings)

Exterior Description
Cherboneau Place South is a series of apartment buildings joined by stairway towers to create a complex that is roughly H-shaped in plan. The apartment buildings are two-story structures with access to the Lafayette Plaisance on the west. Vehicular access is from the east by a shared drive connecting to Orleans Street, and a surface parking lot abutting the street.

The buildings are constructed of a buff-mix brick, exterior plywood below windows and in gable ends, and gabled asphalt shingles roofs. Original windows may have been replaced with the current aluminum sliding windows. A treatment unique to the Cherboneau buildings is a controlled placement of vertical windows that differ from the other, typical punched openings.

Integrity Assessment
Although not designed as shown on the original master plan by Mies, the Cherboneau Place South buildings were part of the subsequent completion of the general superblock plan and were in place by 1967, the end of the period of significance. Their location between the Lafayette Plaisance and Orleans Street provides a feeling of privacy, treatment as a distinct group of structures, and a comfortable residential setting. They appear to be largely unchanged from the time of their construction.

LANDSCAPE CHARACTER AREA 08: CHERBONEAU PLACE NORTH

Overall Description
The Cherboneau Place North complex of seventy-two units was built in 1964 on an approximately five acre parcel located at the east side of Lafayette Park's central park, Lafayette Plaisance (see drawing S-1: Overall Site Plan). The complex contains seven buildings; three of these (CBN-3, CBN-4, and CBN-5) are connected through a shared center stairway. Access to the individual units is obtained by interior hallways, limiting the relationship between interior living spaces and outdoor environments. Like the park, the complex has no through traffic, nor does it have parking garages.

Although the buildings and site at Cherboneau Place North were not designed by the original team of Mies van der Rohe-Hilberseimer-Caldwell, the superblock Master Plan did indicate the development of townhouses and court houses, and one central entrance road in this location. Cherboneau Place North was completed by Ervin E. Kamp and Associates. Both the Chateaufort Place and Cherboneau Place entrance cul-de-sacs were constructed by 1961.

Cherboneau Place North Complex (part of the contributing site)

Spatial Organization and Land Use – Cherboneau Place North
This residential townhouse complex in Lafayette Park reflects several of the planning principles related to spatial organization and land use. It responds to the superblock concept for vehicular circulation, providing access from Orleans Street with an entrance boulevard and cul-de-sac, rather than a traditional city street grid. It provides medium density residences as part of leveraging expanded open spaces throughout Lafayette Park.

Cluster Arrangement – Cherboneau Place North
The constructed development differs from the historic plan in several ways. While the historic plan indicated that the pattern of townhouse and courthouse relationships established at the Mies van der Rohe Townhouses and Court Houses complex continue in this location, the implemented design does not reflect either the architectural style or the elegant site relationships of the earlier development. The original superblock Master Plan included four separate buildings oriented to provide dedicated pedestrian circulation and semi-private outdoor spaces. The implemented development includes more smaller buildings than those indicated in the Master Plan, and it does not include pedestrian or vehicular connections between this complex and the Chateaufort Place to the north. Fences are located along the north boundary of the property, limiting circulation. Even so, the property reflects the intent of the original plan and many of the design principles identified as important to the Lafayette Park master plan. The shared boulevard creates a connection to the Cherboneau Place South complex, and doors to buildings CBN-6 and CBN-7 open onto the Lafayette Plaisance to the west. Communal outdoor spaces are provided between the buildings and the north parking lot.

Circulation – Cherboneau Place North
The complex shares a centrally located public cul-de-sac entrance boulevard with the Cherboneau Place South development. A second access, along with the majority of the parking for the complex, is located along the northern boundary of the property. It appears that this second access route is the main road used by residents. Pedestrian access between the boulevard and the park is good, and links are provided between many of the residential units and the park.

Vegetation – Cherboneau Place North
Vegetation includes canopy deciduous trees along the boulevard and lawns surrounding the buildings. Shrubs are located around the building foundations.

Views – Cherboneau Place North
Views into the complex from the park and surrounding streets emphasize the buildings, which are surrounded by lawn on most sides. The building windows that face the park provide a strong link between the indoor and outdoor spaces.

Landscape Integrity Assessment
The landscape at this complex appears to remain unchanged since its construction. It retains integrity of location, setting, design, materials, feeling, association, and setting.

Buildings and Structures – Cherboneau Place North
This building type includes 7 discreet unnamed structures, although CBN-3 and CBN-5 are connected through a shared center stairway that is part of CBN-4.

Cherboneau Place North (seven contributing buildings)

Exterior Description
Cherboneau Place North is a complex of two-story buildings with access to the Lafayette Plaisance to the west. The main vehicular drive is off Orleans Street with most of the parking on the north edge of the complex. Although entry methods to the buildings vary throughout the site, it appears they were designed to be entered at a level different from the parking located on both the north and south sides of the complex.

The buildings are constructed with a buff-mix brick and aluminum-clad windows that run from grade to the underside of the roof, which is covered with asphalt shingles. The windows are separated vertically with painted metal spandrel panels, and the same metal cladding is also used at the gable ends. The windows are a fixed picture window over an operable awning.

Integrity Assessment
Although not designed as shown on the original master plan by Mies, the Cherboneau Place North buildings were part of the subsequent completion of the general superblock plan and were in place by 1967, the end of the period of significance. Their location between the Lafayette Plaisance and Orleans Street provides a feeling of privacy, treatment as a distinct group of structures, and a comfortable residential setting. They appear to be largely unchanged from the time of their construction.

LANDSCAPE CHARACTER AREA 09: CHATEAUFORT PLACE

Overall Description
The Chateaufort Place Townhouse complex was built in 1961 on an eight-acre site east of Lafayette Park's central park (Lafayette Plaisance) (see 1959-60 site plan and drawing S-1: Overall Site Plan). The complex includes fifteen one-story rectangular, light brick veneer buildings, encompassing sixty units. Individual buildings contain between two and eight units each. The buildings are arranged to accommodate dedicated pedestrian circulation and create semi-private open spaces and pleasant views of landscaped areas from the units. A network of concrete sidewalks links areas of the townhouse complex and also provides access to the park. Like the park, the complex has no through traffic, nor does it have parking garages. The complex includes a centrally located public cul-de-sac entrance street with a landscaped median. This street is the main spine providing all vehicular access to the complex.

Although the buildings and site at Chateaufort Place were not designed by the original team of Mies van der Rohe-Hilberseimer-Caldwell, the superblock Master Plan did indicate the development of townhouses and court houses, and one central entrance road in this location. Lorenz and Paski were the architects for Chateaufort Place. Both the Chateaufort Place and Cherboneau Place entrance cul-de-sacs were constructed by 1961. "The

design of the buildings is modern and minimalist. The front of each unit is composed of two modular parts, one the entrance bay largely of glass except for the door and the other a brick wall lined with a row of three windows beneath the roof. End walls are solid brick. An honest attempt to stick with the "Less is More" dictum of Mies in both the layout of the complex and the design of the buildings is apparent in what was ultimately built. Chateaufort Place is an attractive and pleasant environment in its own right as well."[11]

Chateaufort Place Complex (part of the contributing site)

Spatial Organization and Land Use– Chateaufort Place
This residential townhouse complex in Lafayette Park reflects several of the planning principles related to spatial organization and land use. It responds to the superblock concept for vehicular circulation, providing access from Orleans Street with an entrance boulevard and cul-de-sac, rather than a traditional city street grid. It provides medium density residences as part of leveraging expanded open spaces throughout Lafayette Park.

Cluster Arrangement – Chateaufort Place
The constructed development differs from the historic plan in several ways. It includes more smaller buildings than those indicated in the Master Plan, it does not include pedestrian or vehicular connections between Chateaufort Place and the adjacent complexes, and fences are located along the north, south, and west boundaries of the property, limiting views and circulation between the complex and the park and adjacent developments. Even so, the property reflects the intent of the original plan and many of the design principles identified as important to the Lafayette Park master plan.

Circulation – Chateaufort Place
Like the Mies van der Rohe designed court houses, the Chateaufort Place Townhouses facing Chateaufort Place have space for parking in a driveway in front. An attempt to minimize the visual impact of the automobile was made by elevating the front doors of the buildings facing the boulevard so the adjacent street and the parking at the units is depressed compared to the finished floor elevation of the buildings. Other parking areas are located adjacent to solid building walls, and do not interfere with views from within the units.

Topography – Chateaufort Place
Topography is manipulated to enhance views and separate vehicular use from pedestrian use. Roads and parking areas are situated at a grade two to three feet lower than that of the surrounding sidewalks and doorways to residential units. This change in elevation essentially hides the automobile from view from within the units.

Vegetation – Chateaufort Place
Vegetation is used throughout the complex to provide shade and to create diversity in the pedestrian areas adjacent to the buildings. A variety of shrubs and ornamental plants are located near the building façades.

Views – Chateaufort Place
Views along interior corridors within the complex are organized by architecture and enhanced by vegetation. Fences along the west side of the development eliminated views between the complex and the park.

Landscape Integrity Assessment
The landscape at this complex appears to remain essentially unchanged since its construction. It retains integrity of location, setting, design, materials, feeling, association, and setting.

[11] Goldstein, "Proposed Lafayette Park/Mies van der Rohe Historic District, Final Report," 17.

Buildings and Structures – Chateaufort Place
This building type includes 16 discreet unnamed structures with varying numbers of attached units in each individual structure.

Chateaufort Place (sixteen contributing buildings)

Exterior Description (CF-1 to CF-16)
Chateaufort Place is a grouping of 1-story townhouses that is similar in form and massing to the Mies townhouses. Each unit has two bays, with a row of high sliding windows at the bedrooms and full-height picture windows over sliding windows at the living spaces. Some buildings are composed of two units, a total of four bays, while other buildings are a configuration of four units, totaling eight bays. The buildings are intentionally elevated above the level of parking to better the views from within the units. The main vehicular access is off Orleans Street and parking is dispersed throughout the complex.

The buildings are constructed of buff brick at end walls, at piers between the bays, and as infill under the bedroom windows running horizontally below the roof edge. The roof edge is simple horizontal boards, clad with newer white aluminum and a white gravel stop at the roof edge. The roof slopes to the back where there is a gutter draining to grade. Original windows and mullions have been clad with white aluminum panning. Many of the original doors have been replaced and storm doors inconsistently installed among units.

Integrity Assessment
Although not designed as shown on the original master plan by Mies, the Chateaufort Place Townhouses are similar in concept, and exist as shown on the 1967 site plan. Their location between the Lafayette Plaisance and Orleans Street provides a similar feeling of privacy, treatment as a distinct group of structures, and a comfortable residential setting.

LANDSCAPE CHARACTER AREA 10: REGENCY SQUARE

Overall Description
Regency Square was constructed between 1964 and 1967 on a five-acre parcel at the northeast corner of the Lafayette Park property (see drawing S-1: Overall Site Plan). The development includes six buildings, underground parking garages, and a large multi-level communal open space with plazas, lawn, plantings, and a swimming pool. The communal open space is centrally located, and the buildings are oriented into the space. Access to the park and other adjacent complexes is limited due to the internally oriented design and fences that surround Regency Square.

While the property has been praised for its quality site design of an "understated, un-fussy nature," it does not adhere to the majority of the Master Plan design principles.[12]

Regency Square Complex (contributing)

Spatial Organization and Land Use – Regency Square
This residential development in Lafayette Park reflects some of the planning principles related to spatial organization and land use. It responds to the superblock concept by providing medium and high-density residences as part of leveraging expanded open space within the complex and throughout Lafayette Park. Also, it responds to the superblock concept for vehicular circulation, by addressing vehicular access within the development, rather than with a traditional city street grid.

[12] Goldstein, "Proposed Lafayette Park/Mies van der Rohe Historic District, Final Report,"16-17.

Comparison of the implemented development to the superblock master plan reveals several differences. The original master plan intended for this parcel to be larger than it is, and to include two high-rise residential buildings adjacent to the park. Communal open spaces were indicated between, north and south of the buildings. The remainder (eastern section) of the parcel was to be surface parking and a parking garage. Pedestrian routes were to align with those through the residential complexes to the south. It appears that the designers intended for the towers to provide a terminus to the view through the complex, matched on the south by the largest proposed tower indicated in the current Lafayette Towers landscape character area. This relationship would have included spatial connections that would have been much more unified with the overall Lafayette Park development than those present today.

At Regency Square, architects Green and Savin designed the property as a stand-alone complex with very limited connections to the larger Lafayette Park development. In addition, the reduced density of the Regency Square complex (compared to the master plan) did not completely fulfill its role related to the superblock concept which indicated this parcel as including the second-most dense residential area in the overall property (the Lafayette Towers area was the most dense in the original plan). However, it appears that the combination of Regency Square with the Four Freedoms House achieved a density close to that proposed in the original plan.

Circulation – Regency Square
The majority of the parking for the complex is provided by underground parking garages, allowing the surface spaces to be utilized for communal and semi-private outdoor spaces. Pedestrian circulation within the complex provides ample connections between residences, open spaces, and parking areas. Connections to the rest of Lafayette Park are limited to gates in fences along the western boundary of the property.

Topography – Regency Square
Topography is used within the complex to create a variety of open spaces at multiple levels while accommodating underground parking.

Vegetation – Regency Square
Vegetation within the complex is used to enhance selected open spaces while others include only pavement and no vegetation. Lawns are alternated with paved plazas in a variety of arrangements that combine with changes in elevation create a series of open spaces that have different characteristics from each other.

Views – Regency Square
The in-ward oriented design of the complex emphasizes views into the common open spaces. Views to other portions of Lafayette Park are provided by the windows that face west and south from exterior units and high rises.

Landscape Integrity Assessment
The landscape of Regency Square remains greatly unchanged from its implementation, despite material conditions that have deteriorated substantially. The landscape retains integrity of location, setting, association, and design. The deterioration of conditions as well as the high level of vacancy at the complex have reduced integrity of materials, workmanship and feeling.

Buildings and Structures –Regency Square (RS-1 to RS-6)
This building type includes 6 discreet unnamed structures, although RS-1, RS-2, and RS-3 share a common wall connecting them.

Regency Square (six contributing buildings)

Exterior Description
Regency Square is a complex of six buildings of varying heights surrounding an interior courtyard. Along the east side, a 7-story building (RS-1) faces both Orleans Street and the courtyard. Along the north, west, and south sides of the site the five other buildings of Regency Square each have three stories.

The courtyard is elevated one story above street level and is accessed by stairs at the ends of most of the buildings. Continuous cantilevered balconies facing into the courtyard run the length of the three-story buildings. Enclosed stair towers extend up to the flat roofs. Sloped mansard-type roofs between several of the stair towers of RS-5 are not original.

Dark buff brick, steel, concrete, and aluminum window walls are the predominant exterior materials of the Regency Square buildings. Most units have their original aluminum windows. Mullions have been covered with aluminum panning. Iron railing around the courtyards and at the stairs is original. Landscape walls of brick with stone copings form courtyards on the west side.

Integrity Assessment
The buildings of Regency Square were not executed as shown on the original master plan, but they are part of the subsequent completion of the Lafayette Park area and were in place by 1967, the end of the period of significance. By facing into their own courtyard, and by not having direct exposure to the Lafayette Plaisance, the Regency Square buildings do not follow the original superblock plan. However, they appear to generally retain the features, materials, and setting of their original design in the northeast corner of the site.

LANDSCAPE CHARACTER AREA 11: FOUR FREEDOMS HOUSE

Overall Description
The Four Freedoms House of Detroit complex, currently named the Skyview Tower, is located at the north end of Lafayette Park at 1600 Antietam Avenue. The twenty-one-story tower contains 320 apartment units and an underground parking garage. The tower reflects the urban renewal superblock concept by providing high density housing adjacent to the park and townhouses; however, its location is at odds with the original master plan which did not include a building at the north end of the park. The master plan instead provided active recreation in the form of a baseball field and open space in this location.

The master plan laid out by Ludwig Hilberseimer, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, and Alfred Caldwell used deliberate organization of spaces as a major foundation of the design for the urban renewal project at Lafayette Park. Hilberseimer focused on classification of building types fitted into the layout of the roads and open space. A major component of the superblock concept at Lafayette Park was the deliberate use of high-density residential complexes to leverage expansion of public open space. The high-rise towers are of primary importance to this concept. Based on this design principle, at a broad scale, the Four Freedoms House tower fulfils a critical role related to the superblock concept. The Four Freedoms House development was completed in 1965, during the period of significance for Lafayette Park (1956-1967) and the property is a significant component of the historic district, as part of the one contributing site.

Although the development does not reflect the superblock master plan developed by Hilberseimer, van der Rohe, Caldwell, and Greenwald, architects John Hans Graham and Associates fulfilled several of the conceptual planning principles associated with the master plan. The complex adhered to the superblock concept in lieu of a traditional city street grid, added necessary high-density residences to help leverage expanded public open space, provides opportunities for pedestrian access to public open space, and provides views of the open space to the south from the residences within the building.

The site design is minimalistic and does not utilize plants to define spaces or establish a human scale adjacent to the high-rise tower. Vegetation at the property is mainly found skirting vehicular circulation routes and parking areas and is not used to create pleasant outdoor spaces for use by residents. One semi-private open space is provided on the south side of the building; however, it is neither appealing nor easily accessible. Vehicular access is the primary circulation concern within the property, with a large area dedicated to parking and a circular vehicular drop-off at the building's entry on its north side. Although the building includes an underground garage, a large portion of the site is dedicated to surface parking lots.

Four Freedoms House Complex (part of the contributing site)

Spatial Organization and Land Use – Four Freedoms House
This high-rise residential complex in Lafayette Park is an important component related to leveraging maximal open space with high-density housing. The overall arrangement of landscape elements strongly reflects the original construction. One major change has altered the original spatial organization at the property. A surface parking lot was added at the northeast corner of the development. This asphalt lot replaced public green space within the complex.

Circulation – Four Freedoms House
Pedestrian links between the building and the park are minimal. There is no formal pedestrian route between the park and the front (north side) of the building. A social path has been worn in the lawn on the east side of the building. Two doors on the south side of the building may provide access to the rectangular patio at the eastern portion of the south side of the building. The doors and paving are extremely plain, appearing to be service areas rather than recreational areas. A concrete sidewalk in poor condition links this area to the park path.

Vehicular access and parking dominates the landscape and very minimal efforts have been made to reduce visual impacts or circulation conflicts between pedestrians and automobiles. A large circular vehicular drop-off dominates the entrance to the property and surface parking lots are located to the west and northeast of the tower. When the property was originally developed in 1965, a large open space was located to the north of the parking at the east side of the site. This was paved for additional parking sometime after 1997.

Topography – Four Freedoms House
The majority of the site is fairly level. Berms are located around the circular entrance driveway, screening views of parking lots from the vehicular route. The south side of the property slopes gradually to the south (toward the park).

Vegetation – Four Freedoms House
Vegetation at the property is mainly found skirting vehicular circulation routes and parking areas and is not used to create pleasant outdoor spaces for use by residents. Canopy trees line the sidewalk along Antietam Avenue and are located around the perimeter of the original east parking lot. A manicured evergreen hedge encircles the entrance drop-off area and ornamental plants are located in this area. A cluster of flowering crabapple trees is located on the western side of the circular entrance drive.

Views – Four Freedoms House
The tower dominates and terminates views to the north from within the Lafayette Plaisance. Excellent views of the park are provided from the upper units with windows on the south side of the building.

Small Scale Features – Four Freedoms House
A number of small-scale features are present within the Four Freedoms House property including an entrance sign, security fence, trash receptacles, dumpsters, light posts and benches. None of the features are historically significant.

Landscape Integrity Assessment
The Four Freedoms House complex contributes to the Lafayette Park historic district. The overall landscape design of the complex landscape is mostly intact, retaining integrity of design, materials, location, feeling and association. Two alterations have affected the landscape design. These include the addition of a surface parking lot at the northeast corner of the development and chain link fences surrounding parking lots throughout the property. The fences are reversible and therefore do not greatly diminish integrity. The parking lot replaced a public green space and diminished integrity of design and setting.

Buildings and Structures – Four Freedoms House

Four Freedoms House (one contributing building)

Exterior Description
Four Freedoms House, now called Skyview Tower, is a twenty-one-story apartment tower located at the north end of the Lafayette Plaisance. The main entrance, located on the north side of the rectangular building off Antietam Avenue, is marked by a simple flat canopy with enclosed sides. The service entrance and emergency exits are found along the south side of the building. A small, paved plaza separates the building from the Lafayette Plaisance.

The building is symmetrical in arrangement with four structural bays flanking a center core, completed at the east and west ends with flush brick shear walls enclosing end walls above grade clad with painted precast concrete panels. The building is characterized by its exposed structural concrete frame and buff-colored brick infill and end shear walls. The base of the building is clad with exposed aggregate precast panels that run from grade to the underside of the second-floor concrete beam; these alternate with large sheets of plate glass at first floor openings. Above the ground floor, aluminum windows span vertically between the concrete floor beams and include an operable sliding sash above fixed sash below.

Building Integrity Assessment
Sometime after the original 1959 master plan and the 1967 site plan, Four Freedoms House was added to the complex. Since that time, the building has undergone little if any changes, retaining integrity of design, materials, and location.

SUMMARY ASSESSMENT OF INTEGRITY

Lafayette Park was constructed over a period of ten years by a variety of different architects, all working more or less to the plan as originally designed by Mies van der Rohe, Ludwig Hilberseimer, and Alfred Caldwell. An assessment of the integrity of the overall site rests on two elements: adherence to principles of the original master plan, and integrity from the period of significance, which encompasses the entire period during which the various developments were completed, ending with the completion of Regency Square in 1967.

Naturally, earlier portions of the development, those completed while Herbert Greenwald was alive and Mies van der Rohe was still involved, represent the closest adherence to the plan. These include the Pavilion Tower, the Lafayette Plaisance, and the Mies van der Rohe town and court houses. Other elements, including Chrysler Elementary School, the Lafayette Shopping Center, and the Lafayette Towers, also closely reflect their originally intended placement, style and use, even though they were carried by other architects out after Mies had withdrawn from the project. As development continued, later projects deviated more from the original principles. Regency Square, the last completed element, is the least successful in terms of building placement and scale, relationship to the Plaisance, and architectural style. Although the Four Freedoms Tower adheres to the principle of a tall apartment tower block, its placement and style are less successful. And while Chateaufort Place is the closest in plan and execution to the Mies van der Rohe court houses, Cherboneau Place deviates

more significantly in its architectural style. However, taken as a whole, Lafayette Park does convey the principles of the overall plan as originally conceived by the design team. The early installation of roads and utilities forced subsequent developers and architects to follow the general layout, and the completion of the entire development within ten years meant that architectural deviations from the strict Miesian International style are of degree rather than type. Although contemporary critics were sometimes harsh in assessing the post-Miesian developments, the passage of time has demonstrated the overall unity of the Lafayette Park plan within its historic context and it highly reflects the general principles of the Mies-Hilberseimer-Caldwell plan.

In terms of the period of significance, Lafayette Park retains a remarkably high level of integrity. In general, very few changes have been made to the design and materials of any of the buildings. The landscape has been retained, and in particular the landscape at the Mies van der Rohe town and court houses has been carefully maintained to reflect Caldwell's original intentions. The most significant loss to integrity was the removal of the third building of the Lafayette Shopping Center complex. Otherwise, there have been no significant removals or intrusions to detract from the historic integrity of Lafayette Park.

8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties:

Nationally: X Statewide:__ Locally:__

Applicable National Register Criteria: A X B__ C X D__

Criteria Considerations (Exceptions): A__ B__ C__ D__ E__ F__ G__

NHL Criteria: Criterion 1, 4

NHL Criteria Exceptions: None

NHL Theme(s): I. Peopling Places
4. Community and Neighborhood
III. Expressing Cultural Values
5. Architecture, landscape architecture, and urban design

Areas of Significance: Architecture

Community Planning and Development

Period(s) of Significance: 1956-1967

Significant Dates: N/A

Significant Person(s): N/A

Cultural Affiliation: N/A

Architect/Builder: Ludwig Mies van der Rohe
Ludwig Hilberseimer
Herbert Greenwald
Alfred Caldwell
Gould, Moss & Joseph
King and Lewis
John Hans Graham and Associates
Green and Savin
Lorenz and Paski
Ervin E. Kamp and Associates
Clifford N. Wright and Associates

Historic Contexts: Special Study (Modern Architecture)
Urban Renewal

STATE SIGNIFICANCE OF PROPERTY, AND JUSTIFY CRITERIA, CRITERIA CONSIDERATIONS, AND AREAS AND PERIODS OF SIGNIFICANCE NOTED ABOVE.

INTRODUCTION

Lafayette Park in Detroit, Michigan is nationally significant under NHL Criterion 1 and Criterion 4 as one of the earliest planned, most fully realized and most successful urban renewal projects of the mid-twentieth century. Urban renewal was a Federal initiative with roots in public housing programs dating back as early as 1933, but was not codified in its most recognizable form until Title I of the Housing Act of 1949, which, for the first time, enabled local authorities to plan and implement slum clearance projects. Cities, especially in the north, were faced with a number of housing problems during the years immediately before and after World War II. These problems included increased density, due in part to the great influx of African Americans into northern cities as a result of the Great Migration; substandard housing and housing shortages; and, later in the period, the loss of the white middle and upper classes due to segregation and suburbanization. Urban renewal's dramatic reshaping of the landscape of American cities in the mid-twentieth century is as undeniable as its mixed and contentious effects on the social and urban fabric.

The city of Detroit had begun planning urban redevelopment projects as early as 1946 and was ready to submit one of the first urban renewal projects in the country when the 1949 Act passed. This project was known at first as the Gratiot Redevelopment Area and later as Lafayette Park. Lafayette Park embodied many of the most notable characteristics of the American urban renewal experience, including clearance of a large swath of "slum" areas—in this case Detroit's formerly thriving Black Bottom neighborhood, the use of Title I funds for clearance of land and the installation of new infrastructure before turning the land over for private redevelopment, and the attraction of nationally-known developers and designers (architects, planners, and landscape architects), who used urban renewal as an opportunity to experiment with design as a tool for economic and social reform. Although Lafayette Park did little to stem the flight of middle and upper-income families to the suburbs (one of the overall goals of urban renewal), it did succeed in creating an ethnically diverse community that continues to thrive today, attracting residents with its combination of good design, diverse housing, and community amenities in a setting that retains high integrity from its period of construction. Lafayette Park is generally regarded as one of the best and most successful examples of a residential urban renewal development in the nation, a rarity in a movement usually noted for its spectacular failures rather than its quiet successes.

Lafayette Park was a collaborative design endeavor between one of the twentieth century's most influential Modern architects, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, and developer Herbert Greenwald, planner Ludwig Hilberseimer, and landscape architect Alfred Caldwell. Together, they created a conceptual plan based on the "superblock" urban planning ideal that swept away the city grid and created a "suburb in the city." The design is equally successful in terms of its overall site plan, a product of Ludwig Hilberseimer's settlement unit ideals; its architectural design, with International style precedents established by Mies van der Rohe and carried out by subsequent architects; and its landscape design, in which Alfred Caldwell's Prairie style tied together the site plan and architecture to create a naturalistic setting which remains attractive to city dwellers. Lafayette Park is the largest collection of Mies van der Rohe residential architecture in the country and, depending on how the buildings are counted, is the largest collection of his work anywhere in the world.[13] It is also the only realized grouping of low-rise townhouses by Mies. Lafayette Park retains a high degree of design integrity, having been little changed from the period of its initial construction (1956 to 1967).

