Fostering Downtown Revitalization in Virginia's Small Cities: Main Street Network Partnerships as Catalysts for Community Transformation

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Abstract

Founded in 1980 by the National Trust for Historic Preservation, Main Street AmericaTM is a four-plus-decade-long nonprofit program dedicated to revitalizing downtowns or "main streets" in smaller historic communities throughout the United States. In this thesis, I examine the program in the Virginia cities of Hopewell, Danville, and Staunton. And I explore the pivotal role of Main Street network partnerships in successful downtown revitalization efforts—including, specifically, the effective execution of historic rehabilitation projects—in these three communities. In doing so, I investigate one case study downtown revitalization project per city, in which the local Main Street coordinating program is or was involved.

To better understand the importance of partnerships to these projects and each community's revitalization efforts more broadly, I interviewed at least one Main Street leader and one Main Street partner in Hopewell, Danville, and Staunton, each of whom were or are involved with the respective city's case study project. These interviews resulted in significant and abundant findings, of which I present those most pertinent to the central themes of historic preservation and partnerships. While these interviews resulted in numerous city-specific findings pertaining to these central themes, they also resulted in key overarching findings.

Of these overarching findings relating to historic preservation, first, I found that smaller-scale preservation efforts are often just as important to downtown revitalization as larger ones. Second, I found that historic tax credits are foundational to the completion of historic preservation projects, not only in Main Street communities but in communities throughout the United States. Of these overarching findings relating to partnerships, first, I found that local Main Street coordinating programs require collaboration to operate and that these collaborations are often extensive and varied. Second, affirming the very premise of this thesis, I found that

partnerships are required to complete historic rehabilitation projects. Lastly, I found that the success of collaborations—within and beyond historic preservation work—depends upon a group of partners' commitment to working as a collective and embracing the accomplishment of a shared goal as a mutual, rather than individual, pursuit.

Ultimately, I argue that these findings speak to the pivotal role of partnerships in successful downtown revitalization efforts by supporting the notion that collaboration is fundamental to preservation work which, in turn, is fundamental to downtown revitalization.

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Preface

My fascination with historic downtowns derives from my paternal great-grandfathers Emmanuel Mihelidakis ("Mitchell") and Efstratious Kaliafentakis ("Calos"), each of whom immigrated from Crete, Greece to the United States in the early 1900s and eventually settled in Virginia. Establishing roots in the cities of Hopewell and Danville, respectively, like many immigrants of the time, my paternal great-grandfathers were business owners and, like many Greeks, restaurateurs. Both men and their families dedicated their lives to running their restaurants, each of which were successful and beloved downtown businesses and, coincidentally, for several years shared the name the *Coney Island Lunch*—an homage to what was, at the turn of the century, Brooklyn's wildly popular ocean-side amusement park.

Operating from 1933 to 1957, Hopewell's *Coney Island Lunch* turned *The Commodore* had a 24-year tenure in the city's downtown, and Danville's *Coney Island Lunch*, operating from 1919 to 1971, had a 52-year tenure in the city's downtown (figures 1-6). Sadly, today, a search for 209 Main Street or 102 East Broadway (Hopewell's *Coney Island* and, later, *The Commodore*) will not yield any results, nor will a search for 106 Craghead Street (Danville's *Coney Island*), because none of these addresses exist anymore. The buildings they long inhabited were razed years ago and paved into new streets and parking lots, destroying all visible traces of these once bustling downtown businesses (figures 7-12). A devastating outcome of the then-pervasive federal urban renewal campaign, the demolition of these and many other downtown buildings resulted not only in the loss of valuable architecture but often businesses too, as is the case with Danville's *Coney Island*, which closed due to its impending demolition after eminent domain was used to seize the property.

Thanks in part to the stories of my family's two *Coney Island* restaurants, over the last several years, I have developed a deep and ever-growing interest in the making, evolution, and now revitalization of historic downtowns in smaller communities—an interest which I felt compelled to explore more thoroughly in my thesis. As such, I have chosen to investigate the revitalization of three downtowns in Virginia: downtown Hopewell, downtown Danville, and downtown Staunton. Though, admittedly, my familial connections to Hopewell and Danville and a newfound appreciation for Staunton since living in Charlottesville served in the selection of these cities, in addition to personal interest, objective factors like the location, size, and type of locality, as well as the present state of its downtown, guided my choice to investigate these three communities.

Diverse in location yet comparable in size and type, in selecting these cities, I was drawn to Hopewell, Danville, and Staunton for their distinct geographies yet inherent similarities as small cities with proximity to rural surroundings. Representing three different areas of the Commonwealth, Hopewell is situated in the southeastern portion of Central Virginia, about 20 miles south of downtown Richmond; Danville is in the western portion of Southside Virginia, just a few miles from the North Carolina border; and Staunton is located centrally in the state's Valley region, between the Blue Ridge and Allegheny Mountains in the Shenandoah Valley. Comprising three of Virginia's 38 independent cities, Hopewell, Danville, and Staunton are among the state's smaller cities, with respective populations of approximately 23,000, 42,200, and 26,000 residents as of 2022 (figure 13).

To refine the scope of my thesis research, I chose to investigate the revitalization of these three downtowns through the study of Main Street AmericaTM, also known as the National Main Street CenterTM. Founded in 1980 by the National Trust for Historic Preservation–an influential

nationwide preservation nonprofit—Main Street America is a four-plus-decade-long nonprofit program dedicated to revitalizing downtowns or "main streets" in smaller historic communities throughout the United States. Having learned of the program more than a decade ago, after its implementation in Hopewell in 2011, in the following years, my interest in Main Street grew. This interest was then solidified while interning at the Hopewell Downtown Partnership—the city's local Main Street coordinating program—in the summer of 2022, just before entering graduate school.

Thus, provided Hopewell, Danville, and Staunton's active participation in the Main Street program, I found this to be an excellent means for my exploration of downtown revitalization in these three cities—much of which was grounded in fascinating, fulfilling, and valuable collaboration with the cities' Main Street leaders and their partners.

¹ Throughout this thesis—and, particularly, in the Introduction—"Main Street" in its capitalized form refers specifically to the Main Street program, and "main street" in its lowercase form refers to a broader conceptual framework pertaining to historic downtowns. Additionally, throughout this thesis "program" refers to the Main Street program. Main Street America and the National Main Street Center are both registered trademarks of the National Main Street Center.

Introduction

Though relatively limited in quantity, the existing body of literature relating to main streets is diverse in content. This literature can be divided into several categories, ranging from sources that broadly investigate main streets as a widespread spatial and societal phenomenon to those that directly address the history and significance of the Main Street program in the United States. Encompassing both theoretical and practical thinking and approaches, this group of research reflects the nuance of the very term "main street," providing context for main streets as expansive representations of local heritage and identity as well as distinct physical destinations.

Of the more theoretically based sources are historian and geographer Richard Francaviglia's *Main Street Revisited: Time, Space, and Image Building in Small-town America*, published in 1996, and psychiatrist and urbanist Mindy Thompson Fullilove's *Main Street: How a City's Heart Connects Us All*, published in 2020. Exploring the conceptual frameworks of main streets, the authors discuss the development and implications of these downtown centers—Franciviglia taking a small-scale domestic approach and Fullilove a more far-reaching international one. While both authors consider what main streets represent and why they matter, their views on the topic, much like the nature of their research, differ.

For instance, Francaviglia recognizes main streets as an archetype for small downtowns, arguing that they have become a popular and, at times, idealized representation of community planning and design, whereas Fullilove recognizes main streets as problem-solving centers capable of nurturing positive social interactions, civic engagement, and a sense of local integrity. While these arguments can, in part, be explained by the different communities, cultures, and geographies Franciviglia and Fullilove engage with, they can also be explained or better understood by examining the authors' relationships to time.

Interested in the development of main streets, including main streets' roots and patterns of transformation, Franciviglia explores both the natural and deliberate making of these spaces, including their architecture, design, and romanticized image. Fullilove, on the other hand, while addressing the storied pasts of these spaces, focuses on the promise of main streets, investigating how they can serve as powerful tools in creating more resilient, unified, and just communities. Simply put, Franciviglia illustrates how main streets in small communities throughout the United States came to be, whereas Fullilove argues where main streets globally ought to be headed.

The second body of literature–or main street-related works that are more practically oriented–is primarily comprised of sources that focus on the relationship between historic preservation and the revitalization of downtowns and other integral community centers.

Prominent among these sources are Donovan Rypkema's *The Economics of Historic Preservation: A Community Leader's Guide*, first published in 1994; Stephanie Meeks' *The Past and Future City: How Historic Preservation is Reviving America's Communities*, published in 2016; and Mary Means' *Main Street's Comeback: And How It Can Come Back Again*, published in 2020. Linked not only by content, these three sources are also connected by their mutual ties to the National Trust for Historic Preservation.

Each associated with the organization in a unique way, Rypkema, a longtime practitioner of economic development-based historic preservation work, has written several articles and books in partnership with the National Trust; Meeks, who is an experienced nonprofit professional, previously served as the National Trust's President from 2010-2018; and Means, who has had a fruitful career in community revitalization and planning, pioneered the Main Street program while working for the National Trust in the 1970s. Thus, the authors' relationships to the National Trust and, in turn, one another speak to the organization's immense

influence in shaping the scope and trajectory of preservation work, including that of downtowns, throughout the United States.

As its title suggests, Rypkema's book—which is one of his works published in partnership with the National Trust—serves as a guide for preservationists and local decision-makers in approaching the economic considerations of historic preservation. Maintaining a particular focus on economic development as a tool for community revitalization, Rypkema discusses the efficacy of the Main Street program, citing it as the premier model of preservation-based economic development in the United States. Although the program is not the central focus of his work, this reference is an important part of his writing and his objective of creating a guide for those looking to learn how to effectively defend and/or support the economic viability of preservation projects.

Like Rypkema, Meeks addresses how historic preservation can serve as a diverse tool for community development—one that protects historic resources while creating vibrant neighborhoods and local economies. However, in discussing the benefits of preservation, she also investigates the field's relationship to several contemporary issues within and beyond the United States, considering how community-centered preservation work, depending upon its execution, can either aid in furthering or mitigating complex problems such as housing displacement and environmental threats. In doing so, Meeks, much like Fulillove, explores how community revitalization, with proper execution, can address a wide array of present-day challenges.

As the most recently published and closely related work on the history of the Main Street program, Means offers a unique perspective on topics discussed by both Rypkema and Meeks–including issues of economic depression, blight, and sustainability. In focusing on the

origins and development of the Main Street program rather than the concept of main streets, Means specifically recognizes how the Main Street ApproachTM—the "transformation strategy" employed by the program (discussed further in Chapter 1)—has, for decades, effectively uplifted downtowns, providing solutions to the many problems plaguing smaller and older communities throughout the nation.² Additionally, like Fulillove and Meeks, Means also looks forward in her writing, considering the future of downtowns and their revitalization. However, unlike the other authors, she concentrates on the program's potential for resurgence and success in the wake of the Covid-19 pandemic, a forward-thinking focus that distinguishes and contributes to the relevancy of her work.³

As stated, these sources, both theoretically and practically oriented, reflect the versatile character and identity of main streets, encompassing the many different associations for which they are known. Bringing together a large variety of fields, including geography, psychology, urbanism, economic development, and historic preservation, this body of works illustrates the intricate yet interconnected identity of "main street," highlighting it as a dynamic idea, place, and resource, as well as the foundation of a nationwide downtown revitalization program.

It was through reflection on this body of literature and my earliest research efforts regarding these cities that intrigued me that I determined the focus of this thesis. As a first step in learning more about the Main Street program in Hopewell, Danville, and Staunton, in the summer of 2023, I reached out to each city's program director, each of whom graciously offered to meet with me and discuss his or her organization's work. I first met with Diana Schwartz of

² The "Main Street Approach" and the "Four Point Approach" refer to the Main Street program's "transformation strategy." Both terms are registered trademarks of the National Main Street Center and are used interchangeably throughout this thesis.

³ In discussing Covid-19 and the future of Main Street, Means includes an "Afterwords" section with personal reflections from Donovan Rypkema, alongside two other national leaders in downtown revitalization, on the recovery and future of the Main Street program.

the River District Association, Danville's local Main Street coordinating program; followed by Heather Lyne of the Hopewell Downtown Partnership (for whom I had previously interned); and, lastly, Greg Beam of the Staunton Downtown Development Association, also the city's local Main Street coordinating program.⁴

In engaging in a wide range of informal discussions, my conversations with each of these directors were expansive and eye-opening and allowed me to begin to recognize the history and events that, when similar, unite these three communities and, when different, distinguish them. These discussions also broadened my perspective on the implementation of the Main Street Approach, including the resources and types of work that are necessary in creating a successful Main Street community. Later, when I began reconsidering these conversations in an effort to narrow my thesis topic, I found one realization abundantly clear: the Main Street program and, therefore, Main Street communities would and could not exist without partnerships.

Defined here as the deliberate collaboration of two-plus organizations to address a shared objective, partnerships are essential in most professions. Foundationally, to ensure operational success, organizations must "balance" their internal and external needs, like, for example, staff capacity with the demands of organizational output.⁵ Therefore, to achieve this balance, organizations—especially those with limited resources—often seek partnerships.⁶ Urban planners Meghan Gough and John Accordino, in writing about partnerships in community development,

⁴ In the period following our meeting, Greg Beam departed SDDA. The initial Main Street-related insights he provided me while serving as SDDA's executive director were essential to the making of this thesis. Ultimately, Kathy and Bill Frazier, the founders and principals of Frazier Associates, assisted me in choosing a case study project and participated in a semi-structured interview. I greatly appreciate the help of Greg Beam and Kathy and Bill Frazier in informing the Staunton portion of this project, and I am grateful for the diverse perspectives on the Main Street program that, together, the three of them afforded me.

⁵ Meghan Z. Gough and John Accordino. "Public Gardens as Sustainable Community Development Partners." *Urban Affairs Review* 49, no. 6 (February 24, 2013), 854. https://doi.org/10.1177/1078087413477634. ⁶ Ibid.

recognize several fundamental reasons for such collaborations and address why they form and what factors influence their viability.

Gough and Accordino note that it is imperative that organizations not only possess the necessary incentive to enter into a partnership but that they also establish the necessary degree of trust to make the partnership effective, stating, "each party must believe that the other has the motivation and the capacity (skills and resources) to fulfill its commitments to the other party."

Understood as "interdependence," this mutual reliance within partnership is what, according to the authors, equips individual partners with "expanded access to resources, knowledge, and the potential for increased voice and influence on a political level." Gough and Accordino recognize that, through such interdependence, these relationships can grow in success and, thus, trust, evolving "beyond the initial motivations that led to [their] formation." However, the authors also recognize that interdependence can present drawbacks—particularly if there are concerns regarding the reciprocality of a partnership—making, therefore, partnerships with the "highest interdependence and the lowest level of risk" most attractive to organizations. 10

With this basic understanding of the driving forces behind and perceived advantages and disadvantages of partnership formation, a few significant observations about these relationships can be made. Foremost, as stated, partnerships are typically initiated to fulfill an organizational need, which often derives from a disparity between an organization's resources and those required to complete a task. Therefore, partnerships are catalyzed by the shared desire to exchange otherwise lacking resources to accomplish an agreed-upon goal. With the effective exchange of these resources, partnerships can strengthen and self-enhance, maturing to

⁷ Ibid, 855.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid, 856.

encompass new incentives for collaboration. Conversely, with the ineffective exchange of these resources, partnerships can weaken and disintegrate, as the incentives for collaboration cease with unfulfilled expectations.

Simple in theory but more complex in reality, successful partnerships require effort and compatibility and, yet, even with the presence of both, some still fail. However, in my discussions with each city's Main Street director, it was clear that—despite these complexities—partnerships within the program are extensive. While partnerships are a core tenet of Main Street—falling under organization, one of the Four Points within the program's Approach—it was also clear that they are not merely a component of the program but, rather, critical to its very foundation. As each director expressed to me the considerable number and array of partners with whom his or her organization collaborates, it became evident that each community's downtown revitalization was and is contingent upon thoughtful and purposeful partnerships and, additionally, that such partnerships were and are integral to the program's support and promotion of historic preservation—including, the safeguarding, restoration, and adaptive reuse of historic downtown buildings.

In the case of Main Street communities, the need for strong partnerships across and between the public and private sectors can be partially understood by studying the origins of historic preservation practice in the United States. Developed just over a decade after the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) in 1966, the Main Street program—which was conceived in 1977 and founded in 1980 (as discussed further in Chapter 1)—made its debut at a pivotal time in the advancement of the American preservation discipline. Formed in response to the widespread devastation caused by urban renewal in the 1950s and early 1960s and further

catalyzed by the demolition, beginning in 1963, of New York City's iconic Penn Station, NHPA became the first national policy to govern preservation in the United States.

Solidifying preservation as a "formalized and professionalized" field, the act established significant frameworks for protecting the nation's historic resources. 11 Regarding partnerships, first, NHPA formed a partnership between the federal government and state governments by requiring that each state create a State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) to oversee the "identification, evaluation, and protection" of historic resources and by designating the National Park Service as the federal agency responsible for overseeing these SHPOs. 12 Second, the act created the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, an independent federal agency that advises the President, Congress, and federal agencies on matters of national preservation policy.

Through these partnerships, NHPA established further means of recognizing, providing funding for, and protecting historic resources. Foremost, the act created the National Register of Historic Places, an official list of buildings, districts, and sites across the United States that are federally recognized for their local, state, and/or national historic significance. Additionally, NHPA implemented an authority for the Historic Preservation Fund, a fund administered by the National Park Service, that provides SHPOs (and tribal and local governments) with preservation grants. Finally, the act resulted in a review process known as Section 106, which requires that any historic resource—either listed in the National Register or eligible for Register nomination—potentially adversely impacted by federal action or funding be documented according to preservation standards set forth by the Secretary of the Interior.

¹¹ "National Historic Preservation Act." National Parks Service. Accessed April 15, 2024. https://www.nps.gov/subjects/historicpreservation/national-historic-preservation-act.htm. ¹² Ibid.

Recognized by the National Park Service as "tied to a growing awareness of the past and of community identity," NHPA helped towns and cities harness their architectural history and cultural heritage through tourism and other community development initiatives, including, beginning in 1980, the Main Street program.¹³ In focusing on historic downtowns, the program offered a different approach to preservation, as–in seeking the holistic recognition and revival of these vernacular landscapes–it varied from existing preservation initiatives, which primarily focused on individual monumental structures rather than collective historic neighborhoods.¹⁴ Therefore, given the wide-ranging and cross-disciplinary scope of the program's mission, it is understandable why partnerships are especially important to local Main Street coordinating programs and, consequently, Main Street communities.

