Designing Identity:
Lawrence Halprin and Harland Bartholomew's Master Plans for Charlottesville, VA, 1956-1976

Sarita M. Herman

B.A., Hollins University, 2008

School of Architecture
University of Virginia
May 2010

Thesis Committee:

Richard Guy Wilson, Director

Daniel Bluestone

Elizabeth Meyer

Table of Contents

Illustrations:

17. Back alley and side street conditions, Vinegar Hill, 1960, Charlottesville Housing and Redevelopment Authority, from Albemarle Charlottesville Historical Society.
    a. Behind Preston Street, Lane High School visible in background.
    b. Vacant lot on Commerce Street.
    c. Alley.
    d. Looking toward backs of buildings on Main Street.
    e. Behind businesses on Main Street.
    f. Wooden houses, 342-346 3rd Street.
18. Substantial side-street housing, Vinegar Hill, 1960, Charlottesville Housing and Redevelopment Authority, from Albemarle Charlottesville Historical Society.
    a. 375 Commerce Street.
    b. 340 3rd Street.
    c. 301 Irving Street.
    d. 306 3rd Street.
    e. 125 Preston Street.
    f. 129 Preston Street.
19. Vinegar Hill after clearance, from Albemarle Charlottesville Historical Society.
20. Proposed Major Street Plan, 1959, Harland Bartholomew & Associates.
21. Density and Growth projections, Harland Bartholomew & Associates, 1959, from Small Special Collections Library, UVa.
    a. Population density 1956.
    b. Population growth projection 1980.
22. Topographical Map, Vinegar Hill, ca. 1960, Vinegar Hill Project, http://www.vinegarhillproject.org
23. Surface parking, Water Street, 1934, Holsinger Collection.
24. Recommended Street Cross-Sections, 1959, Harland Bartholomew and Associates.
25. Vinegar Hill Development Plan, Harland Bartholomew & Associates, 1968.
26. Location of Subdivisions, Harland Bartholomew & Associates, 1959, from Small Special Collections Library, UVa.
27. CBD Master Plan, Harland Bartholomew & Associates, 1968, composite, color overlay for clarity by author.
28. a. Preliminary Mall suggestion after Nicollet Mall, Charlottesville Planning Office, probably Thomas Conger, c.1972.
    b. Nicollet Mall, Minneapolis, MN, Lawrence Halprin Associates, 1960s.
29. Ghirardelli Square, Fisherman's Wharf, San Francisco, Lawrence Halprin with Wurster, Bernardi and Emmons, 1964.
30. Seattle Freeway Park, Lawrence Halprin, 1976.
31. Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial, DC, Lawrence Halprin, 1974.
32. Participants in Take Part Workshop, Lawrence Halprin Associates, 1973.
33. Take Part Workshop, inside the Old Armory Building, Market Street, Lawrence Halprin Associates, 1973.
34. Vinegar Hill Park Design, Lawrence Halprin Associates, 1973, image from Dean Abbott.

35. C&O Plaza, Lawrence Halprin Associates, 1973, image from Dean Abbott.
36. CBD Illustrative Master Plan, CBD Land Use, ca. 1973, Lawrence Halprin Associates, Penn Architectural Archives.
37. Site reconnaissance photo, Court Square, Charlottesville, VA, 1973, Lawrence Halprin Associates, Penn Architectural Archives.
38. Mortar-set Herringbone Brick, Mall, Photo: Lauren Noe, Summer 2008.
39. Site reconnaissance photo, Court Square, Charlottesville, VA, 1973, Lawrence Halprin Associates, Penn Architectural Archives.
40. Drainage Runnel, Mall, Photo: Lauren Noe, Summer 2008.
41. Comparison of Parking in HB&A and LHA plans, diagrams by Lauren Noe from *Designing Community* project, Summer 2008.
42. Charlottesville Mall Illustrative Site Plan, Lawrence Halprin Associates, ca. 1973.
43. Sketch for "elephant train" or "slow moving people mover," ca. 1973, Lawrence Halprin Associates, Penn Architectural Archives.
44. Auto show on Mall, Photographed by Ed Roseberry, 1976, courtesy of Robert Stroh Jr. Manager, City Parking Garage.
45. Mayor Charles Barbour at Mall groundbreaking, 1975, photo courtesy of Charles Barbour.
46. Mayor Charles Barbour at Mall opening ceremony, July, 1976, photo courtesy of Charles Barbour.
47. Illustrative Master Plan, Lawrence Halprin Associates, ca. 1973.
48. View of Mall from Central Place, Photographed by Ed Roseberry, 1976, courtesy of Robert Stroh Jr. Manager, City Parking Garage.
49. Fountain in Central Place, 1976, image from Dean Abbott.
50. Seating in Central Place, Photographed by Ed Roseberry, 1976, courtesy of Robert Stroh Jr. Manager, City Parking Garage.
51. Miller and Rhoades after Mall construction, Photographed by Ed Roseberry, 1976, courtesy of Robert Stroh Jr. Manager, City Parking Garage.
52. Downtown Mall showing pedestrian traffic, note original Halprin-designed Kiosk – since removed, Photographed by Ed Roseberry, 1976, courtesy of Robert Stroh Jr. Manager, City Parking Garage.

Acknowledgements:

The following thesis would not have been possible without the wonderful support network I have had while writing it. I would like to thank my thesis committee for all of their guidance over the past two years. My director, Richard Guy Wilson, has always been ready with a helping hand. Professor Daniel Bluestone's extensive knowledge of Downtown Charlottesville, coupled with Professor Elizabeth Meyer's familiarity with the work of Lawrence Halprin has been invaluable to me.

There have been several terrific research institutions that have made writing this thesis a pleasant experience. Thank you to the staffs at the University of Virginia School Architecture, Architectural History Department, Fiske-Kimball Fine Arts Library, the Albemarle Charlottesville Historical Society, Small Special Collections Library, and the University of Pennsylvania Architectural Archives.

One of the best parts of researching the Downtown Mall has been having the opportunity to interview so many experts who have a first-hand knowledge of the Mall's history and have been generously forthcoming about their experiences in local government and design. Thank you to all of those who have volunteered their time and knowledge to this project.

I would also like to thank my family for supporting me during the past two long and stressful years. In particular, my wonderful husband Jay has always been around to lighten the mood, and allowed me to bounce ideas off of him at all hours of the day. Thanks also to my parents and brother who have been unfailingly enthusiastic about my continuing education.

Introduction

This thesis examines urban planning and landscape architecture in downtown Charlottesville, VA from 1956-1976, primarily focusing on the conversion of East Main Street into a pedestrian shopping mall Fig 1. Over the course of two decades, planners had a profound impact on the form and identity of Charlottesville, employing transportation, housing, preservation and demolition to transform the central business district from a place in crisis into a thriving urban space. Massive destruction and displacement characterized the first 16 years of this transformative period, lead by the national planning firm Harland Bartholomew & Associates. However, this firm also first suggested a mall in Charlottesville, leading the hire of Lawrence Halprin. The Mall, designed and built from 1973-76 by Lawrence Halprin Associates, is the most prominent feature of positive transformation in downtown Charlottesville, but it could not have been successful in isolation. Lawrence Halprin recognized that the Mall would have to draw on Charlottesville's history, respond easily to change, and depend on a network of supporting social and physical factors in order to flourish. The quality of Halprin's design, which was responsive to site, minimalistic and adaptable, has allowed the Charlottesville Pedestrian Mall to prosper.

The city of Charlottesville is exemplary of national planning trends because of the involvement of Harland Bartholomew (1889-1989) and Lawrence Halprin (1916-2009), both of whom were important figures in twentieth-century American planning and embodied the values of their respective generations Figs 2-3. Major philosophical changes in American city planning took place during Bartholomew's decline and Halprin's rise. These changes

corresponded with the dramatic social upheaval of the 1960s, embodied by the anti-war, civil rights, and women's liberation movements. During this time, a new generation of planners and landscape architects took on novel social concerns and began to incorporate them into their planning strategies. Charlottesville is exemplary of this change as a case where the innovative, youthful, liberal strategies of a new generation of planners, represented by Lawrence Halprin rapidly usurped the policies of the early twentieth-century planning movement, embodied by Harland Bartholomew.[1]

Background

In the mid-twentieth century, the city of Charlottesville, VA experienced a crisis common to American cities. Beginning with the great depression in the 1930s, Charlottesville saw a slow, conspicuous decline in businesses and residents in the downtown area Fig 4.[2] The rise of automobile culture caused the narrow, carriage-scaled urban streets downtown to become crowded with vehicular traffic and parking problems Figs 5-6. There were often conflicts between automobile traffic and the security and comfort of pedestrian shoppers Fig 7. Auto-friendly suburban neighborhoods appealed to residents, drawing them away from living downtown.[3] The 1933 founding of the Public Works

[1] For more on the shift from physical to social planning that happened from the 1950s-'70s, see: Cliff Ellis, "Professional Conflict Over Urban Form: The Case of Urban Freeways, 1930 to 1970;" June Manning Thomas, "Seeking a Finer Detroit: The Design and Planning Agenda of the 1960s;" and Carl Abbott, "Five Strategies for Downtown: Policy Discourse and Planning since 1943," in: *Planning the Twentieth Century American City*, Mary Corbin Sies and Christopher Silver, Eds. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

[2] Daniel Bluestone, "Charlottesville Skyscrapers, 1919-29: Ego, Imagination, and Electricity in a Historic Landscape," *Magazine of Albemarle County History*, Vol. 66 (2008): 29-30.

[3] Rosalyn Baxandall and Elizabeth Ewen, *Picture Windows: How the Suburbs Happened* (New York: Basic Books, 2000), 15.

Administration housing program reinforced a move towards the suburbs.[4] This organizational shift profoundly affected the central business district (CBD) of Charlottesville, centered on Main Street. Without shoppers living nearby or sufficient space to accommodate parking, the heart of the city could no longer sustain businesses at the level it had in the past. Once vibrant residential neighborhoods began to degrade, while low-rent businesses, or worse - vacancies, replaced what had been the economic core of the city.

Segregation divided the community and created an atmosphere of racial tension. In 1958-59, Charlottesville's school board and Virginia Governor J. Lindsay Almond reacted dramatically to the Supreme Court *Brown vs. Board of Educotion* ruling of 1954.[5] Charlottesville was one of a handful of towns in Virginia where the white power structure closed public schools as an act of massive resistance to desegregation.[6] Social and economic instability factored heavily in the planning proposals of city leaders, citizens, and national planning firms over the next twenty years.

Following national trends in the 1960s, Charlottesville underwent a series of large-scale urban renewal projects around the downtown area in an attempt to combat ad-hoc development and a loss of population and businesses to suburban areas. These urban renewals targeted Black communities and exacerbated the pre-existing racial divide in the small southern city. Rather than solving the city's economic problems, urban renewal left

---

[4] Robert M. Fogelson, *Downtown, It's Rise and Fall, 1880-1950* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 339.
[5] Clive Webb, *Massive Resistance: Southern Opposition to the Second Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 30-31.
[6] George Gilliam, "Massive Resistance Timeline," *The Ground Beneath Our Feet*, Virginia Center for Digital History, 2000, http://www.vahistory.org/massive.resistance/index.html.

scars of vacant land directly adjacent to the dense urban fabric of downtown, which were slow to develop and contributed nothing to the social life of the city.[7]

The Pedestrian Mall at the heart of the central business district, designed by Lawrence Halprin Associates between 1973-6, has transformed downtown into a vibrant urban landscape Fig 8. The Mall was a catalyst for Charlottesville's designation as an All-American city in 1988.[8] By the mid-1990s, Charlottesville citizens felt a sense of pride regarding the historic character and predominantly local economy of the central business district.[9] In 2004 Charlottesville received publicity in Bert Sperling and Peter Saunder's *Cities Ranked and Rated* as the number one American city to live in for cost of living, climate and quality of life.[10] Halprin's Mall facilitates living, civic gathering, entertainment, and business downtown. In 2009, City Hall spent $6 million on a renovation of Charlottesville's most prominent public space.[11] The Mall is a crucial part of the city's identity and economic vitality. It is one of the most successful of over 200 pedestrianized American urban streets built during the 1950s-70s.[12]

Along with changes in planning during these years, came a major shift in city government leadership. Characterized by a turn away from powerful business owners

---

[7] William H. Lucy, *Charlottesville's Downtown Revitalization* (Charlottesville: City of Charlottesville, 2002), 9.

[8] "Volunteer Team Readies Bid for All-American City," *The Charlottesville Daily Progress*, Sunday, November 12, 1988, A1.

[9] Ewert, March 24, 2010; Gilliam, February 11, 2010; Hendrix, July 31, 2009; Huja, January 5, 2010; Rinehart, December 17, 2009; Stroh,
All interviewees stated that it was not until the 1990s that the Mall took off economically.

[10] Peter Saunder and Bert Sperling, *Cities Ranked & Rated: More Than 400 Metropoliton Areas Evaluated in the U.S. and Canada* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley), 2004.

[11] Rachanda Dixit, "City Spending Windfall from Mall to Finance New Rebricking Work," *The Daily Progress*, July 1, 2009, www.dailyprogress.com.

[12] Piere Filion, Heidi Hoerning, Trudi Bunting and Gary Sands, "The Successful Few: Healthy Downtowns of Small Metropolitan Regions," *Journal of the American Planning Association*, Vol. 20, No. 3 (2004), 334.

toward citizens with relationships to cultural and social institutions, the City Council rapidly became more focused on social issues in the 1960s-70s.[13] In 1956, when Bartholomew's firm was hired, the city council was entirely comprised of wealthy white males.[14] By 1973, the year the city hired LHA, council had its first female member, Jill Rinehart, and its first African American member, Charles Barbour, both elected in 1972 Fig 9.[15] This new group of city leaders deserves a good deal of the credit for recognizing the type of radical design change needed to make an impact downtown.

Chapters

Chapter I will address the growth of the city of Charlottesville up to the point in 1956 when City Council brought in the first national planning firm to do a comprehensive plan. As a planned city from its very inception in 1762, Charlottesville is representative of eighteenth-century American city organization strategies. Its relationship to the University of Virginia and Thomas Jefferson gives it a particularly strong sense of identity and history. In spite of its initial planned layout, development in Charlottesville was ad-hoc until the mid-twentieth century. The development of Railroads and the automobile were particularly important in shaping the town. Until the mid-twentieth century, the city left it up to private interests to making aesthetic improvements as they saw fit. An examination of this development history will help to explain why City Council deemed dramatic planning

[13] George Gilliam, *Personal interview*, February 11, 2010.
[14] Harland Bartholomew & Associates, *A Preliminary Report Upon the Scope and Objectives of the City Plan, Charlottesville, Virginia* (Atlanta Georgia: Harland Bartholomew and Associates), 1956, Introduction.
[15] Barbour, Personal interview, December 16, 2009; Rinehart, Personal interview, December 17, 2009. Jill Rinehart was a stay-at-home mother and Charles Barbour a nurse at the University Hospital.

strategies like large-scale urban renewal and the pedestrianization of Main Street necessary in the small city.

Chapter II will focus on the planning strategies of Harland Bartholomew & Associates (HB&A) in Charlottesville. In 1956, the Charlottesville Housing and Redevelopment Authority (CHRA), chaired by David Wood Jr., along with the Charlottesville Planning Commission advised the City Council to hire urban planning experts, HB&A.[16] Council hired the firm to develop a plan for cleaning up traffic problems and clearing "blighted" residential neighborhoods out of the central business district to reinvigorate business downtown.[17] It was the Bartholomew firm's plans that guided the urban renewal of Vinegar Hill in the mid-1960s. However, the Bartholomew firm was also the first to propose a pedestrian mall in the heart of Charlottesville, a fact long forgotten in the Mall's history. This chapter will show how the series of major planning and redevelopment efforts following the Bartholomew plan culminated in the 1973 hire of Lawrence Halprin Associates (LHA) to design the downtown Mall. This examination will also reveal how influential race has been in determining the shape of the CDB.

Chapter III will examine the plans of Lawrence Halprin Associates to demonstrate how drastically they differed from those of HB&A, and how influential they have been in Charlottesville. Inspired by his wife Anna Halprin, a renowned avant-garde modern dancer,

---

[16] Harland Bartholomew & Associates, *A Preliminary Report Upon the Scope and Objectives of the City Plan, Charlottesville, Virginia* (Atlanta Georgia: Harland Bartholomew and Associates), 1956, 1.

[17] Harland Bartholomew & Associates, *Comprehensive Plan for Charlottesville, VA* (Charlottesville, VA: City Planning Commission), 1959, Introduction.

Lawrence Halprin choreographed the pedestrian experience in Downtown Charlottesville.[18] The Mall was part of a larger central business district plan by Lawrence Halprin Associates, much of which the local planning department has carried out over the years. Local Mall advocates, such as Planning Director Satyendra Huja and City Manager Cole Hendrix, maintained the Mall and continued to expand Halprin's ideas long after the firm had left the city. This continuation of Halprin's plans includes the location of important civic institutions, an increased prioritization of preservation downtown, and added housing in the downtown area. While these institutions are not as visible as the Mall, to LHA and many of the city's leaders these strategies have been equally important in making downtown successful.

Chapter IV will lay out the most important factors that have contributed to keeping this mall successful when so many others have failed. These include the rise of restaurant culture, residents returning to the downtown area, and the tenacity of the city's leadership in standing by the Mall in hard times. Though essential services never returned to downtown, the Mall aided the CBD in finding a new niche as an entertainment, dining and specialty goods district through which it could sustain itself. This chapter will also address why awareness of the historical planning process that brought the city where it is today is significant to current and future planning and design strategies.

[18] Alison Hirsch, "Lawrence Halprin: The Choreography of Private Gardens," *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes,* 27, (4) (Oct.-Dec.), 2007: 258-355.

Chapter I: History of Urban Planning in Charlottesville

The central business district is the stage where Charlottesville's identity issues have played out. Understanding the city's foundations helps to explain why the Downtown Mall is what it is today. While Harland Bartholomew's plans had little reverence for this specific history of Charlottesville, Lawrence Halprin's understanding of historical context informed much of his design and plan. A contextual relationship of the form of downtown to its history was crucial in creating an identity for the city that its residents could embrace.

The original grid of Charlottesville's central business district first took shape in 1762, when Albemarle County moved its seat from Scottsville to Charlottesville. The first land commissioner of Charlottesville, Thomas Walker, drew up the first town deeds.[19] With no previous settlement history, Charlottesville was a planned community from its inception. Chosen for the advantage of a point of trade along the Rivanna River, surveyors sited the town along a ridge dividing a series of hills. Of the 1,000 acres the county acquired for Charlottesville, Walker initially subdivided 50 into lots to form the town.[20] There were approximately 100 residents by 1765.[21] By 1818, the year the Board of Trustees chartered the University of Virginia (Central College), the town had grown to a population of 1,500.[22]

Some attribute the small-scale streets and grid of approximately one acre per block, Laid out by Thomas Walker, as a reason for the success of the downtown Mall, as they

[19] Department of Community Development, *Comprehensive Plan*, August, 1978, 11.
[20] *Charlottesville - Albemarle County Virginia: An Economic Study*, Virginia Electric and Power Company, Area Development Dept., 1978, 2.
[21] Bartholomew, 1959, 3.
[22] Bartholomew, 1959, 3.

create an easily walk-able, pedestrian-scale network of blocks unlike that of most cities.[23] The 1762 survey established a width of 66 feet for the five original east/west streets including Main Street.[24] The same plan laid out six north/south cross streets 33 feet in width.[25] Alleys cut through some of the blocks over time. The initial plan did not designate these alleys. Private land deeds established them ad-hoc over time as the blocks developed. The alleys are even smaller than the side streets, averaging about 15 ft in width, just wide enough for one car to pass through.

The original street names in the central business district reflected important details of the town's topography and cultural institutions Fig 10. Town founders named Jefferson Street after Thomas Jefferson's father Peter, an important planter and surveyor in the county of Albemarle.[26] Court Street, School Street, Market Street and Church Street gave key information about where to find the town's important cultural and civic institutions. High Street was located at a high point in the town, while Water Street crossed a series of streams, which used to provide an important water source for residents. The change of many of these names to numbers in the late 1800s reveals that, over time, the city became more concerned with regularizing the street system with a generic numerical grid and less

---

[23] Alan Jacobs, *Great Streets* (Cambridge: MIT Press), 1993, 302.
Jacobs asserts that successful streets should have pedestrian access points at least every 300 feet. Charlottesville's blocks are only 200 feet long – giving an abundance of access points to the Mall above and beyond Jacob's requirement. Compare this to Monument Avenue in Richmond, which has an entry every 275 feet making it very accessible, and Philadelphia, the blocks of which are 600 feet long, making them difficult for the pedestrian to navigate.

[24] *A Plan of the Town of Chorlottesville,* Albemarle County Historical Society, After 1818.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Bernard Chamberlain, *Downtown Renewal, Part 1 – History Lesson*, Jefferson Cable Footage, Jefferson Cable Corporation. 1975.

concerned with names that were specific and descriptive of local features.[27] This shows the influence of national nineteenth-century town planning concepts overlaid on a late-eighteenth century townscape.

Court Square, north of Main Street, was the focal point of early settlement in the town Fig 11. The two-acre public square served as both the economic and civic heart of the city. Located near the high point of the ridge between High and Jefferson Streets, the square had views of Albemarle County in all directions. Surveyors sited Main Street downhill, two blocks south of the square. Charlottesville and its courthouse existed primarily to serve the needs of surrounding Albemarle County plantations.

As the 1762 grid of streets developed into a county center in the late eighteenth-century, another important plan took shape on the west side of Charlottesville that would eventually influence the growth and importance of the town to a greater degree than its court square roots. Thomas Jefferson conceived the plan for the University of Virginia in the early 1800s and construction was underway by 1819. Jefferson's plan was a rhythmic axial village-like layout of student rooms, professor housing, classrooms and a library, centered on a terraced lawn and based on classical, Palladian and contemporary French classical-revival sources.[28] A Rotunda at one end anchors the plan, with two wings branching out and connecting parallel rows of pavilions with colonnaded walkways. The look of red brick and

[27] The change can be seen to take place on Sanborn insurance maps between 1886-91. Unfortunately, this concept is ineffective in a town where the grid does not extend past a small central area.

[28] Joseph M. Lasala, Patricia Sherwood, Richard Guy Wilson, "Architecture for Education: Jefferson's Design of the Academical Village," *Thomas Jefferson's Academical Village,* Richard Guy Wilson, Ed. (Charlottesville: UVa Press), 2009, 1-54.

light-colored columns has had more of an impact on the city than the spatial qualities of his plan.