[13] The statement that this is the largest collection of Mies van der Rohe buildings in the world is predicated upon counting each individual town or court house structure as a separate building rather than grouping them as a singular entity.

The Mies van der Rohe Residential District, Lafayette Park (comprising only the Mies-designed buildings), was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 2002. The City of Detroit, through its local designation program, designated the Lafayette Park Historic District, inclusive of all 78 acres, in 2003.

Consideration of Lafayette Park within the Context of Urban Renewal under Criterion 1

Urban renewal was defined by F. Stuart Chapin in his classic city planning text, *Urban Land Use Planning*, as "a form of recuperative change in the physical city by which the outworn or outmoded structures and facilities and, in time, whole areas are altered or replaced in response to pressures of social and economic change."[14] He points out that this process has been occurring since the birth of civilization. With modernization of society and the influx of Southern migrants and European immigrants to America's cities in the first half of the twentieth century this process sped up, and the crushing need for adequate housing and urban renewal was thus recognized in the Federal government's response.

In the following context narrative, *Urban Renewal in the United States*, the term "urban renewal" applies to urban redevelopment programs that sought to remove blight from central cities in the United States under Title I of the Federal Housing Act of 1949, entitled "Slum Clearance and Redevelopment," with all of its subsequent amendments. "Blight" was not well-defined in the original legislation but was clarified in 1954 to be a condition identified by the number of substandard buildings in a given area, determined by a survey. Local government agencies, armed with Federal dollars and the state-granted power of eminent domain, were authorized to assemble parcels of land in blighted areas for slum clearance and sale to private enterprise for redevelopment. The term "slum" also lacked definition but generally referred to "a heavily populated urban area characterized by substandard housing and squalor."[15] The term became racially loaded as African Americans were disproportionately affected by and associated with slum clearance and urban renewal.

The urban renewal program was officially put to rest in 1974 under the presidency of Gerald Ford after President Richard M. Nixon declared a moratorium on housing programs in 1973 to reexamine the Federal role. This followed widely-publicized discontent concerning displacement of racial and ethnic minorities and small businesses caused by many urban renewal projects, partially remedied by relocation reforms instituted in the Uniform Act of 1970,[16] as well as concern about other implementation problems that had emerged, such as the lack of meaningful citizen participation and slow redevelopment of cleared land by private developers.[17] A change in thinking led to new legislation that replaced urban renewal with Community Development Block Grants (CDBG, 1974) that went to state and local governments and Urban Development Action Grants (UDAG, 1977) that went directly to developers. CDBG spread money more widely to a broader array of municipalities than had urban renewal, and UDAG was a fairly modest program in impact and scale, and so in some sense these policy changes actually took away the positive aspects of urban renewal which central-city planners had used to redevelop portions of their cities and to retain key institutions such as hospitals and universities.

The period of consideration for this context narrative, 1949 to 1974, encompasses the twenty-five years spanning the inception of the Federal urban renewal program to its conclusion. All told, according to the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (1974), 3284 projects in 1258 towns and cities were awarded Federal funding throughout the quarter century of its existence totaling more than $13.2 billion. State and local public and private investment greatly magnified the Federal outlay many times over.[18] Although it

[14] F. Stuart Chapin, Jr., *Urban Land Use Planning*, 2nd ed (Chicago: University of Illinois Press,1965), 309.
[15] "Slum," accessed 3 Jun. 2014: www.thefreedictionary.com/slum.
[16] Public Law 91-646, "Uniform Relocation Assistance and Real Property Acquisition Policies Act of 1970" (Uniform Act).
[17] Mark I. Gelfand, *Nation of Cities: The Federal Government and Urban America, 1933-1965* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 207, 337-339.
[18] Peter K. Eisinger, *The Rise of the Entrepreneurial State* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 96.

officially ended in 1974, the urban renewal program is still with us today in the form of redeveloped areas as well as empty tracts of land cleared with Federal dollars that have not yet been redeveloped. And the legacy of urban renewal—its impact on architecture, urban planning, and society—are still with us and will be into the future.

Urban redevelopment as outlined in Title I of the Housing Act of 1949, and as re-authorized and revised in subsequent legislation such as the Housing Act of 1954 (which included the first use of the term "urban renewal"), was not a public housing program. Public housing was housing that was built, operated, and owned by a local government's designated housing authority, with housing typically provided at nominal rent to those in need. Public housing was included under Title III of the 1949 Act as an extension of the Housing Act of 1937 and continued to be administered at the Federal level by the Public Housing Administration. The Federal urban renewal program, in contrast, subsidized municipalities' clearance of city land for redevelopment intended for a wide range of uses, including housing and commercial facilities, which the local municipal government and its agencies would not own. Confusion over the two programs, their conflicting goals, and their social consequences has often led to the denouncement of urban renewal.[19] Yet the worst and best of its outcomes have been studied and evaluated and have been instructive in setting goals for urban redevelopment going forward.

Precedents of Urban Renewal: An Overview

Industrialization and Urbanization

Industrialization and urbanization beginning in the nineteenth century resulted in the rapid growth of major cities in the United States, particularly in the northeast and north central parts of the country. Immigration of unskilled workers from Europe increased due to economic and political conditions across the Atlantic. Between 1870 and 1900, Chicago was the fastest growing city in America, swelling from 229,000 to 1.7 million people, an almost eight-fold increase in thirty years. Workers came from the eastern United States and Europe, and, between 1890 and 1914, from southern and eastern Europe, for employment opportunities created by its heavy industry and stockyards. New York City had the most foreign-born among its population in 1890; of 1,515,301 of its residents, 639,943, or 42 percent, were foreign born. Chicago and Detroit had similar percentages, falling just under New York's. And with the emergence of the automobile industry in Detroit, its population of 465,766 in 1910 grew to 993,678 in 1920, a 113% jump.

The new immigrants usually settled in the oldest and least desirable areas of the city out of economic necessity, segregation, or bigotry. There, they formed cultural enclaves that became the Little Italys, Chinatowns, and Black Bottoms of major American cities. Overcrowding in these inner-city areas led to increasingly unhealthy living conditions. The perception arose in some quarters that these newcomers, if left unassimilated in their substandard surroundings, would erode traditional American values and destroy the existing social order. Others raised concerns about the social injustice of allowing lower-class people to live in untenable urban conditions. Social pathologies attributed to slums—poverty, crime, disease, promiscuity, delinquency—encouraged early reform efforts, as did concerns about the social disorder stemming from extremes of wealth and poverty.

Prior to the 1930s, it was widely thought that local governments and private charities were the proper venues for housing policy and implementation affecting the poor.[20] Reformers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries brought the increasingly dire problems of the impoverished immigrant populations to the attention of

[19] Marc A. Weiss. "The Origins and Legacy of Urban Renewal," in *Housing Policy and Programs*, ed. J. Paul Mitchell (New Brunswick: Rutgers Center for Urban Policy Research, 1986), 254-260.

[20] Robinson, Judith, Laura Bobeczko, Paul Lusignan and Jeffrey Shrimpton, *Public Housing in the United States, 1933-1949: A Historic Context*, vol. II (Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places and the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1999), 3.

middle-class Americans in many ways, but it was the muckrakers who brought it to their doorsteps, magazine stands, and bookstores. Muckrakers were reform-minded journalists and writers who investigated and reported factually on contemporary issues, oftentimes exposing injustice or corruption. Jacob Riis, a photographic journalist, chronicled the abject poverty of New York City's slums in his book, *How the Other Half Lives* (1890), and Upton Sinclair portrayed the lives of immigrants in the meatpacking industry in Chicago in *The Jungle* (1906), resulting in public outrage that spurred political action.

Although cities began regulating housing after the Civil War, their efforts were largely ineffective in improving the health and safety of immigrant communities. The emergence of the Progressive Era (1900-1918), with its emphasis on public welfare, health, and safety, coincided with a will to ease slum-like conditions in major American cities. The New York Tenement Law of 1901 created housing standards and inspection requirements for the first time, serving as a model for other cities. But housing reformers, such as Edith Elmer Woods and Catherine Bauer, contributed to an emerging realization that the Federal government did, in fact, have a role to play in promoting construction, not just regulation, of low-income housing, since a lack of investor interest by the private sector in building "model tenements" was apparent. Woods, who was active in Washington, D.C., called for a national housing commission that could make loans to local communities and private limited-dividend housing corporations.[21] Bauer, a writer and housing scholar, was a major proponent of government support for public housing. Their roles and views would emerge after America's involvement in World War I.

Early Suburbanization

Growing networks of interurbans (electrified regional rail systems) and roads for motorized vehicles facilitated travel from cities to towns, altering settlement patterns by allowing people to reside further from their workplaces. The popularization of the automobile in the 1910s and 1920s increased mobility. With the 1907 invention of the Model T, the "car that put America on wheels," the everyman was no longer physically bound to his feet or his stable. Land developers rushed to unimproved areas within or beyond city borders to establish new subdivisions for tract housing.

Around this time, leaders of some major American cities realized that coping with transportation issues and their relationship to the city as a whole required skills not represented among its workforce. The profession of city planning was in its infancy. Hartford, CT established the first municipal planning department in 1907 and, in 1909, Harvard University offered the first city planning course, although in the Landscape Architecture department, and the First National Conference on City Planning and the Problems of Congestion took place. The first full-time professional urban planner in the United States was Harland Bartholomew, who studied civil engineering at Rutgers University. He prepared the first comprehensive plan for an American city—Newark, New Jersey - in 1914. In 1916, he was recruited to St. Louis to prepare its comprehensive plan and was appointed the city's first planner in 1919, where he remained in that capacity until 1950. In 1919, he established Harland Bartholomew and Associates, a firm that prepared hundreds of comprehensive plans for cities across the country.[22] Subsequent housing and redevelopment legislation provided funding for planning staffs and technical assistance to prepare the documents required to submit proposals for funding through the Federal housing agencies.[23]

[21] Private limited-dividend housing corporations are organized exclusively to provide housing facilities for persons of low and moderate income and receive favorable tax treatment, such as tax exemptions and interest free mortgages and bonds, in return for limited profits. They are governed by state statutes. Community redevelopment corporations and cooperative consumer housing organizations are typically limited-division corporations.

[22] Harland Bartholomew and Associates (HBA) Collection, Washington University, accessed, 29 Aug. 2012: https://library.wustl.edu/spec/business-history/.

[23] See: "Comprehensive Planning Assistance," sec 701, Housing Act of 1954, 40 USC 461.

Mobilization for World War I led to the first Federal intervention in constructing housing, albeit modest. Created by Congress in 1918 to implement housing programs to address the wartime shortage, the United States Housing Corporation (USHC) and the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation (EFC) built fifty-five housing developments for 95,000 wartime workers and their families.[24] These subdivisions and "new towns" were decidedly built along the lines of the Garden City model, as espoused by Englishman Ebenezer Howard in his 1898 book, *Garden Cities of To-morrow*.[25] Howard promoted the establishment of self-sufficient satellite communities to solve the problem of housing affordability with new, non-speculative forms of real estate. Although Howard's original model included social and economic aspects of reform, its physical innovations seemed to have the most influence. These tended to include a municipality of a specified size, clearly-delineated sectors and greenbelts, a high focus on pedestrian access to community services and commercial facilities, and workplaces easily available to residents. Garden City features were quickly incorporated into many new housing developments in the United States during and after World War I, particularly in what became known as "garden suburbs."

The USHC directly built and oversaw the construction and management of housing for workers at arsenals and navy yards, and the EFC made loans to limited-dividend realty companies incorporated by private shipbuilding firms to construct housing for shipyard employees. Two important precedents were established through these emergency programs—the granting of Federal loans to private housing corporations and the use of direct public construction to meet housing needs.

Among the 120 professionals employed by the USHC were the first young architects, city planners and landscape architects who later became leading urban planners throughout the country,[26] including Clarence Stein, Frederick Law Olmsted Jr., A. R. Nichols and Henry Wright. At the conclusion of the war, some of these planners returned to working on solutions for housing people during peacetime. Several, along with the housing reformer Catherine Bauer, formed the Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA) in 1923, which promoted housing solutions that incorporated the tools of the Garden City model, the regional planning movement, and large-scale European housing estates. Sunnyside, New York (1924) and Radburn, New Jersey (1928; NHL, 2005) were products of RPAA, whose central goal became the promotion of large- scale, planned residential garden communities built on vacant land, accessible to low-income groups, as it pressed for the Federal government's involvement in increasing the supply and controlling the cost of such housing. However, there was a strong reluctance from some legislators to continue Federal support for housing construction in peacetime; they labeled it "creeping socialism." In fact, the 1920s was a boom time for housing construction—the industry provided 937,000 units in 1925, a record that went unsurpassed until 1949. While more and more cities and states passed legislation to regulate unhealthy conditions in cities, it would take the Great Depression to tip the Federal government's hand in that direction.

Meanwhile, European Modern housing experiments and their association with modern architects became well-known in the United States through reports on the travels of architectural writers such as Louis Mumford, who wrote about post-war rebuilding efforts, and Bauer, who wrote about new developments in housing and architecture as well as the works of architects-theorists Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius, Ernst May and J.J.P. Oud. The landmark exhibition, "Modern Architecture International Exhibit," held in the Museum of Modern Art in 1932, traveled to major American cities, spreading the ideals and designs of the International style. Through examples of works mostly by European émigré architects, the exhibit introduced an architecture of functional order that rejected applied ornament, emphasized volume over mass, and utilized new materials,

[24] Lawrence Vale, *From the Puritans to the Projects: Public Housing and Public Neighbors* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 134.

[25] Ebenezer Howard, *Garden Cities of To-morrow* (London: Swan and Sonnenshein,1902; revised from 1898).

[26] Eran Ben-Joseph, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, "Workers' Paradise: The Forgotten Communities of WWI," accessed August 7, 2013, http://web.mit.edu/ebj/www/ww1/people.html.

technology and standardization.[27] The exhibit in New York was arranged in two sections—one on architecture organized by Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Jr. and Philip Johnson featuring the work of modernist architects, and a smaller one on housing organized by RPAA members Stein, Wright, Bauer and Mumford featuring several German and Dutch housing estates and one American example, Radburn. It should be noted that RPAA espoused the Garden City model over modern experiments, although both had roots in the betterment of society.

The Great Migration

Against this backdrop of war-time production and housing shortages was the Great Migration. In 1910, ninety percent of African Americans, people of recognized African descent, lived in the South, and over three quarters of those southern blacks lived on farms. Between the years 1915 and 1975, in a movement referred to as the Great Migration, approximately six million African Americans migrated to the North to escape Jim Crow laws and the oppressive sharecropping system—which kept many Southern blacks in virtual servitude through low economic returns for labor and endless debt—in order to seek greater economic opportunity in the industrial cities of America. By 1970, less than half of the country's blacks lived in the south, and only a quarter of them lived in rural areas. To illustrate the enormity of the population shift: Chicago saw its black population rocket from 44,103, or under three percent, at the start of the Great Migration to more than one million at the end of it.[28]

An estimated 400,000 African Americans left the South from 1916 to 1918 to take advantage of labor shortages in northern industrial cities in the wake of World War I. They settled into the "black belts"—Black Bottom in Detroit, the South Side of Chicago, and Foggy Bottom in Washington, D.C. Often the oldest, most dilapidated neighborhoods in the cities, these "black belts" were in or adjacent to the urban core. And they were bursting at the seams, encroaching outward into adjoining neighborhoods. Between 1916 and 1919, 50,000 newly arrived blacks settled into Chicago's South Side black belt.[29] Detroit's black population rose from 5,741 in 1910 to 40,838 in 1920, an increase of 611 percent, while the general population of the city rose 113 percent, from 465,766 to just under one million, becoming the fourth largest city in the nation.[30] Michigan was among the states with the greatest black northward migration during World War I, joined by Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey. With an increasing number of black migrants joining immigrants recently arrived from Southern and Eastern Europe, an already stressed housing shortage was further exacerbated. After World War I, immigration to the United States from Europe was restricted by the implementation of new immigration laws. The period between the two World Wars was a time of increased migration for African Americans from the Deep South and whites from Appalachia as they moved to northern industrial cities for jobs and settled into the oldest, least expensive housing.

Great Depression

The boom years of the Roaring Twenties went bust, leading to the Great Depression that lasted from the stock market crash in late October 1929 until recovery in World War II. The economic impact of the Depression on the housing industry in the 1930s was devastating. As more people left the farms and small towns to look for work in cities, the urban housing crisis grew. The housing industry produced only 93,000 units nationwide in 1933, a reduction of 90% from its peak in 1925. One-third of the fourteen million workers unemployed in 1933 were in the building trades. Putting people back to work, making loans to private corporations building low-

[27] See William Lescaze, "The Meaning of Modern Architecture," *The North American Review* 244:1 (Autumn 1937): 110-120.

[28] Isabel Wilkerson, *The Warmth of Other Suns The Epic Story of America's Great Migration* (New York: Random House, 2011), 6.

[29] Christopher Manning, "African Americans," in *Encyclopedia of Chicago*, Chicago Historical Society, accessed 30 Aug. 2013: http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/27.html.

[30] Zellmer R. Pettet and Charles E. Hall, *U.S. Bureau of the Census, Negroes in the United States, 1920-32* (Washington, DC: United States Department of Commerce, 1935), Table 1, 55.

income housing for families, and stemming foreclosures were initiatives started by President Herbert Hoover and carried into President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal after he came into the White House in 1933.

With the passage of the Federal Home Loan Bank Act in 1932 and the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933, the Federal government took steps to encourage home ownership. Title II of the latter Act created the Public Works Administration (PWA). Spurred by the great need for employment, a Housing Division was established to carry out the PWA's slum clearance and low rent housing mandate and set goals for housing construction. The primary purpose of the Housing Division was to "'reduce unemployment and to restore purchasing power' by employing workers in the construction trades and from the building supplies industry."[31] Under its limited dividend housing program requirements that limited profits in exchange for favorable loan terms, the PWA was only able to fund seven projects. However, a high quality of architectural design was generally achieved. Early PWA housing was influenced by the Garden City and European Modernist movements, resulting in site plans featuring terraces and row buildings with little or no superfluous architectural ornament, set on expansive, "superblock," garden-like grounds. In addition to some design elements, these projects had other characteristics in common: they were all built for white populations, their rent structures exceeded affordability for the working poor, and they were all built on vacant land.

To increase its quantity, the PWA began directly financing and developing low-rent housing projects under its Direct-Build Housing Program in 1934. PWA acquired land, let contracts for slum clearance and construction, and operated the properties and retained ownership. High design standards and quality construction coupled with cost-consciousness were the hallmarks of many Direct-Built housing projects. The Harlem River Houses, the first public housing in New York City, opened in October 1937 for African Americans. Detroit's Brewster Housing (1938), containing 701 units built for occupancy by working class blacks, and Parkside Homes (1938), 755 units built for whites, both opening in 1938, added nearly 1500 units to Detroit's housing stock at a time of great need. When Direct-Build was terminated in the fall of 1937, PWA had built fifty-one housing projects in thirty-six states, Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands, while employing some of the nation's most prestigious architects. Out of the fifty-one total projects, twenty-one were built for black tenants, twenty-four for white tenants, and six had segregated buildings for blacks and whites.

Still in the midst of the Great Depression, the National Housing Act of 1934 was passed to relieve unemployment and stimulate the release of private credit in the hands of banks and lending institutions. It created the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), which insured mortgages for single and multi-family housing projects. FHA-backed mortgages allowed the spread of the suburbs while encouraging urban housing projects by private enterprise. However, FHA's mortgage structure encouraged segregated practices called redlining that continued well into the 1960s, limiting the housing prospects of minorities.

Further support for Federal involvement in housing came when the American Federation of Labor (AFL) endorsed the efforts of the Labor Housing Conference in October 1935. The AFL backed a resolution that called for the government to subsidize local efforts to ensure that large-scale, well-planned, low- and moderate-income housing be provided for all families who needed it. Preferences in awarding subsidies would be given to cities with good labor practices and who used only union labor. Organized labor was essential in promoting urban redevelopment projects like Lafayette Park during the urban renewal era.

Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the United States Housing Act (USHA) of 1937 into law on September 1, 1937. It firmly established the precedent of spending Federal funds for land clearance, albeit for public housing, by passing legislation for a low-rent public housing program grounded in a partnership of the Federal government with local communities. The Act "established the concept of Federal subsidies to local public housing

[31] Robinson et al, *Public Housing in the United States*, vol. II, 13.

authorities and set the cornerstone of the modern program."[32] It passed amongst staunch opposition from the private building industry for the government's direct involvement in financing low-income housing.

From an architectural perspective, the increasing USHA emphasis on standardized unit plans and restrictive budgets conspired to significantly inhibit creativity in housing design, resulting in what Louis Mumford labeled an "unnecessarily barrackslike [*sic*] and monotonous" look.[33] "The design work executed during the late 1930s and early 1940s still represents a significant body of modernistic architecture, of a scale and form unlike almost anything built up to that time in America."[34] After a successful three-year run, the Federal government ended its contribution to low-income housing in the improving economy and turned its attention to defense housing in war-time.

World War II and Its Aftermath

While President Roosevelt did not take the nation to war at its onset in 1939, he authorized the manufacture and supply of armaments to Great Britain in its fight against the Nazis. Federal construction unrelated to the war effort was prohibited in 1941 as the nation took on the mantle of the "arsenal of democracy." In tandem with the need to mass produce machinery of war was the need to house defense industry workers. Experimentation with new materials and standardization of building components exercised in the preceding decade were extremely valuable in providing wartime industrial production facilities and defense worker housing.

The United States Congress responded to the extreme nature of the housing shortage during war-time production by passing the National Defense Act and the Lanham Act in 1940. The Division of Defense Housing of the Federal Works Agency was created in 1941 to undertake direct supervision of the new defense housing program. "During the year and a half prior to the United States' entry into World War II in December 1941, an estimated 3 million war workers and their families—a total of about 8 to 10 million Americans—migrated to jobs in the nation's 200 or so defense industrial centers. Approximately 1.7 million of these workers found accommodations in existing housing, decent or otherwise, leaving 1.3 million families dependent on new construction."[35] Both acts provided funds to build temporary housing for defense workers, speeding up construction and waiving standards since timely completion was paramount. In Detroit, the Smith Homes (1942-43; 210 units) and Herman Gardens (1940-43; 2150 units) were built as whites-only housing under the National Defense Act; Sojourner Truth (1941-42, 200 units) was built as blacks-only housing under the Lanham Act. As with much war-time housing in other cities, all remained as permanent low-rent housing after the war to aid returning servicemen and new families that found it difficult to find decent housing, despite housing reformers' concerns that it would eventually contribute to the problems of substandard housing.

By the end of World War II, the nation faced an unprecedented housing shortage for which it was unprepared. Very few new homes were built in the fifteen years since the beginning of the Great Depression. Mass production and standardization practices of war-time production carried over to post-war housing construction. Prefabrication was seen as one solution to the housing shortage. According to the April 1946 edition of *Fortune* magazine, "...actual shortages in twelve major categories of building materials… and potential shortages in dozens more were due to low production as a result of the shutdown of industries not essential to war, diversion of production of materials to military uses and loss of labor to higher paying war jobs."[36] At the end of World War II, material manufacturers looked for new markets for their products and some found their way into housing production.[37] Companies would often sponsor a design competition or build a home based on their

[32] Ibid., 1.
[33] Gail Radford, *Modern Housing in America* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 1997), 192.
[34] Robinson et al, *Public Housing in the United States*, 45.
[35] Ibid., 46.
[36] "Bricks without Straw," *Fortune* Magazine 33 (Apr. 1946): 115-17.
[37] Michael A. Tomlan, "Building Modern America," in *Twentieth Century Building Materials*, ed. Thomas C. Jester (New York:

products. One example is the Aluminum Company of America (ALCOA), which had homes built using their materials in over twenty-six communities across the country. Another example is the groups of corrugated steel and iron Quonset huts made by Stran-Steel, a Division of Great Lakes Steel based in Detroit, which sprang up as temporary housing in several cities and at universities across the country.[38]

Demographic trends magnified the extent of the housing shortage as vast domestic migration was set in motion by the war. Approximately four million workers with their families left their homes to work in war plants in other communities. Few went back to where they came from; in Los Angeles, for example, only fifteen percent of the 782,000 war workers who came into the metropolitan area had left by mid-January 1946.[39] Between 1940 and 1950, the population in the United States expanded by approximately 20 million, as people began marrying and having children at younger ages, resulting in the baby boom that extended from 1946 to 1964. In 1950 alone, 3.6 million children were born, a million more than a decade earlier. Over ten million new households were formed between 1947 and 1957.[40] The family-centered lifestyle and racial homogeneity attracted a young, white population to suburbia. Economic prosperity ensued, with higher wages and greater savings due to war-time rationing. After the war, pent up demand for consumer goods—appliances, automobiles, manufactured goods—caused people to start spending again. Unions gained in strength and with that, expanded the earning power for unskilled and semi-skilled workers. The Servicemen's Readjustment Act (GI Bill, 1944) provided low-cost mortgage loans, unemployment pay, job training, and college scholarships for veterans that helped them reintegrate into society. The FHA and Veterans Administration (VA) guaranteed long-term mortgages with lower down payments and interest rates issued by private banks for new home construction, inviting more Americans into the middle class.

The exodus from cities was well underway at the end of World War II. Residential construction, a vast majority of which occurred in new suburban areas, jumped from 326,000 units in 1945 to over 1 million in 1946 and two million by 1950. Congressional authorization for construction of a 41,000-mile national highway network in the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1944 was a benefit to the trucking industry. Traditional industries that relied on a nearby workforce and transportation of goods by rail were able to relocate to less expensive and more expansive locations. The retailing industry also decentralized as regional shopping malls outside of the cities began to replace shopping as a central function of the historic downtown experience in many major cities. The first such regional shopping mall built in the United States was Northland Mall in Southfield, Michigan (Victor Gruen & Associates, 1952), sponsored by the J.L. Hudson Company. By 1950, suburban population growth was ten times more than that of central cities, and in the 1950s eleven of the twelve largest cities lost population while suburban rings grew exponentially.[41]

In urban areas, the dual purpose of combining civil engineering and social engineering was achieved by routing interstate highways through blighted neighborhoods, often planning in tandem with urban redevelopment efforts. The results were often the leveling of close-knit older neighborhoods, dislocation of African Americans and other ethnicities and minorities, and the creation of new, segregated high-rise communities cut off visually and physically from the urban core by the sunken or raised transportation corridors.[42] During the post-war period, mass suburbanization was encouraged by the same housing acts that assisted urban renewal.

McGraw-Hill, 1995), 42.

[38] Quonset hut groupings lasted into the 1950s in Detroit at Connor and Gratiot Avenues.

[39] "Bricks without Straw," *Fortune*, 107.