Building off of these initial observations about the significance of partnerships to the program, this thesis explores and, thus, seeks to better understand the pivotal role of such collaborations in successful downtown revitalization efforts—including, specifically, the effective execution of historic rehabilitation projects—in the Virginia Main Street communities of Hopewell, Danville, and Staunton.

Regarding organization, Chapter 1 begins with an overview of the Main Street program, including its structure, mission, and history. This overview is followed by, first, a synopsis of each city's founding and development and, second, a brief account of each city's impetus for joining the Main Street program—both of which provide critical context for understanding the cities' histories and the catalysts for their downtown revitalizations.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ John Accordino and Kyle Meyer. "Creating Vibrant Main Streets Throughout Virginia." In *Vibrant Virginia: Engaging the Commonwealth to Expand Economic Vitality*, eds. Margaret Cowell and Sarah Lyon-Hill (Blacksburg, Virginia: Virginia Tech Publishing, 2022), 201.

Chapter 2 introduces the seven individuals who were integral to the making of this thesis, four of whom I refer to as Main Street "leaders" and three of whom I refer to as Main Street "partners." This chapter also introduces the semi-structured interview, which is the qualitative data collection method I used to formally engage with these professionals. These introductions are followed by background history and information on the three case study downtown revitalization projects of focus, of which there is one per city. These case study projects were a central topic of the semi-structured interviews and were chosen with the assistance of the Main Street leaders.

Lastly, Chapter 3 presents significant findings from the semi-structured interviews regarding the value and nature of historic preservation- and partnership-based work—including that of the three case study projects—within Main Street communities. Subsequently, these findings are synthesized, offering my reflections on the overarching findings from the interviews and the relationship between historic preservation and partnerships in downtown revitalization efforts.

Chapter 1 | Before and During the Main Street Program: Downtown Evolution in the Virginia Cities of Staunton, Danville, and Hopewell

The Structure, Mission, and History of the Main Street Program

Chartered by Congress in 1949 to "provide for the preservation of historic American sites, buildings, objects, and antiquities," the National Trust for Historic Preservation became the first nonprofit organization focused on historic preservation work nationwide. Evolving with the passage of NHPA in 1966—which, notably, provided federal funding for the organization until 1996—the influence and efficacy of the National Trust grew in tandem with that of the American preservation discipline. In 1980, the National Trust founded Main Street America (also known as the National Main Street Center), which now operates as an independent subsidiary of the organization.

Present in the District of Columbia and 45 states—excluding North Dakota, South Dakota, Arizona, Rhode Island, and Hawaii—the program is closely governed by statewide Main Street coordinating programs that report to the National Main Street Center. The majority of these statewide organizations are housed within a department of or relating to historic preservation, local affairs, community development, economic development, commerce, or the like. For example, in Florida, the state's Main Street coordinating program, the Florida Main Street Program, is housed in the Bureau of Historic Preservation; while Iowa's program, Main Street Iowa, is housed in the state's Economic Development Authority; and Virginia's program,

¹⁵ Dennis Hockman, "Celebrating 70 Years of Saving Places: National Trust for Historic Preservation." National Trust for Historic Preservation. Accessed April 13, 2024. https://savingplaces.org/stories/celebrating-70-years-of-saving-places#:~:text=On%20October%2026%2C%201949, %2C%20objects%2C%20and%20antiquities.

Virginia Main Street, is housed in the state's Department of Housing and Community Development.

Just as the National Main Street Center oversees each of the statewide programs, the statewide programs oversee each of the local Main Street coordinating programs—forming a three-part network extending from the national to the state and, finally, the local level. Arguably the most visible or public-facing in their efforts, the local Main Street coordinating programs, of which there are more than 1,600 across the nation, work directly in individual Main Street-designated communities to facilitate downtown revitalization (figure 14).¹⁶

While the organizational structure of these local programs varies based on whether they are "accredited" or "affiliated" Main Street communities, depending upon this designation, they are run either by a volunteer board or a dedicated part- or full-time executive director who, in some cases, might have a limited supporting staff.¹⁷ Small in size, these local programs manage the entirety of a community's historic commercial district, working to spearhead a variety of downtown revitalization initiatives.

As reflected by its long-time moniker, "economic development in the context of historic preservation," and its pursuit of leading a "movement committed to strengthening communities through preservation-based economic development in older and historic downtowns," Main Street's ethos is rooted in leveraging preservation as a means of supporting and boosting downtown economies. Guided by the program's "transformation strategy," known as the Four Point ApproachTM, this movement is and has been implemented through "comprehensive work in

¹⁶ The National Main Street Center. Main Street Communities. Accessed December 15, 2023. https://mainstreet.org/our-network/main-street-communities.

¹⁷ See the "Virginia Main Street 2022 Program Guidelines" for more information about the organizational structure of local Main Street programs in Virginia.

¹⁸ The National Main Street Center. About Us - Main Street America. Accessed January 26, 2024. https://www.mainstreet.org/https://aboutus

four broad areas."¹⁹ Comprised of economic vitality, design, promotion, and organization, the Approach encapsulates a dynamic framework for addressing the business and financial, architectural and aesthetic, image- and perception-based, and community involvement and development needs of a historic downtown.

While the implementation of the Approach differs from place to place, the definition of each of the Four Points is broadly yet clearly articulated by the National Main Street Center. Focusing on "capital, incentives, and other economic and financial tools," economic development is intended to support "new and existing businesses, catalyze property development, and create a supportive environment for entrepreneurs and innovators." Design is intended to support community "transformation" by enhancing a downtown's "physical and visual assets." Promotion is intended to establish a downtown as the "center of the community and hub of economic activity" and create a "positive image" of the community that highlights its "unique characteristics." Lastly, organization is intended to form a "strong foundation for a sustainable revitalization effort," which includes "cultivating partnerships, community involvement, and resources" for a downtown.

Integral to Main Street participation, working at least partially in accordance with the Approach is essential to a local coordinating program's operation. Offering two categories of participation, local programs can, as stated, be designated either as "accredited" or "affiliated" Main Street communities. These designations are based on a community's eligibility and/or desire to partake in the program. While requirements fluctuate from state to state, factors like the

¹⁹ The National Main Street Center. Our Approach - Main Street America. Accessed January 26, 2024. https://www.mainstreet.org/https://theapproach

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

physical landscape of a community's downtown, a community's focus on small business and entrepreneurship, and a community's relationship to its city or county government can influence the category of designation for which a local program is eligible.²⁴ As such, often local programs are designated as affiliated Main Street communities with the goal of working towards becoming accredited communities.²⁵

Distinguished not only by differing application requirements but also by differing levels of participation once designated, accredited communities are responsible for more advanced commitment to the Approach and communication with their respective state program than affiliated communities. In turn, they receive significantly more programmatic support and resources than affiliated communities, including design assistance, staff training, and marketing materials and coverage-among other tools and services.²⁶ As a result, to distinguish accredited and affiliated communities, some statewide programs-including Virginia-have implemented unique monikers to describe and tiers to separate their various local programs.

For example, in Virginia, a local program is designated as either an "Exploring," "Mobilizing," or "Advancing" Main Street community.²⁷ Categorized from least to most involved, Exploring-designated programs are affiliated communities with the fewest requirements for Main Street participation that, therefore, receive the fewest programmatic resources. 28 Mobilizing-designated programs are affiliated communities with slightly more requirements for participation that, therefore, receive more programmatic resources and are considered to be on a two-year track toward gaining "Advancing" status.²⁹ Lastly,

²⁴ "Virginia Main Street 2022 Program Guidelines." Richmond: Virginia Department of Housing and Community Development, 2022. https://www.dhcd.virginia.gov/sites/default/files/Docx/vms/vms-program-guidelines-2022.pdf 25 Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

Advancing-designated programs are accredited communities that are required to carefully implement and follow the Four Point Approach that, therefore, receive the most programmatic resources. 30 Virginia's Advancing communities—which include Hopewell, Danville, and Staunton-like all accredited local Main Street programs throughout the country, are qualified to receive the full array of resources that the National Main Street Center and state program offer.³¹

Designed to allow communities with different resources and varying progress and success in downtown revitalization the ability to partake in the program, these designations and tiers contribute to the diverse breadth of towns and cities that comprise the Main Street network. While the program's organization-including its tiers and accreditation requirements-might seem complex, Main Street is available to support most any smaller community, rural or urban, with an "older" or "historic" downtown. 32 Though the program does not define what constitutes an "older" or "historic" downtown, in my experience of researching and visiting Main Street communities, it is evident that, at least in Virginia, the majority of these communities (accredited and affiliated) have designated their downtown as a national historic district through the SHPO, in this case, the Virginia Department of Historic Resources.

Given that such designation is typically afforded to buildings, structures, and/or resources of at least 50 years of age, it is easy to assert that all Main Street communities boast architecture dating from the early to mid-20th century and that many communities also boast much older architecture, often from the 19th and sometimes even the 18th century. However, the downtown architecture in these communities is rarely historic in its entirety, as, like most aging areas of a community, modern infill has proliferated in commercial districts. While modern or non-historic

³⁰ Ibid.

Virginia Main Street. "Communities." March 22, 2023. https://virginiamainstreet.com/communities/.
 The National Main Street Center. About Us - Main Street America.

architecture is not intended to be neglected or overlooked as valuable infrastructure in a Main Street community's downtown, "historic" architecture is foundational to Main Street's mission, provided that, as stated, the program seeks to "strengthen communities through preservation-based economic development."

A mission developed by Mary Means, the premise for Main Street predates the program's official 1980 establishment. Hired by the National Trust to aid the growth of local preservation organizations in the Midwest, Means, in traveling throughout the region, witnessed how communities perceived their 19th- and early 20th-century downtown buildings as nothing more than "eyesores." Recognizing that to save these buildings their value needed to be demonstrated publicly, in 1976, Means and her colleagues decided to implement a three-year-long trial program to illustrate how the preservation of this architecture could catalyze economic and, thus, larger community improvements. Working in three pilot towns—Hot Springs, South Dakota; Madison, Indiana; and Galesburg, Illinois—Means intended to (and ultimately did) test and document various preservation strategies in each community's downtown and share her reflections on what was and was not effective in conferences, a book, and a documentary. documentary.

However, the work in these pilot towns proved to be just the beginning for the Main Street program. Having consolidated their observations about efficacy into a simple "conceptual framework," or what is now called the Four Point Approach, Means and her colleagues' project findings caught hold, piquing the interest of and resonating with locals and preservation leaders alike.³⁷ Thanks to an outpouring of public support, the program received additional funding in

³³ Ibid

³⁴ Mary Means, Randall Mason, Michael J. Berne, Donovan D. Rypkema, and Kennedy Smith. *Main Street's Comeback: And How It Can Come Back Again* (HammondWood Press, 2020), xii.

³⁶ Ibid, 8-10. Ironically, despite Hot Springs serving as one of the pilot towns, today, South Dakota is one of just five states that is not part of the Main Street program.

³⁷ Ibid, 20.

1979 (following the end of the trial in the pilot communities), allowing it to expand to a six-state capacity—serving 30 towns across Colorado, Georgia, Massachusetts, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Texas.³⁸ Following this six-state expansion and the broadcasting of the program via in-person and video conferences throughout the 1980s, additional states began seeking Main Street support, forming local coordinating programs and the necessary statewide program to oversee them.³⁹ Thus, the Main Street network as it is known today was born.

Founded in 1985, the Virginia Main Street Program, also referred to as VMS, was an early member of Main Street America. Today, VMS—which is located within the Community Vitality Office of the Department of Housing and Community Development (DHCD) in Richmond—oversees 100 local coordinating programs, 64 of which are Exploring-designated communities, 10 of which are Mobilizing-designated communities, and 26 of which are Advancing-designated communities (figure 15). While each of the state's local programs have a unique history in their path to becoming a Main Street community, in studying these histories many of the same circumstances for choosing to join the Main Street program prevail.

Such circumstances are evident in investigating why, how, and when Hopewell, Danville, and Staunton pursued Main Street participation. Before studying this history, however, it is imperative to broadly understand the cities' more extensive histories, as expressed by each community's founding and development.

A Synopsis of Each City's Founding and Development⁴¹

³⁸ Ibid. 22.

³⁹ Ibid, 27-28.

⁴⁰ Virginia Main Street. "Communities." March 22, 2023. https://virginiamainstreet.com/communities/.

⁴¹ The following synopses draw from the preeminent sources on each city's founding and development. These sources include the nominations from the Virginia Department of Historic Resources for the cities' various historic districts, as well as other leading sources (both primary and secondary) pertaining to each city's history. In writing

Staunton's History

The roots of modern-day Staunton can be traced to the early 18th century, the period in which European settlers established themselves in the Shenandoah Valley, occupying portions of the land of several Native American tribes, including the Iroquois and Shawnee, the Catawba and Cherokee, and the Delaware and Susquehannock nations. As part of the early quest to expand the Colony of Virginia's frontier, Staunton was settled in 1732 by John Lewis, an Irish-born emigrant who became a prominent Virginia military officer, magistrate, and landowner. Four years later, in 1736, William Beverly, an affluent tobacco planter and member of the House of Burgesses from Essex County, acquired a 118,491-acre land grant from then-Lieutenant Governor and, later, Governor, William Gooch, encompassing what is today the City of Waynesboro, the City of Staunton, and the majority of Augusta County.

In the years following Lewis's settlement and Beverly's acquisition of this land, around 60 families set up farms in the area. Looking to maintain this tenancy, Beverly sold these farmers titles for the land they occupied, and, in a bid to increase the population, he hired James Patton, a captain and cousin of Lewis's, to sail to Ireland and secure new settlers. Additionally, he arranged for "agents" to travel to Pennsylvania and Maryland in search of potential migrants. Successful in his mission, by 1743, Beverly had increased his land's population extensively enough that the House of Burgesses decided to form two new jurisdictions—Frederick

about Hopewell, I was fortunate to be able to reference the book *Old City Point and Hopewell: The First 370 Years*, which was co-authored by my grandmother, Mary Calos.

⁴² Long Branch Historic House and Farm. "Native Americans in the Shenandoah Valley." Accessed April 10, 2024. https://www.visitlongbranch.org/history/american-indians/#:~:text=The%20tribes%20occupying%20the%20Shenandoah,Susquehannock%20nations%20of%20the%20north.

⁴³ Edmund Potter, A Guide to Historic Staunton, Virginia (The History Press, 2008), 20.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Virginia Department of Historic Resources. "National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Beverly Historic District" (1982), 3.

 $https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/132-0024_Beverley_HD_1982-2021_NR_Nomination.pdf$

County and Augusta County–from the western expanse of the existing Orange County. In 1745, Augusta County established its first government positions, employing Thomas Lewis, a son of John Lewis, as county surveyor and Patton as county sheriff.

Shortly thereafter, Thomas Lewis drew the first plat for "Beverley," a tract of land deeded by William Beverly to found a town. Designing the town around the courthouse, a crude log building previously commissioned by Beverly, Lewis separated the area around the building into thirteen lots, each about a half-acre in size. Soon after, 31 more lots were added to expand the area (figure 16).⁴⁶ In 1749, Beverly was renamed "Staunton," in honor of Lady Rebecca Staunton, Governor Gooch's wife, and, in 1761, Staunton was officially incorporated as a town. Though, from the time of its incorporation through the late 1700s, various battles and raids of the Indian Wars and American Revolution took place throughout Virginia, as a remote frontier community, Staunton was mostly unaffected by these events.⁴⁷

In fact, during and after this period, Staunton grew steadily, as numerous annexations between 1786 and 1804 significantly enlarged the town's boundaries. Wisiting Staunton during his tour of the United States in 1797, French noble and writer François de La Rochefoucauld alludes to this growth, describing the town as having several inns and stores and a population of about 800 residents. However, de La Rochefoucauld's account—as referenced in local historian Joseph A. Waddell's *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia from 1726-1871* and discussed in various writings on Staunton's early history—does not evoke an attractive image of the town or its people, as he describes the insufficient local amenities, including the poorly-stocked market, and

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid. 6.

⁴⁹ Joseph A. Waddell, *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia from 1726-1871* (Staunton, VA: C. Russell Caldwell, 1902), 350-351.

the ill-mannered and gambling-fond residents.⁵⁰ Despite its continued development in the decades following de La Rochefoucauld's visit, existing accounts of the town in the 1830s are similarly unfavorable.

For instance, in his book, Waddell writes, "In 1833, the town was very shabby and unattractive, in respect to its streets and buildings, public and private." Going on to describe the "unsightly" courthouse and county jail, barren churches, old houses, and "singular disregard for neatness and comfort in the public streets," this description of the town, much like de La Rochefoucauld's, paints a picture of a lawless and unequipped frontier village, which, aside from serving as a "great thoroughfare" for travelers visiting the Virginia hot springs, seemed a largely undesirable place. 52 In the 1840s, however, the atmosphere of the town began to change as impressive new institutions emerged, advanced transportation technology pushed the frontier further west, and developments to nearby roadways enhanced Staunton's trade. 53

Four notable institutions especially aided Staunton's mid-19th-century transformation, establishing prominent Greek revival-style classical architecture and highly sought-after health and educational resources in the town (figure 17).⁵⁴ These institutions included the Western Lunatic Asylum (today Western State Hospital), founded in 1825; the Institute for the Deaf, Dumb, and Blind (today the Virginia School for the Deaf and Blind), founded in 1839; the Augusta Female Seminary (today Mary Baldwin College), founded in 1842; and the Virginia Female Institute (today Stuart Hall School), founded in 1844.

⁵⁰ Ibid. Other references to de la Rochefoucauld's account (and further accounts by Waddell) can be found in the Virginia Department of Historic Resources nomination for the Beverly Historic District and Edmund Potter's *A Guide to Historic Staunton, Virginia*.

⁵¹ Ibid, 421-424.

⁵² Ibid

⁵³ Virginia Department of Historic Resources. "National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Beverly Historic District," 30-31.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 31.