The city did not pave or grade Main Street until the mid-nineteenth century, until that time it was a muddy street sparsely bordered with small houses and a few businesses.[29] Development focus shifted southward from Court Square to Main Street beginning in the 1840s as Charlottesville grew from a few settled blocks into city.[30] This coincided with the introduction of a Rail Road line into the town Fig 12. In 1848 the Louisa Rail Road, which would later become the C&O, extended a line roughly parallel and two blocks south of Main Street.[31] The Great Southern Rail Road extended a line on the west side of downtown in 1863.[32] Railroad interchanges provided a new challenge for pedestrian and horse traffic during this period. Charlottesville incorporated as a city in 1888. By that time, it had grown to 781 acres with a population of 5,000.[33] In 1916, the city annexed a portion of the surrounding county to expand its boundaries to 2,458 acres with a population of 10,000. While much of the population growth came from annexation, some also came by railway migration and rural laborers turning to urban trade and industry.[34]

With the railroad came more people and the need for street improvements. Built in 1905, the Belmont Bridge was the first bridge built in Charlottesville to provide safe

---

[29] Lawrence Alexander, Robert D. Erickson and Susan R. Shealy, *Building Downtown Malls* (New York: Downtown Research and Development Center, Downtown Idea Exchange), 2004, 67.
[30] Alexander, 2004, 36-7.
[31] Bartholomew, 1959, 3.
[32] Bartholomew, 1959, 5.
[33] Bartholomew, 1959, 5.
[34] *Comprehensive Plan*, 1978, 10-12.

pedestrian and vehicular access over the railroad to the area south of downtown.[35] It was a small, two lane steel bridge, mainly intended for pedestrian and horse traffic into a newly emerging residential neighborhood to the Southeast of downtown called Belmont.[36]

In the early twentieth-century, the City Beautiful Movement had a profound impact on Charlottesville's public parks and monuments. City Beautiful was a late-nineteenth/early-twentieth century urban reform movement largely focused on aesthetics, based on the ideal that beautiful parks and public works had the ability to improve a city's people morally and physically.[37] Charlottesville felt the influence of the City Beautiful Movement most strongly through the work of local philanthropist Paul Goodloe McIntire (1860-1952). Until the mid-twentieth century, Charlottesville relied mainly on private interest and philanthropists like McIntire to make improvements to the city. The city had no public parks and no parks and recreation department.[38]

McIntire was Charlottesville-born but had amassed a good deal of wealth as a stockbroker for the New York Stock Exchange from 1901-1920.[39] From 1917-26 McIntire made several donations to improve the city of Charlottesville.[40] McIntire's improvements included public sculpture and parks for the betterment of the people. McIntire donated five parks to the city, which are still in use today, Lee and Jackson Parks in the area of Court

---

[35] "The New Belmont Bridge," *The Daily Progress*, Charlottesville, May 7, 1957, S.
[36] Charlottesville City Council Minutes, May 6, 1957.
[37] Alison Isenberg, *Downtown America: A History of the Place and the People Who made it* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 14-16.
[38] City of Charlottesville, "Parks History," http://www.charlottesville.org/Index.aspx?page=227.
[39] William R. Wilkerson, William G. Shenkir, *Paul G. McIntire: Businessman and Philanthropist, Founder of Business & Education at the University of Virginia* (Charlottesville: McIntire School of Commerce, University of Virginia), 1988, 1-7.
[40] Ibid., 17-23.

Square, and three neighborhood parks, Belmont, Washington, and McIntire. He also donated four monuments to stand in prominent locations around the city, which remain to this day. Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson equestrian statues are located in their namesake parks, the Lewis, Clark & Sacajawea Monument in an existing park on West Main Street, and the George Rogers Clark statue near the University.[41] McIntire also gave the city funds to build the first public library, now used by the Albemarle Charlottesville Historical Society.[42] McIntire's donations led to the establishment of a Department of Recreation in 1933.[43]

Following national trends toward institutionalized urban planning, the state of Virginia enacted legislation legalizing planning and zoning in 1926. Three years later Charlottesville adopted its first zoning ordinance. In 1931, the city adopted its first plan for schools parks and streets. The Virginia General Assembly authorized local planning commissions in the state in 1934. That same year the city council created a local City Planning Commission (CPC). However, it was not until 1944 that the city actually appointed members to the Charlottesville City Planning Commission. Bank executives, rather than planning professionals, made up the CPC. The city did not employ a full-time professional planning engineer until 1951.[44]

Housing problems created by the Great Depression caused the most significant changes in the relationship between planning and housing in the United States. Power of

---

[41] Ibid., 17-23.
[42] Ibid., 17-23.
[43] Charlottesville: Parks History, http://www.charlottesville.org/Index.aspx?page=227.
[44] *Comprehensive Plan*, 1979, 13.

the Federal Government to demolish private property for public welfare began to grow rapidly in the 1930s. In 1937, the Federal Housing Authority, which the National Housing Act of 1934 had established, pushed through the United States Housing Act (Wagner-Steagall Act). This act legalized the condemnation of housing in "blighted" condition, allowing cities to clear privately owned slums for redevelopment and build public housing projects for displaced residents.[45] The Housing Acts of the 1930s gave a new legal foundation for the planning movement and it was at this point that planners began to look to housing as a major tool. The Housing Act of 1949 expanded urban renewal to a neighborhood scale.[46] However, urban renewal did not pick up momentum until the landmark 1954 Supreme Court ruling, Berman vs. Parker.[47] In this ruling the court deemed it legal for the city of Washington, DC to demolish a building in a blighted area, even though the building itself did not fit the definitions of blight. Deeming buildings blighted by association allowed cities to demolish entire neighborhoods in the name of public welfare.

By the mid-1950s, Charlottesville's population had grown to 30,00.[48] In spite of population growth, the residential density of the downtown area had diminished significantly from its height.[49] Suburban residential development had grown to such a point that it began to stretch out into the county and replace Downtown's role as primary commercial zone.[50] There was a sense that downtown had competition as a commercial

---

[45] United States Housing Act (Wagner-Steagall Act), 1937, *U.S. Statutes at Large*, PP888-899.
[46] Ashley A. Foard and Hilbert Fefferman, "Federal Urban Renewal Legislation," *Law & Contemporary Problems*, 25, 1960, 635.
[47] Berman v. Parker, Supreme Court of the United States, 1954, (Wright and Oakley 1999), 420-6.
[48] Bartholomew, *A Report Upon Population and Economic Background, Charlottesville, VA*, 1956, 6.
[49] Analysis of *Hill's Charlottesville City Directories*, 1929, 1950, 1960, 1970.
[50] *Comprehensive Plan*, 1979, 7.

center. The area on West Main Street near the University, known as the Corner, had also developed a significant commercial base that limited the amount of economic activity downtown received from the growing academic community.[51] Growing automobile culture had dramatically changed the physical dynamic of downtown over the past 25 years. The automobile took up space that had formerly been open or occupied by buildings, horses, and people. The city government had no qualified professional planner, and simply did not know how to solve its own problems. All of these factors lead up to the 1956 Council decision to bring in an outside consultant, a decision that would irreversibly change the face of Charlottesville in a profound way.

[51] Barbour, December 16, 2009.

Chapter II: Harland Bartholomew, Urban Renewal, and the First Mall Plan

Harland Bartholomew was a pioneer in the fledgling city planning movement in America and a charter member of the American City Planning Institute (or the American Institute of Planners).[52] In 1913, the civil engineer E. P. Goodrich hired Bartholomew to work on one of the first comprehensive master plans for an American city in Newark, NJ.[53] He went on to start his own planning firm in 1919. Bartholomew's 1936 *Urban Land Use Plan* for downtown St. Louis was one of the first to employ the concepts of land use and zoning for the purpose of wholesale clearance of urban slums that Americans would come to know as urban renewal.[54] By 1956, Harland Bartholomew & Associates (HB&A) was one of the largest planning firms in America, with offices all over the nation.[55] Bartholomew himself was on presidential appointment as the Chairman of the National Capital Planning Commission in Washington, DC during the making of the Charlottesville *Comprehensive Plan*.[56] Due to the size of his firm and the large number of plans it produced within a given year, Bartholomew himself was most likely not directly responsible for the content of the Charlottesville plans. Nevertheless, his philosophies permeated the work of his firm. Bartholomew trained most of his associates on the job because of the lack of professional planning programs in universities at the time.[57]

---

[52] Norman J. Johnston, *Harland Bartholomew: His Comprehensive Plan and Science of City Planning*, PhD Dissertation (University of Pennsylvania, Department of City Planning) 1964, 1.
[53] Eldridge Lovelace, *Harland Bartholomew: His Contributions to American Urban Planning*, (Urbana: University of Illinois), 1993, 6.
[54] Ibid., 115.
[55] Johnston, 1964, 2.
[56] Lovelace, 1993, 15.
[57] Johnston, 1964, 2.

The City of Charlottesville first contacted Harland Bartholomew & Associates (HB&A), in late 1955 for a Master Plan proposal from the firm, which they produced in January 1956. In March of 1956, the City Planning Commission and the Charlottesville Housing and Redevelopment Authority recommended that the City Council authorize the hire of Harland Bartholomew & Associates to develop a "Master Plan and workable program for Charlottesville."[58] The council approved this action and over the next fifteen years Harland Bartholomew & Associates, working out of their Atlanta, GA and Richmond, VA offices, produced a number of planning documents for the city.

Gaining Community support for a master plan had been a problem afflicting professional planners from the very beginning. This was especially a problem for national consulting firms like Bartholomew's, where locals were bound to see the planner as an outsider. Bartholomew had an interesting solution to this problem. His strategy was to send one of his trained employees into the field to live for a number of years. Bartholomew called these planners his "field men." Rather than preparing a plan from a distant city, this person would establish relationships and advocates within the local government. Bartholomew even expected that many cities where his firm worked would hire the field man as their local director of planning. He was willing to sacrifice the employee, because he realized someone he trained himself would be more likely to employ his planning strategies than a local planner would.[59] In Charlottesville, the "field man" was Robert L. Martin.[60] Though he worked on the project in Charlottesville for many years, the city did not hire him.

---

[58] Charlottesville City Council Minutes, March 5, 1956.
[59] Johnston, 1964, 13-14.
[60] "City May Consider Plans for New Business District," 1969.

By the early 1970s, the local planning department had begun to question the effectiveness of his strategies.

Because Bartholomew's firm was a national one, and carried the general principles of Bartholomew himself through every plan they produced, the firm's plan for Charlottesville was reflective of national trends. It also seems that this plan was generic, rather than specific to the city. While Roberts made ample traffic, population, and building condition surveys, the solutions the firm came up with for the city's problems were formulaic and ubiquitous to the types of plans the firm produced nationwide.[61] The firm's plans consistently employed large-scale urban renewal, street enlargement, exclusive zoning as opposed to mixed-use, and construction of large parking garages.

Bartholomew employed a concept called the "neighborhood unit" popularized by the influential urban planner Clarence A. Perry.[62] This strategy emphasized a separation of commercial, industrial, and residential uses. Residential "neighborhood units" revolved around parks and schools rather than business or industry.[63] Many mid-twentieth century planners believed a dense mixture of commercial, industrial, and residential uses within small areas in cities contributed to problems of disease, crime, and general immorality.[64] Bartholomew employed Perry's "neighborhood unit" strategy in an attempt to update the housing of poor people to meet government standards established by federal housing acts.

---

[61] Many of the plans can be accessed in: Johnston, Norman J. *Harland Bartholomew: His Comprehensive Plan and Science of City Planning*. 1964. PhD., University of Pennsylvania; and Lovelace, Eldridge. *Harland Bartholomew: His Contributions to American Urban Planning*. 1993. Urbana: University of Illinois.

[62] Johnston, 1964, 145.

[63] Johnston, 1964, 162-3.

[64] Harland Bartholomew and Associates, *A Preliminary Report on Housing: Charlottesville, Virginia*, Prepared for the City Planning Commission, Atlanta, May 15, 1957, 2.

However, by moving residents away from business and industry, this strategy reinforced reliance on the automobile, or another form of transit, to get people from home to their place of work or shopping, making transportation inherently less affordable for those displaced. Like most American cities, Charlottesville developed haphazardly over a long period and did not conform to Bartholomew's concept of the single-use neighborhood unit. HB&A's 1959 *Existing Land Use* diagram shows the mixed-uses of the CBD Fig 13.

City Council and City Managers: 1956-71

Harland Bartholomew was hired to work in the city at the bequest of City Council. The Charlottesville City Council is comprised of five members elected by the public to serve four-year terms. Their terms are staggered by one year, three elected one year, two the next, providing some overlap between council regimes. Mayors and Vice Mayors are also elected from among the five councilors and serve two-year terms. The Mayor is responsible for presiding over council meetings, appointing committees, and is the ceremonial head of Charlottesville's governing body. The City Manager is appointed by the city council, has no term limit and is the Chief Executive Officer of the city and is in charge of implementing the policies of the Charlottesville City Council.[65]

Harland Bartholomew & Associates was hired in 1956 by the City Council to make preliminary reports and develop a master plan. His *Comprehensive Plan* was adopted three years later by the 1959 City Council, led by Mayor Thomas J. Michie (1896-1973). Michie was a lawyer and a member of the prominent Michie family, which owned a law publication

[65] City of Charlottesville Website, Office of the City Manager, http://www.charlottesville.org/Index.aspx?page=725.

company based in Charlottesville.[66] Michie had a successful career in the Army, rising to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in the Air Corps during the Second World War. He returned home after the war to run a private practice in Charlottesville from 1946-61. He served on Council from 1955-61 and was Mayor from 1958-60. He also had connections with the University of Virginia Law School, serving as a lecturer from 1946-61. In 1961, Michie was nominated to serve as a Judge on the U. S. District Court, Western District of Virginia by John F. Kennedy and served in the seat until his death in 1973.[67] Along with Michie there were nineteen different council members who served from 1956-71 while Harland Bartholomew & Associate were working in the city. James E. Bowen Jr. was the city manager of Charlottesville from 1948-71 while Bartholomew was at work in the city.[68] He oversaw many important projects in Charlottesville including the Route 250 bypass, the rebuilding of Belmont Bridge, and bringing in the Charlottesville-Albemarle airport.[69]

Comprehensive Plan and Urban Renewal

The City Council hired Harland Bartholomew & Associates' primarily to clear out slum neighborhoods from the core of the city, with the goal of gaining a large area for private development next to the historic CBD. HB&A directed the city's first urban renewal

---

[66] David W. Parish Jr., "The Michie Company," *Virginia Law Books: Essays and Bibliographies*, ed. William Hamilton Bryson, *Memoirs* Series (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society), 2000, 558-9.

[67] "Michie, Thomas Johnson," *Federal Judicial Center; Biographical Directory of Federal Judges*, 2009, http://www.fjc.gov/servlet/nGetInfo?jid=1634&cid=999&ctype=na&instate=na.

[68] "Local Council Approves New City Manager to Assume Office on New Year's Day," *Covalier Daily*, Tuesday, December 1, 1970, http://xtf.lib.virginia.edu/xtf/view?docId=cavdaily/1970-71/uvaBook/tei/cavdaily_19701201.xml;chunk.id=a1.5;toc.depth=1;toc.id=;brand=default;query=bowen#1.

[69] Council Minutes, December 31, 1970

project in Vinegar Hill and a later urban renewal in the Garrett Street area.[70] A broadly used planning technique in mid-twentieth century America, sharp criticism of the over-use of urban renewal had begun to arise as the program grew. One of the earliest and most famous of these was Jane Jacob's *Death and Life of Great American Cities*, but there were many others.[71] Critics came from both sides of the political spectrum. Some were concerned about the negative impact of urban renewal on poor minority neighborhoods while others were opposed to the use of tax dollars and eminent domain, a tactic they argued infringed on property rights. Nevertheless, the program was extremely popular and widely used globally from the end of the Second World War through the late-1970s.[72] Urban Renewal mainly target poor mixed-use neighborhoods with a focus on housing.[73]

The Bartholomew firm expressed the importance of housing in the Introduction to the *Preliminary Report Upon Housing* for Charlottesville, "No part of a city plan may be said to be the most important. No city can be beautiful; no city can be efficient or wholesome unless all of its functions operate in harmony. Yet the importance of housing can hardly be overestimated either from the standpoint of the individual or the city."[74] HB&A could use tools such as zoning and public housing to influence housing placement and quality to some

---

[70] The Hill was not the city's first use of eminent domain to take land away from black owners for public use. In the 1940s, the city used eminent domain to take black-owned land for Lane High School, a segregated white school, causing the demolition of middle-class black housing stock across the street from Vinegar Hill. Eminent domain was again used in the late 1950s – early 1960s to acquire the land where the current City Hall is located. Council appropriated and demolished a black owned building, the oldest house-type structure on East Main Street, for this purpose in 1961.
James Robert Saunders and Renae Nadine Shackelford, *Urban Renewal and the End of Black Culture in Charlottesville* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland), 1998, 38-9.

[71] Jacobs, 1961; Anderson, 1964.

[72] Naomi Carmon, "Three Generations of Urban Renewal Policies: Analysis and Policy Implications," Geoforum 30 (1999), PP145-6.

[73] Ibid., PP145-6.

[74] HB&A, *A Preliminary Report on Housing*, 1957, 1-3.

degree, but for the dramatic transformation they were seeking, urban renewal was the most efficient strategy.

In HB&A's *Preliminary Report Upon Housing* for Charlottesville, the firm established two categories by which they determined the quality of housing: Building Characteristics and Neighborhood Characteristics. Divided into several subcategories, HB&A used these qualities to assess every neighborhood in Charlottesville. Building Characteristics included structural stability, indoor plumbing and a flush water closet, heat, light, ventilation, and living space. While these categories were relatively objective, Neighborhood Characteristics were more subjective. They included "provision of necessary utilities", "homogeneity of land use and housing characteristics" (meaning that even if a house met all of the building standards it could be deemed blighted based on its surroundings), neighborhood size, educational and recreational facilities, and adequate provision for traffic. If many of these characteristics were lacking in Vinegar Hill, it was largely to fault of the city government for not providing them adequately as they did in white neighborhoods. HB&A used these Neighborhood Characteristics to justify wholesale neighborhood destruction instead of the rehabilitation of individual buildings.[75]

The HB&A housing report asserted that blighted housing affected the whole city and contributed to the deterioration of the CBD. "Studies in many cities have emphasized the relation that exists between bad housing and disease, crime, structural fires and juvenile delinquency."[76] A cursory examination of these incidences in Charlottesville did

[75] Ibid., 1-2.
[76] Ibid., 10.

indeed seem to indicate that they were concentrated in areas HB&A defined as blighted. However, as the report pointed out, the "blighted" areas were also the most densely populated neighborhoods in Charlottesville Fig 14.[77] A high concentration of people is naturally proportionate to both social ills like crime and disease, as well as advantages, such as sense of community, strong social institutions, and proximity of individuals willing to help one and other.[78] However, HB&A examined none of these advantages in their evaluation of Charlottesville neighborhoods.

Bartholomew's housing report deemed the neighborhood of Vinegar Hill the most blighted and in the most immediate need of renewal.[79] Irish immigrants founded the neighborhood of Vinegar Hill during the late 1800s, but over time it transformed into the predominant African American section of downtown, containing businesses, social institutions, entertainment and housing for the black community Fig 15.[80] Important businesses included several barbershops, Bell Funeral Home, and Inge's grocery store Fig 16.[81] Among the important social institutions were all of the African American Lodges and Zion Union Baptist Church.[82] Advocates of urban renewal described the interior of the neighborhood as having a "rural" condition. Subsistence farming continued on the Hill in

[77] Ibid., 7.
[78] Jacobs, 1961, 24-6.
[79] HB&A, *Preliminary Report Upon Housing*, 1957, Plates 2 & 7, P16.
[80] Saunders and Shackelford, 1998, 1.
[81] Charlottesville City Directory, 1960.
[82] Charlottesville City Directory, 1960.

spite of its urban surroundings.[83] In the 1950s, nineteenth-century buildings in widely varying states of stability comprised the building stock on Vinegar Hill.[84]

Along with the physical instability of some buildings on the Hill, came the social instability of the racially divided city during the period of school desegregation and massive resistance.[85] The proximity of the black and white downtowns made some citizens uncomfortable.[86] The Vinegar Hill neighborhood did not meet HB&A's ideal standards of Neighborhood Characteristics outlined in the *Preliminary Report Upon Housing*. Race was a major factor in this. In a period of racial segregation, city utilities, parks, schools, and traffic tended not to serve black neighborhoods as efficiently as white neighborhoods.

The Charlottesville Redevelopment and Housing Authority (CRHA) was the local organization in charge of urban renewal and public housing projects in the mid-twentieth century. Charles Johnson, head of the CRHA, cited poverty as the main reason for urban renewal on the Hill.[87] City leaders believed that the only way to solve slum conditions was to clear out the entire nineteenth-century building stock on Vinegar Hill. "We never had any planning in the beginning. Things were plopped down and that was that. The decay of the core cities couldn't be arrested. The idea was to start over."[88] As a result, the Housing and Redevelopment Authority demolished all buildings on the Hill, whether or not they were

---

[83] "Pros and Cons: Urban Renewal," *Doily Progress*, 11 June 1960, sec. 1, p. 9, col. 4.

[84] An excellent visual analysis of the Vinegar Hill area just before renewal done by the *Vinegar Hill Project*, directors: Scott French and Bill Ferster, UVa, 2005-2010, is now available online at: http://www.vinegarhillproject.org/Welcome.html, photos from the 1960 assessments by the Charlottesville HRA are available at: http://www.flickr.com/photos/vinegarhill/

[85] Clive Webb, *Massive Resistance: Southern Opposition to the Second Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press), 2005, PP30-31.

[86] Saunders and Shackelford, 1998, 97-100.

[87] Ibid., 62.

[88] Charles Johnson quoted in: Saunders and Shackelford, 1998, 62.

sound, and relocated residents to different neighborhoods. Though Johnson was one of urban renewal's staunchest supporters, even he acknowledged the major problem with raising the whole neighborhood, "No question about it, we moved people out. People had roots there and that's the sad part of it."[89]

In spite of the importance the Bartholomew reports and city officials placed upon it, improving the housing situation of Charlottesville's poor was not the sole reason for urban renewal, but rather justification for it. Another reason urban renewal took place in Charlottesville is apparent in HB&A's *Report Upon Housing*. The Report states:

> Bad housing is costly. It is costly directly, in that areas of bad housing require disproportionately large expenditures for fire and police protection, health and sanitary service and administration, yet return very little in the form of taxes. It is also costly in that it occupies land of great locational importance adjacent to the central business district. Its depreciating effect and that of hindering logical growth represents an intangible cost far greater than the direct cost.[90]

This was clearly the central concern of members of the Charlottesville Planning Commission, who were all prominent local business leaders. The city's white business owners feared slum housing would drive away customers.

In a 1960 open letter to the citizens of Charlottesville, preceding the referendum to vote on the urban renewal of Vinegar Hill, Mayor Michie stated, "From a financial point of view as well as from a social and cultural point of view, the substitution of a fine modern business section for the slum area now existing in back of Vinegar Hill would be the most forward looking step that has been taken in Charlottesville in many, many years."[91] Cost was the major issue in removing this neighborhood from downtown. Planners believed

[89] Saunders and Shackelford, 1998, 62.
[90] HB&A, *A Preliminary Report on Housing: Charlottesville, Virginio*, 1957, 11.
[91] Thomas J. Michie, "Mayor Michie Urges Voters to Support Redevelopment," Daily Progress, June 10, 1960.

slum, or "blighted," conditions would spread like a contagion and be unsolvable by private interest groups: part of a national mindset that caused demolition of hundreds of American neighborhoods.[92]

Mayor Michie's statement also reveals awareness by city leaders that only the "back," or inner portion, of Vinegar Hill was a slum Fig 17. Most of the businesses on West Main Street were in similar conditions to their white peers on East Main Fig 16. Even the more prominent side streets had a significant share of quality housing Fig 18. At this time it was felt that the only solution to blight was wholesale demolition, including the parts of a neighborhood that were not run down enough to be considered slums.