[40] Joshua Freeman, *American Empire* (New York: Viking, 2012), 119.

[41] Stacy A. Sutton, *Urban Revitalization in the United States, Policies and Practices, Final Report; United States Urban Revitalization Research Project* (New York: Columbia University, 2008), 28.

[42] See: Mead & Hunt, Inc., and Louis Berger Group, Inc., NCHRP Report 273, *A Model for Identifying and Evaluating the Historic Significance of Post-World War II Housing*, Transportation Research Board (Washington DC: National Cooperative Highway Research Program, 2012).

Eisenhower's National Highway Act of 1956 provided further impetus for office and retail to follow the predominantly white middle-class out to the suburbs by adding 40,000 miles to the interstate highway system.

In the decade between 1940 and 1950, the black population of Detroit doubled from 149,119 (9.2 per cent of the population) to 300,506 (16.25 per cent), helping that city's population rise to its highpoint of 1,840,568 from 1,623,452. Chicago's black population increased from 277,731 to 492,265 in that same period.[43] Cities on the coasts also saw increases in minority populations in that decade: in New York City from 6.15 percent to 9.47 percent; in Philadelphia from 10.5 percent to 13.1 percent, and in Newark, New Jersey from 5.5 percent in 1940 to 17 percent in 1950. On the west coast, San Francisco's black population rose from .8 percent to 5.6 percent, and in Los Angeles, 4.2 percent to 8.7 percent between 1940 and 1950.[44]

The shortage of decent housing opportunities after World War II was exacerbated for blacks because of racial discrimination and segregation practices throughout the country. Deed restrictions attached to properties barred people of certain races and ethnicities from certain neighborhoods. According to a United States Commission on Civil Rights publication in 1973, "the practice was so widespread that by 1940, 80% of property in Chicago and Los Angeles carried restrictive covenants barring black families."[45] Even after racial covenants were ruled unenforceable by the Supreme Court of the United States in *Shelley v. Kraemer* in 1948, the real estate, financing and construction industries turned to discriminatory sales and real estate practices to ensure homogeneity in middle-class neighborhoods. In order to increase the supply of housing, they came to the conclusion that a "business solution" for middle-class housing would be pursued with the Federal government underpinning private business while the government would more directly fund public housing. The "business solution" also allowed builders to engage in blanket discrimination even by arguing that integration was not upheld by "the market" and would be "bad for business." The local customs and practices of segregation in housing prevailed in most cities and were tacitly supported by the Federal housing programs.

Although no explicit language was contained in government regulations, Federal policy favored building new, homogeneous suburbs. Veterans Administration (VA) and Federal Housing Administration (FHA) provided government-backed mortgages and mortgage tax deductions that heavily tilted towards suburban development, favoring single-family homebuilding in white, middle-class suburban settings. By assigning risk ratings to specific communities, Federal agencies and the FHA limited the availability of guaranteed mortgage funding in urban areas, while guaranteeing mortgages worth many times more in the suburbs. Black neighborhoods received the lowest rankings; all-white the highest. For example, FHA guaranteed mortgages worth $730 per capita in Fairfax, Virginia but only $87 per capita in neighboring Washington, D.C. Nassau County, New York, home to Levittown, got $601 per capita, while the Bronx got $10.[46] By rating communities by risk, the Federal agencies assisted homebuilders, real estate agents, banks and mortgage companies in creating homogeneous suburban developments while concentrating racial minorities in the city. Additional language in the FHA underwriting manual counseled against insuring mortgages for individual families if their housing choices would lead to "inharmonious racial groups" or "a change in social or racial occupancy" in the intended location.[47] If a black person got through the system, the neighbors were often unwelcoming or in some cases hostile or violent. Change happened with a few black families managing to move to and stay in mostly white

[43] U.S. Decennial Census, tracts for Detroit and Chicago, 1940 and 1950, https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/decade.html.

[44] Quintard Taylor, *In Search of the Racial Frontier: African Americans in the American West* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1999), 254.

[45] U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Understanding Fair Housing Clearinghouse Publication 42, (Washington, DC, Government Printing Office, Feb. 1973).

[46] Freeman, *American Empire*, 128

[47] "FHA Underwriting Manual (1938)," excerpted in *Urban Planning and the African American Community*, ed. June Manning Thomas and Marsha Ritzdorf (Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.,1997), 283.

areas, and then other blacks moving to better parts of the city to buy homes vacated by whites who left for other neighborhoods for the suburbs. In 1960, blacks constituted less than five percent of the suburban population.[48]

Leading to a National Housing and Redevelopment Policy

In the meantime, states and municipalities were gearing up to deal with urban blight on their own. Since 1940, severe housing shortages required far-reaching strategies. Several states passed legislation authorizing urban redevelopment by private enterprise to clear slums and make land available for housing. Eminent domain and property tax exemptions were available to local agencies to acquire and clear land and make it available to private redevelopers according to an approved plan. Michigan was one of the thirty-four states that passed enabling legislation by 1945 that permitted condemnation of land for the public purpose of slum clearance and redevelopment. The problem with this approach was that there were never enough financial incentives to attract private development.[49] The largesse of the Federal government was needed. The few exceptions in which private enterprise stepped up were in the interests of major insurance companies, such as Metropolitan Life, which developed Stuyvesant Town (1947) in New York City; and Equitable Life Assurance Society, which, along with support from Richard King Mellon, the state of Pennsylvania, Allegheny County and the city of Pittsburgh, developed Pittsburgh's Golden Triangle with only $600,000 in Federal aid. These instances served as models for Title I of the Housing Act of 1949.

As early as 1941, the limitations of the previous Federal housing programs were being recognized. Their levels of productivity could not meet the needs of post-war America, with soldiers returning home ready to start families and migrants from the southern states flooding northern cities. City leaders called for more Federal funding for clearance of large areas to make a greater impact on removing blight. However, no new major Federal legislation was introduced until 1945 when the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Housing Act was proposed after a year of public hearings and research by Senator Robert A. Taft's Subcommittee on Housing and Redevelopment. Similar to the Housing Act of 1937, it no longer stringently dictated the type of redevelopment but failed to pass largely due to its public housing provisions. Objections came from "every national trade organization whose members were primarily engaged in producing, financing or dealing with residential property," while support for it "included many civic, professional, municipal, religious, veteran and labor organizations."[50] With the momentum garnered by Truman's close victory in the 1948 election, the Democrats pushed through the Housing Act of 1949, which was essentially the same as the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill.

The period preceding the era of urban renewal firmly established the Federal government's involvement in housing and urban redevelopment. Its partnerships with private enterprise, the real estate industry, labor unions, local and state governments, and housing advocates furthered the cause of publicly-assisted housing and urban renewal into the second half of the twentieth century. The public/private partnership established by this Act was amenable to both the housing advocates and the real estate and construction interests. According to housing advocate and planner Catherine Bauer, the Housing Act of 1949 won congressional approval "because different groups of people, like the blind men feeling the elephant, made entirely different assumptions as to the essential nature and purpose of this legislation."[51]

[48] Freeman, *American Empire*,129

[49] Quintin Johnstone, "Federal Urban Renewal Program" (1958), Faculty Scholarship Series, Paper 1896, accessed, 30 Aug. 2013: https://openyls.law.yale.edu/handle/20.500.13051/1165.

[50] Ashley A. Foard and Hilbert Fefferman, "Federal Urban Renewal Legislation," *Law and Contemporary Problems* 25 (Fall 1960): 648.

[51] Gelfand, Nation of Cities, 153; Jon C. Teaford, "Urban Renewal and Its Aftermath," Housing Policy Debate 11:2 (2000): 444.

Housing Act of 1949

President Truman signed the Housing Act of 1949 into law on July 15, 1949. It established national housing objectives and the policies to attain them. It declares that,

> the general welfare and security of the Nation and the health and living standards of its people require housing production and related community development sufficient to remedy the serious housing shortage, the elimination of substandard and other inadequate housing through the clearance of slums and blighted areas, and the realization as soon as feasible that the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family, thus contributing to the development and redevelopment of communities and to the advancement of the growth, welfare and security of the Nation.[52]

The Act required that the Housing and Home Financing Agency (HHFA) and all other Federal agencies and departments with a role in housing abide by the objectives of the 1949 Housing Act, by:

> exercise[ing] their functions consistently with these national housing objectives and policies and in such a manner as will encourage and assist (1) the production of housing of sound standards of design, construction, livability and size for *adequate* family life; (2) the reduction of the costs of housing without sacrifice of such sound standards; (3) the use of new designs, materials, techniques, and methods in residential construction and the increase of efficiency in residential construction and maintenance; (4) the development of well-planned, residential neighborhoods and the development and redevelopment of communities; and (5) the stabilization of the housing industry at a high annual volume of residential construction.[53]

Title I: Slum Clearance and Redevelopment

Title I of the Housing Act of 1949 (hereafter referred to as Title I), titled Slum Clearance and Community Development and Redevelopment, authorized the HHFA to make grants and loans to local government agencies to initiate, plan and manage slum clearance and redevelopment undertakings and activities not directly related to housing construction. One billion dollars in Federal loans and $500 million in Federal grants were authorized for Title I projects over a five-year period. Federal funds were not to be used for actual construction activities except for public facilities to support the new development, such as open spaces, schools, neighborhood facilities, and basic water and sewer facilities. Localities were responsible for identifying and selecting blighted sites for redevelopment, clearing the land, and marketing and selling it to private developers. Two-thirds of the demolition costs and two-thirds of the difference between the purchase and sale prices were paid by the Federal government, freeing the developer from the costs associated with land clearance in urban areas.

Relocation of residents displaced by slum clearance and redevelopment projects was addressed in Title I without an appropriation of Federal funds, leaving the matter up to the local authority. It stated that, "As a further condition of Federal aid there must be a feasible method for the temporary relocation of families displaced from the project area and the permanent provision of decent, safe and sanitary dwellings at prices and rents within the financial means of such families."[54] Title III of the Act, as a means of addressing relocation, gave priority in public housing projects built by the Federal government to those displaced by Title I, but there were generally not enough units available when needed. Relocation of racial minorities became one of the most contentious areas of the nation's urban renewal program.

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[52] Summary of Provisions of the National Housing Act, Senate Document No. 99, 81st Cong., 1st sess., June 2, 1949, 1.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid., 2.

Municipalities in states with existing legislation that allowed slum clearance were in a position to take immediate advantage of Title I. They had already completed the comprehensive planning that the statutes required, located and identified blighted areas through survey data and, in some cases, had cleared land. But even those cities on the forefront of slum clearance, such as New York, Cleveland, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and Chicago, still found it difficult to market their cleared sites to private developers. Often located in or adjacent to downtown, the cleared sites were still more expensive and problematic than the abundant, undeveloped land at the periphery of the city. Title I, with its promise of large Federal subsidies, extinguished some of the concerns of private enterprise, but the program was subject to long and costly delays.

Early Projects: Housing

The earliest approved Title I projects were predominantly housing in nature, envisioned to provide affordable housing to low-to-middle income residents. By 1953, more than 200 local governments had applied for urban redevelopment funds, but only sixty started the land acquisition process and "a mere half-dozen had started to rebuild."[55] Despite initial enthusiasm, only three Title I projects were completed before the first major amendment of the housing act in 1954, although many more were in various stages of planning and execution. Detroit's Gratiot Redevelopment Project (renamed Lafayette Park) epitomized the early phase of urban renewal; although one of the first applications submitted and authorized under Title 1, the project suffered false starts and delays, and difficulties in attracting developers.

Professionals in city planning—architects, urban planners, and public policy experts—were important players in the world of urban redevelopment. Edmund Bacon (Philadelphia), Robert Moses (New York City), and Edward Logue (New Haven and Boston) stand out as big-city visionaries especially astute at securing large pots of urban renewal funding. Bacon was featured on the cover of *Time* magazine in the November 6, 1964 issue that featured the three men and urban renewal. Detroit had its own visionary in Charles Blessing, head of Detroit's planning department (1953-1977). Blessing was "a national leader in urban design,...a magnet of influence and praise."[56] Respected by HHFA and fellow urban planners during the city's esteemed status in the early days of urban renewal, he implemented a neighborhood conservation program a year before rehabilitation and conservation were incorporated into the Title 1 provisions of the Housing Act of 1954. The City of Detroit's administrative structure and Blessing's low-key personality are two likely reasons why he is not as well-known as the other urban design giants.[57]

Very few real estate developers had the wherewithal to undertake large urban renewal projects. William Zeckendorf, head of the real estate development firm of Webb and Knapp in New York City, took on the many challenges of urban redevelopment. He believed that developers had a moral obligation to invest in urban areas to stimulate investment that would rebuild floundering cities. Herbert Greenwald of Chicago, the enlightened developer (with partner Stan Katzin) of Lafayette Park, believed that he could improve the urban environment with well-designed projects. Both brought with them modern architects—Zeckendorf, I.M. Pei, Greenwald, Mies van der Rohe. Not only did the nation's leading modern architects bring instant attention to urban renewal projects in many cities, they often brought with them the desire to test out theories on the social consequences of architecture and urban planning, revisiting their roots in the nascent International Movement in Europe.

[55] Alexander Hoffman, "A Study of Contradictions: The Origins and Legacy of the Housing Act of 1949," Public Policy Debate, 11:2 (2002): 314.

[56] Thomas, Redevelopment and Race, 111.

[57] Charles Blessing, director of Detroit's City Plan Commission (1953-77) and closely associated with Detroit's urban renewal program, received his architectural and planning credentials at M.I.T., after which he was director of regional planning in Boston and head planner for Chicago's master plan before coming to Detroit in 1953. Known to be influenced by Clarence Perry's NY Metropolitan Regional Area Plan (1929) as a student, he would have collaborated with Hilberseimer at IIT in the latter's planning for the south side of Chicago.

Zeckendorf recruited I.M. Pei as his in-house architect in 1948 when Pei was teaching at the Harvard Graduate School of Design. A student of Walter Gropius and Marcel Breuer, Pei brought together other young architects from Harvard, most notably Harry Weese and Araldo A. Cossutta, to work for Zeckendorf as Title I work heated up. The results of their efforts were some of the first truly modern urban neighborhoods—and some of the most successful urban renewal efforts—anywhere in the country. Included in that assessment are Lincoln Towers and Kipps Bay Towers in Manhattan, and Society Hill Towers in Philadelphia. Because of his position as the number one developer of urban renewal projects in the country, Zeckendorf was bestowed the title, "Mr. Redevelopment" in the 1957 *Journal of Housing*.

The city of Philadelphia, on the forefront of urban redevelopment, claimed the distinction of having the first completed Title 1 rehabilitation and new construction projects in the nation. Both, completed in 1953, were in the East Poplar Urban Renewal Area. Spring Gardens, the first cooperative housing in the United States insured by an FHA loan, was developed as integrated, low-income housing by the Friends Neighborhood Guild, which rehabilitated 1860s townhouses around a central courtyard.[58] Concurrently, the Philadelphia Housing Authority (RDA) developed Penn Towne in East Poplar for middle-income, racially integrated tenants.[59] Louis Kahn, the modern architect who came from Estonia with his family when he was a boy, was responsible for the design scheme for Penn Towne while the project architect was Oscar Stonorov. It was a low-scale configuration containing 174 apartments in 138 new two-and three-story buildings and thirty-six rehabilitated units.[60] Blocks were combined to form inner garden courts and pathways. The low density and relationship to the major streets were retained to fit in with the surrounding community.

In contrast, the first Title I urban renewal project in Chicago was the 101-acre Lake Meadows apartments on the Near South Side. It was a clearance and redevelopment project led by the Illinois Institute of Technology and Michael Reese Hospital, which were nervously watching the Douglas neighborhood crumble around them. The project was developed by Draper & Kramer and financed by the New York Metropolitan Life Insurance Company as a middle-class, integrated community. The Chicago architectural firm of Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill (SOM), particularly Ambrose Madison Richardson, was responsible for its design. Based on Le Corbusier's concept of "towers in a park," SOM's plan eliminated streets to form superblocks with five twelve-story towers, four twenty-one-story towers, one thirteen-story tower, a shopping center, and a park. Ground was broken in 1952 for the first five towers.

New York's program of slum clearance under Robert Moses was successful in gaining approval of four early Title I projects in 1950. Two of these were for middle-class African Americans, one was for employees of Columbia University, and the other, the first of these to receive funding under Title 1—the Corlears Hook Project, was sponsored by the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union and provided one-third of its units to union members. New York City, where a higher than average rent structure in Manhattan was prohibitive to many middle-class families and single workers, had earlier partnered with the Amalgamated Housing Corporation (later becoming the United Housing Foundation) in building affordable housing for union workers under New York's slum clearance legislation. Its Corlears Hook Project (renamed East River Housing Cooperative), located on thirteen acres on the Lower East Side of Manhattan, opened for initial occupancy in 1954 and its total of 1,672 units were completed in 1956. Designed by New York City architect Herman Jessor, the project took the form of four brick-faced, twenty-and twenty-one story towers with balconies overlooking a park. At the time of their construction, these were the tallest reinforced concrete apartment structures in the United States.[61] The project also included a central power plant and a two and a-half story shopping center with

[58] Urban Renewal in Selected Cities: Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Banking and Currency, United States Senate, Eighty-fifth Congress, First Session (Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1957).
[59] Ibid.
[60] Harry Kyriakodis, *Northern Liberties: The Story of a Philadelphia River Ward* (Charleston: The History Press, 2012), 156.
[61] Cooperative Village, "Cooperative Housing on the Lower East Side: A Brief History," accessed 30 Aug. 2012:

an auditorium. Jessor, who immigrated to New York from the Ukraine as a youth, designed over 40,000 cooperative units in New York City, many with the sponsorship of unions.[62]

Still, the urban renewal program was plagued by insufficient incentives to attract private developers. A different redevelopment path was taken by the city of Cleveland. Instead of a unified plan designed by one development team, a piecemeal approach was taken to motivate developers once land was cleared. Twenty-nine builders banded together in 1953 to form the Private Enterprise Development Corporation (PERC) to engage in Cleveland's Title I projects. Longwood was developed on cleared land close to downtown as racially integrated housing located on fifty-six acres. Garden Valley was built on 242 acres reclaimed by filling in an effluent-filled stream called Kingsbury Run in an industrial valley for low-to moderate-income black families. At Longwood, a new street system was put in for an apartment community. PERC took the lead in building a sixty-six-unit garden apartment complex in one corner of the site and a few developments by individual developers followed. Three churches began investing in their properties and a shopping center was anticipated. Ugly rent strikes took place in 1961 after rents rose and blacks and whites were treated differently. The owners took a hard line and the project never recovered. In Garden Valley, four hundred public housing units in a garden apartment setting and 200 apartments for middle-income families had been completed by 1958. Just two years later, it looked like a slum. Both projects were publicly called disasters by 1962. By that time, Cleveland's leaders had switched focus from providing housing opportunities to downtown renewal with a master plan by I.M. Pei called Erieview.

The Gratiot Redevelopment Project (Lafayette Park) on Detroit's near East Side also had difficulties attracting developers, but ultimately fared much better than its Midwestern neighbor. One hundred twenty-nine acres of land were cleared in 1950, but they sat fallow for several years. Mill Creek Valley, on the northwest edge of downtown St. Louis, was sarcastically called "Hiroshima Flats," while Lafayette Park was referred to as "Ragweed Acres" and "Cobo's Acres," the latter after the mayor of Detroit.[63] Unlike Mill Creek Valley, which was never fully developed, Lafayette Park became a desirable neighborhood for middle-class residents. With prodding from labor union leader Walter Reuther and Detroit's local business community, the Citizen's Redevelopment Corporation (CRDC) was formed to move the project along. The CRDC supported an interestingly modernist plan put forth by the local firm of Hellmuth, Yamasaki, and Leinweber but the project finally attracted the development team of Herbert Greenwald and Samuel Katzin, who insisted on their own architect, Mies van der Rohe.[64]

Lafayette Park and other early residential urban renewal projects that were in various stages of the cumbersome process were proceeding to completion in the latter half of the 1950s. They all tended to target the oldest and poorest housing, places where those of the lowest socio-economic status lived. In addition, they altered working class/minority/immigrant neighborhoods by aiming to replace those populations and the slums they lived in with middle-class residents who could strengthen the tax base. Some city leaders, as in Cleveland, St. Louis, and Detroit, had hopes of providing decent housing for low to moderate income people, but those goals changed as projects developed. One of the reasons this was true was that the Federal legislation provided public funds for acquisition and clearance in redevelopment areas but assumed that the private sector would carry out redevelopment. This provision—safeguarding of private-sector dominance for reconstruction—had been argued

http://coopvillage.coop/cvHistory.html.

[62] "Herman Jessor, 95, New York Architect for Co-op Buildings" (obituary), *The New York Times*, 10 Apr. 1990, accessed, 30 Aug. 2012: http://www.nytimes.com/1990/04/10/obituaries/herman-jessor-95-new-york-architect-for-co-op-buildings.html.

[63] Jarrett Medlin, "North Side Story: A Brief History of the Near North Side," *St. Louis Magazine* 27 Oct. 2009, accessed, 6 Aug. 2013: https://www.stlmag.com/North-Side-Story-A-Brief-History-of-the-Near-North-Side/.

[64] Hellmuth, Yamasaki and Leinweber's plan won the American Institute of Architects Honor Award, as did the one by Mies van der Rohe.

for by the real estate industry during the Wagner-Taft-Ellender debates and would be elevated in the 1954 amendments to the housing act.

In general, Title I initiatives were slowed because of insufficient financial incentives for private development, difficulties in relocating existing residents, and court challenges impeding initial progress. Several court actions challenged the definition of eminent domain and what constituted a public taking under the Fifth Amendment's takings clause. In its landmark decision, *Berman v. Parker* (1954), the Supreme Court unanimously held that private property could be taken for a public purpose with just compensation, expanding the progressively inclusive definition of public use.[65] This decision gave the green light for many cities to move forward with their slum clearance and redevelopment plans.

Another contemporaneous landmark Supreme Court decision, *Brown v Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, resulted in the cessation of Federal legal support for racial segregation of public education.[66] To many, the next important area for reform under the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment would be shelter. The Advisory Conference on Housing Available to Minorities was called by HHFA Administrator Albert Cole in December of 1954 to explore ways of expanding the supply of suitable housing for minorities. Again and again in committee and public hearing reports, Congress sought to find solutions to the housing crisis that existed in American cities, and the human crisis that would worsen if it persisted. Albert Cole, Administrator of HHFA, in a speech to the Detroit Economic Club earlier that year stated,

> I want to say frankly, however, that regardless of what measures are provided or developed to clear slums and meet low-income housing needs, the critical factor in the situation that must be met is the factor of racial exclusion from the greater part of our housing supply. I must tell you that no program of housing or urban improvement no matter how well conceived, well-financed or comprehensive can hope to make more than indifferent progress until we open up adequate opportunities to minority families for decent housing. It is very poor business to ignore one-tenth of our population as a housing market, it is worse than bad business. We are simply not living up to the standards of a free economy and a democratic society. For the housing economy has not been a free market for the Negro.[67]

Housing Act of 1954

With legal hurdles largely out of the way, financial incentives for the private sector to develop urban renewal sites were enhanced in subsequent amendments to the Act, ignoring Cole's and others' prophetic warnings. About the Housing Act of 1954, President Dwight D. Eisenhower stated:

> The country will be benefitted by the Housing Act of 1954 which has now become law. It has been one of our major legislative goals. It will raise the housing standards of our people, help our communities get rid of slums and improve their older neighborhoods, and strengthen our mortgage credit system. In coming years it will also strongly stimulate the nation's construction industry and our country's entire economy.[68]

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[65] Berman v. Parker, 348 U.S. 26 (1954).

[66] Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

[67] B. T. McGraw, "The Housing Act of 1954 and Implications for Minorities," *Phylon* 16:2 (2nd Qtr. 1955): 177, accessed, 30 Aug. 2013: http://www.jstor.org/stable/272718.

[68] Dwight D. Eisenhower, "Statement by the President Upon Signing the Housing Act of 1954," 2 Aug. 1954, online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project, accessed 30 Aug. 2013: https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/statement-the-president-upon-signing-the-housing-act-1954.

The Housing Act of 1954 addressed some of the perceived shortcomings of the 1949 Housing Act. Massive slum clearance but only minimal rebuilding had taken place, and these actions barely made a dent in the nation's housing shortage, the spread of blight, and white flight. After a year of study and numerous public hearings, President Eisenhower's Advisory Committee on Government Housing Problems and Programs, chaired by Baltimore developer James Rouse, released its report that led to the Housing Act of 1954. The term "urban renewal" was introduced into the legislation for the first time, replacing "urban redevelopment" with a more comprehensive approach to public efforts to revitalize aging and decaying inner cities and older suburban communities. The amended act kept its major emphasis on the eradication and prevention of slums and urban blight, but with better ". . . coordination and application of Federal aids to serve the entire range of housing requirements and market demand."[69]

President Eisenhower, in his remarks at the signing, specifically included minority families among those most in need, and declared that the tools necessary to rehabilitate homes, keep them in good condition, and prevent further deterioration affecting the community be available to them, too. For the first time, Federal funds could be used to provide relocation payments for families and businesses displaced by urban renewal projects.

Although Title III of the 1949 Housing Act set benchmarks for the construction of new public housing, the production record was dismal; of the 810,000 units called for, only 320,000 were built by 1960.[70] In recognition of this failure, private enterprise was invited to rehabilitate homes to rent at affordable prices. Sections 220 and 221 of the Housing Act of 1954 allowed FHA to insure loans in neighborhoods threatened with slum clearance in an effort to improve substandard housing for relocation of persons displaced by urban renewal.

Three major changes most affected the Title I urban renewal projects going forward. They were (1) provisions for encouraging rehabilitation and conservation of existing housing; (2) the requirement of a workable plan, which required increased staff, usually urban planners, for the purpose of helping to develop such plans; and (3), the allotment of up to ten percent of redevelopment projects for non-residential construction.

Since the basic program for Lafayette Park—a residential community with a school and neighborhood shopping center—was formulated under the Housing Act of 1949 and clearance and relocation were already completed, the changes brought about under the 1954 Housing Act had little impact on the development of Lafayette Park. The discussion from this point on summarizes the urban renewal program to its end in 1974.

Conservation and Rehabilitation

A gradual shift from slum clearance and new construction towards rehabilitation and conservation had been encouraged by city leaders in several cities taking advantage of urban renewal funding. Philadelphia and Chicago had already developed plans along these lines, particularly in the Society Hill Area of Philadelphia and the Hyde Park-Kenwood area on the Near South Side of Chicago.[71]

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[69] McGraw, "The Housing Act of 1954," 172.

[70] Sutton, *Urban Revitalization in the United States*, 29.

[71] Rehabilitation is the improvement or restoration or of a predominantly built-up area which, though consistent with a comprehensive plan in terms of intensity of development and land use patterns, is in a stage of incipient blight. It may involve the reduction of population densities, the acquisition and clearance of scattered deteriorated buildings, the repair, modernization and provision of sanitary facilities, the provision of street, parks, or other public improvements, or cleanup and maintenance work on the part of property owners.