The townwide changes that resulted from the founding of these four institutions were bolstered by the completion of the Virginia Central Railroad in 1854–an early rail line that ran from Richmond to Covington and served as the most significant and influential transportation advancement in the development of the town (figure 18).⁵⁵ Enabling merchants to lower the cost of goods and the region's farmers the ability to sell goods in the eastern part of the state, the Virginia Central Railroad forged new connections for Staunton's trade, agricultural, and industrial networks.⁵⁶ In 1869, the railroad merged with the existing Covington and Ohio Railroad, thus forming the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad–which would eventually span from Richmond to Huntington, West Virginia. This expansion allowed Staunton to serve as a railroad-based regional hub, as several West Virginia coal companies established offices in the town.⁵⁷

Because Staunton served as a prominent Civil War military post, complete with major hospital facilities, the Virginia Central Railroad continued to play an integral role in the town's wartime operations in the 1860s (figure 19).⁵⁸ Particularly important to the establishment of what is today the Wharf Area Historic District, proximity to the railroad dictated the construction of several arsenals, commissary warehouses, and quartermaster warehouses during the war.⁵⁹ The area where these resources were constructed became known as the Wharf Area—"wharf" referring to the site's function as a shipping point rather than its relationship to a body of water (figure 20).⁶⁰ A compact yet lively depot and commercial center, the Wharf Area was essential to

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⁵⁵ Ibid, 4.

⁵⁶ Potter, A Guide to Historic Staunton, Virginia, 54.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 62.

⁵⁸ Virginia Department of Historic Resources. "National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Beverly Historic District," 31.

⁵⁹ Virginia Department of Historic Resources. "National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Wharf Area Historic District" (1971), 3.

https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/132-0014_Wharf_Area_HD_1971_Final_Nomination.pdf 60 "132-0014." DHR, June 2, 2023. https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/historic-registers/132-0014/.

Staunton's economic, commercial, and residential growth, as evidenced by the town's 32% population increase between 1860 and 1870.⁶¹

Staunton endured its most extensive and notable development following the war, as the railroad network enabled the town to flourish as a postbellum commercial center, thanks largely to the access these rail lines provided to West Virginia's coal supply. As land and mineral speculation in the Shenandoah Valley skyrocketed in the 1880s and 1890s, local wealth skyrocketed too. With a more affluent population now supporting the town, Staunton's merchants also thrived, as did the community's farmers, who utilized the rail lines to transport game and agricultural goods. Influencing the evolution of downtown, this era of financial growth resulted in Staunton's designation as an independent city in 1902, the appointment of the first city manager—both in Staunton and the United States—in 1908, and the construction and renovation of many downtown buildings between 1870 and 1910.

Largely forming what today comprises the Beverly Historic District, most of downtown Staunton was erected during these 40 years. Reflecting an array of architectural styles, downtown construction varied greatly during this time. Dominated by Italianate-style commercial buildings in the 1870s and 1880s, this early construction was followed by the erection of Late Victorian-style buildings in the 1890s—including Queen Anne-, Romanesque Revival-, and Victorian Eclectic-style designs—and, shortly thereafter, in the early 1900s, Beaux Arts- and Neoclassical-inspired designs.⁶⁵ Influenced immensely by the prolific, third-generation Virginia architect T.J. Collins, most of Staunton's late 19th- and early 20th-century architecture

⁶¹ Virginia Department of Historic Resources. "National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Wharf Area Historic District," 3.

⁶² Virginia Department of Historic Resources. "National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Beverly Historic District," 30.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 32.

was professionally designed. Building or remodeling more than 200 buildings in Staunton between 1891 and 1911, Collins—whose local firm T.J. Collins & Sons remained operational through the 1990s—had an enormous impact not only on the architectural development of downtown but the city as a whole (figure 21).⁶⁶

While almost none of Staunton's 18th-century architecture within downtown survives, other links to the city's frontier days remain. Notably, many of the streets downtown still retain the original grid pattern designed by William Beverly and Thomas Lewis in the 1740s, allowing residents and visitors to experience and travel a portion of the city and its landscape as done so more than 280 years prior. Today, downtown's Beverly and Wharf Area Historic Districts exemplify a unique collection of 19th- and early 20th-century commercial buildings. Spanning an eleven-block area, the Beverly Historic District encompasses approximately 150 surviving buildings (131 of which are contributing resources to the historic district), and the contiguous Wharf Area Historic District occupies a small two-block area and encompasses an additional 22 buildings and four structures (all of which are contributing resources to the historic district). The two, together, create downtown Staunton (figure 22).

Danville's History

Like Staunton, the roots of modern-day Danville can be traced to the early 18th century and the period of colonial settlement. Long inhabited by Siouan-speaking Native American tribes, the Danville region became known to colonial settlers in 1728, when English colonist and surveyor William Byrd—who founded the City of Richmond in 1737—led an expedition to

⁶⁶ "Collins Architectural Archive." Historic Staunton Foundation. Accessed February 19, 2024. https://www.historicstaunton.org/collins-architectural-archive/.

⁶⁷ Virginia Department of Historic Resources. "National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Beverly Historic District," 2.

determine the boundary between the colonies of Virginia and North Carolina. Led by Ned Bearskin, a Native American man of the Saponi tribe, Byrd and his crew encountered the south branch of the Roanoke River, naming it the "Dan," a reference to the biblical limits of Canaan, which spanned from "Dan to Beersheba." Presumably, because the limits of the two colonies were subject to determination, Byrd found this name "self-explanatory," as the boundary of the Virginia-North Carolina line was tied to the Dan. ⁶⁸ While determining this boundary, Byrd established a camp upstream from the contemporary city, and he envisioned a settlement among its banks, where people would live "with much comfort and gaiety of heart." its

Following Byrd's surveying of the region and conception of its settlement, in 1746, Colonel William Wynne, an affluent Southern Virginia landowner and Brunswick County Justice, purchased land near the former camp. ⁷⁰ Establishing "Wynne's Falls," the area's first official colonial settlement, Wynne occupied and developed a portion of the land (near the city's present-day King Memorial Bridge and Union Street Dam) that would later become Danville.⁷¹ Similar to Staunton's William Beverly, Wynne recruited families, most of whom were already living in Virginia, to settle his land. ⁷² Boasting a trading post and general store, the settlement was a crucial site for travelers, as the area's natural falls-for which Wynne's Falls was named-offered a safe spot for crossing the river's northernmost point.⁷³

Enduring the various battles and raids, like Staunton, of the Indian Wars and American Revolution, Wynne's Falls continued to develop in the latter part of the 18th century. Gaining

⁶⁸ Jane Hagan. The story of Danville (New York: Stratford House, 1950), 3.

⁶⁹ L. Beatrice W. Hairston, A Brief History of Danville, Virginia, 1728-1954 (Richmond, VA: Dietz Press, 1955), 1.

⁷⁰ Carlton, "Danville's Early History: From Fur Trading to Tobacco."

⁷¹ Matt Bell, "Wynne's Falls: The Settlement That Became Danville Remains Historical Mystery." Dan Register and Bee. June 26, 2016.

https://godanriver.com/news/local/wynne-s-falls-the-settlement-that-became-danville-remains-historical-mystery/arti cle 253a2524-3a5d-11e6-946c-db8a955c7d66.html#tncms-source=login ⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

favor among Revolutionary War veterans as an annual meeting place for fishing, the settlement grew in size and activity. ⁷⁴ In 1793, with the increasing prominence of the tobacco industry in Virginia, the state's General Assembly established a tobacco inspection station in Wynne's Falls. Growing into a busy warehouse town, the settlement became a center for tobacco storage and, shortly after the establishment of the inspection station, was renamed "Danville"—a tribute to the village on the Dan River. Encompassing a 25-acre site, Danville's original trustees laid out several one-acre lots on the present-day Main Street (then Salisbury Road) in the village's downtown. ⁷⁵ In 1795, they began selling the lots, prompting a boost in Danville's growth (figure 23). ⁷⁶

Continuing to develop through the turn of the century, with the help of the Roanoke Navigation Company—which spearheaded navigation improvements on the Roanoke River and its tributaries—by 1818, canals were formed in the Dan River, enabling the efficient transportation of tobacco around the village's falls.⁷⁷ Facilitating further development, these transportation advancements led to Danville's charter as a town in 1830; the expansion of the town's original boundaries in 1833; that same year, the election of Danville's first mayor; and, eventually, the town's recognition as the "World's Best Tobacco Market" (figure 24).⁷⁸ Establishing numerous new buildings and resources, by 1836, Danville had a population of about 1,000 residents and

⁷⁴ Brian Carlton, "Danville's Early History: From Fur Trading to Tobacco." Danville Historical Society, November 14, 2021. https://danvillehistory.org/danvilles-earlyhttps://danvillehistory.org/danvilles-early-history-from-fur-trading-to-tobacco-8cf204ef0e5f.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Virginia Department of Historic Resources. "National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Downtown Danville Historic District" (1993), 64.

https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_transfer/PDFNoms/108-0111_Downtown_Danville_HD_1993_Final_Nomination.pdf

⁷⁸ Carlton, "Danville's Early History: From Fur Trading to Tobacco."

was equipped with grocery stores, banks, and taverns; several mills, factories, and warehouses; and a handful of legal, medical, educational, and civic facilities (figure 25).⁷⁹

Marking the start of a new era for Danville, the 1840s and 1850s brought additional transportation advancements to the town. Constructed beginning in 1848 and completed in 1856, the Richmond and Danville Railroad, as suggested by its name, connected the two towns via a 140-mile rail line. Offering many of the same benefits as the Virginia Central Railroad (a nearly simultaneous development) did Staunton, the Richmond and Danville Railroad had a significant impact not only on the town's tobacco transportation and manufacturing but its Civil War operations. Acting as a major supply depot, during the war, Danville was equipped with a large armory, hospitals, and prisons, and, under the direction of Quartermaster Major William T. Sutherlin, the railroad transported Confederate troops to the north and south and sent various supplies to Confederate forces. Additionally, for a week-long period before General Lee's surrender, the town served as the last Capital of the Confederacy.

Again, much like Staunton, Danville experienced its greatest period of growth after the Civil War. Sustained by the ever-growing tobacco industry, much new construction in Danville–particularly that of Millionaires Row, the aptly-named collection of Victorian- and Edwardian-style mansions situated along Main Street, just south of downtown–was a response to the wealth acquired by industry leaders. Building on the town's pre-war development, the 1870s and 1880s began the making of the Downtown Historic District and the adjacent Tobacco Warehouse and Residential Historic District (figure 26). Especially informed by the emergence of new industry, local development–downtown included–reached a pivotal point with the

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

founding of Riverside Cotton Mills in 1882, followed by Danville's designation as an independent city in 1890.

Established and funded by several of the town's tobacco moguls, who recognized the potential for a mill on the falls of the Dan River, Riverside Cotton Mills was an immediate success. Growing rapidly in the decade following its establishment–aided in part by the founding of and merger with Dan River Power, which supplied the mill water power–Riverside Cotton Mills (later renamed Dan River Cotton Mills, then abbreviated to Dan River Mills) became a leading manufacturer of textiles and, by the early 1900s, was the largest mill of its kind in the South (figure 27). Because a substantial impact on the population, the major rise of textile manufacturing, in conjunction with the already established tobacco market, attracted many new residents to the city. Increasing from a post-war population of about 5,000 residents to 19,000 residents in 1910 and almost 33,000 residents in 1940, from the late 19th to mid-20th centuries, Danville grew in tandem with the mill.

Also affecting the city's building growth, the mill had a significant influence on Danville's architectural and commercial evolution. As evidenced by the city's first Sanborn Fire Insurance map, by 1886, buildings were present on either side of Main Street–spanning a nearly quarter-mile-long section from Bridge Street to Union Street–and two notable hotels, as well as the prominent courthouse and post office buildings, stood downtown. §4 In the coming years, additional commercial buildings were constructed, filling central cross streets and connecting the business district to the surrounding tobacco warehouse and factory districts. §5 Coinciding with

⁸² Timothy J. Minchin. "Dan River Mills." Encyclopedia Virginia, February 9, 2021. https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/dan-river-mills/.

⁸³ Virginia Department of Historic Resources. "National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Downtown Danville Historic District," 66.

⁸⁴ Ibid, 66.

⁸⁵ Ibid, 66-67.

the growth of Schoolfield–the mill-constructed company village built in 1903 just south of the then-city limits–downtown development continued to progress steadily into the 1920s, with the construction of several architecturally significant and varied banks, theaters, and civic and municipal buildings (figures 28-29).⁸⁶

Notably, during this era of downtown construction and expansion, several Black-owned businesses were established. Accompanying the unique and prolific involvement of African-Americans in government during and shortly after the Reconstruction period, Black merchants' engagement downtown took multiple forms. Renting 20 of the 24 stalls in the city market, these merchants developed a commercial section along South Market Street. By 1898, Danville's city directory indicates there were several Black-owned businesses—including two restaurants, a grocery store, and a barbershop—on South Market Street and others along the 200 block of North Union Street. Mirroring the overall development of downtown, African-American business ownership evolved in Danville's commercial district throughout the early 20th century, as many new and significant businesses were formed.

Though none of Danville's 18th-century buildings survive, similar to Staunton, the layout and bounds of downtown still bear a notable connection to the city's earliest days. Comprised primarily of 1870s to 1940s commercial buildings—with a smaller, yet sizable, selection of mid-century and newer structures—downtown reflects an amalgamation of popular architectural designs, representing Romanesque-, Gothic- and Colonial-Revival styles, as well as Neoclassical, Art Deco, Moderne, and other styles. Spanning a 25-acre site, the Downtown

⁸⁶ Ibid, 67.

Edward Pollock. 1885 Illustrated Sketch Book of Danville, Virginia: Its Manufactures and Commerce (Danville, VA: Danville Historical Society, 1976), 86. In his 1885 book, Pollock describes the involvement of the city's African-American residents in politics and commerce. His writing reflects the extremity of the era's racial tensions, including the great disdain some of Danville's White residents expressed in response to such engagement.
 Virginia Department of Historic Resources. "National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Downtown Danville Historic District," 68.

Historic District encompasses 75 surviving buildings (49 of which are contributing resources to the historic district), and the adjacent Tobacco Warehouse and Residential District occupies a much more substantial expanse, including 40-some blocks containing approximately 585 extant industry-related buildings and structures (of which 532 buildings, three sites, and two structures are contributing resources to the historic district). Though separate, the Tobacco and Residential Warehouse District (particularly its nearest, northeastern half) serves as an important extension of the Downtown Historic District and comprises a large portion of the "River District," the area recognized by the city as comprising downtown (figure 30).

Hopewell's History

As the oldest continually inhabited English settlement in the United States, the roots of modern-day Hopewell precede those of Staunton and Danville by more than a century. ⁸⁹ Tied to the colonists' earliest exploratory efforts, Hopewell's history dates to 1607, when English captain Christopher Newport selected the area of the city's contemporary City Point neighborhood—then home to villages of the Appamattuck tribe—as England's first settlement in the colonies. ⁹⁰ Officially founded and settled six years later, in 1613, by English naval commander and deputy-governor of the Colony of Virginia Sir Thomas Dale, the settlement was originally named Bermuda City, then changed to Charles City Point—after England's Prince Charles—and, finally, abbreviated to "City Point." Because of its strategic location at the confluence of the Appomattox and James Rivers, by the 1630s, City Point was an important regional port entry

⁸⁹ Mary Mitchell Calos, Charlotte Easterling, and Ella Sue Rayburn. *Old City Point and Hopewell: The First 370 Years* (Virginia Beach: Donning Co., 1983), 9.

⁹⁰ "Archeology and the Indigenous Peoples at Grant's Headquarters at City Point (an Informal Learning Activity) (U.S. National Park Service)." National Parks Service. Accessed May 3, 2024. https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/informal-learning-archeology-indigenous-peoples-at-grants-hdqtrs.htm.

and, in 1703, became part of the newly founded Prince George County–an annexation of Charles City County.⁹¹

While extant information about the settlement and its development from the time of its founding to the early 1800s is limited, notably, in this period, three prominent plantations were erected and operated in the vicinity—to the southwest, the late 17th-century Kippax Plantation; in the heart of City Point, the circa 1763 Appomattox Manor; and to the west, the circa 1789 Weston Manor. Additionally, Customs offices and a branch of the Post Office opened in City Point in 1797 and 1801, respectively. In 1826, following its incorporation as a town, the Virginia General Assembly permitted 50 acres of City Point's land to be constructed into streets and lots in an effort to grow the port. However, this construction never materialized, and, in the mid-1830s, City Point was reported as having only a few buildings and a population of less than 100 residents, as alluded to by one visitor in 1834, who exclaimed that he could see "neither city nor point" (figure 31). Two years later, however, in 1836, the City Point Railroad Company was established, marking a significant attempt to further the progression of the settlement.

The railroad—which connected City Point to the City of Petersburg and forms the oldest segment of what is now the Norfolk Southern Railroad (formerly the Norfolk and Western Railroad)—provided direct access to the port's wharf, allowing for the inland transportation of goods (figure 32). 97 Though the railroad was ultimately unsuccessful due to its inability to

⁹¹ Virginia Department of Historic Resources. "National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, City Point Historic District," (1979), 3.

https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/VLR_to_transfer/PDFNoms/116-0006_City_Point_HD_1979_Final_Nomination.pdf ⁹² Mary Mitchell Calos, Charlotte Easterling, and Ella Sue Rayburn, *Old City Point and Hopewell: The First 370 Years*, 11.

⁹³ Virginia Department of Historic Resources. "National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, City Point Historic District," 3.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Mary Mitchell Calos, Charlotte Easterling, and Ella Sue Rayburn, *Old City Point and Hopewell: The First 370 Years*, 12.

compete with cargo-bearing steamboats, the prime access City Point offered to both land and water proved advantageous in the coming decade. Because of its unique location-based amenities, the town served as General Grant's last Union headquarters during the final ten months of the Civil War. Evolving with incredible speed, City Point quickly developed to meet the needs of thousands of Union soldiers and officers. Complete with wharves, depots, tents, a variety of log structures, and one of the largest Civil War hospitals of its kind in the nation, City Point served as a major hub of Union war operations. Point served as a major hub of Union war operations.

Despite its massive growth during the war, following the deconstruction of many temporary wartime accommodations and the absence of military personnel, City Point reverted to its antebellum state and remained a small village for several decades. ¹⁰⁰ In 1914, however, the creation of the "Hopewell Farm" by large-scale chemical corporation E.I. du Pont de Nemours, or the DuPont Company, dramatically altered City Point and the surrounding area's development. ¹⁰¹ Formed from 1,800 acres of land purchased from the Eppes–a local family of early settlers and significant property owners, including Appomattox and Weston Manors–the site, which encompassed City Point, was selected for its geographic and transportation advantages and was designed to house a small commercial dynamite plant. However, with the sudden outbreak of World War I and requests for guncotton from France and England, these plans changed, and DuPont instead opened a munitions plant (figure 33).