Blight conditions in the city center were not the sole justification for the expensive slum clearance project. Bartholomew & Associates saw the mixture of commercial, residential, and industrial uses in Vinegar Hill as a barrier to economic progress.[93] In a 1960 speech, Mayor Michie stated the case for having the entire area cleared to enable the white downtown to expand, "some one had the idea that not merely the worst slum houses back of Vinegar Hill should be torn down to be replaced elsewhere by good public housing, but that the whole area should be converted into a fine, modern business area, an extension of the downtown Main Street area which was blocked from moving in that direction by the existence of this slum."[94] Surrounding neighborhoods in all directions physically "blocked" the expansion of downtown, but Vinegar Hill was seen as critical because of its location to

[92] Fogelson, 2001, 317–380.
[93] HB&A, 1959, 84.
[94] Michie, June 10, 1960.

the West of the CBD. It was in between the large white student population at the University of Virginia and the white downtown.

The 1960 redevelopment referendum, voted on mainly by white citizens due in part to a $1.50 poll tax, passed only by a narrow margin.[95] Demolition began in 1963 and by 1965 the city had cleared nearly the entire area. What had once been a dense mixed-use neighborhood had become a grassy field Fig 19. While it was initially considered a success, as it lay vacant many people began to question the value of the project and regret the loss of a bustling historic neighborhood.[96]

Making way for traffic and parking: the lack of preservation in HB&A's plans

Along with the problems of the original street system came a desire to follow national trends to improve transit through connection to the interstate highway system.[97] HB&A's plans provided for connections to the 250 bypass and interstate 64, both built in the late 1950s and 60s.[98] Though part of a push towards "progress," these high-speed routes had the potential to further damage the downtown economy by making the suburbs even more convenient. To accompany connections to highways, downtown wanted more efficient traffic flow through the CBD, so that people would use high-speed roads to get to the core, rather than around it. HB&A's *Proposed Major Street Plan* shows how the firm wanted to create a circulation pattern that would allow people to bypass the CBD by high-

[95] Saunders and Shackelford, 1998, P 3.
[96] Barbour, December 16, 2009; Rinehart, December 17, 2009; Van Yahres, December 18, 2009.
[97] Ellis, "Profesional Conflict over Urban Form: The Case of Urban Freeways," Planning the Twentieth Century American City, Mary Corbin Sies and Christopher Silver, Eds., Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1996, 263-279
[98] HB&A, *Master Plan Proposal, Charlottesville, Virginia*, 1959, 62; HB&A, *Central Business District Plan, Chorlottesville, VA*, 1968.

speed thoroughfares Fig 20. Ridge-McIntire was part of this solution, by moving the slum out of Vinegar Hill the city removed the "blockage" Mayor Michie spoke of, making it possible for traffic to flow efficiently through, or rather by, downtown.

The Vinegar Hill urban renewal project, like the Mall, was part of a larger plan that also involved moving the Belmont Bridge and creating the still controversial Meadowcreek Parkway. HB&A based its traffic plans on exaggerated population growth estimates Fig 21.[99] Still, auto traffic had become a serious burden on the late eighteenth-century infrastructure of downtown. HB&A later attempted to justify demolition by claiming that streets in Vinegar Hill were small and irregular, not following the grid of the rest of downtown.[100] Indeed, the area known as Vinegar Hill had some irregular topography and an odd shape, which made a rectilinear grid impossible in the neighborhood Fig 22. However, beyond the original 1762, 28-block site of downtown, few streets in Charlottesville follow the grid, whether in wealthy or poor neighborhoods. Charlottesville's hilly topography and a series of streams and ridges limited the development of a structured street system.[101]

Though HB&A falsely exaggerated the relationship to Vinegar Hill, the problems of the automobile were very real. Along with the auto came parking problems. Small surface parking lots had begun to eat away at open spaces and outdated buildings downtown Fig 23. Vinegar Hill was a strategic location where the CBD could have it all – a large-scale connector road and acres of suburban-style parking. As a result, city leaders found excuses

[99] HB&A, *A Report Upon Population and Economic Background,* 1956, P18; *Comprehensive Plan,* 1979, P26. Bartholomew estimated that by 1980 the population of Charlottesville would reach 60,000, double what the population was in 1956. By 1979 the population had reached approximately 43,000.

[100] HB&A, 1968, 75.

[101] Kenneth A. Schwartz, "Charlottesville: A Brief Urban History," *Chorlottesville Urban Design and Affordable Housing,* The Institute for Advanced Technologies in the Humanities, (2008) website: http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/schwartz/cville/cville.history.html.

to demolish the downtown neighborhood containing residents with the least political power.

HB&A believed urban renewal would eliminate parking and traffic challenges in Charlottesville. Demolition would free up enough space for large-scale garages and four-lane streets. The firm projected that by 1990 enough off-street parking would be available in the CBD that the city could eliminate on-street parking.[102] Had the planning department followed this plan, it would have allowed for the destruction of a substantial portion of what is today part of the downtown historic district.

A diagram of "Recommended Street Cross Sections" in HB&A's 1958 report *Major Streets* depicts the scale of new street types that Bartholomew wanted to implement Fig 24. Bartholomew's ideal street sizes have no relationship to the historic streets widths of Charlottesville's CBD. In the diagram, a "secondary street" would be 60ft in width from the far edges of the sidewalk, just slightly smaller than Main Street at 66ft. A "major street" would have been 60ft as well, but with no parking and four lanes of traffic, unlike Main Street which had parking on both sides, and two lanes of traffic. The "Proposed Major Street Plan" shows that parking would have been removed from Main Street, along with parallel Market and Water Streets Fig 20. Only local access streets would have been smaller at 50 ft – significantly larger than the 33ft historic side streets in the CBD. HB& A proposed four larger street types ranging from and 80ft "major street" with parking to a 160ft freeway with no parking and room for up to six lanes of traffic. The "Proposed Major Street Plan" illustrates with dotted lines that many of the city's existing streets did not have the

[102] Bartholomew, 1968, P87.

right-of-way required to accomplish a street system of this scale. A vast amount of demolition, of both buildings and open space, would have been required to enlarge Charlottesville's streets to this degree.

Bartholomew's 1968 plan showed that transportation took up 53% of developed land in the CBD, yet both the firm and the city government wanted more.[103] HB&A believed that after 1990 expansion in the CBD would mostly be vertical.[104] Vertical expansion, like off street parking, would have been detrimental to the historic character of the downtown that is so valued today. Bartholomew was not concerned with preservation as an element of city planning. While his '68 plan identified certain buildings in CBD as historic, it was a small proportion of the buildings considered contributing structures in today's historic district.[105] Furthermore, there was no protection offered to designated historic buildings in HB&A's plans.

HB&A designated only one building in Vinegar Hill with historic status. It came three years after demolition of the Hill was completed. HB&A's 1968 CBD report identified Inge's, a black-owned grocery store and important social institution, as a "historic" building Fig 16b. However, this identification was not because of the importance of the institution, but rather the age of the building and its aesthetic consistency with white-owned eighteenth-century historic structures in town. The historic designation of this building was part of a long tradition of historic character being valued in Charlottesville.[106] HB&A never targeted the

[103] Bartholomew, 1968, 11.
[104] Bartholomew, 1968, 80.
[105] Bartholomew, 1968, 15.
[106] Bluestone, 2008, 14-15.

building as part of the urban renewal area. It was located at the far corner of the neighborhood, making it easier for construction to get around it than some other substantial buildings on the Hill. HB&A also left three buildings adjacent to Inge's standing, not because they were historic, but because they were modern and sited in a way that did not conflict with the goals of HB&A's Master Plan.

Public Housing

In spite of the well-known indictments of urban renewal noted above, it was not demolition of a neighborhood, but rather the construction of public housing that made urban renewal a controversial issue in Charlottesville.[107] Middle-class residents were concerned about where CHRA would place poor blacks once their neighborhood was gone. CRHA had to find a site for the public housing that would not disrupt segregation in the school system or locate those displaced within a white, or even a middle-class black neighborhood.[108]

Legalized racial segregation of housing still existed in Charlottesville in 1958 when Bartholomew's plan was first proposed. Though by the time demolition had begun in 1965, the slow process to desegregation was underway. Still, it was hard for blacks to buy a house in a white neighborhood of Charlottesville.[109] Since black residents were confined to a small number of neighborhoods, the economic situations of residents in those neighborhoods varied widely. This was especially true in Vinegar Hill, where a wide range of socioeconomic

[107] Anonymous, "Your Right to Say It," Daily Progress, Charlottesville, April 10, 1954.
[108] "Petitioners Oppose Negro Housing Site," Daily Progress, May 11, 1959.
[109] Saunders and Shackelford, 1998, 34.

groups gathered for business, social, religious, and civic purposes.[110] Though there were some well-to-do residents on the Hill, there were also some serious poverty issues. Many people rented unsound wood-frame shacks without running water, or electricity. For many of these people, the opportunity to move into a modern housing project was a positive step.[111]

While well-to-do black landowners tended to move to more suburban areas, many of the poor stayed close to the city in public housing. Westhaven was the public housing project designed to house some of the needy displaced residents of the Hill. Named after John West, a prominent historical Vinegar Hill resident, the city showed a shallow attempt to connect the new project to a history.[112] The relocation of some to public housing and others to suburban neighborhoods would cripple the relationship between different income groups within Charlottesville's black community. At first, most residents of Westhaven were former Hill residents, giving it some sense of community, displaced though it was.[113] However, over time as more people from the county moved into the project, residents began to resent living in such close quarters with people who in many cases had little in common other than economic status.[114] Westhaven eventually fulfilled the prophecies of public housing opponents, becoming a slum.[115]

---

[110] Ibid., 21-5.
[111] "Mayor Michie Urges Voters to Support Redevelopment," Daily Progress, June 10, 1960.
[112] Saunders and Shackelford, 1998, 63-5.
[113] Ibid., 67.
[114] Ibid., 67.
[115] William Harris and Nancy Olmsted "Public Housing in Charlottesville: The Black Experience in a Small Southern City," *Review of Black Political Economy,* 19:3/4 (1991: Winter/Spring), 161- 74.

Garrett

By 1968, the focus of the firm had shifted to Garrett Street. This was the largest remaining "blighted" area near downtown. However, the situation in Garrett was quite different from that in Vinegar Hill. Perhaps most significantly, though poor, it was a mixed-race neighborhood and did not carry the same racial implications as the Vinegar Hill renewal. Development in Garrett Street was not dense as Vinegar Hill had been and it was not a significant commercial district. As a result, the impact on one particular community was not as strong. Nevertheless, there was still controversy over the project due to property rights and taxation issues. CRHA tore down some substantial buildings in the neighborhood.[116] Urban renewal was an enemy to the preservation of the town's historic structures, many of which citizens did not yet recognize as significant.

The 1968 plan explained HB&A's reasoning for continuing urban renewal in the city.[117] While avoiding issues of race, the firm blamed housing in the core for the problem of the Hill and Garrett Street. HB&A define residential zoning as a "lower" form of land use.[118] They claimed housing did not contribute substantially to taxes while eating up a larger amount of city resources than business or commercial buildings. To HB&A the solution was clear: remove all housing regardless of the quality. The firm did not recognize the beneficial relationship between a local pedestrian residential population and a commercial district with limited parking.

---

[116] Housing and Redevelopment Authority Assessment reveals that many of the buildings they demolished were not deemed individually blighted. CHRDA files, Charlottesville Albemarle Historical Society.
[117] HB&A, 1968, 75.
[118] Ibid., 75.

Redevelopment plan: the first mall suggestion

During this period of urban renewal in America, another planning strategy was growing in popularity. The pedestrian mall was invented to attract middle-class women shoppers back to central business districts through aesthetic appeal and an escape from intimidating confrontations with the automobile.[119] Austrian-born Victor Gruen (1903-80) fathered the pedestrian mall concept as a strategy to rescue failing commercial centers in many American cities, which could not compete with the new model of suburban shopping.[120] Gruen himself had been one of the main innovators of the suburban shopping mall. However, bothered by the growth of automobile culture, by mid-century Gruen had turned his energy towards revitalizing historic city centers.[121] Influenced by the pedestrian streets of his childhood in Austria, Gruen applied suburban shopping concepts to CBDs.[122] The pedestrian mall unified diverse downtown commercial areas by removing automobiles, adding amenities like shade and outdoor seating, and beautifying the streetscape with paving and plantings.[123] Kalamazoo, MI was the first pedestrianized downtown mall designed by Gruen in 1959.[124] At their height in the 1970s there were over 200 pedestrian malls in the US.[125] However, by the time Charlottesville had completed its Mall in 1976 the

---

[119] Isenberg, 2004, 269-71.

[120] Jeffrey M. Hardwick, *Mall Maker: Victor Gruen, Architect of an American Dream* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press), 2004, 152-209.

[121] Victor Gruen, *The Heart of Our Cities: The Urban Crisis: Diagnosis and Cure*, Simon and Schuster, New York, 1967.

[122] Ibid.

[123] Hardwick, 2004, 152-209.

[124] Harvey M. Rubenstein, *Pedestrian Malls, Streetscapes, and Urban Spaces*, (New York: Wiley), 1992, P17.

[125] Ibid., P17.

movement had slowed dramatically after the failure of many pedestrian mall projects to revitalize downtowns. Fewer than 50 of the original malls remain pedestrian today.[126]

Bartholomew's redevelopment plan connected Vinegar Hill to the eastern portion of downtown by creating a pedestrian commercial district Fig 25. Harland Bartholomew & Associates used urban renewal for slum clearance in many cities before they came to Charlottesville. Some of these plans also included the creation of pedestrian malls. HB&A's urban renewal plan for Waco, TX was contemporaneous with that of Charlottesville, although clearance may have been more justified in Waco, as the downtown had suffered from massive tornado damage on May 11, 1953. The Waco plan also called for a mall on Austin Avenue, which a little-known company called Young Brothers Inc. Construction designed and built. Austin Avenue Mall was finished in 1971, but failed to restore prosperity to downtown Waco. Waco restored Auto traffic on this mall a mere eight years later, in 1979.[127] This example of a failed mall is not exceptional. Charlottesville has been the exception to the rule of failed pedestrian malls. Though many factors contribute to the Charlottesville Mall's success, Lawrence Halprin Associates' excellent design is paramount.

Bartholomew's concept for a mall in Charlottesville was the first serious plan for a pedestrian commercial district in Charlottesville, as well as a causal factor in the eventual building of the Mall. This plan was HB&As last attempt at giving downtown an edge on

---

[126] Steve Patterson, "North American Cities that Have or Have Had a Pedestrian Mall," *Urban Review STL*, Blog post, November 23, 2009. http://www.urbanreviewstl.com/?cat=676.
There is not an official published source with thorough research on how many of the original malls (built in the U.S. from 1959-the mid-1980s when mall building tapered off) remain. Patterson, Master of Urban Planning and Real Estate Development, St. Louis University, has done the most comprehensive available count of remaining pedestrian Malls. He has counted 44, though there could be more.

[127] Terri Jo Ryan, "Austin Avenue's Ill-fated pedestrian mall never caught on," *Waco History Project*, April 24, 2006, http://www.wacohistoryproject.org/Places/AustinAveMall.htm.

suburban development. A 1959 HB&A diagram shows how much subdivisions had already started to bloom around the outskirts of Charlottesville Fig 26. Bartholomew representative Robert L. Martin stated, "positive remedial action will reverse the trend of sales that are declining."[128] The Bartholomew mall plan called for slow, many-phased implementation. In 1969, the firm predicted that if adopted the plan would be complete by 1990. However, in spite of Martin's claim that the plan was "dynamic and imaginative," it was not dramatic enough for the city council, which never adopted it.[129]

There are some striking physical and philosophical differences between what HB&A designed and what exists today Fig 27. Rather than one long artery along the historic CBD on Main Street, which branches out onto side streets, Bartholomew designed a series of mini-malls on Main, Water and side streets. These pedestrian areas would have conveniently combined blocks into sets of two and four, effectively creating mega-blocks that had the potential for future large-scale development.

Main Street would not have been the centerpiece of the CBD in this plan, as it would become in LHA's design. That role was given to the newly cleared Vinegar Hill area, where HB&A placed a suburban-style commercial building with a 3-acre footprint. The original blocks of downtown as designated in the 1762 survey were about one acre each. In HB&A's mega-block redevelopment plan, Vinegar Hill was interpreted as two enormous bocks. A long skinny block to the far west was approximately 6 acres, while the irregularly shaped eastern block was roughly 13 acres. The commercial building at the heart of this 13-acre

[128] Robert L. Martin, quoted in: "City May Consider Plans For New Business District," *The Cavalier Daily*, Wednesday, March 12, 1969.
[129] Ibid.

block is shown taking up about three acres of land or 130,000 square feet. The scale of this building was inhumane compared to the approximately 5,000 square ft footprint of the average historic building in the CBD.[130] The plan does not designate a height for the building, but considering HB&A's preference for vertical development, it probably would have been several stories high. Most of the new blocks created by HB&A's redevelopment plan would have been 2 or 4 acres, allowing for the eventual development of more of these large structures, most of them parking lots (shown in turquoise), commercial buildings (in yellow) and office buildings (orange), none of these new structures were designated for housing.

It is apparent in HB&A's plan that the automobile is given primacy over the pedestrian in this design. Devoting several blocks of First, Third and Water Streets to the pedestrian would have created easy access to parking garages surrounding the entire area and segregating the commercial district from the rest of the city. The garages ranged from a half-acre to two acres in footprint, some of them twice the size of a historic city block. South Street would have been enlarged to 80 ft from the historic 66, allowing it to become a high-speed, high-volume thoroughfare, while Main Street would be narrowed and physically as well as visibly cut off from the rest of the city. The widening of South Street would have also created another bypass of downtown. According to Louis L. Scibner, then chair of the Planning Commission and a former Council member, the CDB plan would have been, "a major step in the whole plan to make South Street a major thoroughfare with a minimum

[130] Estimate based on one acre divided by the average number of buildings per block.

of four lanes of traffic."[131] Demolishing the entire series of historic buildings on South Street would have been the only way to accommodate these new street widths and parking garages.

In no way did this plan attempt to preserve the historic scale or land use of the CBD. Bartholomew's plans replaced the precedented mixed-use of the area with a strictly divided commercial center, a strategy that was in line with the "neighborhood unit" approach. Pedestrian connections between mini-malls were weak, no more than traditional crosswalks, and pedestrian connections to surrounding residential neighborhoods were non-existent. In this plan, surface and deck parking surrounded the entire district physically segregating commercial, residential, and industrial uses.[132] Bartholomew's reliance on the automobile to bring commerce to the CBD was reflective of national trends.[133]

While it is difficult to defend the massive demolition of a minority neighborhood, it is important to note that Harland Bartholomew & Associates had a specific development plan for Vinegar Hill. Though it had its faults, including an abundance of surface parking, no attempt to connect to West Main or provide housing for displaced residents, and encouraged the continued demolition of the historic core, it was at least an organized plan. The city did not follow Bartholomew's plan, but rather allowed haphazard private development on the site, which led to the slow and disjointed development of the Hill.

---

[131] Louis L. Scribner, quoted in: "City May Consider Plans For New Business District," *The Cavalier Daily*, Wednesday, March 12, 1969.

[132] Bartholomew, 1968, Plate A.

[133] Cliff Ellis, "Professional Conflict over Urban Form: The Case of Urban Freeways, 1930 to 1970," *Planning the Twentieth-Century American City*, Sies and Silver eds., 262.

Some city government officials like Louis Scribner praised the plan, but they did not know how to implement it.[134] Other city leaders, such as Alvin Clements, then president of the Downtown Action Committee and a local bank executive, was opposed to HB&A's 1968 plan, which would have cost the city 1.5 million dollars.[135] Clements called the plan a "last ditch effort," implying that it was not dramatic enough to make a difference.[136] Clements' later support of Halprin's Mall shows that he and other city leaders were looking for a grand gesture by a great designer. They were willing to make a substantial investment to have a Mall downtown.

In 1968, more than ten years after the hire of Harland Bartholomew & Associates, the city finally created a planning department and employed a full-time planning director.[137] The new department was responsible for carrying out the plans of HB&A, though by the early 1970s they had rejected most of the firm's proposals.[138] The Department of Community Development replaced the Planning Department in Charlottesville in 1973.[139] Council created a Social Development Commission in 1974, adding social concerns to the role of city planning in Charlottesville.[140] Interest in the social role of planning influenced the city to hire Halprin. In turn, Halprin's deep interest in the potential of urban space to

---

[134] William F. O'Dell and Marketing Research Students, *The Charlottesville Central Business District: An Assessment by Shoppers of Charlottesville Albermarle: A Report to the Downtown Action Committee,* (Charlottesville, VA: UVa: McIntire School of Commerce), 1970.

[135] "City May Consider Plans For New Business District," 1969.

[136] Alvin Clements quoted in: "City May Consider Plans For New Business District," *The Cavalier Daily,* Wednesday, March 12, 1969.

[137] Charlottesville Department of Community Development, 1979, 13.

[138] Thomas A. Conger, *Alternatives for Charlottesville: The City Planning Department's Master Plan Recommendations* (Charlottesville, VA: Department of Planning), 1971.

[139] Charlottesville Department of Community Development, 1979, P13.

[140] Charlottesville Department of Community Development, 1979, P13.

affect the social life of a city further reinforced the city's investment in this aspect of planning.

A change occurred within the city government during the late-1960s/early-1970s.[141] Bartholomew's plan had staunch critics among the new city leaders. Among these critics was a young city planner by the name of Thomas Conger who was hired in 1971 as the director of the newly formed Planning Department. Conger's 1971 report, *Alternatives for Charlottesville: The City Planning Department's Master Plan Recommendations,* was especially critical of HB&A's plans, stating that they contained, "a number of inconsistent, unnecessary and fiscally unsound recommendations therein."[142] Charlottesville's new director of planning critiqued HB&A's plans for gratuitous street enlargement, lack of bicycle and pedestrian routes, and perhaps most poignantly the use of urban renewal. "Experiments in urban renewal have shown that neighborhoods develop slowly and through complicated processes. We must not be careless in our destruction of neighborhoods, for new ones are difficult to create and old ones almost impossible to relocate."[143]

Though urban renewal ceased to be a strategy used by planners in Charlottesville after the completion of Garrett Street, some of Bartholomew's ideas still affect planning in the city today. Many of his proposals for a road system are still part of the city's long-term plan, including the controversial Meadowcreek Parkway.[144] Some of the parking Bartholomew recommended is still in use today including surface lots on Vinegar Hill and

---

[141] Barbour, December 16, 2009, Gilliam, February 11, 2010, Rinehart, December 17, 2009.
[142] Conger, 1971, 1.
[143] Conger, 1971, 7.
[144] Meadowcreek Parkway, which is designed to cut through McIntire Park, first appeared in traffic plans in: Harland Bartholomew & Associates, 1968, *Central Business District Plan, Charlottesville, VA.* Charlottesville, VA: City Planning Commission.

Water Street. The most significant remaining impact of Bartholomew's plans is the suburban shopping center scale of Vinegar Hill, which continues to break in the urban fabric between East and West Main Streets and creates a zone that is unfriendly to bikers and pedestrians.