Conservation is the preservation of predominantly built-up areas that are mostly in good condition. These are the areas which are substantially in keeping with land use and population density of a comprehensive plan but which require continuing systematic code enforcement, and may require public improvements to ensure continued private investment therein. Chapin, Urban Land Use Planning, 309.

In Philadelphia, Edmund Bacon, executive director of his city's planning commission, emphasized small-scale demolition and rehabilitation of older structures so that new features like shops and parks were interwoven with the existing landscape. His vision was exemplified in the redevelopment of Society Hill where "the best of 100 year old houses will be intermingled with new." [72] Society Hill was said to have the largest concentration of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century housing in the United States but, by the mid-twentieth century, this Center City neighborhood near the Delaware River was dangerous and run-down. The Society Hill Urban Renewal Area consisted of 120 acres of the old neighborhood made up of substantial houses and a large fruit and wholesale produce market. The city either assisted owners in restoring the exteriors of their houses or purchased the houses for resale to people who could afford to restore them. It also relocated small businesses and the market to clear land for new construction.

Society Hill Towers was erected on a five-acre cleared site nearest to the Delaware River and Penn's Landing. Developed by Zeckendorf for Webb and Knapp with I.M. Pei as its architect, it was completed in 1964, adding three thirty-one-floor high-rises containing a total of 624 units that were raised above their glassed-in lobbies on pilotis. Constructed by an innovative, poured-in-place concrete technique, each apartment featured floor-to-ceiling windows and fabulous city or river views. Such innovations enabled Zeckendorf to continue to supply affordable but satisfying housing at a reasonable cost. An interior courtyard formed by the three towers featured a central fountain. Bingham Court, the townhouse component designed by Pei and Harry Weese, consisted of seventeen townhouses clustered around a central garden and ten more along half of a pedestrian street. Clad in red Flemish-bond brick, the townhouses were sympathetic to both the towers and surrounding historic neighborhood. Society Hill Towers earned the Progressive Architecture Award for Design in 1961 and an American Institute of Architects Honor Award in 1965. Webb and Knapp sold their interest to the Aluminum Corporation of America (ALCOA) when they were near completion. Although they proved to be comfortable and desirable housing, Society Hill Towers and Townhouses did not return the middle-class back to the city. Instead, they attracted those city dwellers who wanted to continue taking advantage of the intellectual and cultural life of the city.[73]

Another important change in the 1954 Act was its requirement that a workable plan be submitted by local public agencies to compete for urban renewal funding. This Section 701 of the Act funded salaries of many of the urban planners who worked to advance urban renewal projects by developing appropriate workable plans. The Federal Housing Authority published a guide, "How Localities Can Develop a Workable Program for Urban Renewal," for communities to use. Stated in that guide were seven essential objectives that communities must meet to develop a workable plan: (1) Adequate codes and ordinances, (2) Comprehensive plan for community development, (3) Neighborhood analysis, (4) Effective administrative organization, (5) Financial capacity, (6) Adequate housing of displaced families and (7) Full-fledged citizen participation.[74] Many city governments, including Detroit's, increased staff to try to meet these requirements, although struggles continued for several of these provisions. Nationwide, the most difficult to provide seemed to be the last two, adequate housing for those displaced and citizen participation.

The Hyde Park-Kenwood Urban Renewal Area in Chicago was another high-profile project that combined conservation, rehabilitation, clearance and new construction. It was also a testament to "full-fledged citizen participation" required for Title I projects. Hyde Park-Kenwood was conceived before the amendments to the Act in 1954 and influenced the changes to Title I. It began with public participation by the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference, which devised plans from 1949 to 1951 to conserve and rehabilitate the area, which was adjacent to the University of Chicago. The neighborhood was still quite viable; eighty percent of the

[72] Urban Renewal in Selected Cities (Senate hearings, 1957), 1018.

[73] I.M. Pei and Society Hill: A 40th Anniversary Celebration (Collingdale, PA: DIANE Publishing, Inc. for the Society Hill Towers Owners Association, 2003), 38.

[74] McGraw, "The Housing Act of 1954," 173.

housing stock was in good condition and much of it had historic value. Living within two square miles, the Hyde Park-Kenwood community of 60,000 was able to use the Federal urban renewal program to the best advantage—to retain the economic and racial diversity while keeping and improving the existing fabric of the neighborhood. Their plan to achieve those results was by providing new, low-rise housing that fit architecturally into the community and using spot demolition and rehabilitation on scattered sites rather than mass clearance. Approved by HHFA in 1958, the Hyde Park-Kenwood Redevelopment Plan contained a total of 855 acres, of which just under a third were improvements and parks and playgrounds.[75] It also included new construction of approximately 2,200 residences on scattered sites, of which 1400 were single-family homes and two or three-flats, and the rest were multi-unit dwellings.

As in Philadelphia's Society Hill, an area was set aside within the Hyde Park-Kenwood area for total clearance and new construction, resulting in the ten-story, twin towers of University Apartments. Approval was granted for construction by HHFA in 1955, the groundbreaking was held in 1958, and the two buildings were completed in 1962. The commission was awarded to the developer-architect team of Zeckendorf and I.M. Pei. Pei employed the innovative poured-in-place concrete method that provided the frame of its curtain wall with its thin, light appearance.

Changing Focus

Urban renewal plans developed after the amended Act of 1954 took a markedly different turn from those that were planned earlier. The ambiguity of the phrase "predominantly residential" was removed from Title I, allowing for land cleared with urban renewal funds to be redeveloped for uses other than housing. Business interests considered the predominantly residential clause too restraining and lobbied heavily against it. Thus, the 1954 Act authorized the use of 10% of Title I grants for non-residential use as long as there were a substantial number of pre-existing, substandard housing units in the area. In 1959, Congress removed the substantial number clause altogether, raised the non-residential exception to 20% of the total grant, raised it again to 30% in 1961, and 35% in 1965. These changes led to a broader consensus between mayors, business groups, and labor around urban renewal policies. Its critics, mostly advocates of public housing, complained that the bill was written by the housing industry, specifically the National Association of Home Builders (NAHB), and the National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB). Some claimed that the 1954 Act effectively replaced publicly-assisted housing redevelopment with commercially-oriented urban renewal.

At the same time that cities were struggling to find solutions to their dwindling tax bases, the 1954 Housing Act provided a bonanza to the home loan industry by making home ownership in the suburbs more affordable to middle-class buyers. It made this possible by insuring larger home mortgages with lower down payments and longer term lengths. It strengthened private mortgage credit facilities by reorganizing the Federal National Mortgage Association (Fanny Mae).[76] Blacks who had improved their economic conditions such that they desired to purchase homes were faced with the reality that most areas outside cities were off-limits to them because of red-lining and racial prejudices in the financial and real estate markets. However, many managed to take advantage of the liberalized mortgage terms to purchase their first homes, albeit within the cities, building strong, black middle-class neighborhoods.

By the end of the 1950s it was apparent that no one Federal program was going to eliminate slums and prevent blight, the goal stated in the Housing Act of 1949. Yet, the numbers of urban renewal applications were a testament to the popularity of the program. As of June 30, 1957, 432 projects were approved by HHFA and were in the planning or contract execution stage. Proposed projects were located in 268 cities in thirty-two

[75] Robert Wagner, National Register of Historic Places registration form for "Hyde Park-Kenwood Historic District," U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1979.

[76] David L. Ames and Linda Flint McClelland's *Historic Residential Suburbs: Guidelines for Evaluation and Documentation for the National Register of Historic Places* (2002) provides a history of suburban neighborhoods in the United States.

states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, Alaska and Hawaii. Most large cities had more than one project, and cities with populations over 500,000 received over 50% of the grant funds. The smallest among the approved projects was one acre; the largest 474 acres (most were between ten and 100 acres), with the total acreage in the final project and execution phases at 10,304. All but twenty projects involved total clearance.[77]

According to the HHFA Urban Renewal Project Directory issued June 30, 1957, Chicago had the largest urban renewal program with twenty projects; New York City followed with seventeen; Philadelphia with eleven, Detroit seven, Atlanta and Denver three, and Los Angeles two. The largest Federal commitments were held by two District of Columbia projects—the Northwest project with $40 million and the Southwest Area C project with $24 million; followed by Lincoln Square in New York City with $25 million; Eastwick in Philadelphia with $22 million; and Hyde Park-Kenwood in Chicago with $26 million. Approximately 125,000 families were either displaced or scheduled for relocation by all projects that had been approved; 58% of these families were non-white.[78]

1960s: The Great Society

"And our society will never be great until our cities are great."

President Lyndon Baines Johnson, The Great Society,
delivered May 22, 1964, Ann Arbor, MI[79]

The 1960s amendments to the 1949 Housing Act emerged in the midst of massive opposition to the urban renewal program and its redevelopment projects that did not benefit low-income residents of the nation's cities. Scholars and activists alike criticized the program, and it took heat from both liberal and conservative factions. On the one hand, local recipients of urban renewal funding—planning and redevelopment agencies—were accused of giving too much to private developers and getting too little in return to help low-income working people. On the other, as expressed in the *Federal Bulldozer* by Martin Anderson (1964), a conservative Columbia University Business School professor, the urban renewal effort was painted as expensive and ineffective "social engineering" by "big government." Social activist Jane Jacobs, through her classic book, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961), inspired opposition to urban renewal policies that encouraged "vertical ghettos" as in her city of New York, where protestors were especially vocal in their protection of neighborhoods such as Greenwich Village. She advanced theories about the healthy functioning and important purposes of older urban neighborhoods, buildings, and street life that challenged the very foundations of modernist thinking and architecture as reflected in many of the urban renewal projects built up until that time. Jacobs believed in empowering the neighborhood for its own defense. Through organized public protest and her writings and presentations, Jacobs had an enormous impact on many people who had previously supported urban renewal.

In the 1960s the housing reform and the social justice movements merged with the civil rights agenda. Over two-thirds of those displaced by urban redevelopment and urban renewal through 1961 were either black or, to a lesser extent, Latino. When President John F. Kennedy issued Executive Order 11063, Equal Opportunity in Housing, in 1962, it represented the first major Federal effort to apply civil rights to housing. The Johnson administration followed up with Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which assured nondiscrimination in

[77] Johnstone, "Federal Urban Renewal Program," 320.
[78] Ibid., 319.
[79] Lyndon Baines Johnson, "The Great Society," 22 May 1964, video and transcript accessed, 30 Aug. 2013: http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/lbjthegreatsociety.htm.

Federally assisted programs, and Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968, the Fair Housing Act, which prohibited discrimination in the sale, rental, and financing of housing.

In his 1964 State of the Union address, President Lyndon B. Johnson declared war on poverty and established a legislative agenda to improve the lives of all Americans, calling his program The Great Society. His administration's first Great Society legislation, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, created specialized, urban-based social agencies to address problems of poverty, unemployment, education, housing, health care for senior citizens and the disabled, and civil rights. Included in The Great Society legislation was the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965. This Act established the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) as a permanent Cabinet-level agency, thus elevating the stature of housing and urban affairs in the Federal government. It expanded funding for public housing, providing $7.5 billion for low-income housing and aid to small businesses displaced by urban renewal.

The exodus from central cities that began in the 1940s was accelerated by rebellions that sprang up in earnest after the first, in the Watts section of Los Angeles in 1965, and continued throughout Johnson's term. In 1968, the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King heightened the frustration felt by blacks in their struggle to obtain basic civil rights. As they pushed for greater equality, clashes between whites and blacks flared in major cities across the United States. The Federal government's National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders, commissioned to explain the root cause of the riots, found government clearance activities to be among the most intense sources of resentment from black residents.[80] It was against this tumultuous backdrop of urban violence and disillusionment with urban renewal that Title I projects were carried forward.

The Mature Phase

The 1960s represented the "mature phase" of urban renewal as projects planned earlier were under construction or reaching completion, and new projects, particularly of the commercial and institutional nature, were in the approval and contracting stages. Cities with adequate sized planning bodies had several urban renewal projects taking place concurrently and at various stages of completion. Following are examples of the types of urban renewal projects, their variety, and their scope.

District-wide/Comprehensive Plans

Several mixed-use, comprehensive, district-wide schemes that unfolded over many years were bearing fruit. One of the more successful, launched in Washington, D.C., was the Southwest Urban Renewal Area (Southwest). It held particular significance as one of the earliest, largest, and most comprehensively planned urban renewal projects in the nation and the first in the nation's capital.[81] It was poised to take on a decidedly modernist flavor in both urban design and architecture in a city that had been, up until that time, quite traditional. Home to alley-dwelling neighborhoods where some buildings were even older than the capitol district itself, this deteriorated innermost area of the southwest quadrant, literally in the shadows of the Capitol Building, required action. It was selected as a Title I urban redevelopment area by the Redevelopment Land Agency (RLA) at the end of 1952.

Several prominent local architects, many who settled in the D.C. area after working for the Federal government in the 1930s and early 1940s, had a hand in the renewal of Southwest, including Chloethiel Woodard Smith, a pioneering and influential female modern architect and urbanist; Daniel Urban Kiley, a modernist landscape architect; and Charles M. Goodman, a modern architect. Nationally and internationally reputable architects, including I.M. Pei, Marcel Breuer, and Edward Durell Stone were also represented in the architecture of the Southwest. Harland Bartholomew & Associates was brought in by the North Capitol Planning Commission to

[80] Sutton, *Urban Revitalization in the United States*, 32.
[81] Francesca Russello Ammon, "Southwest Washington, D.C., Urban Renewal Area," HABS No. DC-856, U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Historic American Buildings Survey, 2004, 2.

prepare a land use plan that served as a basis and set of guiding principles for redevelopment of the area after two other plans, the Peet Plan and the Justement-Smith Plan, were not approved. The tabula rasa, or blank slate approach, that called for clearance of over ninety-nine percent of its 550 acres, provided the architects with the opportunity to create new ways of living for the modern age, without many physical impediments.

James H. Scheuer and Roger Stevens, two successful real estate entrepreneurs who formed First National Capitol Redevelopment Corporation, were chosen as the real estate developers of Area B, the mostly residential portion of the Southwest plan.[82] They hired the notable District of Columbia architectural firm of Satterlee and Smith to design the first residential complex to be built in all of Southwest—Capitol Park Towers. It was a five-phased development on a superblock with smaller streets closed to create communal spaces, much like Lafayette Park in Detroit (The Pavilion, Mies van der Rohe, 1958). Five residential towers in a park-like setting were surrounded by clusters of 399 low-rise townhouses, influenced by Le Corbusier's La Ville Radieuse (The Radiant City). The first completed tower (1956-1959) was designed with the apartment floors lifted above the lobby on pilotis and featured balconies with hexagonal patterned sun screens, or *brise soleil*, similar to Le Corbusier's simple pattered concrete walls. Renowned modernist landscape architect Daniel Urban Kiley was responsible for the landscaping of Capitol Park as well as other developments within the area.[83]

The development of Area C of Southwest was led by master developer William Zeckendorf, head of Webb and Knapp. His plan, prepared by I.M. Pei and Harry Weese in 1954 and approved in 1956, would consist of residential, civic and commercial development in Town Center Plaza, the Tenth Street Mall, riverfront development and L'Enfant Plaza and Promenade. It also called for a concentration of Federal buildings. Zeckendorf's financial troubles led to Webb and Knapp's bankruptcy in 1965, leaving other developers to finish his work in Area C. I. M. Pei was responsible for two apartment buildings in Town Center Plaza (1962), which he designed as modernist concrete-framed, curtain wall constructed "towers in the park." But perhaps the most interesting of the residential complexes can be attributed to architect Charles M. Goodman, a graduate of Illinois Institute of Technology. His two high-rises and a cluster of barrel-vaulted and flat-roofed townhouses, forming a cooperative called River Park (1961-63), were constructed of aluminum and glass since the project was sponsored by Reynolds Aluminum. Tiber Island, the first condominiums built in the District of Columbia (1963), was by the local firm of Keyes, Lethbridge and Condon. Sasaki, Dawson, and DeMay, modernist landscape architecture firm from Cambridge, Massachusetts designed the five Waterside Parks between 1968 and 1972.

Design competitions for some of the other sites were introduced into the selection process. Marcel Breuer, a former student of Walter Gropius and his colleague at Harvard's Graduate School of Design, won a competition for the governmental offices of the newly established U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (1968), which he designed as a ten-story, precast concrete building in an Expressionist modern mode. Lapidus, Harle & Liebman won the competition to construct Chalk House West near the waterfront (1963-66). Morris Lapidus was one of the most influential hotel designers of the times; many of his buildings were in New York City and Miami Beach.

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[82] Scheuer sponsored large urban renewal projects and middle-income housing developments in other cities as well, including Cleveland, St. Louis, Sacramento and San Francisco, before becoming a congressman from New York. Stevens became a theatrical producer and was instrumental in securing public funding for the Arts. He was the founding chairman of the National Cultural Center (renamed Kennedy Center for the Arts) and the National Council for the Arts (renamed National Endowment for the Arts). Jennifer 8. Lee, "James H. Scheuer, 13-Term New York Congressman, Is Dead at 85," 31 Aug. 2005, accessed, 4 Aug. 2014: https://www.nytimes.com/2005/08/31/nyregion/james-h-scheuer-13term-new-york-congressman-is-dead-at-85.html; The Kennedy Center, "Roger Stevens," accessed, 4 Aug. 2014: https://www.kennedy-center.org/artists/s/so-sz/roger-stevens/.

[83] Cecille Chen and Madeline L. Clites, Capitol Park Towers, Application for Historic Landmark or Historic District Designation (Washington DC: DC Historic Preservation Office, 2012).

L'Enfant Plaza was central to Zeckendorf's and Pei's vision for Southwest, but it was not carried out as conceived. Originally proposed as a national cultural center with a promenade, plaza and park, its twenty-acre site (fourteen cleared blocks) were to house the National Center for Performing Arts (Kennedy Center) before it was moved to its home in Foggy Bottom. Instead, three private office buildings, a government building, an underground shopping mall, and a three-acre park were created. Araldo A. Cossutta, an associate of Pei, designed two of the office buildings—the North and South Buildings. Against Zeckendorf and Pei's strong objection, the placement of the Forrestal Building (1969) at the north end of L'Enfant Plaza effectively blocked the view to the National Mall. The architectural commission was won by a joint venture formed by Curtis & Davis, Fordyce and Hamby Associates, and Frank Grad and Sons, with Brutalist-style buildings on pilotis. Benjamin Banneker Park (1971), a minimalist landscaped park with a central water feature and low granite walls by Kiley, opened up the south end of the plaza to the waterfront. L'Enfant Plaza was hailed as a concrete masterpiece with technological innovations—the mechanical and electrical systems were integrated into the exposed coffer ceilings of the Cossutta office buildings—soon after it opened. However, it proved to be a barren and harsh environment that was not pedestrian-friendly and was largely abandoned after work hours. What Zeckendorf and Pei conceived as a grand gateway into the heart of the capitol district did not materialize.

Completed some twenty years after it was initiated, Southwest ultimately managed to attract and retain 13,000 solidly middle-class residents to its approximately 5,800 new housing units.[84] Two new schools, eight churches, a library, four parks, a theater, and several commercial areas added to the quality of life in the new Southwest. The commercial and government office buildings provided a concentrated employment center within the area. A half-century after many of its constituent developments were completed, Southwest is still a well-maintained, stable, desirable, racially and economically diverse urban renewal area that is again undergoing a renewal.

The Southwest Urban Renewal Area consisted of diverse components—residential, riverfront, gateway, commercial, town center, governmental—within a single, large project area. It linked housing with employment and transportation routes and facilities. Many, many other cities planned urban renewal projects with less comprehensive, more single-focused ambitions but included elements of the Southwest plan.

Similar in goals but very different in character and outcome to Southwest, however, was Eastwick, an urban development area in Philadelphia. Before redevelopment, Eastwick was a 2,300 acre, sparsely populated area with a racially mixed population and limited city services at the southwest edge of the city.[85] Edmund Bacon, head of Philadelphia's Planning Commission, set ambitious goals for Eastwick—to create a "city-within-a-city" that would connect residents with their workplaces. In addition to subdivisions along the garden city model, industrial and commercial zones would be developed. The plan was approved in 1958 and Eastwick, Philadelphia's answer to Levittown, was declared "the largest urban renewal area in the United States."[86] In 1961 the Korman Residential Company began implementing its plan for construction of one housing complex, but subsequent progress stalled. To invigorate the effort, world-renowned architect, planner and engineer Constantinos Doxiadis of Doxiadis Associates was brought in to produce a plan that would eventually be carried out in part, with some success in linking employment and housing in an urban renewal project for a working class, racially integrated community but it never lived up to its anticipated 60,000 population.

San Francisco's foray into urban renewal projects began with Diamond Heights, a district-wide project of its redevelopment agency in accordance with a plan by Vernon DeMars (1951). It assembled land that was eighty-five percent vacant in the hilly center of the city and made a unique case for its blighted condition based on its street plan that could not be economically viable without Federal urban renewal grants because of its terrain.

[84] Southwest Neighborhood Assembly, Inc., https://swna.org/swna/task-forces/history-task-force/.

[85] In fact, the urban renewal plan identified the area as vacant and called for mass clearance, seized more than 2,000 acres under eminent domain and displacing some 10,000 residents.

[86] Guian McKee, "Liberal Ends through Illiberal Means," *Journal of Urban History* 27 (Jul. 2007): 547.

The San Francisco Redevelopment Agency sought development for a range of incomes that would include single family homes, apartment buildings, high-rises, churches, schools, parks and a commercial center that could work with the topography. Over one hundred modernist tract houses built by real estate developer Joseph Eichler were designed by his architects, Claude Oakland and Joseph Esherick, in Diamond Heights, a community that was completely developed between 1961 and 1981.

Performing Arts and Cultural Centers

Urban renewal was used to clear land for theaters, concert halls, and museums throughout the nation. Gerald M. Berkowitz writes in *New Broadways: Theaters Across America: Approaching a New Millennium*, that "more than 170 theaters and arts centers were built between 1962 and 1969, with more than sixty percent of all private, government and foundation support going towards construction."[87] The Los Angeles Music Center, consisting of three theaters including the Dorothy Chandler Pavilion (Welton Becket, 1965), and the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington, D.C. (Edward Durell Stone, 1971) joined New York City's Lincoln Center in achieving status as the nation's most acclaimed performing arts centers.

Lincoln Center represents one of Robert Moses' unprecedented schemes to use urban renewal in bringing established cultural institutions and businesses to a fourteen-acre site on Manhattan's Upper West Side. It was part of the larger Lincoln Square Urban Renewal Area which replaced a large African American and Afro-Caribbean neighborhood called San Juan Hill, designated as a "slum" by the city of New York in 1955. Lincoln Square, when completed, had a residential component of 4,120 units, a branch of Fordham University (Voorhees, Walker, Smith, and Haines, architects), a hotel, a public high school (Belushi and Catalano, architects) and office buildings.

Created as the nation's first performing arts center, Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts consolidated the Metropolitan Opera House, New York Philharmonic Orchestra, Juilliard School of Music and several other cultural institutions on one site. It was designed between 1956 and 1962 by a star-studded cast of modern architects that were brought together and coordinated by Wallace K. Harrison at the request of Nelson Rockefeller. They included Pietro Belluschi; Philip Johnson; Wallace Harrison and Max Abramovitz; Skidmore, Owings and Merrill (SOM); Gordon Bunshaft; and Eero Saarinen.[88] Different buildings by different architects were unified by their modern style, glass and travertine designs. When Philip Johnson was asked about creative differences among the design team regarding style, he responded frankly:

> The six of us may have different ideas but we're united. After all, we're on the same side of the fence. We have come up through the modern movement together, and we're looking away from the Puritanism of the International style toward enriched forms. I would say that we have extraordinary agreement on the direction our plans will take.[89]

The architects of Lincoln Center were creating a completely new and revolutionary concept in America: the centralized, comprehensive yet customized performing arts center. Its historic groundbreaking took place in 1959. Paul Goldberger, architectural critic for the *New York Times*, observed that, contrary to Jane Jacobs' dire predictions of urban alienation and isolation, "Lincoln Center has turned out to have had a profound effect on the city around it, spawning everything from restaurants and boutiques to luxury apartment houses."[90] Theodore

[87] Gerald M. Berkowitz, *New Broadways: Theaters Across America, Approaching a New Millennium* (New York: Applause, 1997), 98.

[88] Harrison had worked on Rockefeller Center (1939) and United Nations Plaza (1953) and was an opera house member of longstanding.

[89] Quoted in Howard C. Schonberg, "Six Architects in Search of a Center," *The New York Times Magazine* 8 Feb. 1959: VI, 22.

[90] LandmarkWest!, "Significance Narrative: Lincoln Square Urban Renewal Area," 160, accessed and downloaded, 30 June, 2014: http://www.landmarkwest.org/publications/Fall07/LCNRN.Significance_Narrative.doc.

H. M. Prudon, adjunct professor of Columbia University's Historic Preservation Program, an architect and President of the United States chapter of DOCOMOMO, an organization devoted to the preservation of "buildings, sites and neighborhoods of the modern movement," said its buildings "represent the work of America's most significant architects at the time," whose "work is synonymous with the development of American architecture after the war."[91] Thomas Mellins called it "the jewel of a massive urban renewal effort that triggered the rebirth of an entire urban district. It helped return to the inner-city much of the vitality that, since the Second World War, had been drained off by the explosive growth of the suburbs and the increasing privatization of entertainment wrought by the advent of television."[92]

Daniel Urban Kiley, landscape architect, designed the plaza north of Damrosch Park (1969), Alice Tully Hall and the Juilliard School. Ken Smith, landscape historian, architect and design critic at Harvard University's Graduate School of Design, concluded that Kiley's work at the complex is "among the most significant examples of mid-century modern landscape architecture produced in the United States."[93] Public art advisor Nancy Rosen extolled the integrated artwork as "exemplary, truly 'world-class'" and "pioneering example[s] of the marriage of art and site."[94] Lincoln Center transformed an area of New York City into a cultural gem for residents of the city and visitors alike.

Universities and Hospitals

Congress sweetened the pot for the expansion of universities and hospitals by adding Section 418 of the Housing Act of 1959. This section allowed land in or near an approved urban renewal area to be acquired, cleared and used for institutional expansion, with a two-to-one Federal matching grant given to local governments to use for urban renewal projects elsewhere in the city. The University of Chicago was the driving force behind this legislation, and many universities used it to expand, including Columbia, George Washington, University of Pennsylvania, Temple University, New York University, and Yale University.[95] Vociferous complaints of institutional encroachment by neighborhood groups were by-products of this expansion.

Universities with goals of expansion considered moving from their traditional locations in cities where their boundaries were constrained. With young men and women enrolling in higher education at all-time high levels on the GI Bill, local governments brought whatever financial incentives and planning tools to the table to convince them to stay for fear of the loss of jobs and tax revenue. One example, Temple University, considered a rural location but reevaluated their urban mission and committed to stay and expand into a modern campus in North Philadelphia following a plan developed in 1955. Clearance activities began in 1965 and the university proceeded with its building program, completing its main campus in 1978. Tension with the mostly black community arose and came to a head over protests in 1969. A mechanism was established for communication with the community, who wanted public housing in one section of the clearance area. After mediation and an agreement in the face of much community skepticism in 1970, thirteen-acres of land were conceded by Temple, with a future agreement for building expansion that would have to be agreed upon with the community.[96]

Another example of institutional encroachment under urban renewal was Wayne State University in midtown Detroit. Wayne State grew from a city college in the 1940s to a major state university in the 1960s. Broadened eligibility for university expansion assisted Wayne State only so far as the local community was outraged at the proposal to clear 304 acres west and south of the main campus, including the historic Woodbridge

[91] Ibid.