Like Danville, Hopewell transformed rapidly with the emergence of new industry. The munitions plant quickly became the largest of its kind in the world, resulting in a flood of

⁹⁸ Ibid

⁹⁹ Virginia Department of Historic Resources. "National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, City Point Historic District," 3. See the "Depot Field Hospital" write-up by the National Parks Service for more information on this hospital.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ The Hopewell Farm and, later, the City of Hopewell, was named in honor of the "good ship Hopewell," which sailed from Jamestown to City Point, bringing settlers supplies following the Indian Massacre of 1622.

migrant and immigrant laborers inundating City Point. Hailing from across the globe, workers of 35-plus different nationalities—many of whom were immigrants from southern and eastern Europe and migrants from North Carolina and West Virginia—arrived to work at the plant. Far exceeding the accommodations DuPont had arranged, the company was forced to quickly erect housing for its 20,000-some workers and their families. Thus, rooming houses and, soon after, three villages consisting of temporary and mail-order "kit" homes were built. Providing housing for DuPont's married workers and their families, "A Village" housed company officials, "B Village" White laborers, and "South B Village" Black laborers.

However, despite this extensive building campaign, DuPont did not construct shops, restaurants, or any other service-oriented businesses for its workers. ¹⁰⁵ Consequently, a "raucous" and crime-filled "frontier town" emerged in what was then known as West City Point (figure 34). ¹⁰⁶ Composing the first iteration of downtown, these early businesses were crudely and haphazardly constructed using an array of available materials, such as tin, tar paper, canvas, and wood. ¹⁰⁷ In December 1915, these make-shift buildings faltered to the elements when a fire broke out downtown, destroying some 300 buildings and leaving hundreds of individuals homeless (figure 35). ¹⁰⁸ Immediately after the fire, however, downtown was rebuilt. The substandard, pre-fire architecture was replaced by sturdy concrete and brick buildings—creating the first

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¹⁰² Francis E. Lutz, *The Prince George-Hopewell Story* (Richmond, VA: The Area Historical Committee, 1955), 227. For reference, this is what brought my paternal great-grandfathers from New York City—where they had settled after coming through Ellis Island—to Virginia. Presumably, advertising for the plant was effective.

¹⁰³ Ibid. Lutz states that in the first summer of the plant's operation, 8,000 workers were involved solely in construction projects and another 15,000 to 20,000 in the manufacturing force.

¹⁰⁴ Mary Mitchell Calos, Charlotte Easterling, and Ella Sue Rayburn, *Old City Point and Hopewell: The First 370 Years*, 61.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Virginia Department of Historic Resources. "National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Downtown Hopewell Historic District," (2002), 15.

https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/116-5031_Downtown_Hopewell_HD_2002_Final_Nomination.pdf

¹⁰⁸ Lutz, The Prince George-Hopewell Story, 231.

structures of present-day downtown and inspiring Hopewell's nickname the "Wonder City," a tribute to the incredible speed with which these rebuilding efforts took place. 109

Resulting in Hopewell's designation as an independent city in 1916 (except for City Point, which was annexed from Prince George County in 1923), the downtown rebuilding era progressed steadily. Sustained by the United States' entry into the war in 1917 and the construction of the Camp Lee (later Fort Lee and now Fort Gregg-Adams) military base just outside of the city limits, Hopewell's population growth and building efforts continued to flourish until the signing of the Armistice in 1918. No longer in need of munitions, after the war, DuPont sold its plants to other manufacturers, ushering in a new era of industry in Hopewell–led by Tubize Chatillon Corporation, a manufacturer of synthetic silk; The Mayhew Corporation, a manufacturer of tools; and Stamscott Company, a manufacturer of cellulose. Marked by the construction of numerous commercial buildings, including several designed by the prominent Petersburg- and Richmond-based architect Frederick A. Bishop, the 1920s were a pivotal decade for downtown's architectural and commercial evolution (figure 36).

Slowing in development with the economic depression and challenges of the 1930s, including the closure of the Tubize plant, Hopewell and downtown's expansion was minimal until World War II.¹¹² Responding to increased activity at Fort Lee and the establishment of new chemical manufacturing plants, like Allied Chemical (today the Allied Corporation)—which prompted Hopewell's recognition as the "Chemical Capital of the South"—downtown

¹⁰⁹ Mary Mitchell Calos, Charlotte Easterling, and Ella Sue Rayburn, *Old City Point and Hopewell: The First 370 Years*, 48.

¹¹⁰ Virginia Department of Historic Resources. "National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Downtown Hopewell Historic District," (2002), 15-16.

¹¹¹ İbid, 16.

¹¹² Ibid.

development resumed in the 1940s, continuing, albeit more slowly, into the 1960s (figure 37).¹¹³ Shaping much of the surviving Downtown Hopewell Historic District, from late 1915 through the mid-1960s, the city developed its modest yet attractive array of downtown architecture. Constructing a variety of buildings characteristic of smaller-scale early to mid-20th-century commercial design, supplemented by a collection of more ornate structures—like the Colonial Revival-style Post Office, Classical Revival-style Municipal Building, and Art Deco-inspired Beacon Theatre—downtown morphed into a prosperous and well-built city center.¹¹⁴

Though, as mentioned, Hopewell's early history precedes that of Staunton and Danville, the history of the city's downtown does not. Bearing no connection to its 17th- through 19th-century history, downtown Hopewell reflects the city's 20th-century boom and last 100-plus years of development rather than its more expansive, multi-century progression from an early English settlement. Spanning an approximately 17-acre site, following several boundary increases, today, the Downtown Hopewell Historic District encompasses 74 surviving buildings, 67 of which are contributing resources to the district (figures 38-39). Despite these boundary increases, downtown Hopewell is still relatively small in size—both in footprint and architectural scale—especially compared to downtown Staunton and Danville and the cities' supporting Wharf Area and Tobacco Warehouse and Residential Historic Districts.

When and Why Each City Joined the Main Street Program

¹¹³ "Transforming Hopewell: From Chemical Spills to Community Trees." Chesapeake Bay Foundation, November 11, 2020.

https://www.cbf.org/blogs/save-the-bay/2020/11/transforming-hopewell-from-chemical-spills-to-community-trees. html.

¹¹⁴ Virginia Department of Historic Resources. "National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Downtown Hopewell Historic District," 1-2.

Staunton's Impetus¹¹⁵

The impetus for Staunton's participation in the Main Street program can be traced back to the early 1970s when the city's preservation efforts began. Though it might appear given the large number of contributing resources to the Beverly and Wharf Area Historic Districts that demolition did not occur downtown, Staunton did, in fact, lose many historic buildings and businesses to urban renewal, which, in the 1960s, promised the erection of a massive downtown shopping mall.

With these "renewal" efforts occurring primarily on North Central Avenue and Augusta Avenue—a vibrant area of downtown comprised primarily of African-American businesses and residences—there resulted a great loss of infrastructure and history, as 30-some buildings were razed in preparation for a mall that was never built (figures 40-41). Still evident today, the effects of this demolition are reflected by the asphalt-clad expanse between the two avenues, which is home to four drive-through banks and a drive-through Hardee's restaurant (figures 42-43).

In addition to demolition on these two streets, urban renewal threatened the entirety of the Wharf Area, thanks to state interest in constructing a four-lane highway through downtown. As a response to the imminent and existing devastation of this demolition on downtown's historic character and already struggling economy—which can be partially attributed to the

¹¹⁵ The information in this section about the Historic Staunton Foundation, SDDA, and the city's early revitalization efforts was gleaned primarily from my interview with Kathy and Bill Frazier and supported by additional research.116 Monique Calello, "Breaking Bread — What We Lost: Honoring the Community Demolished by Urban 'Renewal' in Staunton's Augusta Street Corridor." News Leader, March 12, 2020.

https://eu.newsleader.com/story/news/local/history/2020/03/12/what-we-lost-honors-black-community-flattened-urb an-renewal-staunton-central-ave-north-augusta/5022823002/. Ibid.

national rise of suburban shopping malls, like the Staunton Plaza which opened in 1968–a group of concerned citizens formed the Historic Staunton Foundation in 1971.¹¹⁸

Setting out with the mission to protect and rehabilitate the city's historic architecture, the group, then volunteer-run, spearheaded the national register nomination of four of the city's five historic districts and, notably, implemented a facade improvement program which would later become a fundamental Virginia Main Street service (as discussed further in Chapter 2). In 1995, as revitalization efforts steadily grew and a larger preservation ethic took hold in the community, the Historic Staunton Foundation helped obtain Main Street designation for the city and form the Staunton Downtown Development Association (SDDA), the city's local coordinating program.

To support the newly formed SDDA, the city created a special tax district–still operable today–known as the Downtown Service District, where the district's commercial properties pay a special assessment tax that contributes to the organization's operating budget. With this foundation in place, the city undertook its "Big Dig" in 1996, a large-scale beautification and revitalization effort focused on four blocks of Beverly Street–from Market Street to Lewis Street–in which the power lines and utilities were buried, and the streetscape was redone. Adding historically inspired brick sidewalks and walkways, as well as streetlamps, traffic signals, and signage, the project helped infuse a previously lost sense of character back into the

¹¹⁸ Dale Brumfield. "Mall History: Staunton Plaza Was a Product of the Irresponsible Impact of Urban Renewal." *News Leader*. June 6, 2022.

https://www.newsleader.com/story/news/local/history/2022/06/06/virginia-urban-renewal-staunton-pushed-business-new-mall-1969/7528255001/.

¹¹⁹ The Historic Staunton Foundation nominated all of the city's historic districts, except for the Wharf Area Historic District, which, at the time, had been recently nominated in response to the highway proposal.

¹²⁰ Currently, this tax is an additional 15 cents for every \$100 of property tax.

¹²¹ Improvements of a similar nature were also made to portions of Augusta Street and Market Street.

central portion of downtown (figure 44).¹²² Additionally, in 1996, the city designated its five nationally registered historic districts as local historic districts, thus ensuring that certain exterior changes to the districts' properties were and are in keeping with the respective neighborhoods' historic character.¹²³

Between the creation of the Downtown Service District, the transformation of downtown streetscapes—including also major improvements to the Wharf Area parking lot in the early 1980s—and the rehabilitation of numerous commercial storefronts through the facade improvement program, by the early 2000s, the Beverly and Wharf Area Historic Districts saw a tremendous increase in historic integrity and economic stability. In 2002, these downtown advancements were recognized nationally when Staunton was named the first Great American Main Street community in Virginia. Conferred by the National Main Street Center, this highly selective award honors the program's communities "whose successes serve as a model for comprehensive, preservation-based commercial district revitalization." 124

Danville's Impetus¹²⁵

Like Staunton, Danville also suffered from the effects of urban renewal, as evidenced by tear-downs on streets like Craghead (as described in the Preface), and the city's impetus for participation in the Main Street program hinged upon concerns over downtown's poorly

¹²² See the "Downtown Staunton Streetscape Plan" for more information on the "Big Dig" and other downtown improvement projects, including those within the Wharf Area.

¹²³ "Historic District Guidelines and Faqs." Historic Staunton Foundation. Accessed May 1, 2024. https://www.historicstaunton.org/preservation-resources-3/historic-district-guidelines-and-faqs/.

¹²⁴ The National Main Street Center. Great American Main Street Award - Main Street America. Accessed February 14, 2024.

https://www.mainstreet.org/mainstreetamerica/mainstreetawards/gamsa#:~:text=Each%20year%2C%20Main%20Street%20America,Main%20Street%20Award%20(GAMSA).

¹²⁵ The information in this section about the history of the River District Association and Danville's early revitalization efforts was gleaned primarily from my interviews with Diana Schwartz and Kelvin Perry and supported by additional research.

maintained historic architecture and weakened economy. These economic issues resulted, in part, from the rise of suburbanized shopping. And they were exacerbated by the progressing decline of Dan River Mills due to the mass outsourcing of textile production beginning in the 1970s.

Formed in 1999 as a grassroots merchants' group, the Downtown Danville Association comprised the first iteration of the local coordinating program when the city officially became a Main Street-designated community in 2000. Despite this designation, it was not until 2010 that Danville's downtown revitalization efforts through the Main Street program were solidified as a city priority. Prompted by the compounding effects of the closure of Dan River Mills in 2006 and the 2008 economic crash, interest in downtown revitalization grew as a means to improve the local economy. With renewed curiosity about the Main Street program, the Downtown Danville Association rebranded (becoming the River District Association), and the city created a downtown master plan. Danville that had made great strides in reviving its downtown—Danville's city leaders determined that investment in downtown revitalization efforts was worthwhile and commitment to the Main Street program offered the necessary path forward in accomplishing these new goals.

In 2012, as an early measure in the revitalization process, Danville undertook a downtown streetscape enhancement project, which, similar to Staunton, focused on installing historically inspired brick sidewalks and walkways, as well as benches, streetlamps, and traffic signals (figure 45).¹²⁷ The next year, the city also designated its nationally registered Downtown and Tobacco Warehouse and Residential Historic Districts as local historic districts, again

 ¹²⁶ See the "River District Redevelopment Plan" for more information on the city's downtown master plan.
 127 See "City Wins Economic Development Award for Work in the River District" for more information on the 2012 streetscape project and the influence of Greenville, South Carolina on Danville's downtown revitalization efforts.

ensuring that certain exterior changes to the districts' properties are in keeping with the respective neighborhoods' historic character.¹²⁸ Additionally, around the same time, the city's Industrial Development Authority (IDA) began purchasing numerous vacant and largely absentee-owned properties in the River District. Seeking to "assemble parcels of land" that the IDA "could stabilize, then market," the strategic purchase of these properties proved to be of great benefit to downtown.¹²⁹

Inspiring tremendous private investment in downtown revitalization efforts, these initial public investments—including the streetscape enhancement project and the IDA's property purchases—aided in vastly and rapidly transforming the city's River District. As a result of these monumental advancements, in 2023, Danville, like Staunton, was named a Great American Main Street community, becoming the sixth in Virginia to receive the award.

Hopewell's Impetus

Of the three cities, urban renewal arguably impacted Hopewell most significantly. In the 1960s and 1970s, several dozen downtown buildings between Main Street and Randolph Road (Route 10) were demolished (figures 46-48). Dramatically altering the look, feel, and economy of the city's commercial district, the loss of these buildings—which, in many cases (as described in the Preface), resulted in the creation of the streets and parking lots seen today—contributed heavily to downtown's decline. This decline, like Staunton and Danville, was exacerbated by the

¹²⁸ See the "River District Design Guidelines" for more information on these local designations.

¹²⁹ "Danville's Revitalization Plan Faced Skepticism, but Now It's a Model for Other Communities. Here's How the City Did It." Danville Region, March 20, 2023.

https://www.discoverdanville.com/news/danvilles-revitalization-plan-faced-skepticism-but-now-its-a-model-for-othe r-communities-heres-how-the-city-did-it/.

¹³⁰ "Downtown Hopewell Vision." Hopewell, January 14, 2003.

https://hopewellva.gov/DocumentCenter/View/610/Hopewell-Downtown-Partnership-Vision---Master-Plan-PDF

emergence of suburbanized shopping, such as that of the city's Cavalier Square mall, which opened in 1966.¹³¹

Notably, around the same time, Hopewell also suffered from the citywide effects of the "Kepone Environmental Disaster," wherein, in 1975, it was discovered that, since 1966, a chemical manufacturing plant in the city had dumped massive amounts of Kepone–a nonbiodegradable insecticide patented by Allied Chemical in the 1950s–into the James River. The chemical was found to be a danger to human and animal health, resulting in the shutdown of the plant responsible for the crisis. For the next five years, bans were placed on commercial and recreational fishing (figure 49). Making national news, the disaster had a profound and lasting effect on both Hopewell's public image and the state's fishing industry, as "Americans wary of the Kepone scandal refused to buy seafood from Virginia."

In response to the downtown decline-related challenges intensified by the foregoing events, in 1985, a group of local business owners formed the Downtown Merchants' Association, a grassroots merchants' group similar to that of Danville. ¹³³ For the next decade-plus, various iterations of the Association attempted to spearhead an improved image of and business activity in downtown. In 2003, however, these efforts shifted from the sole direction of downtown business owners to include the city, with the creation of a downtown master plan. Hopewell's plan designated the city's nationally registered (as of 2002) downtown historic district as a local

¹³¹ Appomattox Regional Library System Historic Newspapers -- microfilm image viewer. Accessed March 21, 2024.

http://appomattoxcl.archivalweb.com/imageViewer.php?i=1046507&q=cavalier+square+mall+&s=q%3Dcavalier%2Bsquare%2Bmall%2B%26p%3D29%26r%3D1036.

¹³² Holst, Arthur M. "The Kepone Environmental Disaster." Encyclopedia Virginia, September 14, 2021. https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/kepone-chlordecone/#:~:text=Even%20after%20that%2C%20Americans%2 C%20wary,than%20%24200%20million%20in%20damages.

¹³³ Appomattox Regional Library System Historic Newspapers -- microfilm image viewer. Accessed May 4, 2024. http://appomattoxcl.archivalweb.com/imageViewer.php?i=1116830&q=downtown+merchants+association+formed &s=q%3Ddowntown%2Bmerchants%2Bassociation%2Bformed%26p%3D29%26r%3D0.

historic district, again, like in Staunton and Danville, ensuring that certain exterior changes to the district's properties are in keeping with downtown's historic character.¹³⁴

This plan also set the stage for the downtown streetscape enhancement project completed in 2005, which was an undertaking similar to that of Staunton and Danville (figure 50). Additionally, it laid the foundation for several large-scale development and rehabilitation projects in the city's commercial district—including the construction of a new public library and the restoration of the adjacently located historic Beacon Theatre—helping, ultimately, to encourage the support needed for the city to become a Main Street-designated community in 2011.

Reflections on Each City's Downtown Progression

From the city histories presented in this chapter, it is evident that the founding and development—including the downtown architecture and commerce—of Staunton, Danville, and Hopewell were informed by the presence of and continued desire to utilize valuable natural resources. In Staunton, William Beverly's massive acquisition of favorably-located frontier land allowed the city to develop into a prominent transportation center, and, in Danville and Hopewell, strategic access to the Dan River and the Appomattox and James Rivers, respectively, allowed the cities to develop into major sites of regional and even global industry.

In studying these histories, it is evident that the ever-changing (and in Danville and Hopewell's case declining) nature of this transportation and industrial infrastructure greatly impacted downtown prosperity, constituting new suburban commercial developments and urban

¹³⁴ See Hopewell's "Downtown Master Plan" for more information on this local designation.