Chapter III: Lawrence Halprin Associates and the Downtown Mall

City Council and City Manager, 1972-6

In 1971 the City Council appointed new City Manager named Cole Hendrix. The 36-year-old Kansas native moved to Charlottesville after serving as the assistant city manager of Kansas City, MO.[145] Hendrix received his B.A. in political science and M.A. in public administration from the University of Kansas.[146] In the early 1970s a newly elected all-democrat council felt a strong sense of urgency for change in the city. In 1972, the Council was comprised of Mayor Francis Fife, Vice president of the People's Bank, Vice Mayor Charles Barbour (1935 —), former Mayor Mitchell Van Yahres, owner of the Van Yahres Tree Company (1926-2008), George Gilliam (1942 —), an attorney and graduate of UVa's school of law, and Jill Rinehart (1920 —), a social activist and the wife of Bill Rinehart, a prominent baker Fig 9.[147] This council was progressive and historic for its inclusion of the first woman councilmember as well as the first African American councilmember.[148]

Aside from the Mall, the racial desegregation of Charlottesville's city government was a key progressive issue this council undertook along with city manager Cole Hendrix and his deputy city manager Bern Ewert.[149] During his term as assistant city manager in Kansas City, Hendrix had experienced the desegregation of a city government. Kansas City

[145] Local Council Approves New City Manager to Assume Office on New Year's Day, 1970.
[146] Ibid.
[147] Barbour, December 16, 2009; Gilliam, February 11, 2010; Rinehart, December 17, 2009.
[148] Ibid.
[149] Bern Ewert, Personal Interview, March 24, 2010.

hired the first black human relations director in 1968.[150] While there were riots in Kansas City over this act, there was no violent action taken over the racial integration of Charlottesville's public offices.

Tom Conger (1941 - ?) was the Director of the Planning Department in 1972. His harsh criticism of the Bartholomew Plan had ended the relationship between the firm and the city in 1971. Conger, who received Master's degrees in geography and city planning from the University of Cincinnati, resigned his position in January 1973 to take a planning position in Lake Tahoe, NV.[151] Cole Hendrix pioneered a major reorganization of planning offices in the city that same year, replacing the old Planning Department with the Department of Community Development, which had a stronger emphasis on the social aspects of planning.[152] Hendrix hired Satyendra Huja (1942 --) to be the director of this new department. Huja, born in India, was educated with a Bachelor's in Psychology and a Master's in Urban Planning from Michigan State. He was a strong supporter of the idea for a pedestrian Mall in Charlottesville.[153]

A New Mall Plan

Though city leaders rejected HB&A's mall plan as a "last ditch effort," they became more interested in the possibilities of a well-designed mall downtown.[154] The end of county annexation in 1972 meant the "closing of the frontier" for Charlottesville's business tax

[150] "Local Council Approves New City Manager to Assume Office on New Year's Day," 1970.
[151] "Conger Resigns Planning Post," *The Charlottesville Daily Progress*, December 8, 1972, PPA1, A12.
[152] Ibid.
[153] Satyendra Huja, Personal interview, January 5, 2010.
[154] "City May Consider Plans For New Business District," *The Cavalier Daily*, Wednesday, March 12, 1969.

base.[155] In the early 1970s, the City Council and Manager Cole Hendrix began looking to other pedestrian malls for guidance on how to go about constructing a mall in Charlottesville. Joe Bosserman, dean of the University of Virginia's School of Architecture suggested that the new City Manager Cole Hendrix consider Lawrence Halprin for the job.[156] Halprin had just completed a successful and highly publicized pedestrian transit mall in Minneapolis known as a Nicollet Mall.[157] The city planning office sent an early mall plan to LHA in 1972, shortly after they first contacted the firm. The plan shows a meandering transit mall running down Main Street not unlike Nicollet and surprisingly similar to what Charlottesville has today, though very simplistic Fig 28. [158] Later in 1972, James Coleman of LHA recommended to Thomas Conger that he contact Mr. O. D. Gay of Minneapolis in reference to his questions about the success of that mall.[159] The city of Minneapolis commissioned LHA to design the Nicollet Mall in the mid-1960s, because of some of the same pressures facing Charlottesville, the development of a suburban mall competing with downtown retail, and a new interstate freeway threatening to route traffic away from Minneapolis' CBD.[160] The city of Minneapolis considered Nicollet to be a highly successful mall in achieving compromises between merchants, city leaders, and citizens of

---

[155] George Gilliam quoted in: Roger Miller, "Councilman Predicts A 'New' Downtown," The Daily Progress, Oct 13, 1972, P1.

[156] Ewert, March 24, 2010.

[157] Rubenstein, 1992, 136.

[158] Anonymous, Penn Architectural Archives, Lawrence Halprin Associates Collection, Charlottesville, Virginia Project Files, 014. Box 116, I.A. 3846, Correspondence File, ND.

[159] James Coleman, "Memo to Thomas Conger," Penn Architectural Archives, Lawrence Halprin Associates Collection, Charlottesville, Virginia Project Files, 014. Box 158, I.A. 4902, Charlottesville, VA/Mall: Contract Info/General Correspondence, Nov 1, 1972

[160] Shaffer, David G, "Focus: Minneapolis; Pumping New Life into a Mall," *New York Times* (11/30/1986): 1. Unlike many pedestrian malls, Nicollet is considered to have been almost immediately financially successful.

Minneapolis.[161] Then council member George Gilliam remembers Nicollet, along with Ghirardelli Square, as having been projects Halprin had done that impressed the city, not only because of their innovative designs, but also because of Halprin's ability to build local support for the projects through community participation.[162]

Lawrence Halprin

Lawrence Halprin (1916-2009) was an influential Modernist American landscape architect.[163] He worked under Thomas Church and was associated with the "Modern" California school of landscape design, but was much more interested in the social, emotional, and psychological implications of landscape design than many of his peers.[164] About his version of Modernism Halprin said, "To be properly understood, Modernism is not just a matter of cubist space but of a whole appreciation of environmental design as a holistic approach to the matter of making spaces for people to live.... Modernism, as I define it and practice it, *includes* and is based on the vital archetypal needs of human being as individuals as well as social groups."[165] Halprin placed an emphasis on urbanism and diversity in his landscapes. His design philosophy emphasized contrast, contrast between monumental and intimate spaces, hard and soft surfaces, public or open and private or introverted spaces, old and new, clear paths and maze-like circulation.[166]

---

[161] Heckscher, PP 130-1
[162] Gilliam, February 11, 2010.
[163] King, John. "Architect Lawrence Halprin dies," *San Francisco Chronicle*. October 26, 2009.
[164] Hirsh, studies, P1.
[165] Walker, 1994, P9.
[166] Hirsh, studies, P1.

Most of his well-known projects were built during the 1960s and '70s. These include Ghirardelli Square at Fisherman's Wharf in San Francisco, which he did with the firm Wurster, Bernardi and Emmons, 1964, The Seattle Freeway Park, 1976, and the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial in Washington, DC, 1974 Figs 29, 30, 31. Most of his works employ minimalistic rectilinear planes, dramatic topography, use of water, and choreographed movement throughout. Choreographed movement through space and user participation was very important to Halprin, who developed a process to facilitate the activities that he called R.S.V.P.: Resources, Scores, Valuation and Performance.[167]

Though he had a successful national firm and had received several prominent commissions by 1973, he was not above accepting small, low-profile projects like the Charlottesville Pedestrian Mall. Unlike Harland Bartholomew, Lawrence Halprin did visit Charlottesville a couple of times. Though he did not do most of the legwork for the design, he oversaw the design process and had final approval on the project.[168]

Taking Part and Public Opinion

Halprin's design approach was transparent to the public in comparison to past plans, which planners had produced without any community input, laboring under the notion that the professional knows what is best for the city. The community participated in the design of the Mall through a process invented by Halprin called the "Take Part Community Workshop" Figs 32-33. Halprin wanted the Workshop "to establish and encourage community

[167] This process is explained in detail in Halprin's book *The RSVP Cycles: Creative Process in the Human Environment*, New York, 1969.
[168] Norm Kondy, telephone interview, November 17, 2009.

participation."[169] Through the process, LHA's designers would learn about the city, but more importantly, citizens would begin to look at their city in new ways and understand Halprin's approach to design. For three days in 1973, members of the community participated with Halprin and some of his associates in activities to generate creative interaction with the urban environment. Halprin wanted participants to go out into the community and share these experiences with other citizens, becoming advocates for LHA's designs.[170] The Charlottesville Take Part Workshop was important not only for the city but also for Lawrence Halprin – it was the first time he was able fully implement his innovative notions of a choreographed community design process into a built detailed design and an adopted master plan.[171]

In spite of its comparative openness, the workshop approach was not without its detractors. While the notion of having more community involvement in public design was novel for city government officials, it was becoming a popular concept among designers in the academic community.[172] In particular, a group of architecture professors at the University of Virginia, led by Robert Vickery and Theo van Groll, complained that there was an unbalanced proportion of community leaders among workshop participants.[173] Out of 32

---

[169] Lawrence Halprin Associates, "Workshop Contract," Penn Architectural Archives, Lawrence Halprin Associates Collection, Charlottesville, Virginia Project Files, 014. Box 159, I.A. 4907, Contract Files, 1973.

[170] Halprin, Lawrence, and Jim Burns. 1974. *Taking port: A workshop approach to collective creativity*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

[171] Kondy, November 17, 2009.

[172] Vickery/van Groll, Personal interview, December 16, 2009.

[173] "Two UVa Professors Condemn The Mall," *The Daily Progress*, November 1, 1973.
Opponents of the Mall used parts of a 1973 open letter from four School of Architecture Professors, including Robert Vickery and Theo van Groll, which questioned the closed nature of the design process, to condemn the Mall. The sections used were largely taken out of context and reported falsely that the professors had an alternative design for the mall. A second letter, apparently never published, from these same professors, appears in LHA's project files. It states "Our first letter did not question the design of the

participants selected from the city of Charlottesville, three were city council members, nine were central city commission members, and only one was a designer, thought that designer was Harry Porter, landscape architecture professor at UVa.[174] It should come as no surprise that many of the participants were city leaders, considering that the contract stipulated their participation in project review.[175] The Take Part Workshop was not a method to let citizens design the Mall. The intention of the Take Part Process was to create a social background for the Mall and Master Plan and foster mutual understanding between the community and designers.

Along with professors Vickery and van Groll, the Mall had some staunch opponents among downtown business owners. Two groups of downtown business owners had strong feelings about the Mall. While those associated with the banks supported the notion of a Mall, most smaller business owners were opposed to it, with the exception of a far-sighted few.[176] As mentioned before, many of the city leaders were associated with the banks. While the 1973 council was historic for its diversity, three council members had

---

Mall itself, but rather raised the issue that constructive criticism was not possible unless we learned of the goals behind the design and process of design development... When information to these questions can be brought forth we see no reason why in one or two intelligently held open meetings, the entire citizenry cannot support the Mall proposal... We have no alternative plan for the downtown mall."
An Open Letter to: The Honorable Moyor Francis Fife and, He City Council of Charlottesville, The Central City Commissioner, The Charlottesville Planning Commission, ond Editor, The Doily Progress. Penn Architectural Archives, Lawrence Halprin Associates Collection, Charlottesville, Virginia Project Files, 014.I.A. 3846, Box 116.

[174] Lawrence Halprin Associates, "Participants in the Take Part Community Workshop," Penn Architectural Archives, Lawrence Halprin Associates Collection, Charlottesville, Virginia Project Files, 014. Box 159, I.A. 4907, Contract Files, 1973.

[175] Lawrence Halprin Associates, "Workshop Contract," Penn Architectural Archives, Lawrence Halprin Associates Collection, Charlottesville, Virginia Project Files, 014. Box 159, I.A. 4907, Contract Files, 1973.

[176] Gilliam, February 11, 2010.
Council member George Gilliam remembers that a public hearing about the Mall was held in 1973 after the Take Part Workshop. Of the approximately 300 people in attendance, many were local business owners. Not a single person stood up to speak in favor of the Mall though dozens made statements in opposition.

relationships with powerful banking institutions in Charlottesville.[177] The various city commissions were also comprised largely of white male business leaders, many of whom had banking connections. These individuals tended to be interested in the long-term economic health of downtown. Small business owners, who were more concerned with their individual success, recognized that the Mall had the potential to cause a major restructuring in the types of shoppers and businesses downtown.[178] The Mall did force many of these small business owners to move and put others out of business.

One of the Mall's major opponents was Lee Hoff, who owned an automobile service station on Main Street.[179] In Hoff's case, there was real reason for concern. He was justified in the expectation that he could not continue to run a service station on Main Street if people could not drive their cars to his business. The most vocal opponent of the Mall was Harry O'Manksy, owner of the Young Men's Shop, a clothing store on the portion of West Main where the Mall was planned to go. O'Manksy had relationships with many of the Council members and other city leaders, including Councilman Van Yahres, with whom he toured several other existing malls in the region, though the two men differed in their opinion of the fitness of a mall for Charlottesville.[180] It was O'Manksy's opposition that inhibited the scale of the Mall and budget of the project. His claim of a conflict of interest with three of the council members, Rinehart, Gilliam, and Fife, forced them to abstain from voting on the Mall, though they were all strongly in favor of it.[181]

---

[177] Ibid.
[178] Gilliam, February 11, 2010.
[179] Lee Hoff, "Part 3 - Public Hearings, November 1973 and January 1974," Jefferson Cable Footage, Charlottesville, Series: *Downtown Renewol*, 1975.
[180] Mike Van Yahres, Personal interview, December 18, 2009.
[181] Gilliam, February 11, 2010; Rinehart December 17, 2009.

The Mall was not an investment in protecting the existing 1973 businesses on Main Street. It was an investment in a long-term reinvention of the historic central business district. Nevertheless, there were small business owners that supported the Mall. One of the most outspoken of these was the owner of the Nook restaurant on Main Street, Mary Williams. Williams was probably more far-sighted than many small business owners downtown, as reflected in her position at the time as the president of Downtown Charlottesville Inc.[182] As a restaurant owner she probably also understood the potential of the Mall to extend dining space for her restaurant through outdoor café space. Williams was one of the few downtown small business owners included in the Take Part Workshop.[183]

While opposition to the Mall in Charlottesville was vocal, council voted to go ahead with the Mall plans. In an open letter to the people of Charlottesville published in the *Daily Progress* George Gilliam addressed the controversy:

> I, as one councilman, believe that this is the time for the council to 'take the lead in the introduction of a new order of things.' I believe that we as councilmen should applaud the efforts of those citizens and professionals who have worked so hard for so long to develop a viable and realistic plan for downtown. I believe we should thank those who have taken the time to give us the benefit of opposing views. But, most importantly, we should vote with confidence to turn the central city in a new direction. We should be the leaders. While our decision may be criticized in the future, we should not let it be said that we did not try to save the core of our city. [184]

These three council members had associations with banking institutions, which O'Mansky claimed had a stake in the Mall project. Gilliam was a lawyer for one of the banks, Rinehart was married to a banker, and Francis Fife was vice president of People's Bank.

[182] *Participants in the "Take part community workshop,"* 1973.

[183] Ibid.

[184] George Gilliam, "A Time For Leadership," *The Daily Progress*, November 19, 1973, A4-5.

Gilliam's statement reflects the sense of urgency for change within the city government at the time. This was a council that was willing to make unpopular decisions for the good of the city.

The Mall Detailed Design

Like HB&A, Lawrence Halprin Associates was a national firm. However, Halprin only had two offices, a main office in San Francisco and a smaller office in New York, as opposed to the dozens of offices operating under the Bartholomew name.[185] Lawrence Halprin personally visited the city and participated in the design process and Take Part Workshop. Nevertheless, several associates did most of the hands-on labor designing the mall and writing the CBD plan. Three people were most heavily involved with the Charlottesville project: Dean Abbott, a landscape architect, did most of the actual design work, Bill Hull was the project manager and probably had the most contact with city officials, and Norm Kondy was the author of the written Master Plan document.[186]

The detailed design produced by Lawrence Halprin's firm was more representative of his work than the completed Mall may seem today. Two "bookend" plazas at either end of the Mall featured the dramatic planar geographical terracing common to his works Figs 34-35. These monumental plazas contrasted with small intimate spaces located in alleys and other hidden "leftover" space in the CBD. In the Master Plan and Detailed Design document, LHA likened this contrast in scales to the work of Thomas Jefferson at the University of

[185] Kondy, November 17, 2009.
[186] Ibid., & Lawrence Halprin, c. 1972. "Our Office and Our Work," *Lawrence Halprin and Associates Collection, Charlottesville, Virginia Project Files, 1973-76* Box 117.

Virginia where monumental spaces like the dome of the Rotunda are contrasted with tight intimate spaces like the arcades of the student rooms.[187] This unrealized contrast between monumental and intimate would have made the Mall appear much more in line with Halprin's work. Nevertheless, many aspects of the design that did get built are also uniquely reflective of Halprin's work.

On his first visit to Charlottesville, before the Take Part Workshop, Halprin made a note in his sketchbook that foretold exactly what the finished design would be. He wrote in shorthand, "For Mall – Simple brick paving, benches... decid. trees... no tree boxes, very elegant & simple, good lights, worry about view – both ends anchors-perhaps major fountain @ W. end."[188] Though the Mall design would go through many iterations that included an elephant train, arcades, and a complex tiered ground plane, the final design would come back to this initial note, revealing how much Halprin relied on site readings in the design process.

CBD Master Plan

Along with the detailed design, the city commissioned Halprin to make a central business district plan. This plan expanded beyond Main Street, but unlike Bartholomew's, it was not a comprehensive plan for the entire city. Nevertheless, Halprin's CBD plan placed a strong emphasis on building up relationships to downtown through the wider city and making the Mall part of a larger set of solutions. Unlike Bartholomew's plans, the Halprin Master Planning documents proposed more connections through public transportation, bike, and

[187] Lawrence Halprin Associates, *Detailed Design and Master Plan*, 1973.
[188] Halprin Sketchbook, PAA, early 1973.

pedestrian routes, rather than larger automobile bypasses. In the view of LHA, the CBD Master Plan proposal and Mall design were so co-dependant, that they presented the two side by side in one document and followed each other in time frame and form.[189] In a memo to City Manager Cole Hendrix LHA wrote, "We feel that the Master Plan and Mall are very closely interrelated and that many decisions made in the development of one effect the other."[190]

Many city leaders agreed with Halprin's notion that the Mall would not be an independent solution. In a city council meeting to rule on the construction bid by R. E. Lee and Sons, who were accepted as the contractors for the Mall construction, Councilman Mitchell Van Yahres stated, "I believe it [the Mall] will be the beginning, and I want to underscore the beginning, of the rejuvenation of downtown Charlottesville. Other things will have to happen or the Mall will fail."[191] It is likely that Van Yahres adopted this mindset during his participation in Halprin's take-part workshop, during which Halprin and his employees emphasized the importance of context and the interconnectedness of downtown to the surrounding neighborhood.[192] Van Yahres' statement is a testament to Halprin's ability to bring people on board with his plans and provide advocates with the rhetoric to defend them.

---

[189] Lawrence Halprin Associates, *A Proposal to the City of Charlottesville for the Development of a C.B.D. Master Plan and the Design of a Mall*, Penn Architectural Archives, Lawrence Halprin Associates Collection, Charlottesville, Virginia Project Files, 014. Box 115, I.A. 3836, Charlottesville Planning, 1973.

[190] Lawrence Halprin Associates, Memo to Cole Hendrix, re: *A Proposal to the City of Charlottesville for the Development of a C.B.D. Master Plan and the Design of a Mall*, Penn Architectural Archives, Lawrence Halprin Associates Collection, Charlottesville, Virginia Project Files, 014. Box 115, I.A. 3836, Charlottesville Planning, 1973.

[191] City Council Special Session in: Bly, Denny. *Downtown Renewal, 1975*. video. ed. Steve Ashby Joe Price. 1975 (re-edited 2007) Charlottesville, VA: Jefferson Cable Corporation.

[192] Take Part Workshop Document, PAA, 1973.

Mixed uses prevailed in Halprin's master plan, as opposed of the homogeneous zoning approach taken by Bartholomew, which can be clearly seen in a color coded land use plan from 1975 Fig 36. Halprin's plan suggested housing above businesses downtown and all around the Mall. The plan stated, "housing in the downtown area would give a 24-hour population and thus add a certain life and activity, and hence safety to the downtown during the evening hours."[193] Norm Kondy, writer of the Master Plan, remembers that the idea for housing above storefronts on the Mall came from community members during the Take Part process after Halprin instructed them to look up to the second and third floors on Main Street.[194] When participants looked up they recognized the vast amount of wasted space in and around Main Street.

Halprin took a very different approach than Bartholomew to density as well. Instead of increasing business density by focusing on vertical growth, Halprin's plan suggested retaining the historic character of the downtown by retaining commercial density, but reintroducing some of the residential density that had been lost over the past forty years. Halprin also proposed single family, duplex, and elderly housing in the Garrett Street renewal area.[195]

LHA acknowledged the unique and attractive character of the town of Charlottesville and its historical architecture. Halprin saw old buildings as a positive attribute as opposed to Bartholomew who viewed them as a hindrance to progress. "There are few cities with so unique a background in creative design and planning as Charlottesville – It was the home of

---

[193] Lawrence Halprin Associates, *CBD Master Plan Report*, 23.
[194] Kondy, November 17, 2009.
[195] Lawrence Halprin Associates, *CBD Master Plan Report*, 24.

the First Architect of the Nation, Mr. Thomas Jefferson. His influence is still a rich source of inspiration and it is hoped that it is reflected in this plan."[196] The historical connection with Thomas Jefferson gives Charlottesville a unique planning history, which has had as much impact on the CBD's identity as national city planning trends. Though today locals may not recognize the connection between Jefferson and the Mall, Lawrence Halprin Associates made this connection explicit in the master plan that accompanied their Mall design. The Halprin firm's understanding of the importance of historic relationships is one of the key differences between their plan and the earlier plans of Harland Bartholomew & Associates. While HB&A's plans acknowledged Charlottesville's unique history, the firm did not look to this history for guidance. LHA's plans took their knowledge of history a step further by integrating it into their designs. In this way Halprin's designs were more place-specific than Bartholomew's.

The firm used existing details of the city's appearance to inform their designs. Site reconnaissance photos taken in 1973 reveal that Halprin observed the herringbone brick pattern later used for the Mall in the sidewalks of the Court Square historic district Figs 37-38. The firm also incorporated an existing runnel feature – a brick groove for water runoff – as one of the more unique features of the Mall ground plane Figs 39-40. These runnels also follow the line of the historic sidewalk edge along Main Street, providing yet another visual cue about the history of the landscape.

Halprin Associates saw a correlation between the history of Jefferson and the architectural character of buildings in the CBD. The firm suggested preserving the visual

[196] Ibid., 2.

character of the historic downtown. The *Report on the Master Plan* states, "the quality of character, scale, and texture of the older structures in downtown was a unique possession well worth maintaining... to insure that the human scale of buildings would be with us to enjoy in the coming years, has been fundamental to this plan."[197] LHA used the "character, scale, and texture" as a frame for its landscape design, making the shop fronts of existing buildings the walls of an outdoor room.