[92] LandmarkWest!, "Urban Renewal Success," 5-6, accessed 30 Jun. 2014: http://www.landmarkwest.org/publications/Fall07/LincolnCenter/SigNarUrbanRenewalSuccess.pdf.

[93] LandmarkWest!, "Significance Narrative," 162.

[94] Ibid. 161.

[95] On Section 112 Credits see LaDale Winling, *Building the Ivory Tower: Universities and Metropolitan Development in the Twentieth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017).

[96] Ibid.

neighborhood. While part of Woodbridge was saved from demolition and listed in the National Register of Historic Places, part was lost to the university's expansion for an athletic complex. Institutions and citizens in many renewal areas, such as Detroit, Philadelphia, and Chicago, arrived at legitimate, formal mechanisms to work out their differences, but not without discord.

New Haven, Connecticut, home of Yale University, was poised to become a showcase for urban renewal. It received a disproportionate share of Title I funding—$745 per capita, more than twice the amount of the next two highest, $277 in Newark, and $218 in Boston.[97] Under Mayor Richard Lee and development director Edward Logue, the city of New Haven pulled from the influence, talent and expertise of Yale University to attract major investment and well-known outside architects to transform New Haven into what Lee and the press heralded as the "Model City." Initially, many citizens of New Haven were excited by all the attention that the renewal projects brought to their city, but the projects themselves, by and large, did not live up to expectations.

State and local leaders coupled New Haven's first Title I project, Oak Street, with a state highway project, the Oak Street Connector, a limited access spur off of Interstate 95 to bring people into the central business district to shop and conduct business. It replaced a tight-knit Italian, Jewish and black neighborhood of dilapidated houses, crime, violence, and despair adjacent to the downtown, causing the relocation of 866 households and about 350 businesses. Completed in 1959, the Connector was developed as "the front door to the city," with modern architectural statements lining it.[98] It literally fell far short of expectations, terminating in a parking garage. However, sited along the eight-lane highway were several modern buildings contributing to New Haven's reputation as a showcase of modern architecture. These included Crawford Manor (1965) by Paul Rudolph, the Yale Laboratory of Epidemiology and Public Health (1963) by Philip Johnson with Douglas Orr, and the Knights of Columbus Tower (1967) and New Haven (Veteran's Memorial) Coliseum (1972) by Roche and Dinkeloo.[99] The Coliseum, a 10,000 seat, Brutalist style stadium, was demolished thirty years after it was built; the hope of spurring development around it did not materialize. Several other cities bought into the notion that a highway could revive a city by bringing people downtown and pursued similar projects. In Paterson, New Jersey, NJ Route 19 was planned in 1959 as a spur of the Garden State Parkway, but instead it dead-ended into city streets, sparing what became the Great Falls National Historic Landmark district (NHL, 1976). In Albany, New York, the South Mall Arterial ends abruptly in a loop on a small city street after emerging from under the massive Empire State Plaza (Harrison and Abramovitz, 1959-76), Nelson Rockefeller's state government center. These "highways to nowhere" butted up against opposition from proponents of neighborhood conservation and historic preservation.

Government Centers

Expanding or reestablishing new centers of government, as seen in Southwest Washington, D.C., also benefitted from the largess of urban renewal funding. Boston's Government Center was based on a master plan prepared by I.M. Pei and Associates for the Boston Redevelopment Authority under Edward Logue in 1961. In addition to the new city hall and government service center, the plan called for a new office building, a hotel and retail facilities, and a new mass transit station, all around a major urban plaza. Architect Kallman McKinnell & Knowles won the competition for the Brutalist city hall and plaza (1968). Paul Rudolph designed the Government Service Center (1966-71) with his characteristic ribbed, bush-hammered concrete known as "corduroy concrete." Its planned twenty-three-story office tower was not built. Shortly after Boston City Hall's opening, *New York Times* architecture critic Ada Louise Huxtable extolled it as "a superior public building in an age that values cheapness over quality as a form of public virtue.…It is a product of this moment and these

[97] Jonathan Finer, "Urban Renewal's Final Implosion: Cities in Rubble," *The Washington Post* 22 Oct. 2006, accessed 4 Aug. 2014: https://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/10/20/AR2006102001245.html.
[98] Elizabeth Mills Brown, *New Haven, a Guide to Architecture and Urban Design* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), 26.
[99] "New Haven Historic Resource Inventory: Phase I, Central New Haven," New Haven New Haven Historic Trust, 1981.

times."[100] Others were less kind over the years, to the point that the city of Boston is currently rethinking the building and plaza's future.

Gateways and Downtowns

Many cities large and small took advantage of urban renewal to clear and prepare sites for gateways into their central core. The first envisioned and the most symbolic was the Gateway Arch (NHL, 1987), a National Park on the Mississippi River in St. Louis, Missouri. In 1947, Eero Saarinen won the competition over 172 others for the Jefferson Memorial and Gateway Arch, designed with structural engineer Hannskarl Bendel and landscape architect Daniel Urban Kiley. Erected between 1963 and 1965, the monument to Westward Expansion took the form of a 630 foot tall and wide, stainless steel, inverted and weighted catenary arch. Two trams carried visitors to the observation deck at the top of the arch and a visitor center with a museum was positioned underneath. It was erected between 1961 and 1965 as the focal point of a then eighty-acre park shared by the Old Courthouse.[101]

In Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, the privately financed Gateway Center was an early pioneering effort at slum clearance and redevelopment under its mayor, David Lawrence, that became a model for downtown redevelopment in other cities. Equitable Life Assurance Society which, along with support from Richard King Mellon, the state of Pennsylvania, Allegheny County and the city of Pittsburgh, developed Gateway Center, a collection of office buildings, and Point State Park, with only $600,000 in Federal aid. The first three, steel-framed buildings were designed by New York City architects Eggers and Higgins, with Irwin Claven (Gateway 1, 2, 3, 1950-53). Eggers and Higgins was responsible for finishing up the Jefferson Memorial Building in Washington D.C. after John Russell Pope's death in 1937. That firm also participated in the Lincoln Center urban renewal project with the development of Damrosch Park, an outdoor amphitheater known as the Guggenheim Band Shell, with landscape architect Kiley.

ALCOA, the largest aluminum materials producer in the United States, was considering a corporate move to New York City when Mellon got involved and convinced its CEO to remain in Pittsburgh. Alcoa was already involved in seeking new outlets for its products in the construction field after World War II and sponsored several urban renewal development projects on its own. Three Mellon Bank Center (1952) and the Alcoa Building (1950-53), both by the architectural firm of Harrison and Abramowitz, flanked Mellon Square. Mellon Square (1955), a public plaza with a parking garage beneath it, was designed by well-known modernist landscape architect John O. Simonds. Simonds studied with Gropius and Breuer at Harvard Graduate School of Design. His work in which he aimed to achieve harmony between people and plants was greatly influenced by his travels to Asia and Zen philosophy.

Baltimore, Maryland claimed to be the first in the country to call for renewal of the very center of downtown under urban renewal. One Charles Center, a twenty-three story, International style, steel and glass office tower designed by Mies van der Rohe, stands as a keynote to the city's downtown revival.[102] Completed in 1962, it was the first building on the Charles Center urban renewal site.

In Newark, New Jersey, architect and shopping mall pioneer Victor Gruen was hired to design the Gateway Urban Renewal Project in 1959. Like shopping malls, his solution was entirely interior-oriented and disconnected to its surroundings, which did not promote a pedestrian-friendly environment. Only two phases

[100] Ada Louise Huxtable, "Boston's New City Hall: A Public Building of Quality," *The New York Times* 4 Feb. 1969: 33.

[101] U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, "Jefferson National Expansion Memorial," accessed 15 Aug. 2013: http://www.nps.gov/jeff/index.htm, and Docomomo-US, "Jefferson National Expansion Memorial," accessed 15 Aug. 2013: https://www.docomomo-us.org/register/jefferson-national-expansion-memorial.

[102] Betty Bird, National Register of Historic Places registration form for "One Charles Center," U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 2000.

were completed under Gruen; Gateway One and Two were connected to Penn Station by skywalks and, like shopping malls, sat in a sea of parking. In 1968, *Architectural Forum* highlighted this feature: "It will be possible ... to travel to a business appointment in Newark and return without ever encountering vehicular traffic; in fact without going outdoors at all."[103] The complex conveyed a fear of urban life and a need for a controlled environment, not an inviting gateway to the city.

In contrast to the Newark solution, the Golden Gateway (1959-64, Phase I) in San Francisco was a "new town in town" that combined residential, retail, commercial office and open space in the heart of the city. It occupied an eight-block area between Jackson Square and the Embarcadero along the San Francisco Bay that was formerly home to a wholesale market and distribution center. Developed by the local partnership of Perini-San Francisco according to a plan by Skidmore Owens Merrill (SOM), Golden Gateway was described in the *National Trust Guide to San Francisco* as a "Modernist essay in the spirit of the International style, which was defined by the works of European architects such as Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius and Mies van der Rohe."[104] Here, the office and residential towers and townhouses were designed by some of the city's leading architectural firms, including SOM; Wurster; Bernardi and Emmons; Anshen and Allen; and DeMars and Reay. They worked with landscape architects, notably Lawrence Halprin, on the plazas that were elevated one level above the street, connected by footbridges, to create a pedestrian environment separate from automobile traffic but conducive to human interaction. The first phase of the Golden Gateway Redevelopment Project established a residential center in the core of the city earlier than most other cities.

The fears expressed by housing reformers when the housing act was amended in 1954—that corporate and real estate interests would gain control over Federal housing policy—were prophetic. "Urban renewal, begun in 1949 as a slum clearance program with the avowed purpose of improving living conditions for slum residents, was converted during the 1950s into a program for strengthening central cities against suburban competition."[105] From 1949 through June 1966, approximately six billion Federal dollars were spent on urban renewal, including the demolition of over 400,000 low- and moderate-income housing units, to accommodate plans for rebuilding downtowns with new developments. Of the 174,000 housing units built to replace them, only 41,580 had been built for low-to moderate-income residents, and most often for the high end of that income category.[106] Because of the lag in time—generally anywhere between six to thirteen years—between clearance and redevelopment, most projects extended into the late 1960s, 1970s, and beyond. Often enough, the planned residential components of these developments were never built. [107] Oklahoma City's mega-plan, designed by I.M. Pei, was finalized in 1964 and approved by city council in 1965. Clearance began in 1967. While a convention center, several corporate headquarters buildings, parking garages and street pattern changes were accomplished, the retail and residential components were not realized. The same can be said for Erieview and Riverview, in Cleveland and Toledo, respectively. Both were developed by Columbus, Ohio developer John Galbreath and planned by I.M. Pei with signature buildings by the New York architectural firm of Harrison and Abramovitz. Likewise, Phoenix Center in Pontiac, Michigan (1965-1980), a visionary plan by the Dean of the University of Detroit, C. Don Davidson, resulted in only a parking structure and three office high rises, and a hole in the center of downtown, a particularly tragic reminder of the loss of traditional manufacturing jobs in Michigan.

Nationally, small businesses in historic downtowns, if they still remained, had difficulty surviving nearby urban renewal and competition from suburban shopping malls because their customers dispersed into the larger city or

[103] Thomas Dolan, "Newark and Its Gateway Complex," *Rutgers Newark Online*, The Newark Metro.
[104] Peter Booth Wiley, *National Trust Guide/San Francisco* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2000), 86.
[105] Bernard J. Frieden and Marshall Kaplan, *The Politics of Neglect* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1977), 23.
[106] "Report of the National Committee on Urban Problems," *Rebuilding the American City*, House Doc. 91-34, 91st Cong., 1st sess. 1969, 163.
[107] Sutton, *Urban Revitalization in the United States*, 31.

suburbs. Downtown highways, when they were built, made it easier for suburbanites to take advantage of cultural and sporting events in the new downtowns and then leave. When they did not get fully built as planned, such as Boston's "Big Dig" or New Haven's Route 34, they were an embarrassing reminder of misguided, grandiose planning. As more of the historic fabric of urban downtowns disappeared through urban renewal, a fermenting historic preservation movement was gaining momentum. The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 required a review process for buildings threatened with demolition through Federal actions (Section 106).

Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966

In response to mounting criticism of urban renewal, President Johnson convened a task force whose recommendations resulted in the passage of the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act, popularly called "Model Cities," which introduced another important but short-lived (1966-1974) program that revised the nation's approach to housing and communities. The purpose of the Act was "to assist comprehensive city demonstration programs for rebuilding slum and blighted areas and for providing the public facilities and services necessary to improve the general welfare of the people who live in those areas, to assist and encourage planned metropolitan area development, and for other purposes."[108] Considered novel for its time, Model Cities linked urban renewal programs and social renewal programs by authorizing expenditures of funds for other functions besides clearance, reconstruction, or rehabilitation, all in the context of enhanced citizen participation. The Federal government was authorized to make grants and provide technical assistance to selected city "demonstration" agencies to enable them to plan, develop, and conduct programs to improve their physical environment, increase their supply of housing for low-income people, and to provide education and social services vital to the health and welfare of the community. This approach was intended to empower people in the demonstration area through self-determination, since the governance structure for determination of what expenditures would be made depended less on local government than on local residents elected to serve on the boards of governing agencies. Model City status expanded access to urban renewal grants, allowing the model city supplement funds to cover the local one-third match requirements of urban renewal.

Detroit's Mayor Jerome Cavanagh was instrumental in developing the original idea for the Model Cities program. Elected in 1962 at the age of thirty-three, Cavanagh was a reformer with a special interest in urban affairs. In 1963 he accompanied Martin Luther King, Jr. on the March for Freedom down Detroit's Woodward Avenue. He served as the only elected official on the President's Task Force on Urban and Metropolitan Development at a time when he was also president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors and National League of Cities. A very limited number of cities were envisioned for a pilot project (with Cavanagh pushing for Detroit) but in the end, to expedite shepherding the bill through Congress, sixty to seventy cities were selected—this later increased to 150 cities. The appropriation for this bill, $2.4 billion over six years, was reduced. The program was named Model Neighborhoods to reflect the change in scope.

Seattle was the recipient of the first funded Model Cities project in 1967. Composed of the Central Area, Pioneer Square, and the International District, this area contained ten percent of the city's population but sixty-one percent of its non-whites. Single-family houses were the predominant housing type in this historic but downtrodden area of the city. In accordance with the program, a comprehensive plan was funded by a one-year planning grant and implementation and ongoing planning lasting five years was subsequently funded.

Financial and technical assistance was made available to cities through the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, established in 1965 to ameliorate social, economic, and physical conditions in selected neighborhoods. City agencies were required to coordinate their efforts with citizen participation. Although Model Cities was seen as an innovative and comprehensive approach to urban revitalization through its coordination of physical redevelopment and social services within designated poverty neighborhoods, it

[108] Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, PL89-754, 80 STAT 1255, 3 Nov. 2006, accessed 30 Aug. 2013: http://research.archives.gov/description/299945.

ultimately proved difficult for the new cabinet-level agency to administer. Difficulties in coordinating with other Federal agencies and insufficient resources proved its downfall. In addition, local politics proved difficult, in part because expenditures by-passed city hall and local governing boards were not always representative or effective. However, according to June Manning Thomas, in some ways the program was effective in promoting the idea that urban problems could be resolved through community action and citizen participation in the planning process. "Perhaps the most notable benefit was the support of neighborhood power."[109]

Detroit received one of the largest allocations of Model Neighborhoods funds—$490 million—in an attempt to turn around nine square miles of the city's central and near east portion containing 134,000 inhabitants.[110] This area included some of the older urban renewal sites, including Lafayette Park. Detroit's redevelopment vision that started with Lafayette Park continued with the redevelopment of Elmwood Park, a 504-acre renewal area immediately across the Grand Trunk Western Railroad tracks to its east.

Elmwood Park was developed in three phases but planned simultaneously to avoid piecemeal site planning and architectural incompatibility.[111] Strong links were forged between Elmwood and Lafayette Park in their site plans, with central community parks providing the focal points that linked the neighborhood parks, schools and play fields. Condemnation and clearance for Elmwood began in the early 1960s and ended in the early 1970s. Described as "country living blended with the convenience of its downtown location" in the promotional brochure, Elmwood Park #1 was a neighborhood of low-rise townhouses and condominiums with scattered senior towers. Elmwood Park #2 was meant to be developed for mid-to-upper income residents in accordance with the Elmwood development plan, but pressure generated by the Ralph Bunch Community Council and Metropolitan Detroit Citizen's Development Authority resulted in a commitment to provide housing for some of the 1700 families and individuals displaced for Elmwood Park #3 and neighboring areas. The challenge set forth by Elmwood #2, then, was to consciously design for a pre-identified low and moderate population that had long-term stability. This type of development would require rent subsidies, a mix of housing sizes, and access to services. Community participation and control were integral parts of the planning process, which was seen as an experiment in the coordination of social planning and physical development. While the individual housing developments in Elmwood Park #3 were built after the height of the modern movement in architecture, they are set within the framework of the 1960s Elmwood Park Master Plan that has resulted in a well-functioning community today.

With Richard M. Nixon's election to the presidency in 1969, the urban renewal and Model Cities programs continued, while his administration explored other options more palatable to his Republican base that favored decentralizing urban policy. According to Nixon biographer Stephen E. Ambrose, the president ordered his aides to "flush Model Cities and the Great Society along with it."[112] From 1969 through 1972 the Federal government provided housing benefits to 1.6 million low and moderate income families, far more than in all of the previous thirty-four years of the program before the Nixon administration.[113] All told, 3,284 projects in

[109] June Manning Thomas, *Redevelopment and Race: Planning a Finer City in Postwar Detroit* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2013), 138.

[110] Mittie O. Chandler, "Detroit: Staying the Course – Detroit's Struggle to Revitalize the Inner City," in *Rebuilding Urban Neighborhoods: Achievements, Opportunities, and Limits*, ed. W. Dennis Keating and Norman Krumholz (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1999), 110.

[111] Crane & Gorwic, urban planners from Detroit; Meathe, Kessler & Associates of Grosse Pointe; Irving Grossman of Toronto; and Johnson, Johnson and Roy (JJR), landscape architect from Ann Arbor, were responsible for the plan of Elmwood Park.

[112] Sutton, *Urban Revitalization in the United States*, 33.

[113] U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), "U.S. Department of Housing & Urban Development, 1930-2010" (interactive timeline), accessed 30 Aug. 2013: https://www.huduser.gov/hud_timeline/.

1,258 towns and cities were awarded Federal funding throughout the quarter century of its existence totaling more than $13.2 billion.[114]

Housing and Community Development Act of 1974
Nixon declared a moratorium on subsidized housing, urban renewal, Model Cities, and FHA programs in 1973, awaiting research from HUD's Office of Policy Development and Research. After the moratorium was lifted in the summer of 1974, Congress passed a new housing and community development act that eliminated urban renewal and the Model Cities program. Instead, the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 shifted large governmental spending towards funding improvements to existing housing, providing direct housing allowances to the poor (Section 8), and transferring more responsibility to the states and municipalities.

Through the 1974 Act, the Federal government decentralized housing programs. The Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) program combined Model Cities and redevelopment into a single block grant that went directly to the local or state governments according to a revenue sharing formula. Cities had more discretion and flexibility on priorities—the funds could be used to eliminate slums or spent on existing housing in low to moderate income neighborhoods, build public facilities, fund business development, support child care, etc. In its first year, the CDBG program was focused on completing urban renewal projects. While no new funds were allocated to urban renewal, there were many approved projects under construction. Urban Development Action Grants (UDAG) of 1977, a Federally regulated but locally controlled program, addressed economic development and job creation with subsidies that went directly to developers in economically distressed cities. UDAGs assisted in the completion of many downtown shopping malls on land that was cleared under the urban renewal program.

Effects of Urban Renewal
The twenty-five-year period of urban renewal (1949-1974) coincided with the transformation in the demographic make-up of many industrial cities in the Midwest and Northeast. Their populations grew rapidly in the 1950s and then steadily declined throughout the rest of the twentieth century. Detroit in this period reached its peak population of 1,849,568 in 1950, of which 16.25 percent were black. By 1980, Detroit's population declined to 1,203,339 and its black population was 63 percent.[115] While at first addressing a housing shortage and urban blight, the Housing Act of 1949, as amended, was transformed into an opportunity for commercial and industrial developments.

Urban renewal had many critics. Grass roots efforts to curtail wholesale demolition included a "highway revolt" after a section of double-deck freeway opened along San Francisco's historic waterfront, the Embarcadero in 1959 and the Jane Jacobs-assisted protests to save Greenwich Village in New York City in 1958, achieved some success in halting the bulldozer and altering or dropping the plans. Some negative results and positive achievements of the Federal urban renewal program were:

1. Displacement and dislocation of racial and ethnic minorities and poor people from what were often tightly-knit urban communities. Although African Americans were not the only ethnic group displaced by urban renewal projects, they were disproportionately affected. Relocation efforts generally fell short, in terms of adequate compensation, active provision of viable alternative housing, and timely notice.[116]

[114] Eisinger, *The Rise of the Entrepreneurial State*, 96.
[115] Peter Gavrilovich and Bill McGraw, *Detroit Almanac* (Detroit: Detroit Free Press, Inc., 2000), accessed 12 Aug. 2014: http://historydetroit.com/statistics/#population.
[116] A study of urban renewal projects in forty-one cities undertaken in 1961 reported that 60 percent of those displaced were relocated to other slums. "Urban Redevelopment," Dictionary of American History, 2003.

2. Increase in class inequality by demolishing predominantly low-rent dwelling units and replacing them by higher-rent ones or, in the 1960s, with institutional uses not necessarily accessible to low-income people for service or employment.
3. Destruction of some commercial areas and displacement of small businesses, many never reopened; those not re-opened were often businesses which served minority-race clientele in multiple ways.[117]
4. Modern architecture and site plans that radically departed from the traditional city fabric and that at the time were often considered out of context with their surrounding area;
5. Bureaucratic procedures or constrictions on rebuilding created lengthy timelines, resulting in financial difficulties and incomplete projects that added to urban vacancy and blight.
6. Top-down approach to planning that in most cases did not consider social issues; lack of meaningful citizen participation.
7. Urban renewal failed in its basic objective. It did not retain the middle class or attract them back to the inner cities in numbers necessary to make a difference in patterns of decentralization.

Positive achievements of urban renewal included:

1. At its best, it spurred private development, increased tax revenue, and created jobs, with examples such as Lincoln Center in New York City and Charles Center in Baltimore.
2. Left a legacy of modern architecture that was an expression of its age.
3. Informed governments and planners of what *not* to do in the future and led to recognition that physical structures in and of themselves were not the solutions to societal issues of class, race, and economics.
4. Led to specific reforms of government policies, most notably with the Uniform Relocation Act of 1970 (and subsequent iterations) which better protected persons being relocated, by residential or commercial redevelopment, highways, institutions, or other projects using Federal funds.
5. Created an emerging consciousness of historic preservation and neighborhood conservation which led to the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, historic rehabilitation tax incentives, and a proliferation of local ordinances with the purpose of protecting historic resources.
6. Protected key institutions such as urban universities and hospitals and created middle-class housing, much of which remains intact, close to city centers.

As noted in the accounts above, such as in the narrative concerning university projects, one of the key difficulties with the urban renewal program, nationwide, was the issue of displacement and dislocation, particularly of racial or ethnic minority communities. It took some time for awareness to arise that low-income family removal was taking place, because at the beginning of the program the promise was of more low-income housing and to many this was a potentially good thing. Before this era replacement housing built after government-driven clearance had been "war" or subsidized public housing, under the Housing Act of 1937, built for the working class.

With an increasing number of experiences with wholesale clearance under the urban renewal program, however, concerns grew that certain portions of the population were paying a huge price for the sake of redevelopment. Yet, in New York City under the leadership of Robert Moses—influential czar of many projects related to highways, parks, and urban renewal—and other cities as well, protests against neighborhood destruction and displacement were typically ignored. In truth, because of patterns of filtering in the housing stock, more well-to-do residents in central cities had typically moved outward ever since the era of streetcar suburbs, a trend that escalated after World War II. Those portions of cities' housing which were dilapidated often housed racial and ethnic minorities. That these places were not faceless "slums" but rather complex communities was documented in several studies, most notably Herbert Gans's study of the "urban villagers" in an Italian section of Boston,

[117] Eleanor Wolf and Charles N. Lebeaux, with Shirley Terreberry and Harriet Saperstein, "Business Relocation: Owners' Views," *Change and Renewal in the Urban Community: Five Case Studies of Detroit* (New York: Praeger, 1969), 455, 481-82.

but the discovery of their value came too late to protect these communities. Racial attitudes of marginalization and segregation did not help, as these attitudes made clearance of black communities, in some cases, appear to be a righteous or at least necessary act. In hindsight, this program required tremendous sacrifices from the people removed for the sake of these projects, but at the same time many of their descendants now benefit by living or working in areas of central cities which were developed using urban renewal funds. In some economically distressed cities, such as Detroit, projects funded by urban renewal have remained intact even when other portions of the city have declined and decayed beyond the point of repair.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS: LAFAYETTE PARK AND OTHER TITLE I HOUSING

The Federal urban renewal program left a legacy of urban planning and design that was distinct to the period in which it was conceived and built—1949 to 1974. The breadth of its reach was nationwide. An analysis between Lafayette Park and the early residential urban renewal projects most similar to it lead one to conclude that Lafayette Park and perhaps only a few others built as integrated housing for middle-class occupancy stand out as pioneering efforts of urban renewal from its early phase under Title I of the 1949 Housing Act.

Lafayette Park (1958) in Detroit and Capitol Park Towers (1959) in Southwest Washington, D.C. are alike in that they are composed of high-rise and low-rise residential buildings arranged in a “superblock” with a network of pedestrian pathways and landscaped courts, built in stages but forming a unified whole. While Lafayette Park was not completed as planned with more Mies-designed residential complexes due to the death of its developer, subsequent additions of other developments retained the underlying plan. These two projects succeeded in an urban design sense because they were led by a single vision of modern planning—Lafayette Park by the team of Mies, Hilberseimer and Caldwell; Capitol Park Towers by Satterlee and Smith, and they have much in common due to the quality of their designs. Their major difference lies in their size—the Capitol Park complex was a 3.1-acre, single planned development within the much larger scheme of the Southwest Redevelopment Plan of 1952 (Subpart B), while Lafayette Park was approximately 78 acres, including the Plaisance (a public park), residential buildings, the school and shopping center. Capitol Park residents had to wait until Subpart C, planned by I.M. Pei, was completed much later to provide neighborhood retail services; this part was far less successful than the housing components. Wayne State University’s institutional buildings to the west, while outside of the Lafayette Park boundaries per se, were built under Title I with similar intent to the Federal government center created as part of the Southwest Redevelopment Plan, which was to serve as a center of employment for the area. The vision of Lafayette Park, therefore, was the more complete and self-contained of the two.