¹³⁵ "Downtown Streetscape Improvements." Hopewell Downtown Partnership, September 9, 2018. https://hopewelldowntown.com/downtown-streetscape-improvements/.

renewal projects in the 1960s and 1970s. Because these developments and projects negatively affected the cities' downtown economies and architectural integrity, they paved the way for each community's eventual participation in the Main Street program.

Notably, these histories also illustrate the cities' unique relationships to time, as Staunton, Danville, and Hopewell not only possess downtown architecture reflective of distinct eras of development—as this architecture both varies stylistically from city to city and, in all cases, developed over several decades—but they also maintain comparatively different timelines in their downtown revitalizations.

As previously described, Staunton's preservation efforts commenced with the formation of the Historic Staunton Foundation in 1971. Around the same time, however, tear-downs occurred in downtown Danville and Hopewell. Thus, as Staunton undertook its initial preservation efforts, simultaneously, Danville and Hopewell pursued downtown "renewal" through demolition projects. This timeline makes it apparent why Staunton progressed in downtown revitalization years before Danville and Hopewell.

With its designation as a Great American Main Street in 2002, Staunton attained national recognition for its revitalization about a decade before Danville and Hopewell formally committed to participation in the Main Street program. Establishing the city as a model for downtown revitalization in and beyond Virginia, this designation bolstered Staunton's reputation as a leader in harnessing historic preservation-based economic development as a tool for downtown and greater community transformation.

Though Danville, having received the Great American Main Street award in 2023, has joined Staunton as an exemplary Main Street community, such recognition remains relatively new to the city, which continues to develop rapidly, building off of its many recent downtown

revitalization successes. While Hopewell has yet to receive these same accolades, the city continues to advance steadily in its revitalization, making significant headway in the revival of its downtown by aiding the turnover of vacant and absentee-owned properties, attracting new developers, supporting entrepreneurs, and encouraging business retention and growth, among other efforts.

Integral to present-day interpretations of each city, recognition of these time-based disparities is important in understanding why and how Staunton, Danville, and Hopewell progressed and continue to progress in their downtown revitalizations, which, in turn, is imperative in recognizing and appreciating the significance of the three case study downtown revitalization projects discussed in Chapter 2.

Chapter 2 | Engaging with Main Street-Based Historic Building Rehabilitations: The History and Significance of the Cities' Case Study Downtown Revitalization Projects

An Introduction to the Main Street Leaders and Partners

To explore the pivotal role of Main Street network partnerships in the effective execution of historic building rehabilitations in downtown Hopewell, Danville, and Staunton, I focused on one case study downtown revitalization project per city, in which the local coordinating program is or was—depending on the state of the project—involved.

Critical to my selection of these case study projects was communication and collaboration with four individuals who are highly involved with the program and who, as stated, I refer to as Main Street "leaders." These individuals are Diana Schwartz, the executive director of the River District Association (RDA); Heather Lyne, the executive director of Hopewell Downtown Partnership (HDP); and Kathy and Bill Frazier, the founders and principals of the Staunton-based architecture and planning firm Frazier Associates, through which the Virginia Main Street program offers its design assistance services.

Possessing long-standing ties to preservation efforts through and beyond the Main Street program, Bill Frazier served as the first executive director of the Historic Staunton Foundation in 1977 and Kathy Frazier as the first administrator of the foundation's facade improvement program, followed by the foundation's second executive director. In 1986, Bill and Kathy founded Frazier Associates. In 1995, following the formation of SDDA, the facade improvement program transferred to the firm's purview. The firm then answered a request for proposal for design services from the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (where the Virginia Main

Street program was housed at the time) and was appointed to provide these services for the state's Main Street communities, doing so still more than three decades later.

It was through consultation with these four Main Street leaders that I established my three case study projects and was introduced to the three individuals who provided valuable insight into working on a Main Street-based rehabilitation project and who, as stated, I refer to as Main Street "partners." These individuals include Kelvin Perry, the assistant director of Danville's Office of Economic Development and Tourism and partner for the Danville case study; Kevin O'Leary, the president and co-owner of the Richmond-based general contracting and development firm J.D. Lewis Construction Management and partner for the Hopewell case study; and Peter Denbigh, the co-founder and president of the Staunton Innovation HUB and the partner for the Staunton case study.

About the Semi-structured Interviewing Method

To investigate these three case study projects and, more broadly, the Main Street program in each city, I employed qualitative research as part of my methodology. To fulfill this need, I conducted interviews with the aforementioned four Main Street leaders and three Main Street partners surrounding the themes of historic preservation and partnerships, as well as the chosen projects. I conducted these interviews according to a method known as semi-structured interviewing.

Outlined in various social science qualitative research guides, including Robert Silverman and Kelly Patterson's *Qualitative Research Methods for Community Development*—the guide used here—semi-structured interviewing is, as its name suggests, a type of "focused" yet

"flexible" data collection. Silverman and Patterson recognize semi-structured interviewing as an excellent tool for gaining an "in-depth understanding of how key stakeholders perceive and understand an issue. According to the authors, such stakeholders might include residents in a community, developers, policymakers, social workers, and public administrators responsible for the design and implementation of programs—individuals whose roles are adjacent or closely relate to that of a Main Street leader and his or her affiliated partners.

Utilizing a pre-prepared interview guide, semi-structured interviewing consists of three "core elements:" I. a statement of informed consent, II. a series of grand-tour questions followed by more specific probes, and III. demographic questions and a closing statement. Although this study was not subject to review by the University of Virginia's Institutional Review Board (IRB) for Social and Behavioral Sciences because the interviewees served as human "sources" rather than "subjects"—meaning that they aided in sharing personal knowledge about the topics at hand but were not, as individuals, the focus of these topics—in seeking best practice, I chose to execute my research in keeping with the University's IRB guidelines. Thus, I created and disseminated an informed consent agreement outlining the nature and goals of the interview process for the interviewees (see Appendix). Although the series of grand-tour questions followed by more series of grand-tour questions followed by

Regarding questions, the semi-structured interview is rooted in open-ended questioning. Grand-tour questions are broad questions about significant or overarching research themes, and probes are follow-up questions used to explore the details of these larger themes. Although

Silverman, Robert Mark, and Kelly L. Patterson. *Qualitative Research Methods for Community Development*,
 (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2022), 70.
 Ibid, 69.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid. 70.

¹⁴⁰ "Defining Human Subjects Research." Research. Accessed February 11, 2024. https://research.virginia.edu/human-research-protection-program/defining-human-subjects-research#:~:text=Not%20 all%20research%20that%20involves,personal%20information%20about%20that%20person.

grand-tour questions and probes are organized in a rational, predetermined order in the interview guide, this order can be adjusted and questions can be omitted, altered, or added during the interview to maintain a natural discussion flow, thus contributing to the overall flexibility of this interview method.

Lastly, the demographic questions and closing statement serve in the completion of the semi-structured interview. Given my familiarity with the interviewees and, again, their contribution to this study as "sources" rather than "subjects," I chose to forgo the demographic questions, which typically involve asking about an interviewee's background, such as his or her education and/or length of residence in a community. I did, however, make use of the closing statement—which involves asking the interviewee if he or she would like to discuss or elaborate on any final issues—and, following this, thanking the interviewee and informing him or her how the results of the study will be shared. In this case, I explained that I would share the interview transcription and interview-related thesis writing for his or her review and approval.

As mentioned, per Silverman and Patterson's guidelines, I constructed my interview guide with grand-tour questions followed by probes. As suggested by the authors, I placed broader, more general questions about the organization with which the Main Street leader or partner is affiliated, historic preservation, and partnerships at the beginning of the interview guide and more specific, focused questions about the chosen revitalization project and its impact on the community toward the end. Each interview began with a brief, informal opening statement where I restated the purpose of the interview (which, again, was outlined in the informed consent agreement reviewed by the interviewees beforehand) and explained this questioning structure. I then proceeded to ask questions based on my interview guide and complete the interview with

the closing statement. Each interview took approximately one hour and, depending on scheduling circumstances with the interviewees, occurred in person or virtually by Zoom.

Contextualizing Each City's Case Study Downtown Revitalization Project

The Danville Project: 206/208 North Union Street¹⁴¹

The first case study I selected, with the assistance of Diana Schwartz in Danville, focuses on the revitalization of a 9,600-square-foot, two-story, brick commercial building constructed circa 1903 and located at 206/208 North Union Street (figures 51-52). Divided into two spaces, 206 and 208, the building was rehabilitated and developed for office and commercial use. Today, the building houses multiple tenants, including, notably, RDA (in 208) and PLAN Danville, a local group engaged with the city's continued comprehensive planning efforts (in 206).

Part of a larger commercial block, the history of this building is deeply tied to its surrounding structures. Built primarily in 1903 on the site of J.W. and C.G. Holland's antebellum tobacco company, which served as a prison for Federal officers during the Civil War, the construction of the buildings at 200 to 208 North Union Street occurred nearly simultaneously (figures 53-54). Recognized even before its rehabilitation as a "little-altered architectural landmark," this block of adjoining, two-story, brick commercial buildings bears a unique architectural and historical significance in downtown Danville. 143

¹⁴¹ The information in this section about the PiP campaign and rehabilitation project was primarily gleaned from my interview with Diana Schwartz, as was some background history on the 206/208 North Union Street property. Additional historical information about the 206/208 property was gathered in reviewing Danville's Sanborn Fire Insurance maps and researching the city's newspaper archives. References to these maps and archives can be found in full in the bibliography.

¹⁴² 208 was built shortly after the rest of the block using the same materials and in keeping with the same style. Virginia Department of Historic Resources. "National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Downtown Danville Historic District," 50.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

Housing a grocery store (200) and clothing store (204) as its first occupants, alongside Fuller Brothers Hardware store (202)—which remained in operation by the Fuller family from 1903-1973—the block served as a site of lively commercial activity (figure 55). According to the city's Sanborn Fire Insurance maps, early occupants of 206 included another hardware store (in addition to Fuller Brothers), as outlined in the 1904 and 1910 maps, and a furniture store, as outlined in the 1915 maps. Early occupants of 208 included the Auto Tire Repair Company, as outlined in the 1915 maps, and a hardware warehouse, as outlined in the 1920 maps.

According to various advertisements in the city's newspaper, the *Danville Register and Bee*, later occupants of 206 included the Home Furniture Company from the 1930s through the 1950s and the Clent Anderson Furniture Company (which also occupied 204 and later expanded to occupy 200-206) from the 1960s through the 1990s. Likewise, a notable later occupant of 208 was the Wilson & Turner Shoe Shine and Repair shop in the 1960s and 1970s. ¹⁴⁵

While the block is recognized for this diverse array of shops and stores, it is also recognized for its several prominent Black-owned businesses—including Wilson & Turner's shop—and profound civil rights history. As discussed in Chapter 1, in the late 1800s, Black merchants established businesses along South Market Street and the 200 block of North Union Street, helping forge the city's Black business district, which would come to encompass North Union Street, High Street, and Spring Street. Notably, in 1924, the block became home to the

¹⁴⁴ Ibid

¹⁴⁵ "May in Danville's River District." River District Association. Accessed April 15, 2024. https://myemail.constantcontact.com/May-in-Danville-s-River-District.html?soid=1125978370893&aid=ULg_jRVh nmM.

¹⁴⁶ "Danville and the Civil Rights Movement." River District Association, January 31, 2022. https://www.riverdistrictassociation.com/blog/month/1/year/2022.

Danville Savings Bank and Trust Company, following the purchase of the building located at 201-203 North Union.¹⁴⁷

Founded as First State Bank in 1919, the establishment was one of just three Black-owned banks in Virginia to survive the Great Depression (figure 56). Affering loans to individuals, churches, and businesses during segregation, the bank provided much-needed resources to the city's African-American community in an era when such opportunities were limited. Still operating more than 100 years later, the bank, now known as Movement Bank, continues to serve Danville residents from its spot, albeit modernized, on North Union. Equipped also with several other Black-owned businesses, including the Hippodrome Theatre and Hippodrome Barber Shop, both of which were located at 215 North Union, throughout the 1900s, many of the street's businesses provided entertainment and essential services to the city's African-American clientele.

In 1960, Revered Lendell Chase of the city's High Street Baptist Church and his colleagues Revered Lawrence Campbell of the city's Bibleway Church and Reverend Alexander Dunlap of the city's Saint Paul African Methodist Episcopal Church formed the Danville Christian Progressive Association (DCPA), an affiliate of the prominent civil rights organization the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which was founded in 1957 by its president, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and other leading civil rights activists. Housed at 226 North Union Street, the DCPA established its headquarters at the Merritt building, which was previously home

Virginia Department of Historic Resources. "National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Downtown Danville Historic District," 51.
 Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ "First State Bank Historical Marker." Historical Marker, February 2, 2023. https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=171809

¹⁵⁰ Virginia Department of Historic Resources. "National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Downtown Danville Historic District," 53.

¹⁵¹ Television news of the Civil Rights Era: Film & Summaries. Accessed May 4, 2024. http://www2.vcdh.virginia.edu/civilrightstv/glossary/people-058.html.

to the private practice of its owner and namesake Dr. Bishop Merritt, an African-American dentist. 152

Beginning in May 1963, the civil rights movement gained steam in Danville with a series of sit-ins, demonstrations, and marches organized and attended by members of the DCPA and other local leaders—among them Hopewell's foremost civil rights activist and, later, friend and colleague of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Revered Curtis Harris. Specifically objecting to the segregation of municipal and public buildings, these protests garnered backlash from city officials, including staunch segregationist and Danville Judge Archibald Aiken, who ordered a temporary-turned-permanent injunction to minimize them. Despite this, demonstrations continued, including that of a small group of protestors who gathered outside of city hall on the afternoon of June 10, 1963.

Brutally attacked by the police, these individuals were beaten and arrested, inspiring a larger group that same day to gather at city hall for a prayer vigil. Once more brutally attacked by a fire hose- and club-wielding police force, the events, now known as "Bloody Monday," infamously resulted in 47 injuries, numerous arrests and indictments of demonstrators, and further restrictive ordinances from the city (figure 57). Sparking a response from national civil rights leaders, the events of and surrounding Bloody Monday encouraged Dr. King to travel to Danville and speak before a large group at High Street Baptist Church. The events—which, by August 1963, led to more than 300 individuals awaiting trial and the amassing of an estimated \$300,000 in bail bonds—prompted First State Bank to post bond for almost 20 jailed

¹⁵² "Danville's Black Heritage Tour." Virginia Main Street, February 28, 2022. https://virginiamainstreet.com/2022/02/28/danvilles-black-heritage-tour/.

¹⁵³ William Paul Lazarus. *Virginia's civil rights hero Curtis W. Harris Sr.* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2023), 82

¹⁵⁴ "Bloody Monday Historical Marker." Historical Marker, February 2, 2023. https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=66038.

demonstrators.¹⁵⁵ A devastating and salient piece of Danville's history, such events of the civil rights movement remain a part of the fabric of downtown, including that of North Union Street.

The origins of the 206/208 revitalization project date back to the summer of 2018 when RDA was contacted by the National Main Street Center about participating in a Partners in Preservation (PiP) campaign. Founded in 2006 as a joint creation of the National Trust for Historic Preservation and American Express, PiP is a community-based program dedicated to raising the "public's awareness of historic preservation in the United States" and preserving "America's historic and cultural places." ¹⁵⁶ In fulfilling this mission, the program has provided over 24 million dollars in grants to support more than 200 historic sites across the country–spearheading, throughout the years, various campaigns focused on preserving resources related to different facets of history. ¹⁵⁷ In 2018, this campaign centered around sites reflective of American diversity in 20 Main Street communities throughout the nation. ¹⁵⁸

Nominated by PiP, these 20 communities spanned from coast to coast and ranged vastly in size and makeup, with sites in major cities like Los Angeles, Chicago, New York, and Boston represented, alongside those in smaller (but still large) cities like Memphis and Greensboro and, objectively small cities like Danville and Pontiac, Michigan (figure 58). Each competing to win up to \$150,000 in funding, these communities were asked to choose and campaign for a city-owned building that embodies American diversity, as only the ten cities with the most votes could receive grant funding. With these requirements in mind, RDA ultimately selected 206/208

¹⁵⁵ "First State Bank Historical Marker." Historical Marker.

¹⁵⁶ The National Trust for Historic Preservation. "Partners in Preservation: National Trust for Historic Preservation." Accessed January 28, 2024. https://savingplaces.org/partners-in-preservation.
¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ The National Trust for Historic Preservation. "Preserving Diverse History from Coast to Coast: American Express and National Trust for Historic Preservation to Award \$2 Million in Grants to Main Streets." Accessed January 28, 2024. https://savingplaces.org/press-center/media-resources/vote-your-main-street-2018.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid.

North Union Street, as the building's history aligned with PiP's theme and, as a property owned by the city's Industrial Development Authority, its ownership status met the campaign standards.

With one month to campaign and \$20,000 from PiP to put toward a national marketing effort, RDA carefully crafted a plan to encourage widespread voter support. In working with a team of local public relations and marketing professionals from across the region's major companies, RDA created a thematic week-by-week voting campaign. By highlighting the street and building's history, followed by imagining the property's future once rehabilitated, the campaign moved viewers from the past, through the present, and into the future. Homing in on the building's past use as a boxing gym—one of its last business iterations—much of this marketing centered around the "fight" for North Union Street (figures 59-60). Despite encountering serious setbacks caused by the devastation of Hurricane Michael—which severely flooded Danville, including downtown, and resulted in a month-long power outage in parts of the city—the campaign was a success, earning the ninth most votes of the 20 proposed projects.

As a result, RDA received \$150,000 in grant funding and began the building's rehabilitation. Working closely with the city's Office of Economic Development and Tourism—whose assistant director, Kelvin Perry, serves as the project partner in this case study—historic tax credits were used to help finance the project, as well as incentives awarded due to the city's designation as an Opportunity Zone. 160

Making unique use of the grant funds, the Office of Economic Development and Tourism conceived the idea to leverage the \$150,000 toward RDA's part ownership of the building, a

¹⁶⁰ The Virginia Department of Housing and Community Development (DHCD) describes Opportunity Zones as "a federal economic development and community development tax benefit established as part of the 2017 Tax Cuts and Jobs Act available to investors with capital gains designed to encourage long-term private investment in low-income urban, suburban and rural census tracts." See the "Opportunity Zones" write-up by DHCD for more information about these zones. For information on historic tax credits, see the Virginia Department of Historic Resources "Historic Rehabilitation Tax Credits" write-up.

process that involved netting the proceeds from the tax credits and Opportunity Zone incentives to determine the organization's interest in the property. According to Kelvin Perry, this interest is about 19%, meaning that RDA maintains 19% ownership of the building. Despite the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic amidst the rehabilitation, the 1.6 million dollar revitalization project was completed in the spring of 2021 (figures 61-79).