Halprin's interest in preservation went well beyond that of most Modern designers. He served on the first President-appointed Commission on Historic Preservation.[198] In *Cities*, Halprin wrote, "The creative city environment evolves as a result of both new and old buildings and a recognition that the city is a continuum, relating both to our past and our future."[199] Halprin also worked on Ghirardelli Square in the 1960s, a preservation project that might be termed "adaptive reuse" today Fig 29. Halprin called Ghirardelli Square a "recycling" project.[200] His intention was not to keep the buildings' use but to repurpose the existing structure of the old chocolate factory for a new function as a shopping center. About the project Halprin stated, "I also think this is a demonstration of what a whole city could do, if you could imagine it ten times bigger."[201] Preserving the physical material at the heart of the city and making it viable through a new use was also a goal of the Mall design. While it would remain in essence a commercial district, the Mall would transform

---

[197] Ibid., P 17.
[198] Alison Hirsch, 2006, p4, fn 10.
[199] Lawrence Halprin, *Cities* (New York: Reinhold Pub), 1963, 9.
[200] Lawrence Halprin, *Process Architecture*, No. 4, February 1978. ed. Ching-Yu Chang, Publisher Bunji Murotani, 106.
[201] Ibid., 106.

downtown from an essential retail center, to an entertainment and leisure district activated through social interaction.[202]

The plan included the expansion of the Court Square Historic District south, into the proposed Mall area for the following purpose:

> The whole downtown could easily end up an exclusive financial, professional, or governmental area. Such a developmental trend would destroy the streetscape and activity, which Charlottesville has long enjoyed. To keep the tiger at the gates, a ring was drawn around that part of the old town, which people wished to preserve. This, more or less, takes in the entire area between Market and Water Streets, and Second St. West and Seventh Street.[203]

This new protective ring encompassed nearly the entire central business district. Though this ring would limit potential expansion of national chain store development in the downtown area, it would provide a protected space for small local business.

The Charlottesville Master Plan detailed three methods through which the city would achieve preservation in the CBD. The first strategy was to keep the automobile out, by making the area less accessible to cars, large high-rise buildings would be discouraged, because those buildings would require greater automotive access. The second step was to limit building heights, a step completely contrary to Bartholomew's notion that, after 1990, growth in downtown Charlottesville would primarily be vertical. The Halprin plan wanted to limit new building heights in the preservation district to 40 feet. The third method to preserve the old town was to make it more attractive, stating "Improving its attractiveness would stop... deterioration, increase its earning potential and encourage stability and

[202] Ibid., 106.
[203] Ibid., 106.

permanence among its businesses."[204] By limiting vertical growth and automobile traffic, Halprin also reduced the need for automobile accommodations. While HB&A proposed large amounts of surface parking as well as several large new parking garages, LHA proposed only a few new parking areas in the downtown area. A comparison of the two plans shows that Bartholomew's parking plans would have taken almost three times the amount of surface area in the downtown area as Halprin's Fig 41.

To Halprin and his associates, the historic scale of streets and existing traffic patterns in the CBD were not an impairment to their plan, but rather the reason they believed it would work. Bern Ewert, then Deputy City Manager remembers feeling reticent about a pedestrian mall in Charlottesville. Ewert met with one of Halprin's people, probably Dean Abbot, on an early reconnaissance visit to the city. Ewert asked the designer why he thought a pedestrian mall would work in Charlottesville. The designer replied that a Mall would work because of the narrow 66ft-wide street, 33ft wide side streets, one acre blocks, and circulation route created by parallel streets to the north and south.[205]

The Halprin Mall is an urban landscape network very unlike Bartholomew's flimsily connected system of mega-blocks. The LHA plans were sensitive to the location of the Mall within the community and traffic flow around it. The firm went through several potential traffic plans before settling on the final design. LHA's plan created a large section devoted solely to the pedestrian, instead of forcing pedestrian paths to interact with automobile

[204] Lawrence Halprin Associates, *CBD Master Plan Report*, 1973, 18.
[205] Ewert, March 24, 2010.

traffic Fig 42. The Master Plan clearly stated the reason for separating pedestrian and auto traffic:

> Accommodating the automobile leaves little or no space for urban amenities...The acknowledged intrusion of the auto on the psychological environment occurs pell-mell. Accommodating the pedestrian interrupts the smooth flow of traffic. The recommendation to the City therefore is to separate the two, particularly in the more intense areas of downtown.[206]

The "intense" area the report spoke of was the core part of the CBD, Main Street, where business was most concentrated. While Bartholomew's plan moved pedestrian traffic to the periphery of the CBD, Halprin's made it the centerpiece. LHA's Master Plan also encouraged reduced auto use, rather than promoting an increase of in cars downtown. The firm promoted public transportation, bicycle and pedestrian routes.[207]

The Halprin firm suggested providing more substantial mass transit options for the citizens of Charlottesville. One proposal was to provide an "elephant train" or "people mover" which would have provided service from select locations, including surrounding residential neighborhoods and the university, to the Mall. The elephant train would have been the only vehicle allowed on the Mall and would have followed the meander created by staggered bosques, or groups, of trees Fig 43. This was a concept closely akin to the Nicollet Mall design, a transportation mall at which public busses drive slowly along a curving pathway.

---

[206] Lawrence Halprin Associates, *CBD Master Plan Report*, 1973, 13.
[207] Lawrence Halprin Associates, *CBD Master Plan Report*, 1973, 13.

LHA intended the Mall to connect to three plazas, which would relate to extending transportation routes. They city only built the smallest plaza, Central Place Fig 44.[208] The largest plaza would have been the C&O Plaza at the East end of the Mall. It would have served as a grand entrance to the Mall, a government center, located next to City Hall, and a tourist attraction Fig 35. In spite of the scale and importance placed on C&O Plaza in the *Master Plan Report*, LHA wanted the plaza at the West end of the Mall, Vinegar Hill Plaza, to be the first completed. The firm wrote, "Further development of that long-vacant piece of urban renewal land needs immediate stimulation, since downtown will never feel complete without some development in that area."[209] LHA's design for the Vinegar Hill Plaza would have healed the broken connection between East and West Main Fig 34. However, the city never had funds for a plaza on the grand scale that Halprin envisioned and the haphazard, suburban-scale development of the Hill continued until the building of the Radisson (Omni) Hotel in 1983.[210]

While Lawrence Halprin was willing, and sometimes glad, to work within an era of city planning bent on urban renewal, he was not an urban renewal supporter. He saw the urban renewal projects of others as opportunities to design, but never proposed renewal in his own plans.[211] His work served as a mediator between large-scale demolition for business interests and historic and social preservation. He sought to reconnect people with inner-city

---

[208] Gilliam, February 11, 2010.
This plaza was probably only completed because of a fire in 1974, which took out a few buildings on Main Street and was near the area where Central Place had been proposed. If this fire had not happened, the city probably never would have been able to afford Central Place.

[209] Lawrence Halprin Associates, *CBD Master Plan Report*, 1973, 20.

[210] Lucy, 2002, 71-5.

[211] Kondy, November 17, 2009.

environments that had become inhumane through urban renewal projects.[212] Halprin and Associates designed a well-publicized open space network in Portland, OR between 1967-8, and the Seattle, WA Freeway Park in 1976, both projects in cities that had suffered from overzealous urban renewal efforts.[213]

Halprin understood that urban renewal was a racial issue and that rather than solving racial conflicts, it was enhancing them. In Halprin's 1968 report *New York, New York*, written for the New York Department of Housing and Urban Development, Halprin wrote, "The black community does not want the white community to impose its own middle class standards...The black community must, we believe, structure its own renewal. But open occupancy, opportunities for economic advancement, job opportunities and increased ability for property ownership must underlie the whole forward thrust."[214] Halprin acknowledged that housing upgrades were not a solution for the black community if they were not part of a larger plan in which black people had agency.

The history of the Mall has a significant place in African American history in Charlottesville. Charles Barbour was one of the two council members allowed to vote on funding the Mall in 1973.[215] Two years later, as Charlottesville's first African American

---

[212] Alison Hirsch, "Lawrence Halprin's Reactionary Urbanism: Reinstating Life into Urban Renewal America," Abstract, *Urban Transformation/Shifting Identities: Graduate Student Symposium in Architecture and Urbanism*, Providence, Brown University, Sept 28th-29th, 2007.
"During the 1960s and 1970s, landscape architect and urban designer Lawrence Halprin devoted himself to reintegrating people into the alienating environments of urban renewal America."

[213] Halprin, 1978, 166-7, 230-1.

[214] Lawrence Halprin, *New York, New York*, Department of Housing and Urban Development, New York, March 1968, 2.

[215] Only Barbour and Van Yahres were able to vote for the Mall, the other three council members, George Gilliam, Jill Rinehart, and Francis Fife having been ruled to have conflicts of interest by the state attorney general. This decision was made under pressure from local business owner Harry O'Mansky, who was strongly opposed to the Mall and claimed the three had a conflict of interest because of their connections,

mayor, Barbour participated in the official groundbreaking ceremony for the Mall Fig 45. In 1976, Barbour laid the commemorative last brick, during the Mall's opening ceremony Fig 46. Barbour was a firm supporter of the Mall project from its beginning and saw his participation in the timeline of the city's most significant urban landscape as a landmark for the black community in Charlottesville.[216]

Though the city had begun the Garrett Street urban renewal under the direction of Bartholomew's firm, it was incomplete when Halprin arrived. The Charlottesville Housing and Redevelopment Authority requested that Halprin include recommendations for the area so that they could attempt to coordinate their efforts.[217] While Halprin never proposed urban renewals, he did take advantage of the Garrett Street project to expand the scope of his own plan.[218] Suggestions for the Garret Street area were included in LHA's master plan. An important aspect of the plan was to provide public housing for displaced residents below a certain income. Halprin placed this public housing where Garrett Square (Friendship Court) is today, just south of the CBD and within the renewal area. By locating the public housing in the renewal area, in theory, the renewal did not displace the financially disadvantaged. Along with public housing there was an array of middle-class single family and duplex housing in the plan.

---

indirect though they were, to baking institutions who would benefit from the mall's construction. Source: George Gilliam, February 11, 2010.

[216] Barbour, December 16, 2009.

[217] Arrington, A. E., Charlottesville Redevelopment and Housing Authority. 1973. Memo re: Land use and garrett street. *Lawrence Halprin and Associates Collection, Charlottesville, Virginia Project Files, 1973-76* Box 158, Folder 4902, Charlottesville, Va/Mall: Contract Info/General Correspondence.

[218] Kondy, November 17, 2009.

There was also an industrial zone provided in Garrett with an abundance of surface parking lots that feel like a concession to the city government's demand for an industrial development in the area Fig 47. This, along with a similar commercial zone with an over-abundance of surface parking in Vinegar Hill and a series of parking garages along Water Street are inconsistent with the LHA Master Plan. Compared to the rest of the work, these anomalies seem underdeveloped and out of character for the Halprin firm.

The firm was sensitive to the need to connect Garrett with the rest of downtown to counteract some of the negative effects of urban renewal. Physical connections to the Mall through pedestrian routes and topography would have led to a more democratic, less elite space. East Fifth Street, which bordered a (since buried and piped) creek, was the most important pedestrian linkage to the Mall in LHA's Master Plan:

> The Creek Park designed to follow the existing creek running north/south through Garrett St. renewal area, is a vital part of the plan. It serves as a southerly extension of Fifth St. link to the historic District. It gives identity and backbone to the residential sector of the renewal area. It provides a direct connection to the downtown commercial area from the renewal area. And it provides a safe and easy way for the elderly to get downtown.[219]

The park would have physically connected private housing in the Garrett Street urban renewal area to the Mall and Moore's Creek watershed, which once played a significant role in the topography of the Garret Street area. Compared to Bartholomew's plan, Halprin's had a rich network of public spaces, including the creek park, which connected the Mall to residential neighborhoods Fig 47.

---

[219] Lawrence Halprin Associates, *CBD Master Plan Report*, 1973, 28.

The Built Mall

The result of Halprin's design work in Charlottesville was a minimalist brick plane with bosques of closely spaced willow oaks springing up through cantilevered underground tree frames uncluttered by grates or tree guards Fig 48. The soft canopy of leaves created a ceiling while the walls of buildings and concrete banding delineated interconnected street rooms Fig 8.[220] Four fountains refer to mountain topography and springs of the surrounding natural area Fig 49. Large round cast-iron planters were glazed with a glossy black finish to resemble wet river rocks – another reference to local natural forms. The built Mall also included custom light fixtures and flexible seating to allow for a diverse range of activities at all hours Fig 50. Though Halprin had considered cross-traffic or Mall buses in preliminary designs, the built Mall accommodated only pedestrian traffic. Today the Mall is crowded with street vendors, private café spaces new trash and recycling containers, signs, and other forms of clutter that were not part of the original design. While all of this clutter is evidence of the great amount of use the Mall gets, it distracts from the unity of the design that is clear from historic photos Figs 8, 51. Ironically, it is this clutter created by the success of the Mall that distracts people and causes them to forget that the Mall is a unified, designed landscape.

The Mall as finished in 1976 was only four blocks long. Small business opposition, which was strongest on West Main between First Street and Vinegar Hill, got its way and

[220] In 1975, budget cuts forced the city to use concrete rather than the granite specified by the detailed design. In 2009 a renovation replaced the original concrete with granite.
Cole Hendrix, Personal interview, July 31, 2009; and Huja, January 5, 2010.

the three blocks west of First Street remained open to auto traffic in 1976.[221] However, by 1978, Harry O'Mansky, who was the Mall's most vocal opponent, recognized that having the Mall extended could benefit his store, The Young Men's Shop.[222] The city expanded the Mall three blocks west, but not by LHA, which had disintegrated in 1976-77.[223] The firm CHNDB, comprised of some of Halprin's associates, including Bill Hull, project manager of the first section of Mall, completed the expansion.[224] The Mall finally had a physical connection to Vinegar Hill, as well as a financial one; the city used a small remaining portion of federal funding for development of the Hill to complete the western portion of the Mall.[225]

The Mall area was not an immediate financial success. As Mitchell Van Yahres predicted, business on the Mall did not take off immediately because it was only the first step in a larger set of solutions for Charlottesville.[226] In the first ten years of the Mall, many significant businesses abandoned the downtown for suburban areas, including the major department store Miller & Rhoads, which had built a large modern store on Main Street in the late 1950s Fig 50. Vacancies like this provided a challenge for small local businesses that were not likely to need the space of a national chain.

Though the economy of downtown did not improve immediately, citizens began to enjoy the large public space and take pride in the appearance of downtown. The Mall provided a space for activates like fashion and auto shows, concerts, and impromptu

---

[221] Huja, January 5, 2010.
[222] Gilliam, February 11, 2010; Hendrix, July 31, 2009; Huja, January 5, 2010; J. A. (Buddy) Kessler, Personal interview, January 5, 2010.
[223] Kondy, November 17, 2009.
[224] City Council Minutes, 1978.
[225] City Council Minutes, 1978
[226] City Council Special Session, In: Bly, Denny. *Downtown Renewal, 1975*. video. ed. Steve Ashby Joe Price. 1975 (re-edited 2007) Charlottesville, VA: Jefferson Cable Corporation.

gathering downtown Figs 44, 52. Public seating and shade contributed to a park character that was missing in suburban shopping centers with hot asphalt surfaces.

The Mall Post-Design

The Halprin firm's work for the city ended in 1976. However, then planning director Satyendra Huja states that the LHA Master Plan continued to be an important document in the planning office.[227] Extensions to the Mall have continued over the years to include some of Vinegar Hill, the area where the C&O Plaza would have been in front of City Hall, and many of the side streets.[228] Some of the lesser-known locations LHA suggested for housing have come to fruition. LHA recommended the conversion of the old Monticello Hotel into condominiums and the addition of elderly housing to the Garrett Street urban renewal area, both of which were completed. The old Post Office building, converted to a public library in the 1980s, was LHA's second choice for a library location, and the old Armory where the Take Part Workshops convened has become the Downtown Recreation Center as suggested in the Master Plan.[229] A free trolley now provides an essential linkage between the University and the Mall, a connection akin the LHA proposed "elephant train." Public transportation access has improved all around the city. A privately owned bus company was replaced with city-operated buses by the City Council in 1975.[230] Parking in city garages has

---

[227] Huja, January 5, 2010.
[228] Ibid.
[229] Lawrence Halprin Associates, *Master plan: Design, Philosophy and Concepts*, June, 1974.
[230] City Council Minutes, June 16, 1975

also become commonplace, an idea Halprin and the City Council understood would have to be accepted in order for the Mall to function.[231]

As Halprin hoped, city leaders who participated in the Take Part Workshops became his plan's greatest advocates in the long-term. City Manager Cole Hendrix stood by the Mall and never considered having it torn up when it did not take off as quickly as expected. Hendrix credits the Take Part workshop process for teaching him to closely observe the fabric of the city. He remained on as City Manager of Charlottesville for 25 years, an unusually long period for a city manager. The Mall owes its continued existence to the stability of his lengthy term as City Manager and his personal attachment to the Mall, along with the many other city leaders at the time that have remained in Charlottesville and continued to speak for the Mall.

The idea for housing that came out of the Take Part Workshop led to increased residential density downtown. Councilmember Mitchell Van Yahres partially funded the first new residential use on the Mall with his 1980 condominium renovation at 107 West Main Street.[232] Then dean of UVa's architecture school, Joe Bosserman – who originally suggested the hire of Halprin to Cole Hendrix, designed the renovation and lived in one of the condos for many years.[233] This was just the first of many housing developments built in and around the Mall in the 1980s-'90s.

---

[231] Robert Stroh Jr., Personal interview, December 18, 2009. According to Mr. Stroh, who has managed the Market Street parking garage since its construction in conjunction with the downtown mall in 1973, many people in Charlottesville had never used a parking garage, or even an elevator before the 1970s and some people were very uncomfortable with the idea.

[232] Dan Genest, "Living on the Mall," *The Daily Progress* (ca. 1980).

[233] Ibid.

Councilmember Jill Rinehart went on to be a major supporter of turning the historic McGuffey School into an artist cooperative, an action very much in line with the types of cultural institutions Halprin hoped would come to populate downtown Charlottesville. Established in 1975 by the McGuffey Art Association assisted by the city government, the Art Center brought an element of culture to the CBD that has grown over the years. Several galleries have opened in the CBD since 1975 that continue the spirit of the Mall as a cultural center.[234]

Planning Director Satyendra Huja remained a part of the cities planning offices until 2004. He continued to promote extensions of the Mall onto the side streets and into to plaza areas Halprin had designated. He also worked to encourage the formation neighborhood associations around town, strengthening surrounding residential areas and improving much of Charlottesville's historic housing stock. The rejuvenation of these neighborhoods has contributed a population of residents who advocate for the downtown Mall. To Huja, Halprin's design worked so well because it was "more than a Mall."[235]

In spite of the many ways in which Halprin's plan continues to make an impact, important elements of his plans are incomplete. The city was unable or unwilling to complete the grand plazas with dramatic topographical variation that Halprin imagined as bookends to the Mall. These plazas would have made the Mall appear more in unison with Halprin's larger body of work. The creek park that the firm considered one of the most important elements of the master plan, which would have connected new housing to

[234] Rinehart, December 17, 2009.
[235] Huja, January 5, 2010.

downtown through a safe pedestrian walk, was also never completed. While it would be impractical for the city to return to some of these plans, it could be beneficial moving forward to look back and consider how important the Mall was as part of a whole. The Mall is, and always will be, in flux with the infrastructure, residences, businesses and social institutions that were so important to its formation and have come to rely so heavily on it as a part of their identity.

Chapter IV: The Legacy of Planning and Preservation in Charlottesville

While business on the Mall struggled to recover for a long time, the citizens of Charlottesville began to recognize the social value of the Mall almost immediately.[236] The Mall galvanized a strong sense of identity and historic character for the CBD and provided a place for citizens to gather as a community. Charlottesville ranked top 10 in the 1979 All-American City competition with an exhibit designed by local architect Jack Rinehart, a major source of pride for the city at the time. Mitchell Van Yahres and Cole Hendrix were both involved with assembling competition materials, along with many others. The competition entry relied heavily on the Mall redevelopment and a 19 percent sales growth that occurred in the CBD in 1977.[237] In 2004 Charlottesville again received major recognition for the quality of the downtown area. Peter Saunder and Bert Sterling ranked it the number one small city in which to live in the U.S. and Canada in their book *Cities Ranked and Rated*. Saunder and Sterling based their rankings of hundreds of American cities on categories like job market, and quality of life, characteristics that have improved dramatically over the past 30 years largely due to the Mall.[238] Also in 2004, Piere Fillion recognized Charlottesville as one of the top 10 most successful downtowns in the nation in his article *The Successful*

[236] Barbour, December 16, 2009; Ewert, March 24, 2010; Jack Rinehart, December 15, 2009; Robert Stroh, December 18, 2009.

[237] "Volunteer Team Readies Bid for 'All-American City,'" *The Charlottesville Daily Progress*, November 12, 1978, A1; Jack Rinehart, December 15, 2009.

[238] Saunder and Sperling, 2004.

Few.[239] Fillion identified the Mall as one of the rare successful pedestrian redevelopment projects of the 1970s.[240]

Lucky Breaks

One of the major reasons for the success of the downtown area has been completely unforeseen and come out of a much larger national trend: the rise of restaurant culture.[241] Charlottesville has gone from having only three restaurants on Main Street in 1973 to having nearly 30 directly facing the Mall in 2010. Though many of these are not successful, and there is frequent turnover, there has been a cultural shift making restaurants a viable economic base for Charlottesville's downtown. Restaurants are appropriate for the Mall because they are a type of business that can fit into small existing spaces without major modifications, easily adapting existing historic buildings to their needs. They take full advantage of the active street-life taking place outside, and extend the business hours of the Mall beyond the typical 9:00-5:00 of an average retail-based Main Street, keeping the space in use for longer hours.

In 1972, Councilman George Gilliam state the need for evening recreation in the CBD, "Two movie theaters just aren't enough. A conference center or a civic center would be a step in the right direction."[242] In the late 1980s the city government finally provided financial backing for the construction of a conference center at the eastern tip of Vinegar

---

[239] Filion, 2004.
[240] Filion, 2004.
[241] John Mariani, *America Eats Out: An Illustrated History of Restaurants, Taverns, Coffee Shops, Speakeasies, and Other Establishments That Have Fed Us for 350 Years*, (New York: William Morrow and Company), 1991.
[242] George Gilliam quoted in: Roger Miller, "Councilman Predicts A 'New' Downtown," *The Daily Progress*, Oct 13, 1972, P1.

Through apartments, entertainment, restaurants and boutiques encouraged by the Mall, downtown has found a niche that allows the nineteenth-century building fabric and eighteenth-century infrastructure to remain in use. During its heyday in the early twentieth-century, downtown Charlottesville served the essential needs of the entire population of Albemarle County. Lawyers, doctors, barbers, bankers, grocers, bakers, and clothiers – all were located in the downtown area. Before the 1950s, there was no suburban competition for essential services. Today downtown is a niche market; with the exception of the movie theater and a few inexpensive restaurants, the Mall primarily serves an upper-middle class white population. Most of the businesses are upscale restaurants and boutiques. Many people lament a lack of essential services, grocery stores, hardware stores, and department stores that prevents downtown from serving as large a portion of the population as it did 60 years ago.[248] However, the Mall has not prevented these essential services from remaining downtown. The culprit is a larger trend towards national chains replacing mom & pops and establishing corporate policies that limit store placement to suburban areas, thus reinforcing suburban sprawl.[249] Were it not for the Mall, it is just as likely that the area would be completely deserted or given over to large-scale office buildings. Suburban development and national corporate takeovers of essential services has made it difficult for downtowns all over the country, not just ones with pedestrian malls, to retain essential service and retail functions.