The Lafayette Park concept of housing around a public park was followed to its south in the Lafayette Park Extension and to its east, separated by sunken railroad tracks (now the Dequindre Cut, a rail-trail) by the three phases of Elmwood Park. These subsequent adjacent redevelopment projects were largely built on the lessons of Lafayette Park, which has the distinction of being the first and arguably the most successful urban renewal project of its nature.

Other “tower in the park” layouts included Lake Meadows (1952) in Chicago, Lincoln Square (1961) in Manhattan, Society Hill Tower (1964) in Philadelphia, and Plaza Square Apartments in St. Louis (1959-61). Like the Detroit and Washington examples, these were built for middle-income residents, but unlike them, Lake Meadows, Lincoln Square, and Plaza Square had only tower buildings. Society Hills Tower, by architect I.M. Pei, was augmented by twenty-seven townhouses, designed by a different architect, at its perimeter, softening the contrast between the concrete-framed thirty-two story tower with the red brick of the rehabilitated historic Society Hill townhouse architecture. Plaza Square Apartments incorporated two historic churches within the perimeter of its super-block, and residents of Lincoln Towers were served by several new schools. These early, middle-class residential urban renewal projects were significant pieces of larger urban renewal plans.

Conversely, contemporary slum clearance projects like Longwood in Cleveland lacked that single vision laid out for the whole area after clearance. Developers came with projects for only part of the larger site; some suffered financial problems, leaving parcels unbuilt. Erieview, another Pei-planned urban renewal project in Cleveland, suffered this fate. While Elmwood Park in Detroit was sold in parcels to individual developers, the site plan for the whole area had been approved and was followed, assuring that the street patterns, park system, pathways, schools and public facilities would be rationally carried out over time.

Projects built on vacant land, as opposed to cleared land, such as Diamond Heights in San Francisco and Garden Valley in Cleveland, are not comparable to Lafayette Park because they were generally located outside of the downtown area and lack the legacy of dislocation of racial or ethnic populations.

The Future of Historic Urban Renewal Resources

According to Gordon Bunshaft, a partner in the New York architectural office of SOM, "The period after the war, until about 1970, is probably the greatest and most unique building period in the history of architecture... We were building a kind of architecture that was not derivative from anything—maybe that will be bad or good, I don't think anybody can judge now, but it was unbelievable and it became worldwide and there was a tremendous amount."[118] As the nation's mid-century modern resources are reaching the fifty-year old mark and beyond, now is the time to consider which are architecturally and culturally significant and worthy of protection. Because their proliferation was rapid and plentiful, selecting those most significant for historic status is a challenge.

Modern architecture is not widely understood, its design and inherent simplicity unappreciated. It may not be perceived as old enough to be labeled historic, since many people view buildings constructed within their lifetime or the generation before them with disregard. However, Sudip Bose, in the May/June 2008 issue of *Preservation*, described Modernism as "not simply a style, but more of an attitude, a determination to break with the rules of convention and etiquette." That attitude, in part, has led to a new generation more appreciative of the cultural milieu of the post-war period of modernism as evidenced by the resurgence of the music of the 1960s through 1980s as well as a renewed interest in modern design.

Another cause for concern over the preservation of the architecture of the Modern movement is in its original materials, which were often experimental in nature. The availability of new technology in construction often led to expediency over durability. Materials that are subject to long term degradation from corrosion, rot, or mold present new preservation challenges that require solutions if rehabilitation and reuse are to be options. Organizations like the National Park Service, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, the Association for Preservation Technology, Docomomo US, founded in 1995, and the Recent Past Preservation Network, founded in 2000, are providing guidance and technical expertise.

The perception that, "In the United States, modernism-as-modernization primarily referred to the large-scale urban renewal that started in the 1950s," with all of its negative associations, may also hinder or complicate its preservation.[119] However, the renewal of urban renewal has curiously begun at some of the earliest developments that have come of age, like Lake Meadows in Chicago, Southwest Washington D.C., and Lafayette Park in Detroit.

The owners of Lake Meadows (1960) since 1969, Draper and Kramer, presented a new master plan that included replacing a park with townhouses and single-family homes, and replacing its shopping center with a

[118] Magali Sarfatti Larson, *Behind the Post-Modern Façade: Architectural Change in Late Twentieth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 169.
[119] Ibid., 243.

town center, a plan not without opposition.[120] Likewise, the Southwest D.C. Area is poised for some new buildings and the freshening up of two Pei apartment buildings in the Town Center complex from 1962. If the planned development, called Fairfield at Marina View, proves successful, it could serve as an "explicit model for guidelines for future redevelopment of urban renewal-era structures in Southwest DC…the project will demonstrate that modernist buildings can be both meaningfully preserved and carefully updated to meet the needs of present-day living.[121] In Lafayette Park, the Lafayette Park Towers are undergoing needed renovation based on the recommendations of a well-known historic preservation architectural firm. And more and more buildings from the urban renewal's "recent past" are being nominated and listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

While urban renewal may leave an uneasiness in the minds and hearts of many for what was lost in its toll on humanity and traditional historic neighborhoods, Richard Longstreth, esteemed architectural historian and historic preservationist, imparts this bit of wisdom: "What urban renewal projects replaced must always be remembered, but should not give cause for rejecting the potential value of what came afterwards."[122]

The table that follows contains the milestones in Federal urban renewal legislation:

Federal Act	**Significance**
Housing Act of 1949	Created the Urban Redevelopment Agency and gave it the authority to subsidize two-thirds of the cost of local slum clearance and urban renewal for predominantly residential use.
Title I: Slum Clearance and Community Development and Redevelopment	Congress provided direct subsidies to local government for land clearance of blighted areas which they would offer to private enterprise at a feasible price to redevelop for residential, commercial, public and/or industrial use.
Housing Act of 1950	Sec. 213: stimulate interest in middle-class cooperative housing by authorizing and directing the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) to insure blanket mortgages on cooperative housing projects.*
Housing Act of 1954	Modified urban redevelopment and renewal by requiring communities engaged in such activities to adopt code enforcement, relocation, and other measures that would prevent the further spread of urban blight. Conservation and rehabilitation were added to urban renewal to provide a more comprehensive tool. "Workable plan" adoption required (Sec. 701).
Housing Act of 1956	Added special provisions under Sections 203 and 207 and the public housing programs to give preference to the elderly and amended the 1949 Act to authorize relocation payments to persons displaced by urban renewal.

[120]Alby Gallun, "Lake Meadows Residents Criticize Redevelopment Plan," *Chicago Real Estate Daily* 20 Feb. 2008; J. Linn Allen, "A Second Transformation Awaits Lake Meadows," *Chicago Tribune* 23 Mar. 1997.

[121] Amanda Murphy, "Renewing Urban Renewal: A Case Study in Southwest D.C.," *Blueprints* 26 (Winter 2007-08).

[122] Richard Longstreth, "The Difficult Legacy of Urban Renewal," *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* 3 (Winter 2006): 9.

Federal Act	Significance
Housing Act of 1959	First time Congress offered direct subsidy to nonprofit entities. Section 202 Program—housing to elderly and "handicapped." Section 418–facilitate expansion of universities and hospitals in urban areas.
Housing Act of 1961	Sec. 231 (d)(3) Below Market Interest Rate Program made available direct Federal loans to private developers, cooperatives and nonprofits, with interest rates established by amounts paid on Federal debt; increased the proportion which could be used for redevelopment of non-residential uses.
Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965	Established the Cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development. Subsidized Rent Program—tenants paid no more than 25% of their income created Section 23, enabling local housing agencies to subsidize units in existing buildings.
Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966	Created the Model Cities Program authorizing grants to plan the coordination of health, education, welfare, housing, and employment programs for revitalizing selected districts in urban areas.
Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968	Extended, expanded Model Cities, Urban Renewal, rent subsidies programs.
Housing and Urban Development Act of 1970	Authorized greater outlays for housing subsidy programs and rent supplements to moderate-income households.
Emergency Home Finance Act of 1970	Authorized the Home Loan Bank System to reduce interest rates on home mortgages by means of a Federal subsidy.
Housing and Redevelopment Act of 1974	Urban Renewal programs replaced by Community Development Block Grants, Section 8 Housing Assistance Payments Program

Compiled from http://www.huduser.org/hud_timeline/index.html, http://www.rhol.org/rental/fedact.htm, Nolan, John R. Nolan, "Reexamining Federal Housing Programs in a Time of Austerity: The Trend Toward Block Grants and Housing Allowances," *The Urban Lawyer* 14 (Spring 1982), accessed 19 Aug. 2014: http://digitalcommons.pace.edu.

Lafayette Park as an Urban Renewal Project

Gratiot Area Redevelopment Project

Immediately after World War II, Detroit was faced with two problems then prevalent in other cities across the nation: the deteriorated state of older inner-city residential areas that went into further decline during the depression of the 1930s, and the exodus of middle- and upper-income families to the burgeoning suburbs, posing a threat to the city's tax base. These problems gave rise to a nationwide movement for slum clearance and urban redevelopment.

Detroit was among the major cities that had slum clearance programs either prior to or in anticipation of the passage of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft Act that was the basis for the Housing Act of 1949. The city was able to submit its request for funding soon after the Act went into effect because it had been planning for the Gratiot Area Redevelopment Project since 1946. The boundaries of the 43-block area had already been identified and its housing conditions surveyed. Under Mayor Edward J. Jeffries, Jr., the banking, investment, business and real estate interests played an active role in developing the Detroit Plan in 1946 to address urban slums and suburban flight. The Gratiot Area Redevelopment Project was a focal point of that plan.

The strategy defined in the 1946 Detroit Plan report, which suggested several areas for redevelopment, called for what was then an innovative move that was soon tested in the courts. Using city government funds allocated yearly, the Detroit Plan called for acquisition of lands surrounding the central business district, gradually increasing acquisition and redevelopment in size and direction. Over time, city planners expected to reshape significant portions of the city's dilapidated housing. For its first initiative under this plan, city government aimed to acquire a large tract of land just a few blocks east of the central business district, raze all buildings on it, and resell it to local builders or developers for row housing for low- and middle-income families.

This initial area, known as Black Bottom, was mainly inhabited by blacks (90% black in 1945, 98% in 1950) in the lowest income groups, was high in density of buildings, crime and delinquency, and was determined to be an unhealthy living environment. In other words, it was "a classic slum."[123] Fifty-one percent of its dwellings were built before 1900, and its average rents were the lowest in the city. Because of deed restrictions, blacks in Detroit had few choices in neighborhoods to live. As a result, they crowded into the Lower Eastside area where other immigrant groups, including Germans and Jews, had lived before them. The residential neighborhood of Black Bottom, and its adjacent business and entertainment district known as Paradise Valley, became the heart of Detroit's black community in the 1920s. Paradise Valley was the place to go for nightly entertainment for both blacks and whites—it was Detroit's "Harlem" where racial mixing was not taboo. As workers from the South flocked to Detroit to work in the factories during World War II, blacks were further squeezed into the old, inadequate nineteenth-century housing, exacerbating the unsanitary, deplorable conditions. To add insult to injury, Hastings Street, the central commercial spine of Paradise Valley, was now to be replaced by a new interstate expressway, I-75, or the Chrysler Freeway. New tax dollars garnered through the rejuvenation of the area would more than pay for the city's expenditure in land accession and clearance. Initially known as the Gratiot Area Redevelopment Project, the site ultimately became known as Lafayette Park.

No clear precedents existed in Michigan law for the use of eminent domain—the taking of private property for a public purpose—with the sale to private investors. A taxpayer filed a lawsuit in 1947 claiming that non-reimbursable costs of acquisition and clearance amounted to a tax on all taxpayers. In October 1948 the Michigan Supreme Court upheld the city's right to proceed, making it clear in its decision "… that slum removal *per se* was enough to justify public condemnation proceedings under the police power."[124] By

[123] Robert J. Mowitz and Deil S. Wright, *Profile of a Metropolis* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1962), 19.
[124] Ibid.

September 1951 the city had title to all forty-three blocks of Black Bottom, retagged the Gratiot Redevelopment Area.

The Gratiot Redevelopment Area became one of the earliest slum clearance and redevelopment projects to take advantage of Title I of the United States Housing Act of 1949, which was a windfall allowing city government to carry out its plans. Designated U.R. Mich. 1-1, the City of Detroit filed its request for a $4,311,440 capital grant on January 19, 1950, after its approval by the Detroit City Council. On February 3, 1950, the Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA) granted Detroit a two-year capital grant reservation. It was joined by Title I projects in other cities in the early 1950s that were ultimately built as middle to upper-middle income housing, such as Lake Meadows in Chicago (1953-1968), Manhattantown in New York City (1954-1960), and Capitol Park Towers in Southwest Washington, D.C. (1956-59).

Although condemnation proceedings began in February 1947 and demolition started three years later, it was not until 1956 that construction began on the cleared site. Contributing to the delay was a decided lack of interest on the part of developers. Despite the national Housing Act of 1949, which encouraged private enterprise in urban redevelopment, local builders remained wary of the city's redevelopment plan. Red tape and low-density standards were concerns. Convinced that middle-income families would never move into this former slum area, especially in view of the deteriorated conditions of neighboring housing, they advocated high density high-rises for low-income families. By 1952 the city had evolved a mixed density site plan aimed at providing housing for both low-and middle-income families. When the land was put up for sale at public auction that year it received not a single bid despite the presence of some fifty interested parties.

The City Plan Commission then relaxed some restrictions to ready for a second auction a year later that would give developers more freedom while retaining density standards. It also included provisions for rental and cooperative ownership. New Federal legislation created a quasi-governmental national housing mortgage corporation to move into the cooperative housing field, allowing private investors to benefit from the availability of government guaranteed bonds exempt from state and local taxes. Proceeds from the sale of these bonds would be used to provide loan guarantees and technical assistance to housing cooperatives and other nonprofit housing ventures for the construction of middle-class housing cooperatives. Labor unions, veterans groups, and welfare organizations were the heaviest backers of low-cost financing for cooperatives; the connection between labor and housing was an especially important one in Detroit, as it was in other large industrial cities like New York.[125] A proposal from developer Warner-Kanter Company of New York City and Cincinnati for the whole project, in the name of the Housing Corporation of America, was accepted after the auction in 1953 but the deal ultimately fell through over financing, design, and credibility issues after yet another year.

By then the cleared Gratiot site was cynically referred to as "Ragweed Acres" or "Cobo's Acres." Delays experienced by the city of Detroit in getting urban renewal projects off the ground were typical of most other cities at the time. Legal challenges to eminent domain such as financing; layers of requirements, reviews and approvals; and difficulty in marketing cleared sites and attracting developers, resulted in an average seven-year timeframe to move from legislative approval of the urban renewal plan to the construction phase.[126]

Finally in 1954 after United Auto Workers president Walter Reuther, began applying public pressure, city officials appointed a citizen's committee to take over the project. Reuther told his peers that, "The UAW-CIO is vitally concerned with the elimination of slums and the redevelopment of blighted areas…. Detroit must

[125] Section 213 of the 1950 Housing Act stimulated interest in middle-class cooperative housing by authorizing and directing the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) to insure blanket mortgages on cooperative housing projects.

[126] Roger Montgomery, "Improving the Design Process in Urban Renewal," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 31:1 (1965): 15, accessed 10 Jan. 2013: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01944366508978468.

demonstrate to itself and to the world that we have the will and good sense to apply our productive know-how to this problem."[127] Composed of representatives from labor, industry, and commerce, the new committee was determined to avoid recreating another low-income ghetto. Its goal, it announced, would be to establish "an integrated residential community of the most advanced design, of the highest possible [construction] standards; a community that on a purely competitive basis, can attract back to the heart of the city people who are finding their housing in the outlying sections of the city and its suburbs."[128] To draw up a plan for such a community, the committee engaged Oscar Stonorov, the designer of several "socially responsive" International style housing developments in Philadelphia, the well-known architectural firm of Victor Gruen Associates and the newly formed architectural group of Leinweber, Yamasaki, and Hellmuth, which included the esteemed modern architect Minoru Yamasaki. This team produced designs for a mixed-density housing development arranged in patch-like fashion in a park-like setting, with cul-de-sacs as well as a cross street, and a grand avenue running north-south through its center. Twenty-five per cent of the 4,400 units would be dispersed into several areas as public housing.

On the committee's recommendation, a nonprofit corporation was formed to "acquire, own, sell, lease, or otherwise dispose of the land" at the redevelopment site. Known as the Citizens Redevelopment Corporation (CRDC), it was financed by $500,000 in private capital. By 1956, at least one construction company expressed interest in developing a portion of the site in accordance with the approved site plan, but the CRDC wanted to avoid piecemeal development and turned it down.

Lafayette Park

The Chicago-based development firm of Herbert Greenwald and Samuel Katzin then stepped forward and offered its services as exclusive co-developer, with Mies van der Rohe as architect in charge of all design. Mies, who had been collaborating with Herbert Greenwald, a dynamic and persuasive real estate financier, since 1946, brought to the project his colleagues Ludwig Hilberseimer, architect and city planner, and Alfred Caldwell, landscape architect. Mies and Hilberseimer introduced a "superblock" plan that retained the concept of mixed low- and high-rise housing but replaced the grand avenue of the earlier plan with a central park and eliminated the cross street. With its comfortable suburban aura and mixed-density housing, Lafayette Park was the antithesis of the large, high-rise projects built in cities all over America from the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s that became synonymous with developments built under Title I of the Housing Act of 1949, known as urban renewal.

Because construction costs were steadily increasing, and cities could not replace cleared housing with government-owned public housing, it was not economically feasible to include low-income units in the development as originally intended. Thus, the community that emerged, while intentionally racially integrated—a remarkable achievement for that day—it was not integrated in terms of income level; all residents were in the middle- or upper-middle income brackets. Another casualty of the lack of funds was the mature trees that Caldwell specified for the landscaping of common areas. Instead of downsizing his plans, he downsized his plants, going with much younger versions of the same species that eventually matured into the flourishing landscape that is so successful today.

CRDC's agreement with the city required it to pay taxes and interest on the land optioned to it, and Greenwald and Katzin purchased the individual parcels by April 1960 as the construction progressed. The Pavilion was ready for occupancy in the fall of 1958 and construction of Mies' townhouses began the same year. As of May 1960, the Pavilion was ninety-eight percent rented, but little more than a third of Mies' cooperative townhouses had sold. Through interviews with the first residents of Lafayette Park who moved into the Pavilion apartments,

[127] "Redevelopment F.O.B. Detroit," *Architectural Forum* 102 (Mar. 1955): 117-18.
[128] Ibid., 119.

sociologists Mel Ravitz and Eleanor Wolf found that those who wanted to live there thought of themselves as "pioneers," and an ACTION study found that "respectable bohemians" involved in the creative arts were the most likely residents of integrated urban renewal projects in downtowns.[129] The "urban pioneers" residing in the townhouses were effusive in their praise of the "general plan and layout" of their dwellings, the view and light that the glass walls afforded, and the interracial character of the neighborhood, all of which kindled a good deal of interest. By 1964, there was a waiting list.

In February 1959, eleven months before the last of the townhouses was completed, Herbert Greenwald was killed in a plane crash. Without Greenwald's dedication to the project, Mies and Hilberseimer's original plan for Lafayette Park did not come to full fruition. The plan called for five more high-rise and sixteen more low-rise buildings, a school, community clubhouse and swimming pool, shopping center, and parking structures, all to be designed by Mies. As it turned out, the only other Mies-designed complex built in Lafayette Park after 1960 was Lafayette Towers. However, a couple of the other parcels were developed by Greenwald's development team and those who did not, respected Hilberseimer's original site plan concept.

Lafayette Park Post-Greenwald

After Greenwald's untimely death, the Detroit Housing Commission sold off remaining parcels piecemeal to various developers, each with his own architect. In 1961 Katzin and Daniel Levin, who worked with Greenwald and carried on after his passing, together with builder associate Sheldon Rose of the local development firm of Edward Rose and Sons, began construction on the east side of the park on sixty, one-story courthouses, observing that Mies' courthouses sold better than the townhouses.[130] Described in an *Architectural Forum* article from May 1960, although not Mies-designed, "they will copy the Mies manner." Chateaufort Place, as it is known, was built with Federally insured, Section 220 Urban Renewal Mortgage Insurance.

Next built were Lafayette Towers and Lafayette Towers Shopping Center, also by the Katzin-Levin organization. Planned before Greenwald's death, the Towers were to be built with traditional financing by four local banks with FHA mortgage guarantees—one of the first for an urban renewal project under Section 220, according to an article titled "Detroit Fights Urban Blight" in the July 1958 *Savings and Loan News*.[131]

The plans for the Lafayette Towers apartment complex and a shopping center were first publicly announced in June 1960. In the mid-1930s, housing projects developed with Federal funds typically included a shopping center as an integrated business development, not just a collection of shops, beginning with its first insured garden apartment complex, Colonial Village in Arlington, Virginia. The Federal Housing Administration (FHA) encouraged such facilities so that commerce could be contained and controlled, both visually as well as in business terms, rather than sprawl onto nearby arterial strips. The FHA continued to push for this component in postwar developments of any size, which explains why so many tracts came with adjacent shopping centers.

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[129] Eleanor P. Wolf and Mel J. Ravitz, "Lafayette Park: New Residents in the Core City," *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 30:3 (1964): 236.

[130] "With characteristic understatement, Mr. Levin, a Detroit native, describes his career this way: 'In everything I have done, I've tried to meet a human need in a way that works from both a business perspective and a social one.' That text came from urban planner-developer Herbert Greenwald, who hired the young University of Chicago-trained lawyer to work on Lafayette Park, his ground-breaking urban renewal project in Detroit. When Mr. Greenwald was killed in an airplane crash in 1959, Mr. Levin took over the development." According to Joseph Burnett, an associate in Mies' office who worked on Lafayette Park, Daniel Levin is Herbert Greenwald's nephew. See: Betsy Wangensteen, Cranes Chicago Business 3 Feb. 1997, accessed 22 Feb. 2013: http://www.chicagobusiness.com/article/19970201/ISSUE01/10005667/real-estate#ixzz2LejaOOli.

[131] Sara Kathryn Stevens, "Developing Expertise: The Architecture of Real Estate, 1908-1965," doctoral diss., Princeton University, 2012: 142.

This policy was carried over into urban renewal projects such as Lake Meadows in Chicago and Lafayette Park in Detroit.

Although built to the designs of a different architect, the shopping plaza was planned and executed as an integral part of the entire redevelopment effort. Its minimalist architecture is certainly complementary with the character of Mies' buildings. Its siting at the corner of East Lafayette and Orleans, on the southeast corner of Lafayette Park, was calculated to place it in the middle of the larger urban renewal areas subsequently built known as the Lafayette Extension and Elmwood Park.

According to an article appearing on October 16, 1961, in the *Detroit Free Press*, "The Shopping Center is thought to be the first in the nation to be built in a downtown area." While it could be argued that Lafayette Park is not in Detroit's central business district but rather adjacent to it, Lafayette Park Shopping Center appears to be, according to Richard Longstreth, "of high caliber and a now increasingly rare survival of its period…as a vital part of an urban renewal community."[132]

Likewise, school buildings and other community buildings in park-like settings were seen in many predominantly residential urban renewal plans; Fiorello H. LaGuardia High School of Music & Performing Arts in New York City (1955) and Chrysler School in Detroit (1962) are but two examples. Public bodies, including school boards, could receive credits towards their share of an urban renewal grant if they provided public facilities. Since Lafayette Park was beginning to be populated before a school for its children was built, the realty company, Herbert Realty, offered a new townhouse to the Detroit Board of Education as a temporary school. This "one room school" near downtown Detroit received considerable publicity in the local media and national magazines. Ground was broken on April 18, 1961, for the present Walter P. Chrysler Elementary School, set back on East Lafayette with the park, or "Plaisance," at its rear.

The Cherboneau Place Cooperative, incorporated in 1962 by a group of active and retired Detroit teachers under the aegis of the newly established Detroit Teachers Housing Corporation (a progressive arm of the Detroit Teachers Credit Union), was able to take advantage of the cooperative housing legislation for its mortgage financing. Its first plan submitted to the City Plan Commission was rejected because its Georgian-style façades with exterior staircases were deemed unsuitable for the Michigan climate. The two-story townhouse development was eventually approved with a more contemporary look.

Four Freedoms House of Detroit, a twenty-one-story senior apartment building at the north end of the park, received Federal mortgage subsidies (Section 202) and rental assistance. Sponsored by a group of labor unions, it was erected in 1965 as one of four other Four Freedoms Houses in the country. All senior high-rises designed by Washington, D.C. Architect, John Hans Graham were imbued with the ideals of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's basic human freedoms.[133] It is now known as Windsor Towers.

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[132] Letter from Richard Longstreth, Professor of American Civilization at George Washington University, to Deborah Goldstein, City of Detroit, Historic Designation Advisory Board (HDAB), and Detroit City Council, 2002, regarding the retention of the Lafayette Park Shopping Center; letter located in the Lafayette Park Local Historic District file, HDAB, Coleman A. Young Municipal Building, Detroit, Michigan. One of its three buildings was later removed but two single-story buildings were rehabilitated and remain.

[133] The three other Four Freedoms Houses are in Seattle, Philadelphia and Miami. Like Detroit's version, they were named in recognition of the Four Freedoms outlined in President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's speech to the members of the Seventy-Seventh Congress on January 6, 1941. He referred to the "four essential human freedoms" of (1) "freedom of speech and expression" (2) "freedom to worship god in one's own way" (3) "freedom from want, which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants," and (4) "freedom from fear, which translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation shall be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor."

Of the disparate nature of Lafayette Park's architecture after Greenwald's death, Roger Montgomery, then director of the Urban Renewal Design Center at Washington University in St. Louis, noted in 1965, "The result was about what might be expected. Planning Commission review, assisted by a voluntary architectural advisory board, prevented absolute chaos. The result is no disaster, but it is less attractive and it functions more awkwardly than the completed part of the earlier scheme." Similarly, in its 1966 report, the Mayor's Committee for Community Renewal acknowledged that Lafayette Park had "an overabundance of architecturally and physically dissimilar structures," some of "mediocre" design.[134]

Regency Square Apartments, now Parc Lafayette, was the last complex built in Lafayette Park. It was featured in the January-February 1967 issue of *Architectural Forum* in an article by Montgomery, which asks the question, "Can the necessary variety be obtained without resorting to architectural mediocrity and worse? Regency Square may answer this question." Montgomery described Regency Square as "the best work and the last in the period since Mies stopped...." Montgomery fails to mention that while it may have "appropriate density," and be free of "narcissistic over-design...," Regency Square looks inward on itself instead of celebrating the openness created by the Mies/Hilberseimer Plan. Regency earned an honorable mention at the Detroit Chapter of the American Institute of Architects Honor Awards in 1967. It was credited with a "spatially interesting sequence of levels" that led to an opportunity for increased social interaction between its occupants.