The Hopewell Project: 101 South Main Street¹⁶¹

The second case study I chose, with the assistance of Heather Lyne in Hopewell, focuses on the revitalization of a 16,200-square-foot, two-story, brick commercial building constructed in 1916 (with a rear, mid-century warehouse addition) and located at 101 South Main Street.

Rehabilitation work is currently in progress, and, upon completion, the building will serve as a mixed-use residential and commercial development.

The building at 101 South Main Street was erected shortly after the Great Fire of 1915 (figures 80-82). Emblematic of Hopewell's new building philosophy—as evidenced by its durable brick construction and attractive yet versatile three-part design—this building was, like several others constructed in the wake of the fire, designed to better endure future use and even disaster.

Cited in the city's 1921 Sanborn Fire Insurance maps as housing an office, a pool room, and a "fruit & conf'y" (which was likely a fruit market and confectionary parlor), these maps identify the building's first known uses (figure 83). Situated adjacent to Hopewell's railroad tracks and at the western end of the now non-existent Railroad Avenue, these maps also reveal that the building was located just west of the City Point Supply Company, a provider of building

¹⁶¹ The information in this section about the rehabilitation project was primarily gleaned from my interview with Heather Lyne and Kevin O'Leary. Historical information about the 101 South Main Street property was gathered in reviewing Hopewell's Sanborn Fire Insurance maps and researching the city's newspaper archives. References to these maps and archives can be found in full in the bibliography.

materials and coal. Notably, according to the city's 1927 Sanborn maps, the company was renamed W.L. Broaddus, Incorporated–thus, bearing a connection to the W.L. Broaddus Hardware store, referenced in *The Hopewell News* as early as 1928, which was owned, according to later advertisements, by Donald Sowers.¹⁶²

Despite boasting a 103 North Main Street address, research regarding the renaming and renumbering of downtown streets and buildings revealed that W.L. Broaddus Hardware Store was located in this building—a valuable find given that many longtime residents remember the property as Sowers Hardware and Marine Store (figure 84). According to *The Hopewell News*, the business operated as Broaddus Hardware until 1949 when it was renamed after Mr. Sowers, who purchased it in 1947. Sowers served as a staple downtown business until the late 1970s and, soon after, was succeeded by the Hopewell Marine Service, which remained in operation until shortly before the building's rehabilitation began in the spring of 2023. 164

At the crossroads of downtown and a prominent portion of Hopewell's industrial facilities, the building stood, especially in its early days, amidst a high-activity zone. Bridging commerce and industry, in the 1920s and 1930s, the building bordered the entrance to the large-scale Tubize Chatillon Corporation factory, which was located at the end of (what is now) South Main Street. At the time, the building was also situated among ample transportation infrastructure, as not only was the rail line and presumably the bustle of Railroad Avenue adjacent to the site, but a trolley station and service shop was located across the street at 100

¹⁶² Appomattox Regional Library System Historic Newspapers -- microfilm image viewer. Accessed April 10, 2024. http://appomattoxcl.archivalweb.com/imageViewer.php?i=1001634&q=%22broaddus+hardware%22&s=q%3D%25 22broaddus%2Bhardware%2522%26p%3D29%26r%3D0%26o%3D0%26ps%3D15.

¹⁶³ Appomattox Regional Library System Historic Newspapers -- microfilm image viewer. Accessed April 10, 2024. http://appomattoxcl.archivalweb.com/imageViewer.php?i=1015868&q=%22broaddus+hardware%22&s=q%3D%25 22broaddus%2Bhardware%2522%26p%3D29%26r%3D984.

¹⁶⁴ According to various *Hopewell News* advertisements, the building's second story served as apartments for many decades.

South Main. Known as the Car Shed, the station and service shop served as the point of intersection for the city's two trolley lines—the intra-city Toonersville trolley and bi-city Hopewell-Petersburg trolley—creating a lively transportation hub.¹⁶⁵

With rehabilitation work well underway as of April 2024, the origins of this project predate the building's purchase in February 2023 by general contracting and development firm J.D. Lewis Construction Management—whose president and co-owner Kevin O'Leary serves as the project partner for this case study. Having completed numerous historic rehabilitations throughout and beyond Virginia, J.D. Lewis Construction Management discovered the building while seeking out properties for adaptive reuse projects. Optimistic about its potential as a mixed-use residential and commercial development, the company purchased the building, working with HDP throughout the acquisition and rehabilitation process.

Upon the project's completion, the building—which will be called the Sowers Hardware Flats, a tribute to the longtime hardware and marine store—will contain seventeen apartments, including fifteen traditional units and two live-work units. Six of these apartments will be located in the building's one-story rear addition, while the remaining eleven—together with one ground-floor commercial space—will be located in the original portion of the building (figures 85-96). Like the Danville case study, both historic tax credits and incentives awarded due to the city's designation as an Opportunity Zone are being used to help finance the project.

The Staunton Project: 11 North Central Avenue¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵ Appomattox Regional Library System Historic Newspapers -- microfilm image viewer. Accessed April 10, 2024. http://appomattoxcl.archivalweb.com/imageViewer.php?i=1129730&q=toonersville+trolley&s=q%3Dtoonersville% 2Btrolley%26p%3D29%26r%3D0.

¹⁶⁶ The information in this section about the rehabilitation project was primarily gleaned from my interviews with Kathy and Bill Frazier and Peter Denbigh. Historical information about the 11 North Central Avenue property was gathered in reviewing Staunton's Sanborn Fire Insurance maps and city's newspaper archives. References to these maps and archives can be found in full in the bibliography.

The third and final case study I chose, with the assistance of Kathy and Bill Frazier in Staunton, focuses on the revitalization of a circa 1905, 27,000-square-foot commercial building located at 11 North Central Avenue and its development into the Staunton Innovation HUB, a community coworking center (figures 97-98). Although there is an adjacent 4,500-square-foot building (located at 32 North Augusta Street) which is also a part of the coworking center, the larger and more intensive rehabilitation of the 27,000-square-foot commercial building is the subject of this study. Notably, both the 4,500- and 27,000-square-foot buildings sit across the street from the urban renewal-affected area described in Chapter 1.

Designed as three partially adjoining buildings, the property (today referred to as 11 North Central Avenue) was home to a great number of businesses in the early and mid-20th century. According to the city's Sanborn Fire Insurance maps, the northernmost building (then 11-13 North Central), which is three stories tall and was originally divided into two sections, housed a marble works facility on the first floor of its northern section, as outlined by the 1909, 1914, and 1921 maps (figure 99). The building's southern section is cited as housing "sewing machines" in the 1909 maps, a secondhand store in the 1914 maps, and a meat market–identified in the city's newspaper, the *News-Leader*, as Noon's Market–in the 1921 maps.

The middle building (then 15 North Central), which is two stories tall and connects to the southernmost building via a shared stairway, is cited as housing "D.G. & Clo," which was likely a clothing store (perhaps bearing a connection to the sewing machines located next door), in the 1909 maps and a grocery store in the 1921 maps. The southernmost building (then 19 North Central), which is also two stories tall, is cited as housing an "Express Off." in the 1909 and 1914 maps. According to the *News-Leader*, this was an office of the Adams Express Company, a large-scale shipping company that operated from the mid-19th to early 20th centuries and came

to Staunton in 1856.¹⁶⁷ Subsequently, the 1921 maps cite this southernmost building as housing a restaurant.

The 1914 and 1921 maps cite the second story of all three buildings—including the attached middle and southern buildings—as home to Beverly Manufacturing Company, a producer of college flags and pennants. While these maps provide excellent insight into the property's early uses, various advertisements and articles from the *News-Leader* archives indicate that the buildings were home to many other businesses not represented in these maps. Reflecting the dynamic and ever-changing nature of downtown commerce and the multifaceted use of downtown buildings, spanning from the 1910s to the 1950s, these advertisements and articles provide a glimpse into the property's more expansive commercial history.

These buildings are best known, however, for their decades-long use as the headquarters of the *News-Leader*, which was founded in 1904. The paper's connection to this property can be traced back to the mid-1920s. Appearing in the 1909, 1914, and 1921 maps as headquartered across the street in a no-longer-extant building located at 12 North Central Avenue, by 1924, the paper moved its operation to 11-13 North Central, as evidenced by its listing in the city's directory that year.¹⁶⁸

While it is unclear when the *News-Leader* expanded into the 15 and 19 North Central buildings, it appears it might have occupied all three buildings by the early 1960s. This is evidenced by the fact that there is no mention of other businesses in the 15 and 19 North Central

¹⁶⁷ "May 17, 1919, Page 2 - The Daily News Leader at Newspapers.Com." Historical Newspapers from 1700s-2000s - Newspapers.com. Accessed April 10, 2024.

https://www.newspapers.com/image/315790228/?match=1&terms=adams+express+north+central.

¹⁶⁸ City of Staunton Directory, Staunton, Virginia: 1924. Accessed March 10, 2023.

https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/discoveryui-content/view/561170777:2469?_phcmd=u(%27https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/search/?name=news+leader&event=_staunton-virginia-usa_24293&birth=1924&location=2&priority=usa &successSource=Search&queryId=ce23c5d4-5757-40c5-8ffe-a80c5ca7dd51%27,%27successSource%27).

buildings and the address of the "Leader Business Office" is listed as 11 North Central Avenue in the newspaper archives dating to that time. This suggests that the paper might have occupied all three buildings and, thus, taken a singular address. ¹⁶⁹ In 1987, the paper again expanded its operation—this time to house its large-scale printing equipment—erecting a warehouse addition at the property's rear.

In 2017, the Staunton Innovation HUB purchased the property from the *News-Leader*. Despite this sale, the paper maintained an office in the building during the rehabilitation and today is a tenant of the HUB. In 2016, the Staunton Creative Community Fund and SDDA each received grants from DHCD for feasibility studies to determine which downtown buildings were well suited for a coworking space. These feasibility studies helped identify the property and, ultimately, spawn its rehabilitation. Founded by entrepreneurs Peter and Alison Denbigh, the premise of the HUB was conceived a few years before the building's identification and purchase (as described in Chapter 3).

Following the Denbigh's acquisition of 32 North Augusta Street and 11 North Central Avenue, rehabilitation work began. This initiated the HUB's partnership with Frazier Associates, who served as the project's architect. Like the Danville and Hopewell case studies, historic tax credits were used to help finance the rehabilitation. In early 2018, the North Augusta Street building was completed, and, in the fall of 2020, despite the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic, the North Central Avenue building opened, marking the completion of the five million dollar

¹⁶⁹ Notably, the nomination form for the Beverly Historic District (which was prepared in 1979 by Bill Frazier while serving as the first director of the Historic Staunton Foundation), acknowledges the structures' poor condition. In the nomination, the northernmost three-story building and middle two-story building are described as "heavily remodeled [in the] mid-20th century" with "building materials" and "remodeling" that "do not contribute to the historic character of the district." Additionally, the southernmost two-story building is described as having a "heavily remodeled storefront," signifying that by the late 1970s the buildings were substantially altered and restoration measures were required to improve their historic integrity. Virginia Department of Historic Resources. "National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Beverly Historic District," 15.

revitalization project (figures 100-117). Today, 140 businesses and companies, including prominent local institutions like Mary Baldwin University, maintain offices at the HUB–a number that, according to Peter Denbigh, equates to about 35% to 40% of all companies downtown. Additionally, numerous community members routinely utilize the HUB's various coworking offerings.

Assessing the Case Study Projects' Impacts

Varying in scale and nature, these three case studies reflect the diversity of historic building rehabilitations in Main Street communities and illustrate how a project's location and output can play an integral role in downtown revitalization efforts.

The location of each case study project is significant in impact. In Danville, North Union Street's rich and storied past–spanning from the city's earliest commercial development, through the civil rights movement, and into the present day–inevitably enhanced the historic and cultural significance of the 206/208 revitalization project. In Hopewell, the rehabilitation of the prominent 101 South Main Street building–a highly visible property on the outskirts of the city's commercial district–serves a crucial role in supporting expanded downtown revitalization efforts. Similarly, in Staunton, the rehabilitation of the large-scale buildings that today comprise 11 North Central Avenue aided the revival of this demolition-heavy area, as the buildings, which are now imbued with a renewed sense of historic character and integrity, elevate the architectural and aesthetic interest of North Central Avenue, juxtaposing the asphalt-clad expanse they border.

Just as the location of each building strengthens the magnitude of its revitalization, the resources brought by revitalization strengthen the area where each building is located. Though perhaps a straightforward observation, the reciprocal benefits of these and many other

rehabilitation projects are of note. Each fulfilling a need within downtown, these projects generated the creation of new business and/or residential offerings. In Danville, the rehabilitation of 206/208 North Union Street brought versatile office and commercial space to downtown. In Hopewell, the rehabilitation of 101 South Main Street will bring market-rate multifamily housing and commercial space to downtown. And, in Staunton, the rehabilitation of 11 North Central Avenue brought expansive coworking and office space, equipped with special tools and supplies, to downtown.

These projects, though unique in their history—including their past uses, journey to revitalization, and the nature of their reuse—bear many commonalities as successful examples of historic building rehabilitations. With the necessary contextual background provided by the semi-structured interview methodology and case study profiles presented in this chapter, further analysis of the impact of these projects, as well as that of preservation- and partnership-based work more generally, are made in Chapter 3.

Chapter 3 | Examining Partnerships within the Main Street Network: Collaboration as the Cornerstone of Successful Downtown Revitalization Efforts

The semi-structured interviews with the four Main Street leaders and three Main Street partners resulted in significant and abundant findings. Provided that, on average, the interviews yielded just over 8,000-word-long transcriptions, it is necessary to distill this data for optimal presentation and, subsequently, interpretation. Therefore, the following abstracts offer, first, background on the individuals involved in and format of each interview and, second, the major topics of conversation covered in each interview, thus providing context for the more focused discussion that follows. It should be noted that, because of the quantity of findings, this chapter addresses only a small portion of the collective interview data—that which is most pertinent to the themes of historic preservation and partnerships. It should also be noted that, simply for ease of reading, from henceforth the interviewees are largely referred to by first name only.

Synopses of the Semi-Structured Interviews

(Danville) River District Association Interview Abstract

My interview with Diana Schwartz, executive director of the River District Association, occurred virtually by Zoom on December 13, 2023. In accordance with the pre-prepared guide, the interview began with a broader discussion about RDA, historic preservation, and partnerships and moved into a more specific discussion about the 206/208 North Union revitalization project. Regarding RDA, our discussion primarily pertained to the organization's history (as described in Chapter 1) and some of its most significant successes. Notably, these successes included improving the community's "civic self-esteem," in part through the rehabilitation of the former Dan River Mills factory, and the establishment and growth of RDA's entrepreneurship programs.

In terms of historic preservation, our discussion focused on the fundamental role the retention of downtown's historic architecture and the use of historic tax credits have played in advancing downtown revitalization. Concerning partnerships, our conversation pertained to the significance and necessity of collaboration to RDA's operation and that of Main Street organizations more generally, some of RDA's most frequent partners, and the qualities that foster and inhibit healthy collaborations. Regarding the 206/208 North Union revitalization, our discussion focused on (as described in various capacities in Chapter 2) the logistics of the PiP campaign, RDA's partnership with the Office of Economic Development and Tourism, the outcomes of the project, and Danville's civil rights history—including the city's continued reckoning with the events of Bloody Monday.

Danville Office of Economic Development and Tourism Interview Abstract¹⁷⁰

My interview with Kelvin Perry, the assistant director of Danville's Office of Economic Development and Tourism, took place on December 21, 2023, and occurred virtually by Zoom. In accordance with the pre-prepared guide, the interview began with a broader discussion about the Office of Economic Development and Tourism, historic preservation, and partnerships and moved into a more specific discussion about the 206/208 North Union revitalization project. Our conversations relating to the office pertained largely to its mission, some of its most significant successes, and its challenges—including contending with misunderstandings regarding the city's emphasis on and actions in pursuing investment downtown. Concerning historic preservation, our discussion focused on the critical role the retention of downtown's historic architecture has played in attracting developers to the city—which, notably, in addition to supporting businesses

¹⁷⁰ Throughout this chapter, "office" is used as an abbreviation for and refers to the Danville Office of Economic Development and Tourism.

and entrepreneurship programs (including those of RDA), Kelvin highlighted as a significant success of the office's. Regarding partnerships, our conversation pertained to the breadth of the office's collaborations, as well as the importance of collaborative work in expanding the office's reach within the community and, thus, enhancing its ability to complete otherwise impossible projects. In terms of the 206/208 North Union revitalization, our conversation primarily addressed the financing of the project–including the use of historic tax credits, Opportunity Zone incentives, and the implementation of the part-ownership model (as discussed in Chapter 2)—the office's partnership with RDA, and the effect of the outbreak of the Covid pandemic during the rehabilitation.

Hopewell Downtown Partnership/J.D. Lewis Construction Management Interview Abstract¹⁷¹

My interview with Heather Lyne, executive director of the Hopewell Downtown

Partnership, and Kevin O'Leary, the president and co-owner of J.D. Lewis Construction

Management, occurred jointly and in person at the HDP office on December 22, 2023.

Due to the combined nature of our conversation, the structure of the pre-prepared guide differed slightly, as the questions—though maintaining the same thematic order of organizational-, preservation-, and partnership-related discussions followed by those about the revitalization project—were either directed to Heather and Kevin individually or as a pair. Regarding HDP, Heather's and my conversation pertained primarily to the organization's mission. Regarding J.D. Lewis, Kevin's and my conversation pertained primarily to the company's introduction to, continued interest in, and rationale for undertaking rehabilitation projects. Concerning historic preservation, Heather's and my discussion focused on the benefits of preservation in offering a

¹⁷¹ Throughout this chapter, "J.D. Lewis" is used as an abbreviation for and refers to J.D. Lewis Construction Management.

sustainable alternative to new construction and influencing increased interest in downtown from developers, and Kevin's and my discussion focused on the draw to preservation work thanks to many historic buildings' unique character. In terms of partnerships, Heather's and my conversation pertained to the crucial nature of collaboration to HDP's operation, some of the organization's most frequent partners, and the value of the inner Main Street network. Kevin's and my conversation pertained primarily to the significance of partnerships within rehabilitation projects, the advantages of working with Main Street organizations/in Main Street communities, and the essential role of historic tax credits in making rehabilitation projects feasible.