---

[248] Community member at: "Reflections on Urban Redevelopment," Panel Discussion, Panelists: Charles Barbour, Francis Fife and George Gilliam, Sarita Herman moderator, April 13, 2010, Charlottesville Community Design Center.

[249] Mathew J. Lindstrom and Hugh Barlting, "Introduction," *Suburban Sprawl, Culture Theory and Politics* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield), 2003, xviii-xxi.

The Future of Downtown

The most recent Comprehensive Plan for the City of Charlottesville reflects the much broader and more diverse approach city planners take today than they did fifty or sixty years ago. Completed in 2007, the plan includes the planning department's policies on sustainability, citizen participation in the planning process, non-motorized modes of transportation, arts & culture, natural environment and an entire chapter on historic preservation.[250] The rise in diversity within Charlottesville's city plans over the years has been the result of a multitude of national trends in preservation, conservation, social planning, and new understandings of transportation and how it can affect the city. It has also been the result of a particularly design-conscious community inspired by the legacy of Jefferson and strong architecture and planning programs nearby at the University of Virginia. However, the impact of individual plans by Harland Bartholomew & Associates and Lawrence Halprin Associates should not be under-estimated, particularly because it was these two plans, through creation and destruction that shaped the current identity of Charlottesville's central business district.

The Mall has been a catalyst for change, not an isolated commercial district that acted as a solution on its own. Halprin's scheme was inclusive of many facets of the functioning city. In 1977, one year after the Mall's completion, Landscape Architect August Heckscher wrote about the pitfalls of malls as well as their potential, "The mall is best seen as a tool among many in restoring the attractiveness of downtown and should come as the

---

[250] *City of Charlottesville Comprehensive Plan.* 2007.

capstone upon other related improvements."[251] The ability of Charlottesville's political leaders to understand the Mall as part of a whole throughout its life was crucial to its success. These figures, along with others in the city government have continually implemented the preservation, housing, and transportation strategies of Halprin's plans. The Mall is a crucial part of the identity of the City of Charlottesville today for good reason; it represents an era of significant change and is an example of excellence in design and planning, which was of its time and place, rooted in the past and responsive to change.

[251] August Heckscher, *Open Spaces: The Life of American Cities,* (New York: Harper & Row) 1977, 27.

Bibliography

_____ *Charlottesville - Albemarle County Virginia: An Economic Study*. 1978. Virginia Electric and Power Company, Area Development Dept.

_____ *City of Charlottesville Comprehensive Plan*. 2007. Charlottesville: Department of Community Development.

_____ City of Charlottesville Website. "Parks History," "Office of the City Manager," "City Council." 2010. http://www.charlottesville.org/. Accessed March 12, 2010.

_____ *Comprehensive Plan*. 1979. Charlottesville: Department of Community Development.

_____ "Conger Resigns Planning Post," *The Charlottesville Daily Progress*, December 8, 1972, PPA1, A12.

_____ City Council Minutes. 1953-2010. City of Charlottesville. http://weblink.charlottesville.org/Browse.aspx. Accessed July 1, 2009.

_____ "City May Consider Plans for New Business District." *The Cavalier Daily* (Wednesday, March 12, 1969). Accessed online at: University of Virginia Library.

_____ *Hill's Charlottesville City Directory*. Charlottesville: Hill Directory Co. Inc. 1929-60.

_____ "Local Council Approves New City Manager to Assume Office on New Year's Day." *Cavalier Doily*. Tuesday, December 1, 1970. http://xtf.lib.virginia.edu/xtf/view?docId=cavdaily_1970-71/uvaBook/tei/cavdaily_19701201.xml;chunk.id=a1.5;toc.depth=1;toc.id=;brand=default;query=bowen#1. Accessed April 20, 2010.

_____ "Michie, Thomas Johnson." *Federal Judicial Center; Biographical Directory of Federal Judges*. 2009. http://www.fjc.gov/servlet/nGetInfo?jid=1634&cid=999&ctype=na&instate=na. Accessed: March 15, 2010.

_____ "The New Belmont Bridge," *The Charlottesville Doily Progress*, May 7, 1957.

_____ *A Plan of the Town of Charlottesville*. after 1818. Charlottesville: Albemarle County Historical Society.

_____ *United States Housing Act (Wagner-Steagall Act)* 1937. Trans. 75th Congress. U.S. Statutes at Large.

Alexander, Lawrence, Robert D. Erickson, Susan R. Shealy. *Building Downtown Malls*. 2004. New York: Downtown Research and Development Center, Downtown Idea Exchange.

Anderson, Martin. *The Federal Bulldozer: A Critical Analysis of Urban Renewal 1949-62*. 1964. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Arrington, A. E., Charlottesville Redevelopment and Housing Authority. 1973. Memo re: Land use and garrett street. *Lawrence Halprin and Associates Collection, Charlottesville, Virginia Project Files, 1973-76* Box 158, Folder 4902, Charlottesville, Va/Mall: Contract Info/General Correspondence.

Barbour, Charles. Personal interview. December 16, 2009.

Barbour, Charles, Francis Fife and George Gilliam, panelists. "Reflections on Urban Redevelopment." Panel Discussion. Sarita Herman moderator. April 13, 2010. Charlottesville Community Design Center.

Bartholomew, Harland & Associates, Atlanta & Richmond. 1971. *Background and neighborhood analysis : Part of the comprehensive plan for Charlottesville, Virginia*. S.l.: Harland Bartholomew and Associates.

——— 1970. *The Comprehensive Plan for Charlottesville, Virginia: 1970 Revision*. Richmond, Va.

———1968. *Central Business District Plan, Charlottesville, VA*. Charlottesville, VA: City Planning Commission.

——— 1959. *Comprehensive Plan for Charlottesville, VA*. Charlottesville, VA: City Planning Commission.

——— 1958. *A Preliminary Report upon Public Works Program, Charlottesville, Virginia*. Atlanta, Ga.

——— 1958. *A Preliminary Report upon Schools, Parks and Public Buildings, Charlottesville, Virginia*. Atlanta, Ga.

——— 1957. *A Report upon Major Streets, Parking and Transportation, Charlottesville, Virginia*. Atlanta, Ga.

——— 1957. *A Preliminary Report Upon Housing, Charlottesville, Virginia*. Charlottesville, VA: City Planning Commission.

——— 1957. *A Preliminary Report upon Land Use and Zoning, Charlottesville, Virginia*: Prepared for the city planning commission. Atlanta: Harland Bartholomew and Associates.

——— 1957. *Proposed Land Subdivision Regulations, Charlottesville, Virginia*. Atlanta, Ga.

——— 1956. *A Report upon Population and Economic Background of Charlottesville, Virginia*. Atlanta, Ga.

——— 1956. *A Preliminary Report upon the Scope and Objectives of the City Plan, Charlottesville, Virginia*. Atlanta, Ga.

——— 1956. *City of Charlottesville, Virginia : Population Density*. City Planning Commission. Charlottesville, VA.

Bednar, Michael J. "The Modern Era of Urban Design in Charlottesville, Virginia. *Colonnade: The News Journal of the School of Architecture, University of Virginia* 8, (1) (Spring, 1993): PP9-13.

Bluestone, Daniel. Charlottesville skyscrapers, 1919-29: Ego, imagination, and electricity in a historic landscape. *Magazine of Albemarle County History*, 2008, v. 66.

Bly, Denny. *Downtown Renewal, 1975*. video. ed. Steve Ashby Joe Price. 1975 (re-edited 2007) Charlottesville, VA: Jefferson Cable Corporation.

Carmon, Naomi."Three Generations of Urban Renewal Policies: Analysis and Policy Implications," *Geoforum* 30 (1999). PP145-158.

Coleman, James. Memo to Thomas Conger re: Initial visit and Nicollet Mall. 1972. University of Pennsylvania Architectural Archives. *Lawrence Halprin and Associates Collection, Charlottesville, Virginia Project Files, 1973-76* Box 158, Folder 4902. Charlottesville, VA/Mall: Contract Info/General Correspondence.

Conger, Thomas A., Planning Director. *Alternatives for Charlottesville: The city planning Department's master plon recommendations*. 1971. Charlottesville, VA: Department of Planning.

Ewert, Bern. Personal Interview. March 24, 2010.

Ferster, Bill, Scott French eds. Vinegar Hill Project. UVa. 2005-2010. Website: http://www.vinegarhillproject.org/Welcome.html. Accessed February 12, 2010.

Filion, Pierre, Heidi Hoernig, Trudi Bunting, and Gary Sands. "The Successful Few." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 70, (3) 2004: PP328-43.

Foard, Ashley A., and Hilbert Fefferman. "Federal Urban Renewal Legislation." *Law & Contemporary Problems*. 25. 1960.

Gilliam, George. Personal interview. February 11, 2010.

Genest, Dan. "Living on the Mall." *The Daily Progress*. 1980. Found in: Downtown Mall file, Albemarle Charlottesville Historical Society.

Gruen, Victor. *The Heart of Our Cities: The Urban Crisis: Diagnosis and Cure*. 1967. New York: Simon and Schuster.

Halprin, Lawrence, Associates. *New York, New York; A Study of the Quality, Character, and Meaning of Open Space in Urban Design*. 1968. San Francisco: Chapman Press.

——— ca.1973. *Appraised Land Values for Charlottesville*. CBD. University of Pennsylvania Architectural Archives. Lawrence Halprin and Associates Collection, Charlottesville, Virginia Project Files, 1973-76 Box 117, Folder 3860.

——— ca. 1972. *Our Office and Our Work*. University of Pennsylvania Architectural Archives. Lawrence Halprin and Associates Collection, Charlottesville, Virginia Project Files, 1973-76 Box 117.

——— *Proposal for Professional Services Required; Design Criteria and Program Development, Mall Graphics and Amenities*. 1976. University of Pennsylvania Architectural Archives. Lawrence Halprin and Associates Collection, Charlottesville, Virginia Project Files, 1973-76 Box 117, Folder 3859, Charlottesville Mall/VA, Application for payment.

——— *Master Plan: Design, Philosophy and Concepts*. June, 1974. University of Pennsylvania Architectural Archives. Lawrence Halprin and Associates Collection, Charlottesville, Virginia Project Files, 1973-76.

——— *Participants in the "Take part community workshop"*. 1973. University of Pennsylvania Architectural Archives. Lawrence Halprin and Associates Collection, Charlottesville, Virginia Project Files, 1973-76. Box 159, Folder 4907, Contract Files.

——— *Notes from Charlottesville Workshop*. 1973. University of Pennsylvania Architectural Archives. Lawrence Halprin and Associates Collection, Charlottesville, Virginia Project Files, 1973-76. Box 117, Folder 3860.

———*Charlottesville, Virginia : Preliminary Documents, Mall & Master Plan for Central Business District*. 1972. University of Pennsylvania Architectural Archives.

Halprin, Lawrence. *Sketchbooks of Lawrence Halprin*. Tokyo, Japan: *Process Architecture*. 1981.

——— *The RSVP Cycles; Creative Processes in the Human Environment*. 1970; 1969. New York: G. Braziller.

——— *Freeways*. 1966. New York: Reinhold.

——— *Cities*. 1963. New York: Reinhold Pub.

——— "Motation." *Progressive Architecture* 46, (July, 1965): 126-33.

——— Sketchbook. 1973. University of Pennsylvania Architectural Archives. Lawrence Halprin and Associates Collection.

Halprin, Lawrence, and Jim Burns. 1974. *Taking part: A Workshop Approach to Collective Creativity*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Hardwick, Jeffrey M. *Mall Maker: Victor Gruen, Architect of an American Dream*. 2004. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 152-209.

Harris, William and Nancy Olmsted. "Public Housing in Charlottesville: The Black Experience in a Small Southern City." *Review of Black Political Economy*. 19:3/4 (1991: Winter/Spring). PP161-74.

Hendrix, Cole. *Memo to bill hull re: UVa central place student designs*. 1974. University of Pennsylvania Architectural Archives. Lawrence Halprin and Associates Collection, Charlottesville, Virginia Project Files, 1973-76. Box 158, Folder 4904, Charlottesville CP Contracts.

———Memo re: Parking garage. 1973. University of Pennsylvania Architectural Archives. Lawrence Halprin and Associates Collection, Charlottesville, Virginia Project Files, 1973-76. Box 158, Folder 4902, Charlottesville, Va/Mall: Contract Info/General Correspondence.

——— Personal interview. July 31, 2009.

Hirsch, Alison. "Lawrence Halprin's Public Spaces: Design, Experience and Recovery, Three Case Studies." *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes*. (Jan-Mar, 2006) v.26, n.1 26, (1).

——— Lawrence Halprin: The Choreography of Private Gardens. *Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes* 27, (4) (Oct-Dec 2007): PP258-355.

Huja, Satyendra. Personal interview. January 5, 2010.

Jacobs, Allen. *Great Streets*. 1993. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Jacobs, Jane. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. 1961. New York: Random House.

Johnston, Norman J. *Harland Bartholomew: His Comprehensive Plan and Science of City*

Planning. 1964. PhD., University of Pennsylvania, Department of City Planning.

Kessler, J. A. Jr. (Buddy). Personal interview. January 5, 2010.

Kondy, Norm. Telephone interview. November 17, 2009.

Lasala, Joseph M., Patricia Sherwood, Richard Guy Wilson. "Architecture for Education: Jefferson's Design of the Academical Village." *Thomas Jefferson's Academical Village*. 2009. ed. Richard Guy Wilson. Charlottesville: UVa Press. PP1-54.

Lindstrom, Mathew J. and Hugh Barlting. *Suburban Sprawl, Culture Theory and Politics* 2003. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Lovelace, Eldridge. *Harland Bartholomew: His Contributions to American Urban Planning*. 1993. Urbana: University of Illinois.

Lucy, William H. *Charlottesville's Downtown Revitalization*. 2002. Charlottesville, VA .

Mariani, John. *America Eats Out: An Illustrated History of Restaurants, Taverns, Coffee Shops, Speakeasies, and Other Establishments That Have Fed Us for 350 Years*. 1991. New York: William Morrow and Company.

Meyer, Elizabeth, "Biography of Lawrence Halprin," *Cultural Landscapes Foundation,* published: April 1, 2008, viewed: August 7, 2009, website: http://tclf.org/pioneer/lawrence-halprin/biography-lawrence-halprin.

Michie, Thomas J. "Mayor Michie Urges Voters to Support Redevelopment." *The Charlottesville Daily Progress*. June 10, 1960.

O'Dell, William F. and Marketing Research Students. *The Charlottesville Central Business District: An Assessment by Shoppers of Charlottesville-Albermarle: A Report to the Downtown Action Committee*. 1970. Charlottesville, VA: UVa: McIntire School of Commerce.

Parish, David W., Jr. "The Michie Company." *Virginia Law Books: Essays and Bibliographies*. 2000. ed. William Hamilton Bryson, *Memoirs* Series. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.

Patterson, Steve. "North American Cities that Have or Have Had a Pedestrian Mall." *Urban Review STL*. Blog post. November 23. 2009: http://www.urbanreviewstl.com/?cat=676. Accessed April 10, 2010.

Rinehart, Jack. Personal interview. December 15, 2009.

Rinehart, Jill. Personal interview. December 17, 2009.

Rubenstein, Harvey M. *Pedestrian Malls, Streetscapes, and Urban Spaces*. 1992. New York: Wiley.

Ryan, Terri Jo. "Austin Avenue's Ill-fated pedestrian mall never caught on." *Waco History Project*. April 24, 2006. http://www.wacohistoryproject.org/Places/AustinAveMall.htm. Accessed June 11 2009.

Saunders, James Robert and Renae Nadine Shackelford. *Urban Renewal and the End of Black Culture in Charlottesville*. 1998. McFarland.

Schwartz, Kenneth A. "Charlottesville: A Brief Urban History." *Charlottesville Urban Design and Affordable Housing*. The Institute for Advanced Technologies in the Humanities. (Last Modified: Monday, 20-Oct-2008) website: http://www2.iath.virginia.edu/schwartz/cville/cville_history.html. Accessed August 4, 2009.

Shaffer, David G. "Focus: Minneapolis; Pumping New Life into a Mall." *New York Times* (11/30/1986): 1.

Sies, Mary Corbin, Christopher Silver. *Planning the Twentieth-Century American City*. 1996. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Stroh, Robert Jr. Personal interview. December 18, 2009.

Van Groll, Theo. Personal interview. December 16, 2009.

Van Yahres, Mike. Personal interview. December 18, 2009.

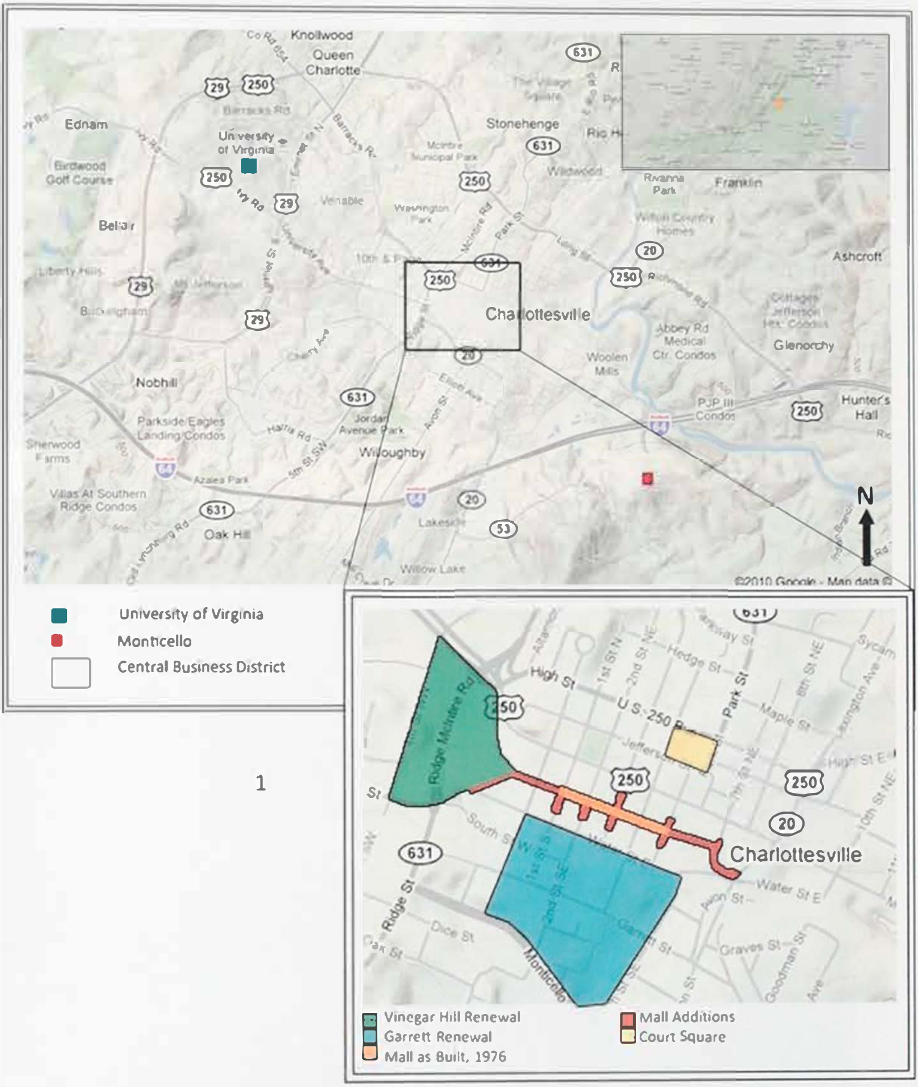
Vickery, Robert. Personal interview. December 16, 2009.

Wall, Alex. *Victor Gruen : From Urban Shop to New City*. 2005. Barcelona: Actar.

Webb, Clive. *Massive Resistance: Southern Opposition to the Second Reconstruction*. 2005. New York: Oxford University Press.

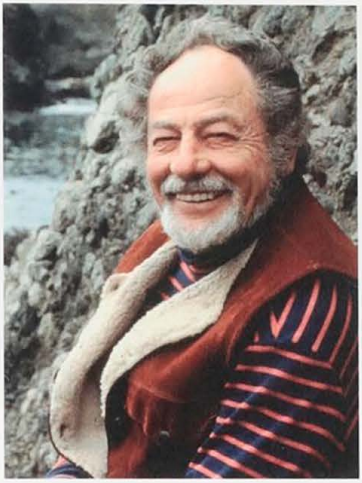
William R. Wilkerson, William G. Shenkir. *Paul G. McIntire: Businessman and Philanthropist, Founder of Business & Education at the University of Virginia*. 1988. Charlottesville: McIntire School of Commerce, University of Virginia.

Wright, Charles Alan, and John B. Oakley. *Federal Courts : Cases and Materials*. 1999. University Casebook Series. 10th ed. New York, N.Y.: Foundation Press.


Knollwood
Queen Charlotte
Ednam
University of Virginia
Stonehenge
Charlottesville
Franklin
Ashcroft
Glenorchy
Nobhill
Willoughby
Oak Hill
Hunter's Hall
N
University of Virginia
Monticello
Central Business District
High St
Vinegar Hill Renewal
Garrett Renewal
Mall as Built, 1976
Mall Additions
Court Square

1

2



3

4

5

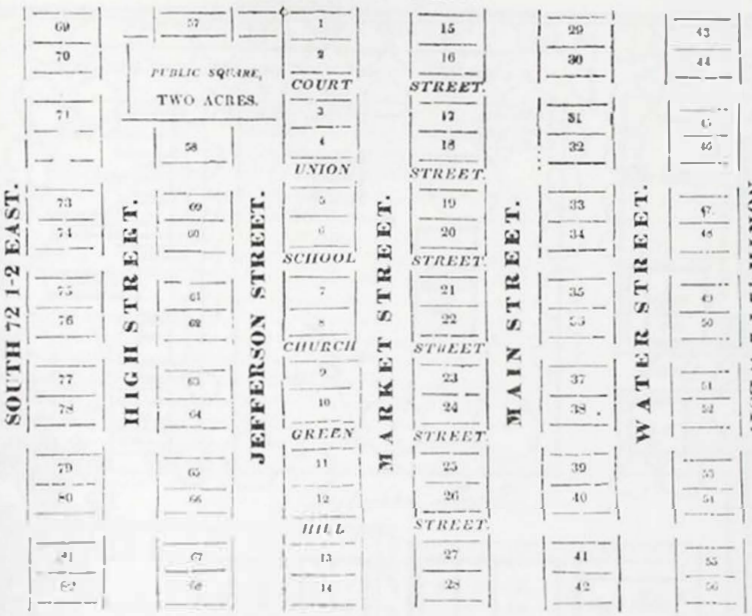
6

7

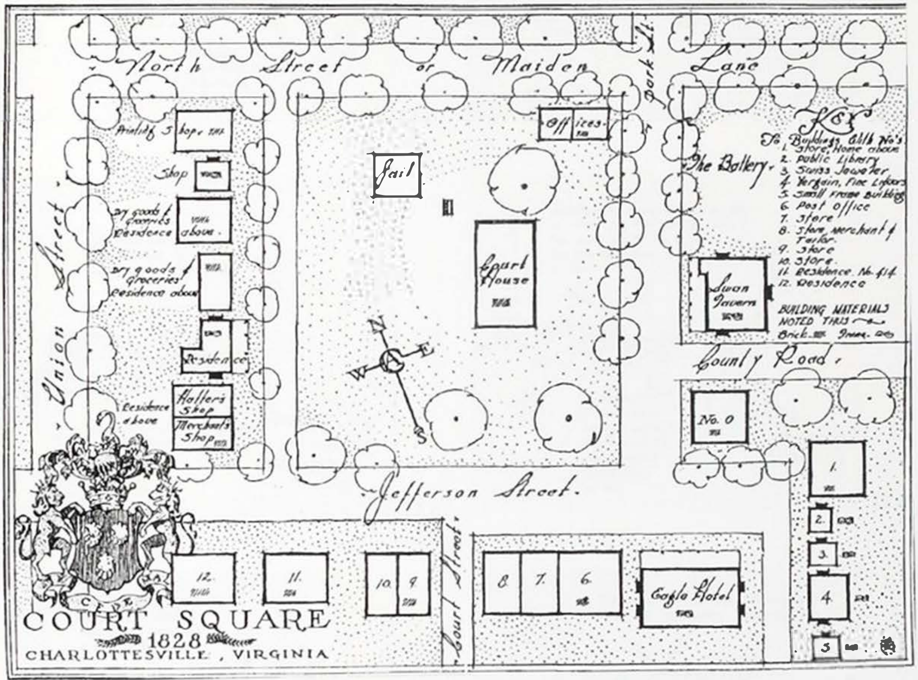
8

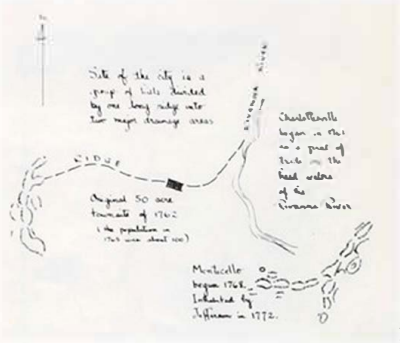
9

A PLAN OF THE
TOWN OF CHARLOTTESVILLE.