In an article that also criticized the design process after Greenwald's death and was published in the *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*, Montgomery noted that "now that people have lived in Mies' settlement for more than five years, their behavior and the waiting lists demonstrate their affection for it. To the outsider, the design is consistent, powerful, and memorable." He cited in particular the convenient location of the elementary school, which parents could easily visit for after-hours meetings without use of a parking lot. He then compared the development quite favorably to Radburn: "Gratiot [Lafayette Park] joins Radburn, that other incomplete monument, as one of the few triumphs of American urban design."[135]

Montgomery's high praise of Lafayette Park as a "triumph" has been echoed by many other members of the design professions over the years. In 1974, Peter Carter (author of *Mies van der Rohe at Work,* 1974) wrote that, despite the negative effect that the introduction of other architects' work had on the project, "the initial concept was strong enough to absorb the alien structures. So that Lafayette Park is today probably one of the most spatially successful and socially significant statements in urban renewal." Franz Schulze (author of *Mies van der Rohe: A Critical Biography*, 1995, revised edition 2012) acknowledged Lafayette Park as "one of the handsomer endeavors of its kind."

Social History and Relocation

One of the major issues in slum clearance projects and the criticism of the urban renewal program was the relocation of existing residents, most of whom were low-income, racial or ethnic minority renters living in close-knit communities. The Gratiot Redevelopment Project was in many ways typical of other slum clearance projects in that Detroit's relocation efforts fell far short, resulting in hardship for individuals, families and small businesses.

The relocation of almost 2,000 families, 98 percent of them black, began in earnest on September 18, 1950 without the required relocation plan in place. This was apparently acceptable to Housing and Home Finance Agency (HHFA) because the Gratiot project began before the 1949 Act. Despite HHFA regulations that did not allow demolition of residential structures to begin if the local government body determined it would create undue housing hardship, the city began demolition on November 7, 1950. A formal relocation plan was

[134] Montgomery, "Improving the Design Process," 11.
[135] Ibid., 11-12.

prepared at the end of February 1951. Two months before the Detroit Housing Commission entered into the contract for carrying out the project with HHFA on April 18, 1952, the site was already completely cleared, and over 1000 of the families had already been relocated.[136]

Families displaced by slum clearance were given priority for public housing under the regulations but, due to the severe postwar housing shortage in Detroit, the availability of units was inadequate. Of the 51.3% of the eligible displaced families (about 1000), only 659 were relocated to public housing.[137] The housing problem was exacerbated by Mayor Albert E. Cobo, the new mayor in 1950 who was elected on an anti-public housing platform. The Detroit Master Plan of 1951 reflected Cobo's elimination of public housing projects on vacant land near white neighborhoods; all but two projects near downtown (out of eleven citywide) remained. Those two—the Frederick Douglass Homes and Edward J. Jefferies Homes (first units available in 1951 and 1952, respectively)—provided some relief, but because of exclusionary real estate practices and red-lining, most black families ended up renting in substandard housing, many in the adjacent Elmwood Park area that was slated for clearance, only to be later displaced twice. In the early 1950s, the Detroit Urban League documented cases of human misery among those displaced. It lodged its complaints with the Federal housing officials, who showed much concern and reiterated that families were not to move until suitable housing was found, but for the Lafayette Park site, that was after the fact.

The Gratiot Redevelopment Area was originally planned for low-income occupancy. However, that changed in the few years that it took to clear the site to primarily middle-income, with a number of units set aside for displaced, low-income families who wanted to return to their former neighborhood. The plan would finally be altered again to accommodate middle to upper-middle-income housing for singles, couples, and families with children depending on the type of unit selected. Studios and one-to-two-bedroom units in the twenty-two-story Pavilion apartment building, three-bedroom attached townhouses, and two-to-four-bedroom court houses provided ample space to house the average family of four. An elementary school, playgrounds, city park and a shopping center all within the "super-block" provided the perception of safety that this little bit of suburbia in the city could offer. Lafayette Park remained "open" in its occupancy status, meaning that it was available to anyone who could afford the costs, regardless of race. Blacks, in fact, made up ten percent of the original occupants in 1960, after Lafayette Pavilion was completed but not all the townhouses were built yet.

The social and economic impacts of neighborhood clearance affected and continue to affect local communities. In the early post-war years, blacks were not well-organized to fight the condemnation of their homes. Many held out hope that they would return to live in the newly built areas from which they had been displaced. But private market factors eliminated low-cost housing from the equation early on. The dispersal of blacks discouraged neighborhood cohesion and order, and, with the loss of black businesses, " . . . an informal mechanism for community linkage and control."[138] Beyond the loss of homes and businesses, there was the destruction of ". . . the intricate mesh of urban interactions hidden in the purported chaos of the old neighborhood."[139] Ultimately, however, low-income and mixed-income housing was built in Detroit, in developments just east of Lafayette Park: Elmwood I, II, and III; many of these were funded by various Federal programs including, more recently, Low-Income Housing Tax Credits. Sponsors included private developers

[136] Mowitz and Wright, Profile of a Metropolis, 28. The city of Detroit's relocation plan was detached from what was really going on, but accepted by the HHFA, nonetheless. During this time the Detroit Urban League took it upon itself to direct its complaints about the treatment and effects of the project on relocated families to the HHFA. The HHFA was concerned enough to offer to pay for a study but not enough to stall the project. Still, the early intent of the redevelopment project was to provide both low-and middle-income housing with the stated hope that some of the relocated tenants could afford to move back.

[137] Ibid, 45.

[138] Thomas, *Redevelopment and Race*, 62.

[139] Samuel Zipp, *Manhattan Projects: The Rise and Fall of Urban Renewal in Cold War New York* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 200.

but also non-profit organizations of various types. The overall plan for these extensions lent much to the excellent precedent of Lafayette Park, with its initial vision of order and design.

The hidden costs of urban renewal projects were undoubtedly the former residents, the majority of whom, if not offered public housing, likely went from one deteriorating neighborhood to another of equal or worse conditions. Many likely relocated to rental housing in areas just outside of the Gratiot project site that were also designated as blighted by the City Plan Commission, subject to future redevelopment.[140] New housing on urban renewal sites was often out of the reach of most displaced residents, feeding the ire that arose over urban renewal and giving it the negative connotation of "Negro removal." Nationwide, discrimination in housing was one of the causes of the unrest that took place in cities across the nation in the 1960s, and one of the causes of class conflict today. Nevertheless, although this process took many years, eventually minority-race populations settled in Lafayette Park and its extensions. In 2010, according to the U.S. census, the population of the tract that includes Lafayette Park was 69% black. The tract just east of that, with Elmwood I, contained 92% black residents, and Elmwood III contained 96% blacks.[141] How many of these had ancestors removed in the 1950s is not known. Today, the complexes of Lafayette Park, Elmwood I, II, and III form a veritable oasis, while residential areas just to the north and east are devastated by vacancy and blight.

Lafayette Park as a Model

Detroit's early experience with slum clearance and redevelopment informed Federal renewal policy. "Federal policy followed Detroit's lead in using government funds to encourage private development, and in de-coupling public housing from Federal funding for slum clearance altogether."[142] HHFA used the Detroit model to demonstrate local-Federal cooperation, stressing that the program allowed local discretion in tailoring projects to meet local conditions.

One of the goals of urban renewal—improving the tax base—was accomplished with the redevelopment project. In a report issued in the mid-1960s, *Urban Renewal and Tax Revenue: Detroit's Success Story*, the Detroit Housing Commission claimed that the old assessed value of the properties on the Gratiot site was $2,844,000, while the new assessed value of the apartment towers and cooperative apartment units totaled about $15 million. Another report by the Detroit City Plan Commission, Renewal and Revenue, offered similar findings for Lafayette Park and other projects. This did not take into account that the land stayed vacant for many years, offering absolutely no tax revenue. Lafayette Park, like other residential urban renewal projects of its time, did little in the way of reversing the flight to the suburbs, another of its goals. Concluding the discussion of significance in its nomination to the National Register of Historic Places, listed in 1999,

> In other ways, however, it more than fulfilled the CRDC's vision of urban renewal. That it is an integrated residential community of the most advanced design, of the highest possible [construction] standard has been borne out by sociological observations of its interracial character by accolades from members of the design community the world over; by professional real estate appraisals; and by low turnover and high occupancy rates that attest to the residents' affection for their neighborhood. Unlike so many other Post-World War II urban renewal projects, this one fulfilled its promise of offering 'a new kind of city living.'[143]

[140] Mowitz and Wright, 45-46.

[141] U.S. Decennial Census, tracts for Detroit, 2010, accessed 30 Jun. 2014: http://datadrivendetroit.org/data-mapping/toolbox/census-comparison/michigan-county-profiles/.

[142] Stevens, "Developing Expertise," 134. Mayor Cobo's policies discouraged construction of public housing, favoring the "trickle-down" approach—as whites moved out to the suburbs they vacated housing units in the city, freeing them up for new occupants.

[143] Evans, "Mies van der Rohe Residential Historic District, Lafayette Park." Sec 8, 11.

Criterion 4: The Lafayette Park Plan/Mies van der Rohe

The conceptual plan for Lafayette Park was a collaboration between the developer, Herbert Greenwald, architect Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, planner Ludwig Hilberseimer, and landscape architect Alfred Caldwell.

Ludwig Mies van der Rohe

Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, the principal designer of Lafayette Park, immigrated to the United States from his native Germany in 1938. Then 52 years old, he was well-known in architectural circles as a leading practitioner and theorist of European modernism, though his work had only limited exposure in America. He became an American citizen in 1944.

The youngest son of a stonemason, he was born Maria Ludwig Michael Mies in Aachen, in the Rhineland, in 1886. Around 1921 he adopted the professional name "Mies van der Rohe," a concatenation of his given surname, Mies, and his mother's maiden name, which was Rohe. Nevertheless, he was commonly known as and referred to simply as "Mies." His formal education ended with trade schools, but he developed solid skills as a draftsman and delineator while working full time in local apprenticeships. In 1905, aged 19 and with neither funds nor prospects, he moved to Berlin, where his first encounter with a major talent was Bruno Paul, an architect, writer, illustrator and furniture designer then at the peak of his fame, for whom he worked between 1906 and 1908. On his own in 1907 Mies saw to completion his first built work, the Sophie and Alois Riehl House, a handsome traditional villa near Potsdam, in suburban Berlin. Shortly thereafter he signed on with Peter Behrens, the most successful German architect of the immediate pre-World-War I era. Behrens' practice was international in scope, and included, most notably, a vast collection of buildings for the German electrical conglomerate AEG. His work for AEG also included product, graphic and corporate identity design, which quickly established him as the world's first recognized industrial designer. Mies left Behrens's employ in 1912, and, interrupted by service in World War I, worked independently and in conservative architectural styles—designing mostly private houses—well into the 1920s.

Mies married into considerable wealth on the eve of the war, and just afterwards, still in Berlin, he began to mix socially and professionally with avant-garde artists, academics and critics who were then coalescing into a "modern movement" that was largely a reaction to the chaotic aftermath of World War I. In this generally anti-authoritarian atmosphere he concluded that architecture, as he later said, "must [too] be a thing of its time," and he began to experiment with avant-garde work. His designs of this period are characterized by the absence of historical ornament, a rejection of form for its own sake, simplicity of finishes, and economy of means. In spite of these efforts and his appearance in numerous publications associated with the modernist cause, he did not realize his first modern building until 1926 with the Erich Wolf House, a lavish brick villa for an art collector in Guben (the house was destroyed in World War II). By that time he was firmly established in the national progressive circles of his profession, most notably as a director of the Deutscher Werkbund, a group of important architects and designers established in 1912 to promote, and agitate politically for, the new architecture. In 1926 he was selected to head one of the Werkbund's large experimental housing projects, this one in Stuttgart, called the Weissenhofsiedlung (Weissenhof Settlement). The Weissenhof project included new housing by a score of Europe's most significant modernists—chosen to participate, in this case, by Mies as director. Mies himself designed the largest building at Weissenhof, a four-story apartment block of sober simplicity; upon its completion in 1927, the building brought him his first national publicity.

In the aftermath of his success with the Weissenhofsiedlung, the German national government selected Mies to design an exhibition building, to be called the German Pavilion, for the 1929 Barcelona International Exposition. Mies' temporary building (it was torn down after six months, as planned, but rebuilt in 1986), along with its interiors and furniture, including the iconic Barcelona chair, was immediately recognized as a classic of

the new modernism, especially for its demonstration of a radically open plan, the use of carefully dressed stone as both wall and floor cladding, glazing of enormous undivided lights, the coordinated use of expansive stone plazas and reflecting pools, and an overall aura of understated elegance and sophistication. Shortly thereafter, in 1930, Mies designed the Tugendhat House for a commanding site in Brno, Czechoslovakia. This very large house shared the design strategies used at Barcelona, but included even more custom furniture and fixtures, many soon to become icons of 20th century furniture and interior design. The Tugendhat House was not as widely published as the Barcelona Pavilion, but in the post-World-War II era it became equally famous. Seriously damaged in the war—the Tugendhats themselves were driven out by the Nazis, with many of their family murdered—it was lovingly restored by the Czech government in 2012.

With the onset of the worldwide Depression at the beginning of the 1930s Mies' economic prospects were reversed, and with the failure of several projects to proceed to construction and the associated reduction of his office staff he soon became financially insecure. Partly for economic reasons—and also because he coveted the opportunity to teach and proselytize for the modernist cause—in 1930 he agreed to become the third director of the Bauhaus, by then a famous art/architecture/craft school that had been founded by Mies' contemporary and sometime rival architect, Walter Gropius, in 1919. The Bauhaus was a quasi government-supported school. As the 1920s progressed it became a target for both right- and left-wing political opposition, ostensibly for its espousal of what critics saw as the promotion of non-German, "radical" design. Based in Dessau at the period when Mies assumed the directorship, the school was closed by right-wing agitation and forced to relocate, this time to Berlin, where Mies reestablished the school in 1930. It would be closed for good by Nazi pressure in 1933. Indeed, almost all of Mies' professional work of the 1930s came to naught, a result of the increasing hostility of Nazi policy toward modernism and the economic and political turmoil of the times.

Mies was approached as early as 1935 with offers to teach and possibly work outside of Germany. After toying with several offers, he eventually accepted the Directorship of the then undistinguished Architecture Department of Chicago's Armour Institute of Technology (after 1940 the Illinois Institute of Technology). He moved to America permanently in the fall of 1938. At that time his only language was German. Nonetheless, Mies quickly emerged as a force in American architecture and a leader in bringing what was then mostly a European movement—soon to be called (though never by Mies) the International style—to his adopted country. For IIT he would design a modern campus over the next 20 years—the first two buildings went up during World War II—and in that work and for his private commissions he soon developed a new architectural language of structural steel and plate glass expression that would revolutionize American commercial architecture in the 1950s. His masterpiece for the IIT campus, S. R. Crown Hall (NHL, 2001), built to house the school's architecture department, fully exploits this new, structurally expressive vocabulary. It is today a National Historic Landmark.

After World War II private commissions slowly followed, with the most important beginning in 1949 with the Promontory Apartments, followed in 1951 by the 860-880 North Lake Shore Drive Apartments. Both were in Chicago, sponsored by the young developer Herbert Greenwald, who went on to develop Lafayette Park with Mies. The Promontory project was low-budget and architecturally undistinguished, but the all-steel towers at 860-880, on a more prominent site north of Chicago's Loop, were immediately recognized as a new prototype for the tall building. Here Mies employed an all-steel, architecturally-welded exterior wall infilled with floor-to-ceiling plate glass, the elevations divided by wide-flange steel mullions and flat-plate steel spandrels. The identical buildings were disposed at a right angle to each other and set atop a paved plaza and below-grade parking that left the site, at grade, almost entirely open. Traditional high-rise ornament was entirely eliminated in favor of a near-industrial aesthetic of quiet power and authority. This "style" would soon be transferred, by Mies, to commercial high-rise buildings, most famously to the 39-story Seagram Building in New York, completed in 1958, now universally viewed as the apotheosis of post-War modernism. In the 1960s Mies' office completed a number of other distinguished Chicago towers, including the Federal Center (three buildings, the

last finished as late as 1974), Illinois Center, and, after Mies' death, in 1971, the IBM Building, now Chicago's youngest official landmark.

In his dual role as a prolific and widely imitated practitioner *and* a prominent educator—Mies would train a generation of soon-to-be famous architects during his 20 years at IIT—by the middle-1950s Mies was, by consensus, the most influential architect in the world.[144] During his extraordinary 30-year career in America he designed a large number of important buildings, but, much more significantly (and unusually for any architect) he developed a new architectural language—a set of design principles and a method of working that could be passed on to the profession, reflecting the realities, values, and possibilities of what he called "the epoch." In this language, during the 1950s and 1960s, he demonstrated these principles by producing a string of masterworks, beginning with the aforementioned steel-framed Lake Shore Drive Apartments, then with the all-steel Farnsworth House (NHL, 2006) in Plano, Illinois, and continuing with IIT's Crown Hall, the Seagram Building in New York, and Chicago's three-building Federal Center, and ending, in a poignant personal circle, with the clear-span steel pavilion of the New National Gallery in Berlin, completed in 1968 a year before his death. In addition to the acclaimed masterworks, in the 1960s Mies and former students working in his professional office produced influential built work and projects across the Western Hemisphere and in Europe. Lafayette Park precisely incorporates the architectural language Mies first developed for IIT and then implemented for the high-rise apartment buildings at 860-880—a classic representation of what we today call Mid-Century Modernism.

Lafayette Park in Mies' *Oeuvre*

Lafayette Park was Mies' only large, government-sponsored urban-renewal project, and at Greenwald's death it was substantially incomplete. The seventy-eight-acre redevelopment, never realized in its original 1955-56 form, nonetheless came closer than anything Mies ever did to putting his version of modern architecture in service to the American city. And he finished enough of it to prove his purpose, the partial realization of which continues to be judged a success.

In concept Lafayette Park exemplifies the many hopeful programs of urban renewal subsidized by the United States Federal government—but typically planned and constructed by private developers—in the 1950s and 60s. These programs rested on the assumption that overcrowded, dangerous, and dilapidated inner-city neighborhoods could be remade by replacing large sections of "obsolete" urban fabric with lower-density residential parks. On airy, sunlit meadows, apartment buildings, town houses, schools, and community centers would rise, free of vehicular traffic that was consigned to thoroughfares encircling the parklands or to routes at lower levels.

This, too, was Ludwig Hilberseimer's plan for the new city as it materialized in Lafayette Park. Hilberseimer—and most other American planners—in turn owed much to Le Corbusier, whose city planning ideas of the 1920s developed in part out of the same post-World War I revolutionary mood that had produced European modernist architecture. Despite the vision of a new metropolis as the setting for a new architecture, urban renewal failed in the United States, largely because the financial interests of private developers conflicted with the aspirations and prescriptions of social planners, who possessed insufficient political power to control them. And urban renewal inevitably became identified with housing for the poor, since people of means could and did select environments offering freedom of movement and a choice of services and amenities.

[144] For a full discussion of Mies's professional reputation, see: Franz Schulze and Edward Windhorst, *Mies van der Rohe: A Critical Biography*, New and Revised Edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), especially "Appendix B: Mies' Career, in Publications and Exhibitions" (418-426), a detailed history of Mies' critical reception.

Located half a mile from downtown Detroit, Greenwald's Lafayette Park was intended to appeal to middle-class people, most of them professionals who wanted to stay in the city. The complex consists of three building types disposed at the edges of the site, enveloping a nineteen-acre clearing intended by Caldwell to evoke a (nativist) Prairie landscape. Other housing types were considered but rejected, including six-unit clusters of courtyard houses and two-story walk-up apartments. As built, single-story row houses look onto individual rear yards enclosed by brick walls. Two-story houses, their exposed fronts and backs steel framed and fully glazed, are also set in rows, with end walls of brick. Parking for the low-rise units is outdoors (to save on development costs), but Hilberseimer lowered the parking grade by three feet so that cars almost disappear from view. Dominating the development are three twenty-one-story apartment towers, the last two finished as late as 1963. (The plan had called for either six or eight towers, depending on which version is considered final. Other buildings, tall and low, were completed later to designs by others.) Characteristically for Mies, the three types were sited loosely ajog of one another. A system of closed-end streets, again developed by Hilberseimer, prevents through traffic while providing vehicular access to each building.

Though Hilberseimer's planning concepts were generally respected, one of his most cherished principles—"proper" solar orientation—was ignored, even for the low-rise units, because Mies rejected it as unworkable (as he had for the earlier Lake Shore Drive Apartments in Chicago). Given the tight budgets imposed by Greenwald, even Caldwell's landscaping, now one of the glories of Lafayette Park, was nearly sacrificed for a few thousand dollars. Although a small number of specimen trees were saved when the site was cleared, in the end Caldwell made do mostly with saplings and plant detritus from a nearby bankrupt nursery. Greenwald and his staff were similarly strict with the construction budget: on the towers, for example, the ground-floor columns and the exposed corners all the way up are unclad concrete.

At the level of building types and individual buildings Lafayette Park is a direct application of the architectural language Mies first established in his work on the IIT campus and, for tall vertical buildings, in the prototypes of 860-880 Lake Shore Drive (completed 1951) and Mies' first aluminum curtain-wall buildings, 900-910 Lake Shore Drive (completed 1957). The low-rise buildings at Lafayette Park are conceptually similar to Mies' mostly two-story campus architecture, with similar horizontal massing (and flat roofs) and brick and window-wall detailing, and a pervasive lack of ornamentation or other traditional residential symbolism. Their construction is solid but strictly economical. For the towers Greenwald enforced a very tight budget, and Lafayette Park's three high-rise buildings represent a lower level, especially of exterior finish, than the 900-910 Chicago model, which was intended for a prosperous rental clientele. But the more open siting in Detroit offers consistently better views than many that were compromised by the tighter urban plots of Mies' and Greenwald's Chicago towers.

Depending upon how one counts the buildings, Lafayette Park is the largest single collection of Mies buildings in the world, including the group on the much better known IIT campus. The low-rise buildings are also unique in Mies' work, because although he studied so-called "court yard" and other freestanding dwellings in detail both at the Bauhaus and at IIT—the latter also a careful object of study by Hilberseimer over two decades—none were realized anywhere else excepting two unimportant residences Mies did for clients, but not the Farnsworth House (NHL, 2006). The Lafayette Park buildings influenced important and successful modernist infill housing, especially in Chicago's Hyde Park neighborhood in the 1950s and 1960s, where Mies' students and other followers further developed his prototypes.

Though stopped short of completion, the Mies-Hilberseimer plan remains a model of urban redevelopment. The mixed building types, good construction quality, and fee-simple ownership of the low-rise units each contributed to this success. Lafayette Park was eventually taken over and filled out, if not completed, by other developers with other architects. Mies' later exercises in urban planning were confined to commercial or governmental superblocks, where Hilberseimer's settlement unit was not relevant.

The Professional Team for Lafayette Park

Lafayette Park is Mies van der Rohe's only American work in which he collaborated formally and professionally with his most trusted and oldest colleague, German-born architect and planner Ludwig Hilberseimer (1885-1967). His second key consultant for Lafayette Park was the American architect and landscape designer Alfred Caldwell (1903-1998), who conceived and implemented landscapes for many of Mies' works, including the IIT campus. For two decades Hilberseimer and Caldwell were closely associated as professors at IIT, and Hilbs (as he was called) was Caldwell's mentor. After Lafayette Park, Mies, Hilbs, and Caldwell would never again work together on a "real" project or on this scale.

Herbert Greenwald

Mies' relationship with the developer Herbert Greenwald (1915-1959) proved to be the most important of the architect's career, for it was the young, then-inexperienced Greenwald who enabled Mies to first realize major buildings. At the same time Greenwald "went to school" under the master, and within a few years emerged as a major figure in Chicago real estate.

While a student of philosophy at the University of Chicago in the late 1930s, Greenwald worked for a summer for Chicago architect John Holsman. The experience led him to form his own real estate firm, the Herbert Construction Company. By 1946 he had completed three nondescript mid-rise apartment buildings in north-suburban Evanston. He had also gained the financial support of Samuel Katzen, a lawyer and investor and one of a group that controlled a parcel on Chicago's South Lake Shore Drive suitable for an apartment building. Katzen put Greenwald in charge of its development, and Greenwald in turn assigned himself no less a task than to secure "the best architect in the world."[145] After failing to engage Frank Lloyd Wright, who demanded a hefty retainer, he approached Eliel Saarinen, who was too busy with Cranbrook Academy (NHL, 1989) in Bloomfield Hills, Michigan. Greenwald's next candidate, Harvard's Walter Gropius, also declined, but suggested that Greenwald hire "the father of us all," Mies van der Rohe, who was already in Chicago.[146] After three "greater" architects failed him, Greenwald at last approached Mies. Like Mies, he was a devoted student of philosophy, and an intellectual kinship was quickly established.

Born in St. Louis in 1915, Greenwald left home at the age of fourteen. He entered Yeshiva University in New York with the intent of studying for the rabbinate but ended up with the "great books" at the University of Chicago before he ran out of money. According to Greenwald's son, "he went into business to make an impact on the landscape."[147]

With what became Mies' first completed tall building, the 1949 Promontory Apartments in Chicago, the course was set for a historic partnership. Most of the work of Mies' office during the 1950s was Greenwald's, including the epochal Lake Shore Drive Apartments in Chicago (now known as 860-880 Lake Shore Drive), major residential towers at 900-910 Lake Shore Drive and 330-340 West Diversey Parkway (originally the Commonwealth Promenade Apartments) in Chicago, and Lafayette Park in Detroit. After Greenwald's death in a plane crash in 1959, Mies also completed three large apartment buildings in Newark, New Jersey, each nearly identical to the Lafayette Park prototypes. Other studies and proposals were made for Greenwald developments

[145] Lillian Greenwald, personal communication with Franz Schulze, 2000. The notes of this conversation are located in Schulze's personal files.

[146] But Joseph Fujikawa's memory differed: "[Greenwald] had, through reading publications, decided that the three greatest architects in the world were Frank Lloyd Wright, Le Corbusier and Mies van der Rohe. He rejected [Wright] after hearing from friends that he was very difficult to work with, and Le Corbusier seemed to eliminate himself because of distance." Joseph Fujikawa, "Mies's Office: 1945-1970," A+U (Architecture+Urbanism) 124 (Jan. 1981): 176.

[147] Bennet Greenwald interview with Kevin Harrington, intended, according to Greenwald, for an archive prepared for IIT that was never realized. Greenwald provided Franz Schulze a typescript of this interview.

in New York, San Francisco, and around the country. Not surprisingly, early in their relationship Greenwald was in awe of Mies. Nonetheless, Greenwald rapidly emerged as his own man—and the key figure in Mies' professional fortunes.