Additionally, the three of us discussed qualities that influence strong partnerships and those that inhibit them. Regarding the 101 South Main revitalization, our conversation focused on the catalysts for and logistics of the project, as well as its potential to further Hopewell's downtown revitalization efforts.

(Staunton) Frazier Associates' Interview Abstract

My interview with Kathy and Bill Frazier, the founders and principals of Frazier

Associates, took place on January 31, 2024, at the Frazier Associates office, with Kathy

participating in person and Bill by phone. In accordance with the pre-prepared guide, the

interview began with a broader discussion about Frazier Associates, historic preservation, and

partnerships and moved into a more specific discussion about the 11 North Central revitalization.

Regarding Frazier Associates, our conversation focused on the firm's history and its

long-standing relationship with the Virginia Main Street program. Concerning historic

preservation, our discussion spanned a wide range of topics, including the history of early

preservation and revitalization efforts in the city and the origins and principles of the Main Street

movement. Additionally, we discussed the significance of historic tax credits to rehabilitation projects, the impact of facade improvement projects on revitalization efforts, and the changing nature of the firm's Main Street design services. Regarding partnerships, our discussion pertained to the importance of the firm's partnerships with state agencies and its work in over 40 Virginia Main Street communities. In terms of the 11 North Central revitalization, we discussed the firm's involvement in the rehabilitation as the project architect and the value of the HUB to the downtown community.

Staunton Innovation HUB Interview Abstract

My interview with Peter Denbigh, the co-founder and president of the Staunton Innovation HUB, took place on February 2, 2024, and occurred in person at the HUB. In accordance with the pre-prepared guide, the interview began with a broader discussion about entrepreneurship/the HUB, historic preservation, and partnerships and moved into a more specific discussion about the 11 North Central revitalization. Regarding entrepreneurship/the HUB, our conversation focused on the catalysts and inspiration for the coworking center, as well as its mission and role in the community. In terms of historic preservation, our discussion centered around the complexity of historic rehabilitation projects, the tremendous importance of historic tax credits in making rehabilitation projects possible, and the effect of preservation and revitalization work—including that of the Main Street program—in informing downtown

Staunton's present-day vitality. Concerning partnerships, our conversation pertained to the critical influence of partnerships in the project's realization and the desire to foster community collaboration as an impetus for the HUB's formation. Regarding the 11 North Central Avenue revitalization, our discussion addressed the timeline of the project—including the outbreak of the

Covid-19 pandemic during the rehabilitation—community reception to the project, and the value of downtown Staunton to the HUB and vice versa.

Thematic Findings From the Semi-Structured Interviews

A review of the major topics of conversation in each interview, as presented in the above abstracts, reveals several notable findings concerning historic preservation and partnerships—and, more specifically, the nature and value of preservation- and partnership-based work. These findings, which are organized by city, are presented in the following section.

Danville Findings:

Regarding the value of historic preservation, first, it is apparent that preservation has played an important role in encouraging downtown development. To this point, Diana noted that the city's "very strong preservation ethic" and its efforts to stabilize and preserve downtown's historic buildings, "even when there wasn't economic activity going on," had allowed for increased private investment downtown once public investment began in earnest. Suggesting the impact of this work, she stated, "I would say, for sure, that it is historic preservation that has enabled all of the revitalization and the comeback of Danville." Similarly, Kelvin acknowledged that the city's maintenance of downtown's historic "gems" had created ample opportunity for "redevelopment" projects in the River District.

Second, it is clear that preservation—in this case, by way of rehabilitation projects—has aided in changing local perceptions of downtown. In discussing the 206/208 North Union revitalization, Diana reminisced on her arrival in Danville in 2017. She recalled how the city had "no cheerleaders," as was reflected by the comments section of any social media post referencing

downtown, which, at the time, was filled with "an entire diatribe" about how "horrible" and "dangerous" the area was. Explaining that the PiP project was the "first crack of light" she saw in that some community members began to "push back" on this negative discourse, Diana credited the revitalization as a catalyst for the kind of dialogue present today—one in which "there's a lot more pride" and negative comments about downtown are quickly met with resistance by supportive community members. In discussing how raising the community's "civic self-esteem" became a focus of RDA, she shared how the organization partially pursued this priority through the revitalization of the former Dan River Mills factory. Noting that, following its closure in 2006, the vacant and dilapidated factory began to adversely affect the community's identity, Diana stated that, as Danville's "crown jewel," its rehabilitation (which is projected at 85 million dollars and set for completion in the fourth quarter of 2024) has prompted community members to recognize that the city has "turned a corner."

Regarding the nature of historic preservation both in and beyond Danville, first, it is evident that, in influencing revitalization, preservation work is not only effective on a large scale—such as that of the 206/208 North Union project and, even more so, the Dan River Mills project—but that it is also effective on a smaller scale. Remarking that it is "the little, small wins that nobody thinks about that have made the most difference of all" in revitalizing downtown, Diana emphasized the critical impact the "psychology of a neighborhood" has on a community. Referencing the "broken windows theory," she explained that disrepair, like a broken window, signifies neglect and, therefore, negatively affects one's perception of his or her community. In maintaining that "perception is reality," she recognized the city's early efforts to improve downtown's "vibrancy"—through simple steps, like fixing broken windows—in contributing greatly to the revitalization success achieved today. Likewise, in noting that the Virginia Main

Street program's free facade improvement renderings had helped business owners "see the possible" and ultimately "reimagine" their storefronts, Kelvin also alluded to the idea that smaller preservation initiatives can be beneficial in advancing downtown revitalization efforts.

Second, it is apparent that historic tax credits are integral to the completion of many rehabilitation projects both in and beyond Danville. Stating that, while some of Danville's historic downtown buildings were purchased for just a few thousand dollars, "despite them being massive, beautiful buildings," it "still takes millions of dollars to rehabilitate them," Diana recognized the value of the incentives and financial relief tax credits provide in propelling projects forward. Remarking that Danville is an "outlier" regarding the speed with which its revitalization has occurred, she acknowledged that "if it wasn't for the historic tax credit programs, both in the Commonwealth and nationally" downtown's revival "would have been much, much slower." Additionally, Kelvin emphasized the importance of historic tax credits in making preservation work feasible, stating that the city's developers "have been able to take advantage of historic tax credits in order to make their projects advance."

Regarding the value of partnerships, first, it is evident that they are essential to the operation of Main Street organizations, as suggested by Diana, who stated, "I do not know how a downtown Main Street type of organization can be successful...without collaboration." Second, it is apparent that partnerships are required to complete and/or support many kinds of revitalization-related work. Critical to rehabilitation projects, both Diana and Kelvin noted the importance of partnerships to the Dan River Mills factory revitalization. In describing the project's origins, Diana explained how RDA had applied for and received a \$25,000 feasibility study grant from DHCD to determine the building's "highest and best" use. Stating, "RDA wrote the initial grant request," "the Commonwealth of Virginia...gave us the grant funding," "and the

City of Danville matched some of the funding that we needed to make it happen," she shared how multiple partnerships served in merely obtaining the feasibility study, a feat which resulted in the Alexander Company–a leader in factory and mill redevelopment projects–undertaking the building's rehabilitation. Acknowledging the impact of these partnerships, Kelvin stated that had it not been for the DHCD grant that helped fund the study, "we may not be where we are today regarding that particular project."

Critical also to business development, both Diana and Kelvin noted the importance of partnerships in fostering downtown's entrepreneur "ecosystem." Explaining that while most anyone can start a business, "it's a whole different thing to keep that business open and successful," Diana indicated the great number of "players"—from banks, accountants, lawyers, marketing firms, city departments, and nonprofits, among others—involved in making downtown entrepreneurship possible and prosperous. Affirming that "you have to have a lot of support mechanisms in place to make something like [this ecosystem] happen," she recognized partnerships as crucial to creating and sustaining a healthy commercial district. Likewise, Kelvin acknowledged how the office has sought to be very "supportive" of enhancing this "ecosystem" by providing various resources to business owners—both within and beyond downtown—including small gap funding to participants of RDA's Community Business Launch program.

Third, it is clear that partnerships can be beneficial in expanding organizational reach.

Remarking that collaboration—especially with other city departments and local groups—enables the office to "touch demographics that we normally may not be able to touch," Kelvin explained that partnerships are crucial in effectively engaging with a broader portion of the community.

Noting that downtown revitalization efforts are integral in encouraging more extensive community revitalization, he explained that, while some residents "still haven't been downtown

and wonder why we're investing in that," to create "critical mass" and avoid "spot-checking" the office has to "start somewhere and then build out." As such, he recognized partnerships—in this case, specifically with the city's Chamber of Commerce—as helping to "address" areas of the community outside of downtown.

Regarding the nature of partnerships, first, it is evident that they are often expansive within the Main Street network, including within local coordinating programs and local government. The Dan River Mills project exemplifies the magnitude of such collaborations, as reflected not only by the multiple partners involved in the feasibility study but also by the tremendous number of partners involved in the revitalization in the years since. Stating that "every type of partnership you can imagine" has participated in the rehabilitation, including "more than four dozen different partners in the financing" who made the "entire deal come together," Diana highlighted the breadth of partnerships in a project of this scale. Additionally, the great number of partners—as previously discussed—involved in supporting downtown entrepreneurship also exemplifies the magnitude of such collaborations, as do the numerous partners with whom RDA and the Office of Economic Development and Tourism frequently collaborate. Acknowledging that RDA has "so many" partners, spanning from other nonprofits and city departments to universities and beyond, Diana listed a wide variety of the organization's regular collaborators. In remarking that the office is in collaboration with "everyone you can imagine within our ecosystem at the state and region levels," Kelvin highlighted the multi-level character and vast extent of the Office of Economic Development and Tourism's partnerships.

Second, it is apparent that, despite the importance of partnerships (including from an operational standpoint), it is not always easy for Main Street organizations to prioritize them. Emphasizing that, of the program's Four Points, organization is the "most important one and,

unfortunately, it is the one that gets the least amount of attention," Diana recognized the challenges many Main Street organizations face due to small staff sizes and the burdens of fundraising often just to cover day-to-day costs. Remarking that "by the time" Main Street directors "put all of [their] energy into events and fundraising...there's not a lot of energy or time leftover for collaboration and for other projects," Diana highlighted how these limitations can inhibit the very foundation of the program. As such, she acknowledged how, thanks to the Danville Regional Foundation—the organization's primary funder—RDA is unique in its "access to organizational funding." Stating that the foundation "sees their investment into our organization as an investment into the revitalization of downtown," she highlighted how this partnership, in "providing operational overhead" and minimizing fundraising demands, allows RDA to focus on impactful work that puts money directly back into the community, such as writing and securing grants.

Third, it is apparent that healthy partnerships are contingent upon intentional interaction between collaborators. Stating that "communication, trust, [and] agreement on process upfront" are the key to fostering strong partnerships, Diana acknowledged that there are specific qualities that enhance collaboration. Exemplified by the partnership between RDA and the Office of Economic Development and Tourism in the 206/208 revitalization, Diana alluded to the significance of these qualities, stating that it was the office's "willingness to partner, their guidance, their trust in us, [and] their belief in us" that made the project possible. Kelvin emphasized that because the office "works closely" with RDA, partnering on the project was a "natural fit." Additionally, Diana acknowledged that there are qualities that hinder collaboration, remarking that partnerships can present challenges, especially when the involved parties are concerned with "who" gets credit for the work. As such, she advocated for a shift in thinking,

suggesting that when a group of partners instead focuses on "who is being impacted" by the task at hand, the "entire game" and collaborative process shifts for the better.

Hopewell Findings:

Regarding the value of historic preservation, first, it is evident that preservation work is seen as attractive on multiple fronts. Acknowledging that its "importance [lies] not only in preserving the character of the community and helping to preserve an identity and make that identity visible" but also in the fact that it is "green," Heather offered support for preservation from an environmental perspective. Additionally, she recognized that HDP's "connection" to Main Street and, thus, work in the "historic preservation space" helped cultivate a "different level of interest" in the city among developers. In acknowledging that the company's rehabilitation projects have transformed from filling an "economic need" to becoming "just something that we really enjoy," Kevin suggested that J.D. Lewis is drawn to preservation work because "there's more character in the historic projects than kind of a cut-and-paste, repeat, new construction project."

Second, it is apparent that preservation—especially in the form of rehabilitation projects—can help spawn further revitalization efforts. In discussing the 101 South Main revitalization, Kevin described the railroad adjacent to the building as a "boundary of downtown" and remarked that if J.D. Lewis, alongside the owners responsible for the properties on the other side of the railroad, can "bookend a revitalization that works its way back towards Route 10," the effect would be "huge." Stating that a rehabilitation project of this kind "fills in the dots," he relayed that "we can be successful with multiple other developers being here and providing a good quality product," emphasizing that, in downtown development, a "rising tide

really does lift all ships." To this point, Heather noted that there are a few "different anchor properties throughout downtown," stating, of 101 South Main, that "this is really the anchor property for this side of downtown." Describing the property as a "catalyst" for the revitalization of "another section" of the city's commercial district, she highlighted the significance of the project in bringing together the "triangulated points" in which these "anchor properties" are located.

Regarding the nature of historic preservation, first, it is again clear that historic tax credits are integral to the completion of many rehabilitation projects both in and beyond Hopewell. In discussing the 101 South Main revitalization, Kevin noted that, because J.D. Lewis is not "hitting a home run on the project" and given that it is a "relatively thin deal, especially with interest rates and construction costs," tax credits were instrumental in making the project work financially. He explained that, had the company not taken advantage of both federal and state credits and syndicated the state credits, "there would be a gap between [where] construction costs [are] and where you would need them to be" for rehabilitation to occur. Suggesting that this scenario is likely "especially true in Main Street communities," he recognized that while the company will get "good, solid rents" in Hopewell, they will not equate to "downtown Richmond rents or downtown Norfolk rents," and, provided that construction costs are relatively similar across the state, tax credits are necessary in overcoming prohibitive financial barriers. Additionally, he suggested the importance of tax credits more broadly, stating that they are "what make so many projects feasible" and without them "hundreds of projects throughout the state wouldn't have happened."

Second, it is apparent that historic tax credits and, in this case, the incentives provided by the city's designation as an Opportunity Zone are effective in ensuring that preservation projects

are high in quality. Though a seemingly straightforward observation given that historic tax credit projects must comply with the preservation standards set forth by the Secretary of the Interior (as described in Chapter 1), the efficacy of these projects is still of note. Emphasizing that it is not possible to "run your way through the tax credits," Kevin remarked that they, in addition to the requirement that an Opportunity Zone investment be held for a minimum of ten years, create incentives "to do a quality project." Explaining that, in the 101 South Main revitalization, J.D. Lewis had "missed on one of the approaches with NPS," Kevin acknowledged how the appropriate application of these standards is monitored. Stating that the hiccup concerned the preservation of "original, historic open space" in the front of the building, he described how J.D. Lewis shifted from three one-bedroom units to two two-bedroom units on the ground floor and one two-bedroom unit to one one-bedroom unit on the second floor to "better retain and respect" the building's layout.

Regarding the value of partnerships, first, it is again evident that partnerships are essential to the operation of Main Street organizations. Noting the small staff size and limited budget with which many Main Street organizations operate and, additionally, that HDP's board is "very much a working board," Heather emphasized that partnerships and "all of the relationships that we build in the community are absolutely essential" from an operational standpoint, stating that the organization could not "manage" without "working really closely with our business owners [and] community members who want to volunteer." Noting the importance—both for HDP and Main Street organizations generally—of fostering a strong relationship with local government, she also highlighted the significance of maintaining a "mutually beneficial" relationship with the city in ensuring organizational success. Additionally, she recognized the

crucial role of Main Street itself as a partner, remarking that, in terms of organizational support, the "connectivity" and "peer network" HDP has "with all of the other directors is huge."

Second, it is apparent that Main Street-or other, comparable-partnerships can be imperative in the completion of downtown revitalization projects. Emphasizing that partnerships are "critical, especially on projects like ours," Kevin remarked that "from our experience, the projects where we have an active downtown partner...go smoother, and so we pursue projects that have that." Stating that, unlike in larger communities, in "Main Street communities, you just are able to make that personal connection with people who are...making decisions and doing the work you need done," he emphasized the significance of the program in facilitating the development process, noting that downtown partners are "incredible at pushing forward projects." A testament to this notion, of the 101 South Main revitalization, he said, working with Heather, "who has helped us navigate the city and...the inner workings of the SUP process, was phenomenal." Additionally, he emphasized the value of having an "advocate" for development and revitalization by describing one of J.D. Lewis's renovation projects in which the company faced resistance from the locality where they were working, stating that because "projects are hard enough" and the company does not need an "extra uphill battle" a dedicated downtown partner can be crucial in positively influencing the outcome of this work.

Regarding the nature of partnerships, first, as also supported by the findings in Danville, it is clear that they are often expansive within the Main Street network. Exemplified by HDP's partnerships—which include other nonprofits, as well as city departments and schools, state agencies, and regional groups working across a vast range of fields, from finance and health to art, tourism, and beyond—in discussing the organization's frequent partners, Heather alluded to the breadth of such collaborations. Second, it is evident (as, again, supported by the findings in

Danville) that healthy partnerships are contingent upon intentional interaction between collaborators. Stating that "everybody's got to have the same goal," Kevin emphasized that, in collaborative work, "a lot of times you have to kind of set your ego aside" and recognize that "it's really not about any one individual." Affirming this point, Heather remarked, "it's a win for everybody, most of the time, when you take that approach."

Staunton Findings:

Regarding the value of historic preservation, it is evident that small-scale preservation efforts—in this case, specifically facade rehabilitations—are advantageous in offering an attainable approach to downtown revitalization. A testament to this notion, the story of the Beverly Restaurant, a long-time downtown establishment that was an early recipient of the Historic Staunton Foundation's facade improvement services, exemplifies the feasibility of these efforts. In discussing the restaurant, Kathy explained that because its owners were unable to shut down business for the rehabilitation, a new storefront was constructed "off-site." She described how, after closing early one afternoon, the contractor "took the old storefront out and put the new storefront in and the next morning [the restaurant was] open for breakfast." Impactful not only in its speed and relative affordability compared to a larger project but in the responses it evoked from community members, the story of the Beverly Restaurant's rehabilitation also speaks to the nature of historic preservation work.