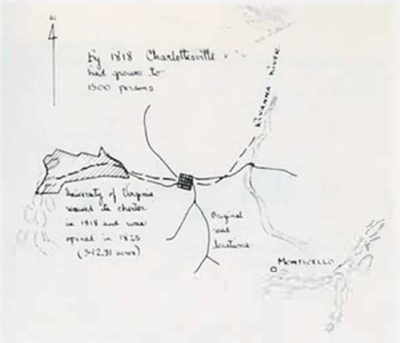


The streets running East and West are sixty-six feet wide, and the streets running North and South are thirty three feet wide. The lots in the old town or from No. 1 to No. 50 are six poles wide and thirteen and a half poles long. The lots in the new town or from No. 57 to 82 are six and a quarter poles wide and thirteen poles long as surveyed by Col. William Woods 12th December, 1818.

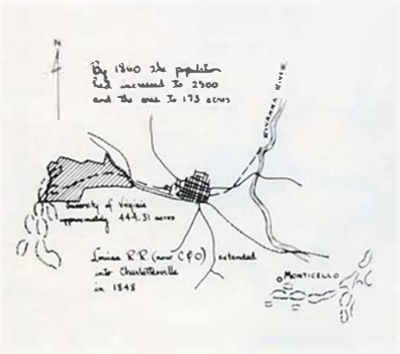

North Street or Maiden Lane
Union Street
Jefferson Street
Court Street
County Road
Offices
Jail
Court House
The Gallery
Swan Tavern
Eagle Hotel
No. 0
Residence
Hatter's Shop
Merchant's Shop
Residence above
KEY
1. Store, Home above
2. Public Library
3. Swiss Jeweler
5. Small Frame Building
6. Post Office
7. Store
8. Store, Merchant & Tailor.
9. Store
10. Store.
11. Residence. No. 414
12. Residence
BUILDING MATERIALS
NOTED THUS
COURT SQUARE
1828
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA



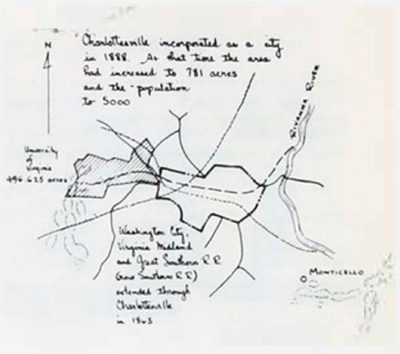
12.a



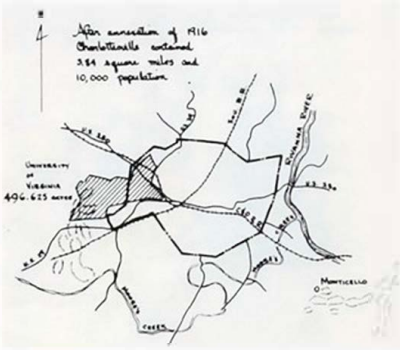
12.b



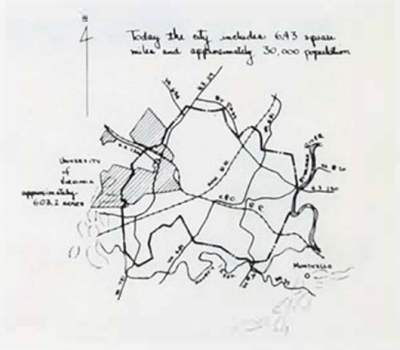
12.c



12.d



12.e



12.f

CITY OF

CHARLOTTESVILLE

VIRGINIA

CITY PLANNING COMMISSION

EXISTING LAND USE

CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT

LEGEND

- SINGLE FAMILY
- TWO FAMILY
- MULTIPLE FAMILY
- COMMERCIAL
- LIGHT INDUSTRY
- HEAVY INDUSTRY
- RAILROAD PROPERTY
- PARKS AND PLAYGROUNDS
- PUBLIC AND SEMI-PUBLIC

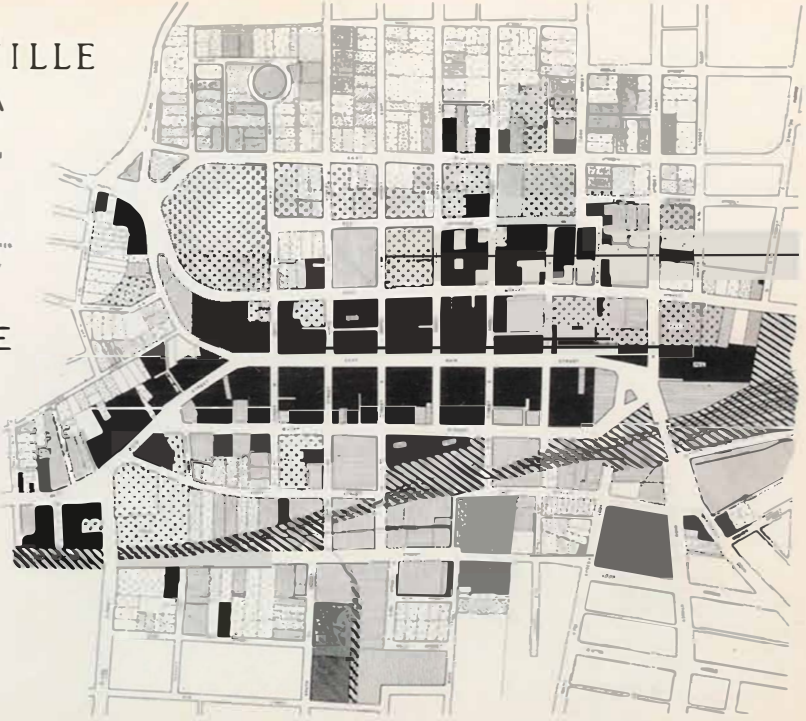


PLATE 10

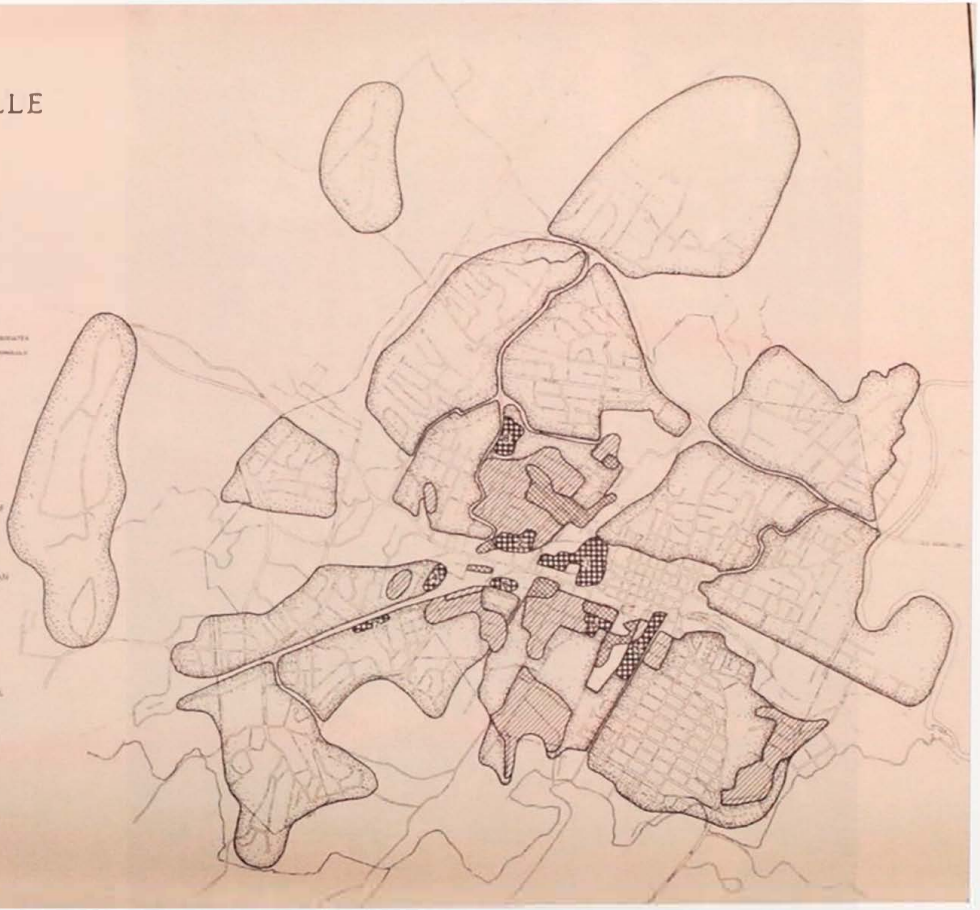
CITY OF
CHARLOTTESVILLE
VIRGINIA

HOUSING PLAN

LEGEND

- RESIDENTIAL NEIGHBORHOOD OF STANDARD DEVELOPMENT
- SUBSTANDARD RESIDENTIAL AREA IN NEED OF REDEVELOPMENT
- DEPRECIATING RESIDENTIAL AREA IN NEED REHABILITATION
- DEPRECIATING RESIDENTIAL AREA WITHIN AN AREA OF COMMERCIAL OR INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION
- 6 NUMBERS REFER TO SUBSTANDARD AREAS MENTIONED IN TEXT

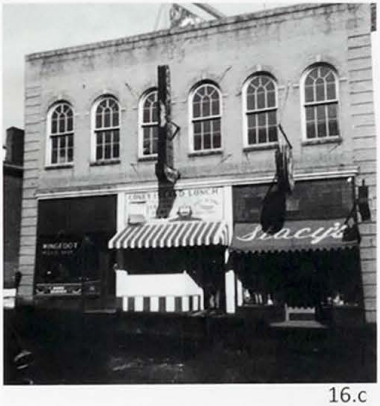
NOTE - AREAS WITHOUT SYMBOLS ARE NON-RESIDENTIAL AREAS, INCLUDING COMMERCIAL, INDUSTRIAL, PUBLIC, SEMI-PUBLIC AND UNDEVELOPED AREA



15

16.a

16.b



16.c

16.d

17.a

17.b

17.c

17.d

17.e

17.f

18.a

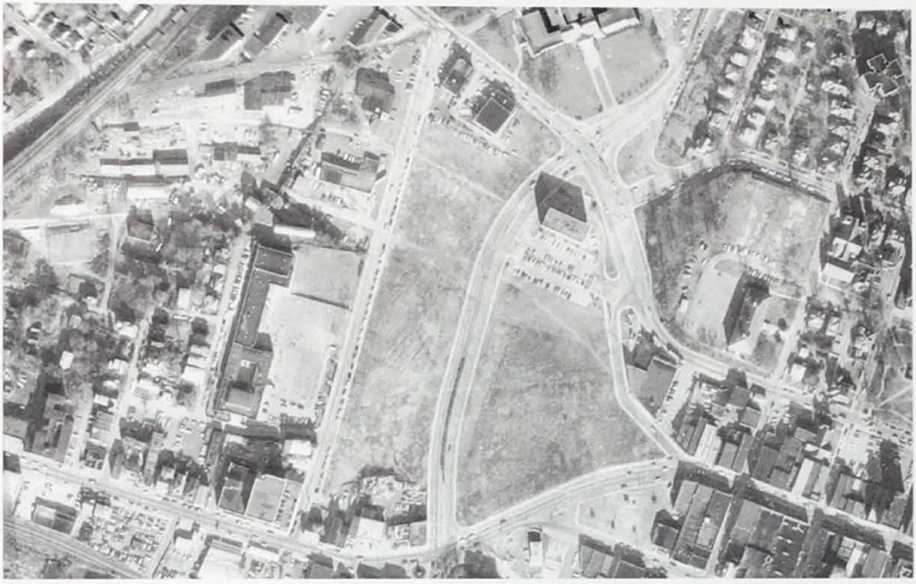
18.b

18.c

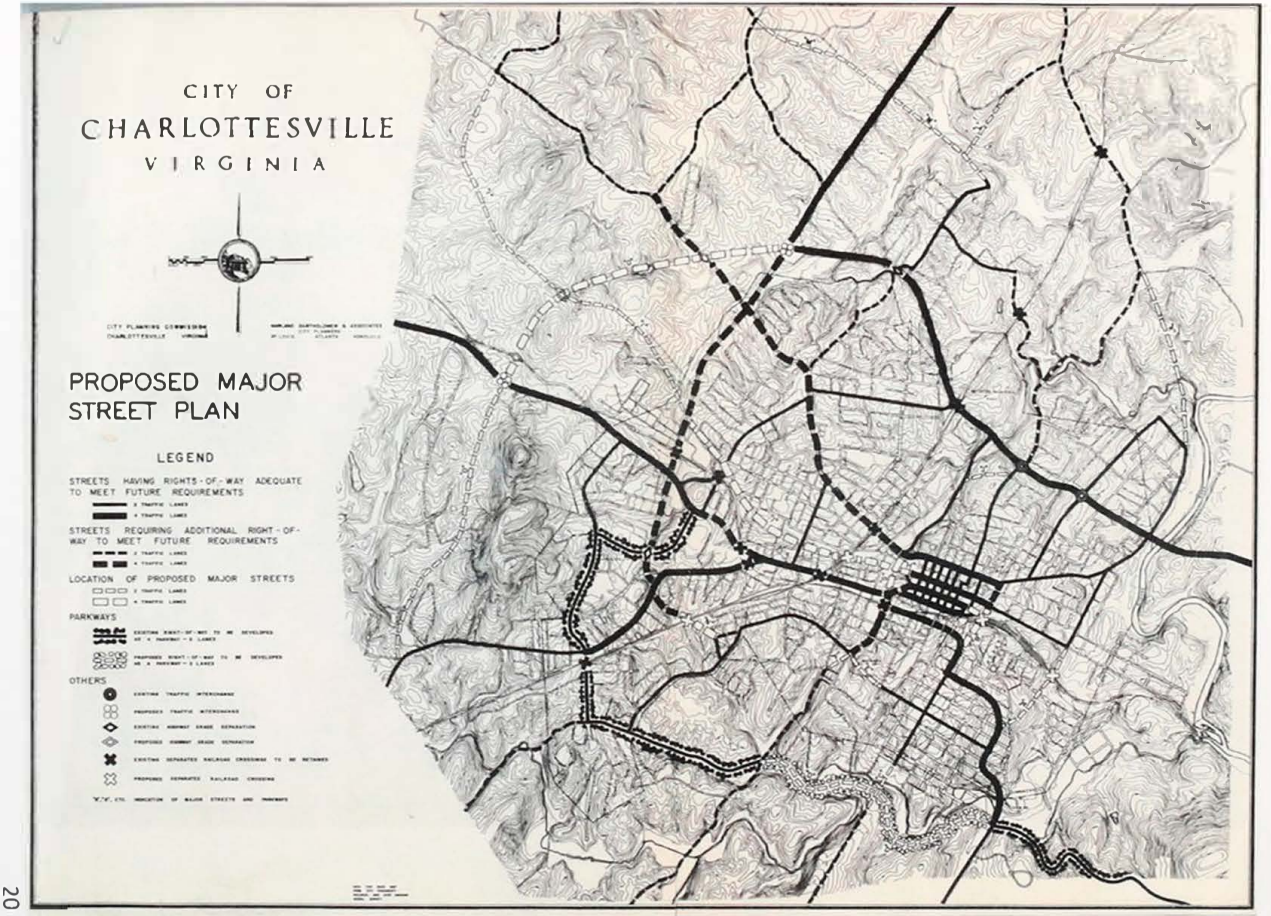
18.d

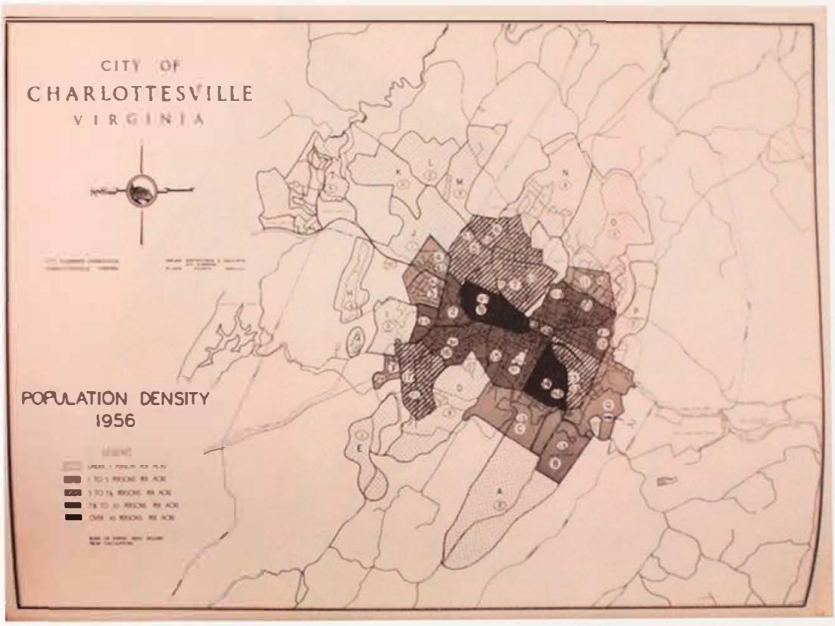
18.e

18.f

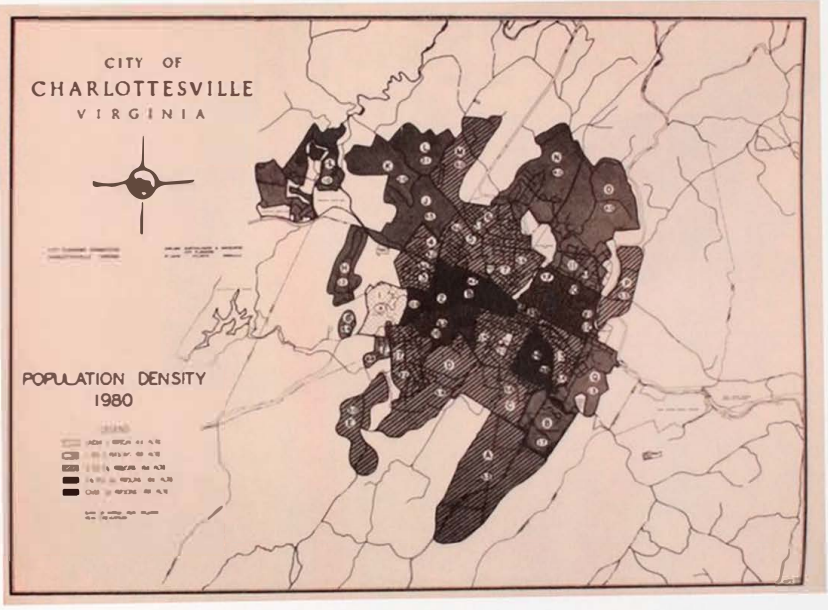


19


CITY OF
CHARLOTTESVILLE
VIRGINIA
PROPOSED MAJOR
STREET PLAN
LEGEND
STREETS HAVING RIGHTS-OF-WAY ADEQUATE TO MEET FUTURE REQUIREMENTS
STREETS REQUIRING ADDITIONAL RIGHT-OF-WAY TO MEET FUTURE REQUIREMENTS
LOCATION OF PROPOSED MAJOR STREETS
PARKWAYS
OTHERS


CITY OF
CHARLOTTESVILLE
VIRGINIA
POPULATION DENSITY
1956

21.a


CITY OF
CHARLOTTESVILLE
VIRGINIA
POPULATION DENSITY
1980

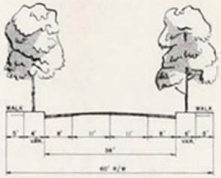
21.b

23

RECOMMENDED STREET CROSS SECTIONS

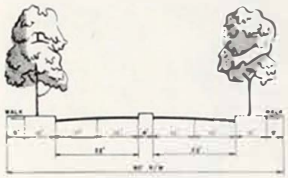
CITY OF CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA

LOCAL ACCESS STREET

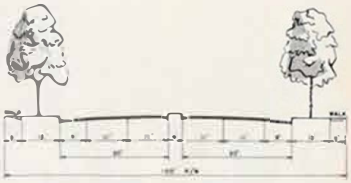


SECONDARY STREET

MAJOR STREET

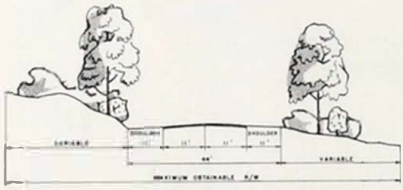


MAJOR STREET



MAJOR STREET

EXPRESSWAY



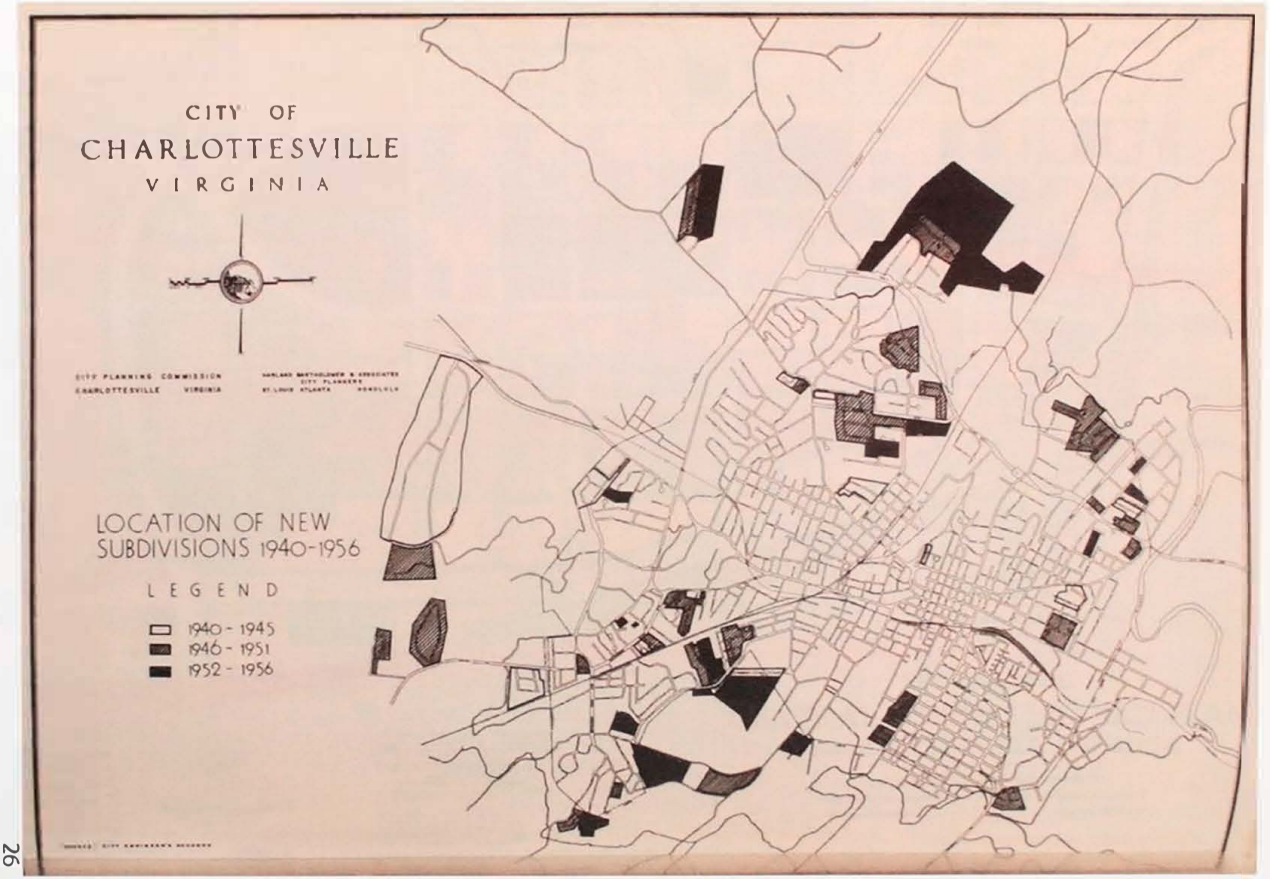
PARKWAY

CITY PLANNING COMMISSION
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA

HARLAND BARTHOLOMEW & ASSOCIATES
CITY PLANNERS - LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTS
ATLANTA - ST LOUIS - HONOLULU

PLATE 18

SUGGESTED
ULTIMATE DEVELOPMENT
VINEGAR HILL AREA
MOTEL
HOTEL
MULTI-FAMILY
RESIDENTIAL
OFFICES
RETAIL
SECTION A-A


CITY OF
CHARLOTTESVILLE
VIRGINIA
CITY PLANNING COMMISSION
CHARLOTTESVILLE VIRGINIA
HARLAND BARTHOLOMEW & ASSOCIATES
CITY PLANNERS
ST. LOUIS ATLANTA HONOLULU
LOCATION OF NEW
SUBDIVISIONS 1940-1956
LEGEND
1940 - 1945
1946 - 1951
1952 - 1956

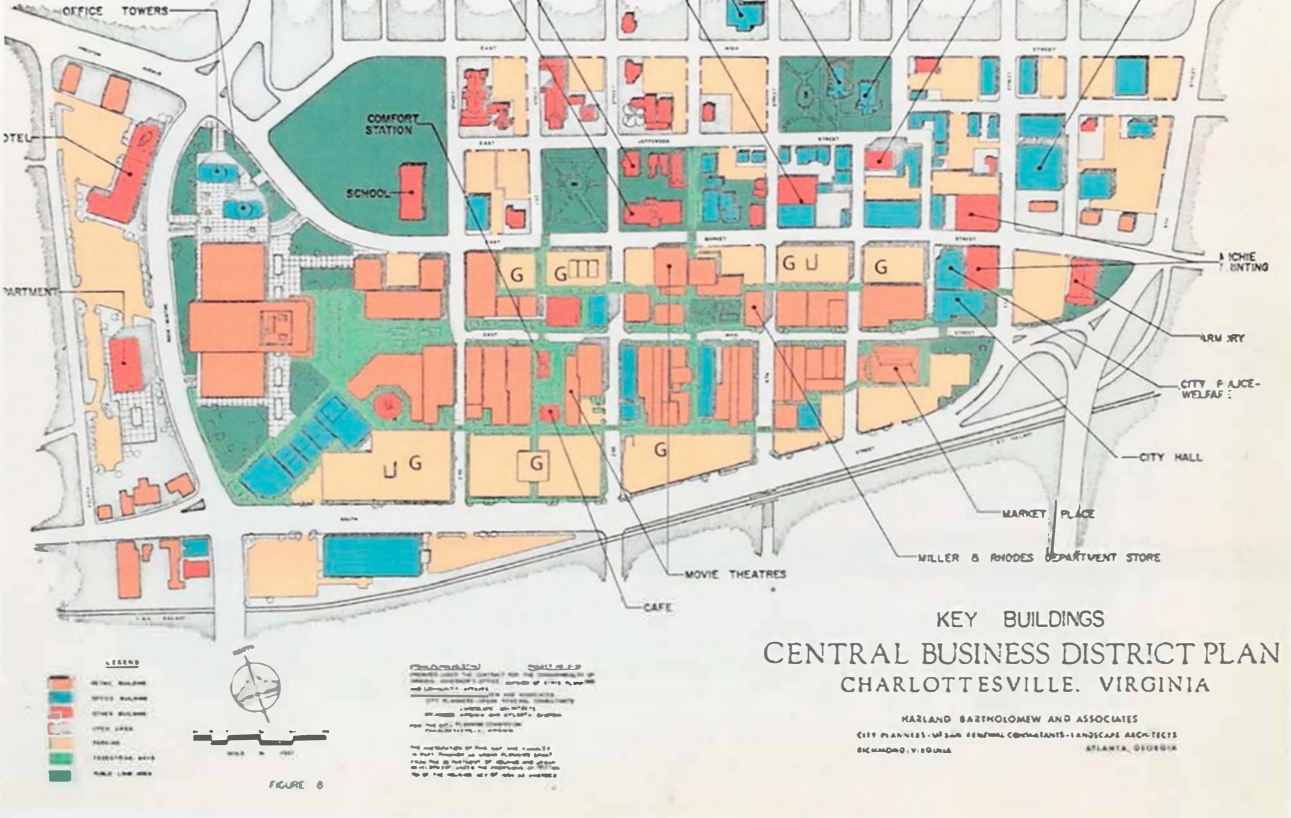
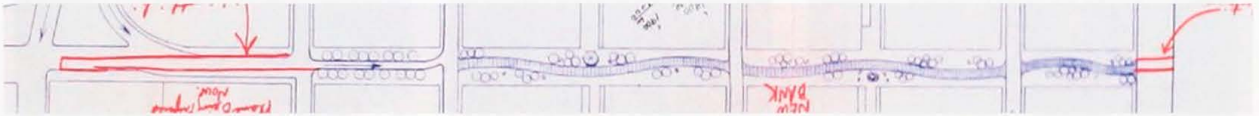
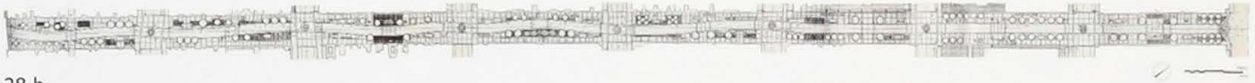

OFFICE TOWERS
COMFORT STATION
SCHOOL
MOVIE THEATRES
CAFE
MARKET PLACE
MILLER & RHODES DEPARTMENT STORE
CITY HALL
KEY BUILDINGS
CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT PLAN
CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA
HARLAND BARTHOLOMEW AND ASSOCIATES
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

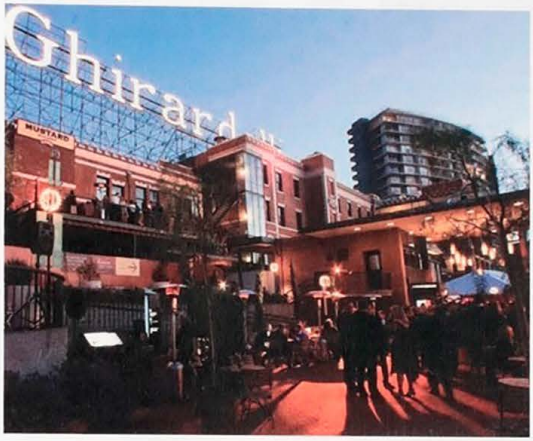
FIGURE 8



28.a

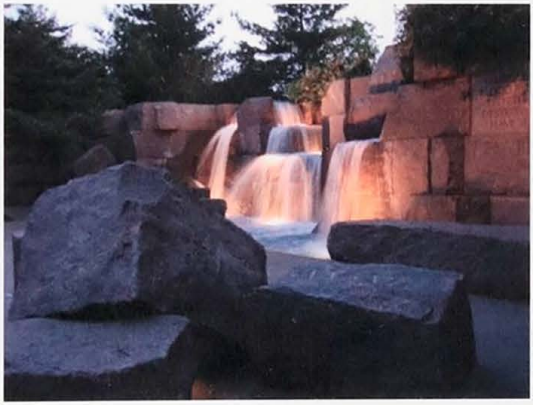


28.b



29

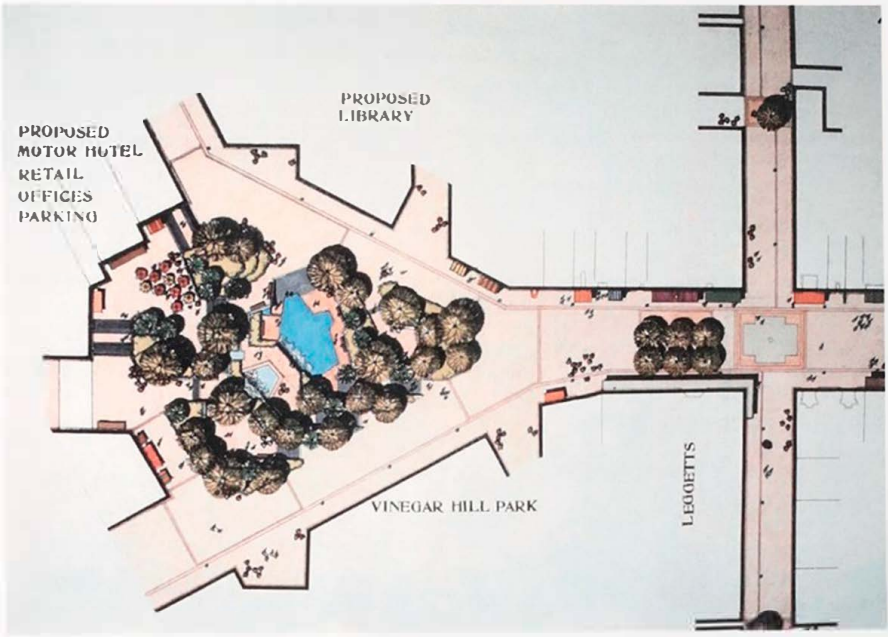
30



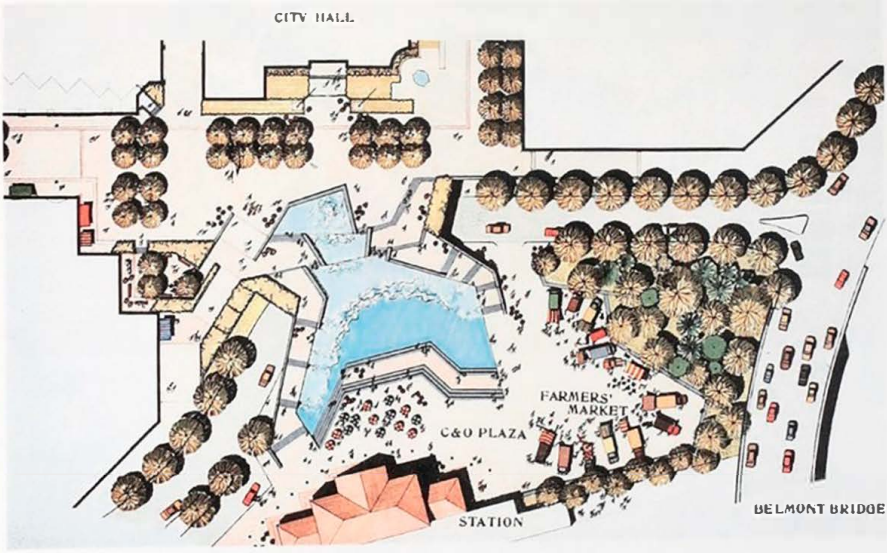
31

32

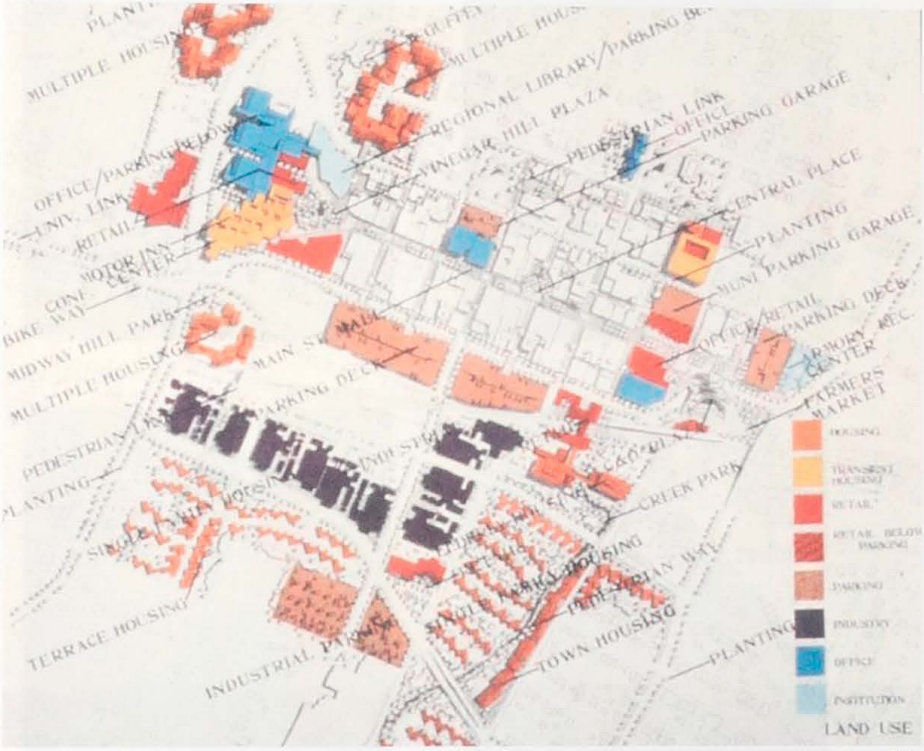
33


PROPOSED
LIBRARY
PROPOSED
MOTOR HOTEL
RETAIL
OFFICES
PARKING
VINEGAR HILL PARK
LEGGETTS

34


CITY HALL
FARMERS'
MARKET
C&O PLAZA
STATION
BELMONT BRIDGE

35


REGIONAL LIBRARY/PARKING
VINEGAR HILL PLAZA
PEDESTRIAN LINK
OFFICE
PARKING GARAGE
CENTRAL PLACE
PLANTING
MUNI PARKING GARAGE
RETAIL
PARKING DECK
ARMORY
CENTER
FARMERS
MARKET
MULTIPLE HOUSING
OFFICE/PARKING
UNIV. LINK
RETAIL
MOTOR INN
CONF. CENTER
BIKE WAY
MIDWAY HILL PARK
MULTIPLE HOUSING
MAIN ST.
PARKING DECK
PEDESTRIAN
PLANTING
CREEK PARK
TERRACE HOUSING
INDUSTRIAL
TOWN HOUSING
PLANTING
HOUSING
TRANSIENT HOUSING
RETAIL
RETAIL BELOW PARKING
PARKING
INDUSTRY
OFFICE
INSTITUTION
LAND USE

36

37

38

39

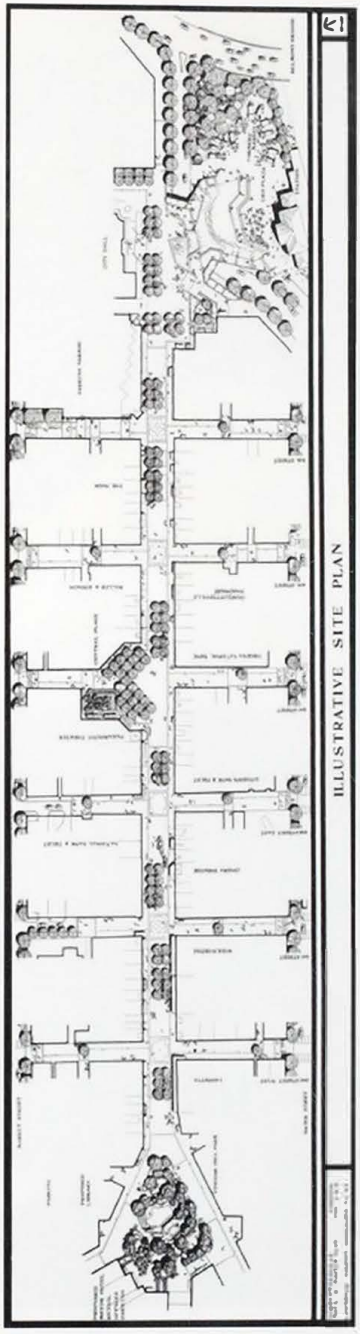
40

HBA Parking

41.a

LHA Parking

41.b



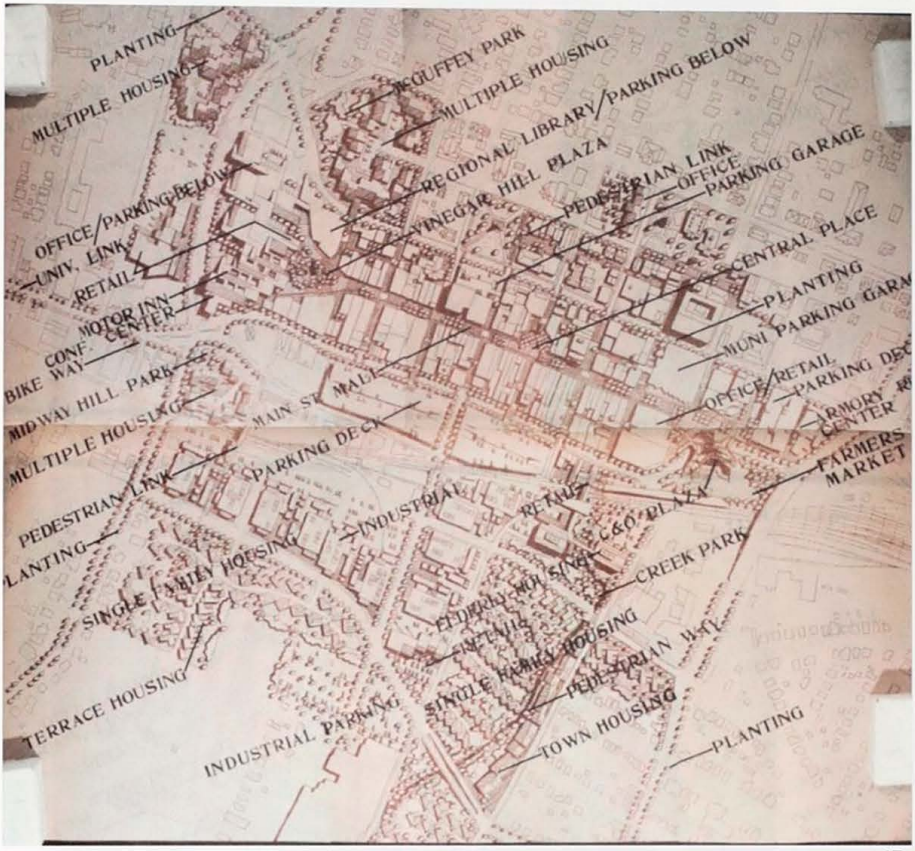
42

43

44

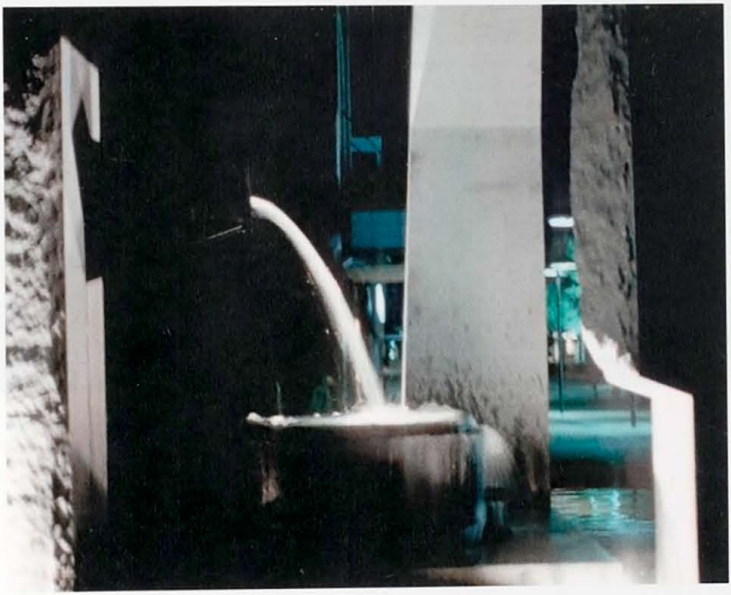
45

46


PLANTING
MULTIPLE HOUSING
MCGUFFEY PARK
MULTIPLE HOUSING
REGIONAL LIBRARY/PARKING BELOW
OFFICE/PARKING BELOW
UNIV. LINK
RETAIL
VINEGAR HILL PLAZA
PEDESTRIAN LINK
OFFICE
PARKING GARAGE
MOTOR INN
CONF. CENTER
CENTRAL PLACE
BIKE WAY
PLANTING
MIDWAY HILL PARK
MUNI PARKING GARA
MULTIPLE HOUSING
MAIN ST. MALL
OFFICE/RETAIL
PARKING DEC
ARMORY CENTER
PEDESTRIAN LINK
PARKING DECK
FARMERS MARKET
PLANTING
INDUSTRIAL
RETAIL
C&O PLAZA
SINGLE FAMILY HOUSING
CREEK PARK
ELDERLY HOUSING
INFILL
SINGLE FAMILY HOUSING
PEDESTRIAN WAY
TERRACE HOUSING
INDUSTRIAL PARKING
TOWN HOUSING
PLANTING

47

48



49

50

51


Rhoads
CHARLOTTESVILLE
HARDWARE CO.
EVERYTHING
IN HARDW
GET OUR

52