Ludwig Hilberseimer

Lafayette Park is the only realized project of Ludwig Karl Hilberseimer's planning in the United States and comes extraordinarily close to the expression of his ideals for the settlement unit. Hilberseimer was born in 1885 in Karlsruhe, Germany. After studying architecture at Karlsruhe Technical University from 1906 to 1910, he moved to Berlin and worked in the architectural office of Peter Behrens, and then as an architect and urban planner both independently and in others' employ. During this time, he was also an art critic and essayist on modern architecture and urban planning.[148]

Hilbs' interest in the social integration of groups and ecological studies was explored in his early writings where he also incorporated the economic management theories of Frederick Winslow Taylor (Taylorism) and the vertical mass production systems of Henry Ford (Fordism), both of which spread to other industrial countries around the world by 1915. Like others in the European avant-garde, he studied Le Corbusier's *Ville Contemporaine*, a city designed for three million inhabitants in 1922 as a solution to housing shortages and the need to produce housing quickly and efficiently. If "a house was a machine for living in," then "Le Corbusier and his modernist architect colleagues proposed to make them out of machine tools in a factory assembled like Ford assembles cars."[149] While Hilberseimer did not agree with the magnitude of Corbu's theoretical solutions, he applied some of the organizational methods and ideas swirling around his avant-garde colleagues to architecture and planning in his 1924 "Highrise City" plan (published in 1927).

In 1927, Hilbs was one of the seventeen architects who contributed to the very influential modernist housing experiment in Stuttgart, the Weissenhofsiedlung exhibition (House 18) organized by Mies. He was already teaching building theory at the Bauhaus when Mies arrived as director in 1930. After leaving in 1933, Hilbs continued to work as an architect in Berlin. Publication of his critical and theoretical writings, however, dried up due to pressure from the increasingly penetrating reach of the Nazi party.

Not too long afterwards, Hilbs moved away from the idea of a vertical integration of urban functions to a horizontal one that stressed decentralization. He espoused the elimination of conditions that become evil in cities that "don't serve the interests of man," criticizing the way people "cling" to them even when they are obsolete, leading planners to partial solutions that don't work.[150] A false sense of security after World War I, the failed promises of the "machine age," and the problems of pollution, transportation, and crime in urban centers—problems that Hilbs grappled with in the Highrise City, propelled him to change course.

Hilberseimer's planning theories moved toward organic planning in the 1930s. He was influenced by Ebenezer Howard's *Garden Cities of To-Morrow* (published 1902), Henry Wright and Clarence Stein's *New City of Radburn* (1929), Clarence Perry's *Neighborhood Unit* (Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs, published in 1929), and Frank Lloyd Wright's *Broadacre City* (exhibited in 1935).[151] Like Ford's decentralized production facilities, these urban planning models eliminated the distinction between city and country and could be replicated boundlessly.

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[148] Architectuul, "Ludwig Hilberseimer," accessed 14 Aug. 2014: http://architectuul.com/architect/ludwig-hilberseimer.

[149] W. Boyd Rayward, *European Modernism and the Information Society: Informing the Present, Understanding the Past* (Burlington VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2008), 7.

[150] Ludwig K. Hilberseimer, *The New City: Principles of Planning* (Chicago: Paul Theobald, 1944), 129.

[151] Clarence Perry's influence is not mentioned in Hilberseimer's *The New City* or *Regional Planning Patterns*, but from the similarities between Perry's neighborhood unit and Hilberseimer's "Settlement Unit", it is apparent that Perry was influential.

Hilberseimer emigrated to Chicago, Illinois, in 1938 where he joined Ludwig Mies van der Rohe at the Illinois Institute of Technology to head the urban and regional planning department. While Mies was a practitioner, Hilbs was a researcher and theoretician. He remained a member of the faculty until his death in 1967.

The New City, Principles of Planning, published in 1944, was Hilbs' treatise on the Decentralized City, providing a new model for modern cities. This model deviated completely from cities of the past that used the grid and the block as organizing structures. The settlement unit was the basic social structure of the Decentralized City, limited in size and containing all the elements of a city placed according to function. Characteristics of a settlement unit were its low density, mixed use, and non-hierarchical structure. Elements of its organization were traffic arteries, buildings, and nature. Roads were laid out as "backbones" or "fish-spines," ending in cul-de-sacs resulting in "closed systems."

In Hilbs' settlement units, buildings were located off the fish-spines in separate zones according to use, such as industrial zone, housing zone, and office zone; all were walkable from one to another. Schools and community buildings were located in green zones. Living units could be prefabricated, assembled into different types of sized structures, and they would be surrounded by nature. "Natural camouflage," as Hilbs called it, hid the low-rise buildings by a tree canopy and shrubs. High rises permitted different views of the environment in what appeared as a low-density, park-like setting.[152]

Shortly after Hilberseimer arrived at IIT, he worked on a survey of housing conditions that determined that the near southwest side of Chicago housed some of the city's worst slums. This resulted in the coming together of public policy and private interests to take action. Using the Housing Act of 1937, the city of Chicago requested the assistance of the Federal government in slum clearance for public housing. Hilberseimer's solution to ameliorating the slum-like conditions was to take away the grid of the street pattern, creating a system of settlement units over time, for what he referred to as *Urbs in Horto*, a Latin phrase that translated into English as "city in a garden."[153]

Hilberseimer understood the interrelationship between local, regional, and national planning. He perceived that the physical, social, and moral diseases of cities was one of the greatest challenges of his times. His solution was not in populating more suburbs with single-family houses where the urban sense was lost. His Settlement Unit equaled a relatively small community that was flexible to the needs of its people and could be replicated to accommodate growth throughout the region. This decentralized planning had advantages to the defense of the nation as well, since people and resources would be spread out.

A proponent of comprehensive city planning and regional planning, Hilbs believed that if there was no plan, cities would develop haphazardly. He questioned whether suburbanites would move back to cities and was concerned that poor people would move from place to place, creating more slums. The will to change in accordance with the needs of the future could be accommodated through regional planning, as he described in *The New Regional Pattern,* published in 1949. *The Nature of Cities* (1955) was his third major publication.

When Hilberseimer joined Herbert Greenwald's Lafayette Park team in 1955, the land had already been cleared. Hilbs asked to remove the street grid from the site and eventually Detroit's city planners consented. He devised a layout that, because of its limited acreage, differed from his typical settlement unit in that it lacked industrial and work areas, but had many of its physical characteristics. Its form was that of a superblock bounded by major transportation arteries, depicting a clear division of housing, cars, and pedestrian traffic—a closed system with close-ended streets so traffic couldn't move through. In the Lafayette Park plan seven traditional blocks were combined to create space for a park, school, shopping center and playgrounds, all walkable without

[152] Hilberseimer, *The New City*, 71-72.
[153] *Urbs in Horto* was also the motto of the city of Chicago from its incorporation in 1837.

crossing a street. Potential expansion of the site to the south influenced the positioning of the shopping center and school on the southern major artery, Lafayette Boulevard.

Earlier in his career Hilbs had examined building typologies and came to prefer the L-shaped house based on modular and solar studies. These are depicted on his early plans for Lafayette Park. One of the few alterations Mies made to Hilbs' concept was to change the L-shaped arrangements to rows of town-house and court-yard buildings: their orientation to maximize sunlight was not a factor in Mies' design.

Hilberseimer's belief that spaciousness and privacy could be achieved through combining low-rise houses and tall apartment buildings within a settlement unit was thoroughly realized in his plan for Lafayette Park. In *The New City*, Hilberseimer wrote:

> The mixed type of settlement permits the erection of free-standing buildings, each of which can develop functionally according to its own particular laws. Higher buildings within the "garden" parks, contrasting with the low one-family houses, may be used to create a feeling of spaciousness and openness. The narrow confined street and city area can give way to an entirely open and free city area. Just as the house fuses with the landscape, the room with the garden, the interior with the exterior, so also the city can merge with the landscape and the landscape can come within the city."[154]

Charles Waldheim notes that Hilberseimer used landscape as the ordering system in his plan for Lafayette Park by placing a 13-acre park in the middle of his horizontal, decentralized settlement.[155] Lafayette Park, Hilbs' *Urbs in Horto*, provided a model that could be expanded and duplicated, and, in fact, was carried forth in the overall planning of Elmwood Park to its east.

Alfred Caldwell

Among Mies' IIT faculty, Alfred Caldwell occupied a unique position. He was best known as a landscape architect, but he was an architect as well, with an independent practice during most of his career. As documented by his biographer, Dennis Domer, Caldwell was also a poet, essayist, environmentalist, and sage.[156] He produced exquisitely detailed architectural and landscape drawings that are today as coveted by collectors as those by Mies.

Caldwell enrolled at the University of Illinois in 1921 to study landscape architecture but dropped out. Shortly thereafter he began to practice landscape architecture in Chicago. He then made a fateful and fortunate decision when he applied for work with Jens Jensen, the fabled landscapist famous for employing native Midwestern species and creating naturalistic rock formations. Jensen became teacher and mentor as well as employer, and in the 1920s the two men were responsible for a number of ambitious landscapes for prominent private clients. Jensen's friendship with Frank Lloyd Wright led to visits by Caldwell to Wright's home and school in Wisconsin, Taliesin. Wright's influence on Caldwell was soon entwined with Jensen's, as is evident in Caldwell's celebrated WPA-era landscape and buildings for Eagle Point Park in Dubuque, Iowa.

Working for the Chicago Park District in the second half of the 1930s, Caldwell designed major parks, including Promontory Point in Hyde Park and the major landfill extension of Lincoln Park north to Hollywood

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[154] Hilberseimer, *The New City*, 191.

[155] Charles Waldheim, "Landscape, Urban Order, and Structural Change," in *CASE: Lafayette Park Detroit – Hilberseimer/Mies van der Rohe*, ed. Charles Waldheim (New York: Prestel Publishing, 2004), 19-27.

[156] Dennis Domer, ed. Alfred Caldwell: *The Life and Work of a Prairie School Landscape Architect*, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997. Caldwell's drawings are sampled in Werner Blaser, *Architecture and Nature: The Work of Alfred Caldwell*, Birkhäuser Verlag, 1984.

Avenue. One day in the fall of 1938, three men—Mies, Hilberseimer, and their faculty colleague Walter Peterhans—were walking through Lincoln Park when they came across a lily pond and surrounding garden and structures that greatly impressed them. Mies presumed it was by Wright, but Caldwell, who was the designer and happened to be there working, proudly corrected him. Thus began Caldwell's connection with Mies, and a brief matriculation as an IIT architecture student. He sat for his architect's license in 1940, and officially joined the faculty in 1944, the first new full-time, Chicago-based faculty member to teach under Mies. His teaching specialty was construction. After leaving IIT in protest over the school's 1958 termination of Mies as campus architect, Caldwell served on the faculty of the School of Architecture at the University of Southern California. There he taught philosophy, literature, and history as well as architecture and landscape design. In 1981 he rejoined IIT as the Ludwig Mies van der Rohe Professor of Architecture, a post he retained until his death in 1998.

The Lafayette Park Plan

The success of Lafayette Park lies in the collaboration between Greenwald, Mies, Hilberseimer, and Caldwell. In 1956, the team prepared a plan for Lafayette Park based on Hilberseimer's amended settlement unit, the superblock plan. Funded by Greenwald's development company, the plan was economically feasible because it leveraged increased density residences in the form of high-rise apartment buildings to permit expanded public open space. Sweeping away the traditional city street grid allowed Hilberseimer to prioritize open space and allow vehicle access while keeping it subordinate to pedestrian circulation and open space. No through traffic streets were allowed, while parking was kept at the periphery and subordinated by lowering the grades of streets and parking three to four feet below the surrounding grade or hiding it in garages. Pedestrian access was paramount; residents would be able to walk through the parks and open spaces to reach amenities such as the school and shopping center without crossing a street. To provide variety and ensure Lafayette Park's appeal to a diverse population, low- and high-rise housing developments were interspersed throughout the Park, and a hierarchy of open spaces was provided, ranging from public open space (the central Lafayette Plaisance) to semi-private open spaces within the housing developments, to private open spaces in the court houses. Housing units were carefully planned to enhance the interior/exterior relationship, carefully considering views to and from residential units.

High quality design was another key component of the plan. At its inception, the plan was for Mies van der Rohe to design every building in the complex. Although this plan was thwarted by Greenwald's early death, the buildings that were completed to Mies' designs represent an unparalleled collection of his work. They include not only three high-rise towers reflecting his design principles, but also a collection of townhouses that are unique in Mies' body of work. The high quality of design reflected in the Mies-designed buildings remains a significant selling point in Lafayette Park today. Finally, the contribution of Alfred Caldwell cannot be overlooked. Although Lafayette Park may not be among Caldwell's best-known works, the landscape design, particularly for the Mies van der Rohe townhouses and courthouses, is key to the success of the complex. Caldwell utilized the principles of Prairie style landscape design that featured prominently in his work and in the work of his contemporaries Jens Jensen and O. C. Simonds. Like the Prairie style architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright, the Prairie style of landscape design was rooted in the horizontality, open character and native vegetation of the American Midwest. Native trees and shrubs delineated spaces organized as a sequence of outdoor rooms and framed views into and out of the landscape, and hardscape elements and water features emulated natural elements such as rock outcroppings and streams. At Lafayette Park, Caldwell used a variety of native plants to define public and private spaces, such as the hawthorn hedges in front of each unit; create outdoor rooms, from the playground areas to semi-private "sitting areas," add interest to the landscape; and form human-scale spaces and landscape character to create a welcoming, park-like setting.

Due to Herbert Greenwald's death, Lafayette Park was never completed to the exact plan laid out by the team in 1956. However, subsequent development did generally adhere to the conceptual plan established by Greenwald, Mies, Hilberseimer, and Caldwell. Lafayette Park retains a mix of low- and high-rise residential developments, from the one-story court houses of Chateaufort Place to the high rise Four Freedoms Tower. The cul-de-sacs on the east side of Lafayette Park, along with utilities, were constructed prior to Greenwald's death, preventing the establishment of any through-streets and keeping parking and vehicular circulation subordinate. The post-Greenwald developments "engage" the Lafayette Plaisance with varying degrees of success; perhaps the least successful in that respect is Regency Square, which turns inward rather than out to the Plaisance, and tall privacy fences along the west edge of Chateaufort Place provide a barrier not seen in the Mies van der Rohe townhouses across the park. However, pedestrian access is retained, and residents of all the complexes can easily reach the park, school, and shopping center. Hierarchies of open space are also maintained, particularly at Chateaufort, where semi-private front yards are balanced by private courts.

Design-wise, the principles established by Mies and Caldwell have also been maintained. Given the short period of time (11 years) in which the development was completed, the individual buildings all more or less reflect the International style of design, although none reach the level of individual distinction of the Pavilion Tower or Mies van der Rohe townhouses. Similarly, subsequent developments maintained the general principles of Prairie-style landscape design, again to a lesser degree than Caldwell's achievement at the townhouses.

While contemporary scholars and planning practitioners differed on the impact of the quality of architectural design on the original scheme, Lafayette Park is considered a complete ensemble today. According to Richard Longstreth, portions of Lafayette Park that were the designs of local architects, while not of the same extraordinary design quality of the Mies buildings, "are important and integral contributors to a larger whole that visually reads and functionally exists as a coherent community. They are key to understanding the history of the overall project….Whatever the departures from the Mies plan, this district reads as a single entity."[157] In acknowledgment of the mistake made in allowing the piecemeal construction after Greenwald's death, the Mayor's Committee for Community Renewal, as it embarked on the adjacent Elmwood urban renewal project in 1966, established a "design standard...to provide for architectural quality, site parceling and compatibility of design."

CONCLUSION

For better or worse, the urban renewal movement of the mid-twentieth century radically transformed large portions of many American cities, large and small. It embodied many of the noblest intentions of its era: the desire to provide safe and affordable housing for all, the need to economically uplift the country's struggling, dense cities, and the forward-looking, modernist zeitgeist of the times. At the same time, it also reflected some of the worst characteristics of its period: the disregard for those displaced by clearances, the perpetuation of racial segregation and economic inequality, and the destruction of some of the country's most significant historic resources in the name of "progress."

Lafayette Park in Detroit is an unparalleled example of urban renewal in the United States. One of the first urban renewal projects conceived (even before the Federal legislation that would enable it), Lafayette Park was built on the site of a formerly thriving African American neighborhood that had been cleared (with no established mechanism for re-housing its former inhabitants) of its nineteenth and early twentieth century building stock, and which even swept away the traditional urban street grid. After sitting empty for many years in search of a developer, it was completed within ten years in adherence to a plan conceived by a collaboration

[157] Letter from Richard Longstreth, Professor of American Civilization at George Washington University, to Deborah Goldstein, City of Detroit, Historic Designation Advisory Board (HDAB), and Detroit City Council, 2002; letter located in the Lafayette Park Local Historic District file, HDAB, Coleman A. Young Municipal Building, Detroit, Michigan.

of nationally significant designers, including one of the best-known Modern architects of the era, Mies van der Rohe.

Although Lafayette Park never provided low-income housing as originally conceived, it did attract a middle-class coterie of "urban pioneers" who ultimately evolved into an ethnically diverse, stable population of residents whose stewardship has maintained it as a desirable urban neighborhood. The Modernist plan of Lafayette Park, the work of Mies and his partners Ludwig Hilberseimer and Alfred Caldwell, remains successful because its early plan and development were largely carried out even after the original design team had withdrawn, and it has been maintained almost entirely intact, creating a cohesive environment of Modern-era high rise towers juxtaposed with low-rise development within a Prairie style landscape.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

__ Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
_X_ Previously Listed in the National Register.
__ Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
__ Designated a National Historic Landmark.
__ Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: #
__ Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #

Primary Location of Additional Data:

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

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: Approximately 78 acres

UTM References:	**Zone**	**Easting**	**Northing**
A	17	331958	4689759
B	17	332350	4690191
C	17	332714	4689396
D	17	332250	4689157

Verbal Boundary Description: Beginning at the northeast corner of E. Lafayette Street and Rivard Street in Detroit, Michigan, the boundary runs east on E. Lafayette to Orleans Street, then north on Orleans Street to Chestnut Street, then west on Chestnut Street to Orleans Street, then north on Orleans Street to Antietam Avenue, which curves southwest, then south, then west to Rivard Street. The boundary then runs south on Rivard Street to the point of beginning.

Boundary Justification: The boundary encompasses the original 78 acres of the Lafayette Park development as conceived in 1956 and carried out through 1967.

11. FORM PREPARED BY

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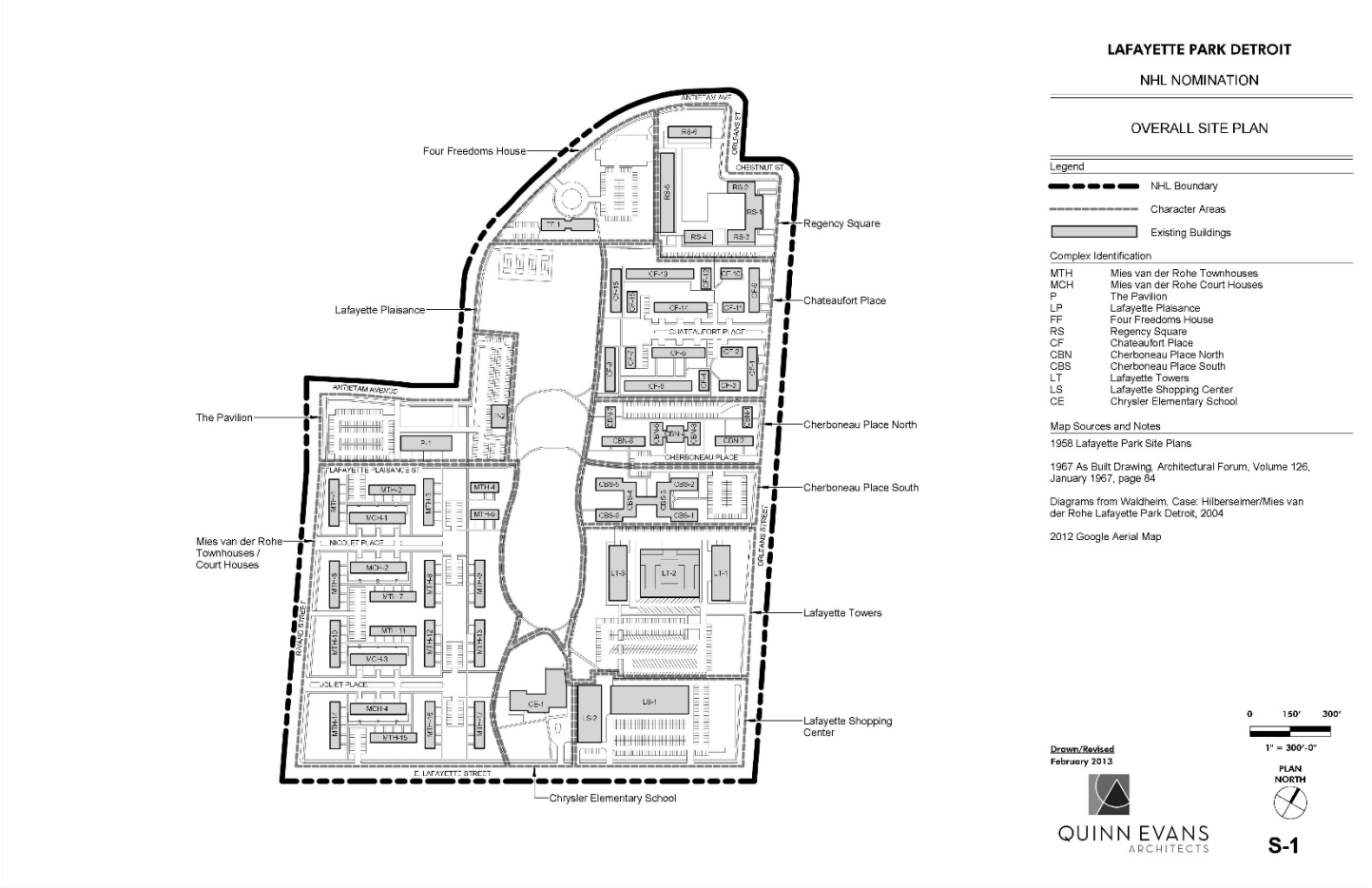
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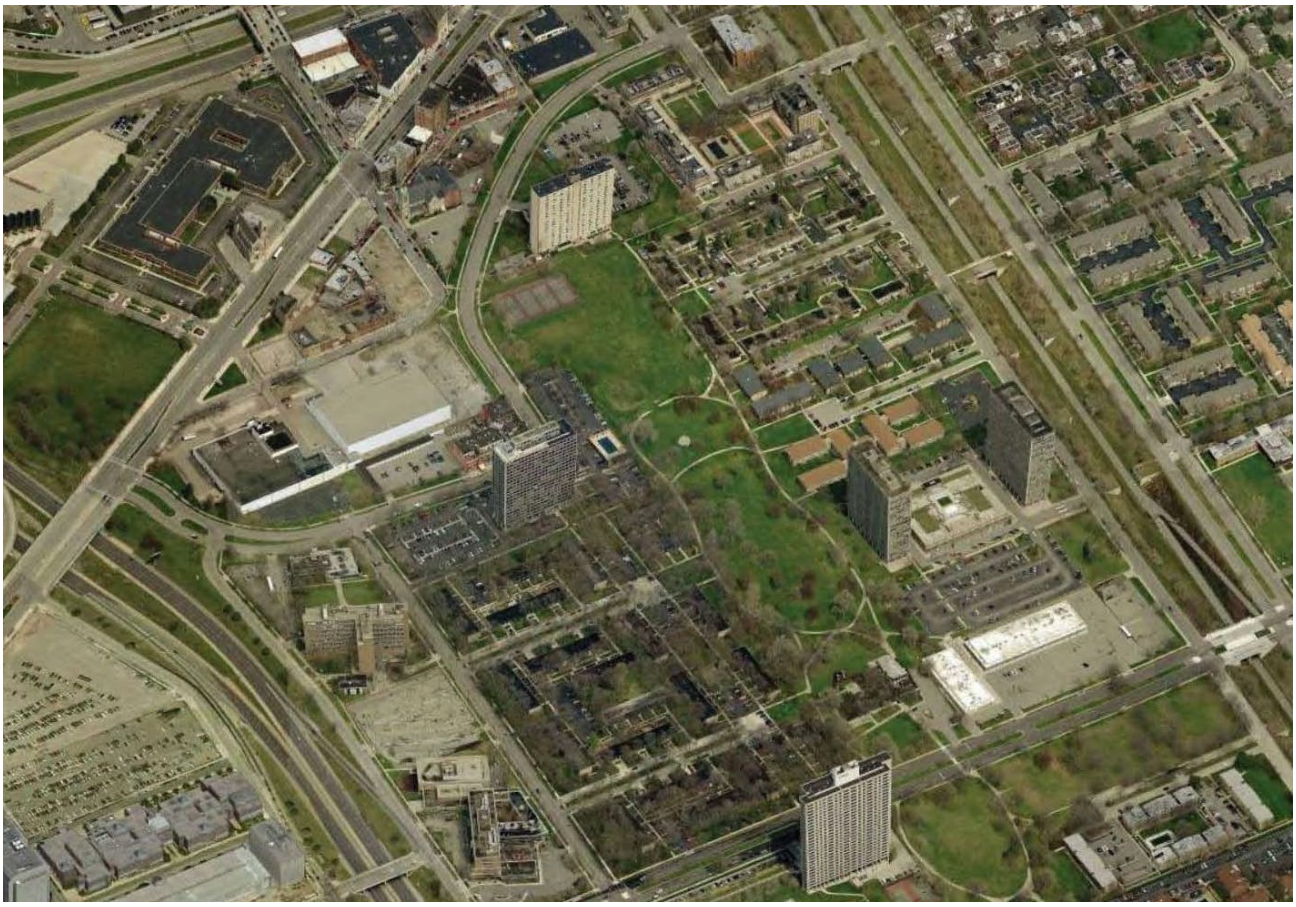
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NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS PROGRAM
December 8, 2014



Lafayette Park, site plan indicating the major groups of buildings.
Quinn Evans Architects, 2014



Aerial view, Lafayette Park, looking north
Bing Maps, 2012



Pavilion exterior, looking southwest (above)
Pavilion interior, entry lobby looking south (below)
Quinn Evans Architects, 2013





Townhouse units with Pavilion in background, looking north (above)
Townhouse units, east elevation (below)
Quinn Evans Architects, 2013





Townhouse units, looking southwest (above)
Front of the Chrysler School, looking northeast (below)
Quinn Evans Architects, 2013





Lafayette Shopping Center, looking northwest across parking lot (above)
Lafayette Shopping Center, looking north (below)
Quinn Evans Architects, 2013





Lafayette Plaisance, looking north (above)
Lafayette Towers, looking northwest (below)
Quinn Evans Architects, 2013





Lafayette Towers, looking east (above)
Lafayette Towers, main lobby, looking north (below)
Quinn Evans Architects, 2013





Aerial view from Lafayette Towers looking north (above)
Aerial view from Lafayette Towers looking west (below)
Quinn Evans Architects, 2013





Cherboneau Place North, looking south (above)
Chateaufort Place, looking northwest (below)
Quinn Evans Architects, 2013





Chateaufort Place, looking south
Quinn Evans Architects, 2013



Regency Square, looking northeast from interior court (above)
Regency Square, looking northwest from Orleans Street (below)
Quinn Evans Architects, 2013





Four Freedoms Tower, looking northwest
Quinn Evans Architects, 2013