Regarding the nature of preservation work, first, it is apparent that smaller-scale preservation efforts can help inspire larger ones. Sharing how, after the storefront was replaced, the restaurant's group of regulars went "up and down the street [exclaiming], 'What happened to the Beverly Restaurant?!' 'Where did it go?!' 'What happened to the Beverly Restaurant?!,'"

Kathy described the ordeal as "hilarious" but poignant. She noted the impression these rehabilitations had on the community, saying, "people started seeing the impact of facade improvements on the image of the building, the business, [and] the downtown, and it just started to be very exciting." Affirming the catalyzing effect the initial facade rehabilitations had downtown, Bill stated, "all of the sudden, you started seeing three or four buildings [in a block] getting [re]done." Crediting this effect, in part, to "peer pressure," he emphasized how one preservation project naturally influenced the next, stating that, while buildings with rehabilitated facades might have had "unrenovated" second stories or "okay" interiors, as a "second step" in revitalization, property owners began "fixing up" other parts of the building.

Second, it is clear that educational initiatives are essential in furthering downtown revitalization efforts. In discussing the city's earliest revitalization efforts—by way of the Historic Staunton Foundation—Bill emphasized how, initially, the organization's "big pushback" was "public education," because community members "typically didn't understand" the value of preservation. Explaining how the organization "started doing lecture series" and disseminating "walking tour brochures," he highlighted how using education to get community members "excited about the history of Staunton's architecture" and to recognize that historic architecture is an "asset" was vital in the progression of downtown's revitalization. Recognizing the impact of this work, Bill explained how this preservation-based education eventually spawned preservation-based "regulation," including the local nomination of the city's historic districts in 1996 (as described in Chapter 1). Noting, too, that education was essential to Main Street—especially in its early days—Kathy described how it was a "big part" of the program, remarking that "educating property owners" on the program's "advantages" was critical to the growth of the Main Street movement.

Third, as also supported by the findings in Danville and Hopewell, historic tax credits are integral to the completion of many rehabilitation projects both in and beyond Staunton. Stating that "the cost of doing construction doesn't change that much between a small town and a big city, but the rents are very different," Kathy described how historic tax credits "helped bridge the gap to being able to afford to do the project and getting a decent rent." Affirming this sentiment, Bill stated that historic tax credits have been "very helpful" in the city's revitalization and that, over the years, a "tremendous amount" of tax credit projects have been completed in Staunton. Exemplified by the 11 North Central revitalization, Peter attested to the importance of historic tax credits in the project's realization, stating that the building's rehabilitation "absolutely would not have happened" without them. Explaining how, in the project, the credits were syndicated as there was not sufficient "income to use them," he recalled this first-time process as "painful" and difficult but the "only choice" in making the rehabilitation financially feasible.

Fourth, it is apparent that the nature of preservation work—especially in Main Street communities—is ever-changing. In describing how the "free design assistance is really at that 101 level of trying to help property owners see the value of their property and give them a vision of what it can be," Kathy reflected on the evolving nature of Frazier Associates' Main Street design services, saying "more and more, we're working on properties that aren't necessarily the most historic building in the downtown." Remarking that "people are kind of getting what to do with the historic buildings," she stated that, now, the services are often geared toward the rehabilitation or redesign of unexpected spaces, like "vacant lots," the "backs of buildings," and "alleyways"—a "growing need" that has resulted from communities' increasingly restored downtowns.

Regarding the value of partnerships, first, it is clear that partnerships are imperative in rehabilitation projects and, especially, historic tax credit projects. Alluding to this idea, Peter described how working with the Virginia Department of Historic Resources and the National Park Service had made the project "possible" from an architectural standpoint, remarking that while "we had to negotiate a few things, clarify a few things, [and] just kind of get on the same page," the agencies were "great to work with" on this "unorthodox" project. Additionally, he acknowledged the "crucial" partnership of First Bank and Trust—which provided the company with a loan to "cover the purchase and construction mortgage," in addition to a short-term bridge loan—in making the project possible from a financial standpoint.

Second, it is apparent that partnerships—in this case, specifically community partnerships—can be beneficial in laying the groundwork for successful rehabilitation projects. In discussing the 11 North Central revitalization, Peter emphasized that collaboration with key community partners, such as Mary Baldwin University, occurred "really early" in the project's development and stated that the involvement of these partners was "very intentional," as it was essential that "we had a lot of support for this project before we really dug in." Additionally, on an even more intrinsic level, he described how community collaboration inspired the project. Referencing the "catalytic moment" that occurred while attending a business plan competition held by the Staunton Creative Community Fund, Peter recalled how seeing the many different local organizations present at the competition prompted him to consider "what would it be like if we got all of these people together under one roof?"—a question that ultimately led to the HUB's creation.

Lastly, regarding the nature of partnerships, it is evident that, in the application of Main Street's design services, partnerships are extensive and varied. Stating, "we've worked in over 40

communities now that have been in the Main Street program," Kathy explained that partnership "really depends on who the active...person or component [is]" in each respective community. Remarking that while "over the years" partnerships have developed "more and more" with the different communities' Main Street directors, she emphasized the individuality of these relationships. And, in noting that individuals involved in other "local organizations" or "local government" can be "important connections too," she recognized that requesting Main Street's design services has become a "much more universal" process.

Key Takeaways From the Semi-Structured Interviews

While, individually, the interviews each resulted in unique and city-specific findings, as a collective, they also resulted in key overarching findings.

Of these overarching findings relating to historic preservation, it is evident that smaller-scale preservation efforts are often just as important to downtown revitalization as larger ones, as is especially apparent in Danville, where small efforts have helped dramatically change local perceptions of and, therefore, relationships to downtown, and in Staunton, where, facade improvements inspired not only the completion of more preservation projects but, often, increasingly involved projects.

Additionally, it is apparent that historic tax credits are foundational to the completion of historic preservation projects, not only in Main Street communities but in communities throughout the United States. As emphasized by nearly every interviewee, the importance of historic tax credits in making rehabilitation work feasible is noteworthy. It is evident that, without these financial incentives, over the last several decades, downtown revitalization work across the nation would not have occurred as it has to date.

Of these overarching findings relating to partnerships, foremost, it is clear that to operate local Main Street coordinating programs require collaboration, much of which is extensive and varied (as seen in Danville and Hopewell). Necessary in enabling local programs to contend with the cross-disciplinary scope of the program's mission (as described in the Introduction) partnerships provide these organizations with access to resources that are not internally available—in part due to the limited staff size and budget with which many of these organizations operate.¹⁷²

Additionally, it is apparent that partnerships are required to complete historic rehabilitation projects. Evidenced not only by each interviewee's reflections on the importance of partnerships to the respective case study projects, the need for collaboration in historic rehabilitations is reflected by other notable examples too, such as, in Danville, the revitalization of the former Dan River Mills factory. Lastly, it is clear that the success of collaborations (as discussed in the Danville and Hopewell interviews)—within and beyond historic preservation work—depends upon a group of partners' commitment to working as a collective and embracing the accomplishment of a shared goal as a mutual, rather than individual, pursuit.

Broadly, these interview findings reveal that preservation-based work is the basis of downtown revitalization in Main Street communities and that partnerships are what make this (and other essential, interrelated) work possible. Therefore, these findings speak to the pivotal role of partnerships in successful downtown revitalization efforts by supporting the notion that collaboration is fundamental to preservation work which, in turn, is fundamental to downtown revitalization

¹⁷² However, despite the fact that limited resources often serve as a driving force for creating partnerships, it is worth noting (as discussed with Diana Schwartz) that, conversely, they can also hinder the ability to form such collaborations.

Conclusion

This study of downtown revitalization in the Virginia cities of Hopewell, Danville, and Staunton has affirmed my long-held belief that many smaller communities have an abundance of fascinating, meaningful, and preservation-worthy history that can be a catalyst for positive change. While this history can take many forms, architecture is an especially powerful means through which significant eras, events, and even individuals are, in a way, embodied. And it is a form that can be effectively adapted to meet current and anticipated community needs.

At the onset of this thesis, I was aware that Hopewell, Danville, and Staunton each possess notable historic architecture. However, in delving further into each city's history and, specifically, that of its downtown, I became more aware of the magnitude of such architecture and its effect on the vibrancy, health, and community-building aspects of each city and, therefore, the continued need to foster historic preservation.

I also became more aware of how downtown revitalization, particularly in Main Street communities, effectively facilitates historic preservation. In shifting the perception of historic downtown buildings from "eyesores," as recalled by Main Street founder Mary Means, to assets, the program has supported and promoted preservation by demonstrating that, when embraced, the presence of these buildings can be leveraged to create beautiful, dynamic, and economically robust spaces for and of community.

As reflected in the case studies and interviews in Hopewell, Danville, and Staunton, the influence of the program is evidenced by the striking evolution of each community's downtown. Although the historical and present-day identities of each city differ, Hopewell, Danville, and Staunton are united by similar challenges that led to downtown decline, and the program has proven to be effective within and across these three and many other communities. In

transforming from sites where the neglect and destruction of historic architecture prevailed to sites where this architecture is not only increasingly cared for but sought after, it is clear how the program has helped inform new attitudes toward and, thus, treatments of the three communities' city centers.

My findings from the interviews with the Main Street leaders and partners speak to the multifaceted importance and interconnection of historic preservation- and partnership-based work in and beyond Main Street communities. The findings from each city's interview(s) illustrate that, while the importance and execution of this work in some ways varies from place to place, in other ways, it is much the same.

Overall, the interview findings demonstrate that a myriad of historic preservation efforts are and can be effective in downtown revitalization and that preservation is not only influential in its most advanced forms but in its more basic forms too. The findings also demonstrate that, especially in undertaking more sophisticated preservation projects, rehabilitation costs can be progress-prohibitive and that the financial incentives and relief provided by historic tax credits often make the difference in enabling the completion of these projects.

Additionally, the findings indicate that the presence and performance of local Main Street coordinating programs is tied to that of partnerships, which are often expansive and diverse.

Affirming the very premise of this thesis, the findings also indicate that collaboration is necessary in the completion of historic rehabilitation projects, as is evidenced most clearly by the three case study revitalization projects of focus. Finally, the findings illustrate that viable and productive collaborations are the result of compatibility among and the humility of partners.

Together, these findings reflect that partnerships are what make a great deal of historic

preservation work possible and that this preservation work is what, consequently, largely informs downtown revitalization.

As the program nears its fifth decade in operation, the impacts of the Main Street movement are evident and far-reaching. Today, throughout the United States are communities that are either in the process of cultivating or have cultivated historically and visually engaging downtowns, which serve as thriving commercial and economic corridors. These communities—including Hopewell, Danville, and Staunton—are valuable examples of the outcomes of successful revitalization efforts. And, ultimately, they are models and sources of inspiration other communities can look to as they begin to reimagine the future of their downtowns.

Appendix

Electronic Informed Consent Agreement

Study Title: Main Street Downtown Revitalization Project Interviews

Consent Form Key Information: Participate in an approximately one-hour interview about a predetermined downtown revitalization project in one of the following Virginia cities: Hopewell, Danville, or Staunton.

Purpose of the research study: The purpose of this study is to investigate how the Main Street program supports and promotes historic preservation in downtown revitalization and to understand how and why partnerships are important to the success of these three revitalization projects and the program as a whole.

What you will do in the study: You will participate in an approximately one-hour interview. For transcription purposes, the interview will be recorded. If the interview is conducted virtually, it will be recorded on Zoom (using the Record Meeting Function), and if it is conducted in person, it will be recorded on a digital recording device.

Following the interview, I will provide you with a copy of the transcription for your review and, if you wish, revision or elaboration.

Time required: This study will take approximately one hour.

Risks: There are no anticipated risks to your participation in this study.

Benefits: There are no anticipated direct benefits to your participation in this study.

Confidentiality: Unless otherwise discussed, the information you provide in the interview will not be anonymous. This includes general identifying information, like your name, and identifying information related to your profession, like your place of employment and job title. However, the interview questions and subsequent thesis writing will be framed primarily through an organizational perspective, as emphasis will be placed on the professional organization with which you are affiliated rather than you as an individual.

Before its completion and final submission, I will provide you with a draft of the interview portion of this thesis pertaining to your organization's project for your review and approval.

All interview-related information, including Zoom and/or other digital recordings, will be privately stored in my personal computer files.

Voluntary participation: Your participation in this study is voluntary.

Right to withdraw from the study: You maintain the right to withdraw from this study without penalty.

How to withdraw from the study: If you wish to withdraw from this study, please email me at sdt3ag@virginia.edu.

Payment: You will not receive payment for participating in this study.

Using data beyond this study: After the completion and final submission of this thesis, no data from this study will be used without your permission.

If you have questions about the study, contact:

Ariana Calos
School of Architecture, 110 Bayly Drive
University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA 22903.
Telephone: (804)-873-2417

Email Address: sdt3ag@virginia.edu

Agreement:

Signature:	Date:

If you wish, you may print a copy of this form for your records.

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Images



Figure 1: A 1950s photograph of a downtown parade featuring Hopewell's Coney Island Lunch to the far right.

Courtesy of the author.



Figure 2: My great-grandparents Emmanuel and Garifalia Mitchell pose with their children—my grandmother Mary (front, right), my great-aunt Gloria (front, left), my great-aunt Katherine (middle, left)—and local mailman Henry (back) for a picture in the Coney Island Lunch, early 1940s. Courtesy of the author.



Figure 3: A 1953 newspaper advertisement for Hopewell's Coney Island Lunch. Courtesy of the author.



Figure 4: A late-1960s photograph of Danville's Coney Island Lunch (center). Courtesy of the Danville Historical Society.



Figure 5: The "Going Out Of Business Party" hosted by Danville's Coney Island Lunch prior to its closure and subsequent demolition in 1971. Courtesy of the author.

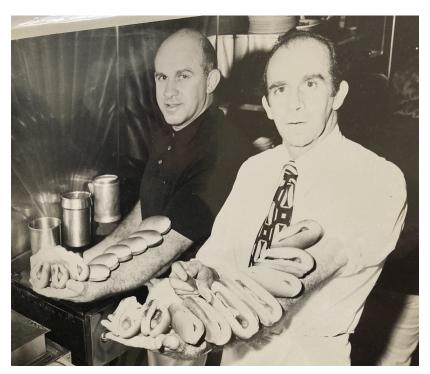


Figure 6: My great-uncles Stavros and Jim Calos serving the last-ever hot dogs at the Coney Island Lunch "Going Out Of Business Party," 1971. Courtesy of the author.



Figure 7: The demolition of Danville's Coney Island Lunch, 1971. Courtesy of the author.



Figure 8: Additional demolition on Craghead Street, 1971. Courtesy of the author.



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¹⁷³ "Virginia's Demographic Regions." Weldon Cooper Center. Accessed April 10, 2024. https://demographics.coopercenter.org/virginia-regions.

¹⁷⁴ "Main Street Communities." Main Street America. Accessed December 15, 2023. https://mainstreet.org/our-network/main-street-communities.

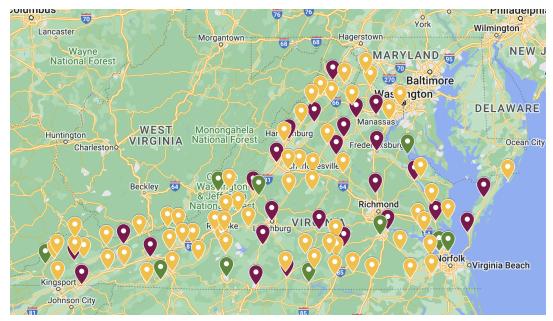


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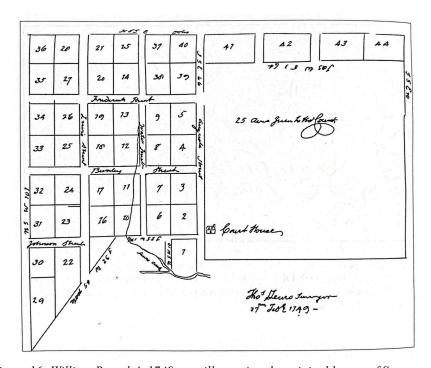


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¹⁷⁵ "Communities." Virginia Main Street, March 22, 2023. https://virginiamainstreet.com/communities/.

¹⁷⁶ Edmund D. Potter. A Guide to Historic Staunton, Virginia (History Press, 2008), 22.



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¹⁷⁷ Chase Purdy. "Former Asylum Polished, Displayed ." *Daily Progress*. December 6, 2010. https://dailyprogress.com/archives/former-asylum-polished-displayed/article_809aa2b4-fdad-5c68-b8ac-dd7a00788 59c.html.

¹⁷⁸ Libraries, WVU. "C & O - Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad Depot, Staunton, VA.." West Virginia History On View | WVU Libraries. Accessed April 15, 2024. https://wvhistoryonview.org/catalog/038274.



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 Henry J. Chataigne. *The Chesapeake & Ohio Railway Directory* (1881), 266.



Figure 21: A 1922 photograph of Beverly Street, downtown Staunton's main street, featuring (to the left) the prominent Richardsonian Romanesque-style Clocktower Building designed by architect S.W. Foulke in 1890 and remodeled by T.J. Collins in 1916. [8]

¹⁸¹ Charles Culbertson. "Residents in 1922 Answer 'What Does Staunton Need Most?" News Leader. April 12, 2018.

https://www.newsleader.com/story/news/local/history/2018/04/12/residents-1922-answer-what-does-staunton-need-most/509940002/

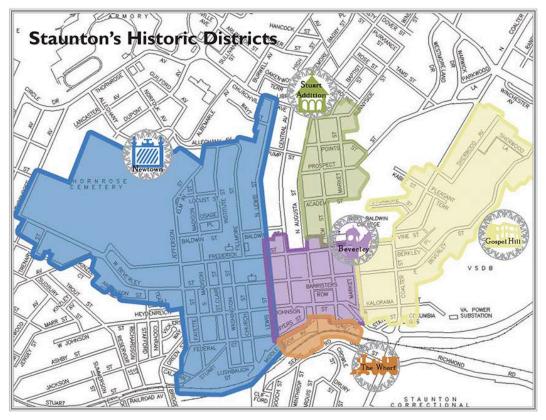


Figure 22: A map of Staunton's five historic districts, including the Beverly and Wharf Area districts; as well as Newton, a large residential neighborhood, formed from a 25-acre annexation dating to 1781, with a variety of late 18th-, 19th-, and early 20th-century architecture; Stuart Addition, a historically racially-mixed and architecturally diverse residential neighborhood which developed substantially between the 1870s and World War I; and Gospel Hill, a residential neighborhood with 19th- and early 20th-century homes, some of which were designed by T.J. Collins. 182

¹⁸² "Staunton Historic District Guidelines." Frazier Associates. Accessed April 15, 2024. https://frazierassociates.com/portfolio-item/staunton-historic-district-guidelines/.

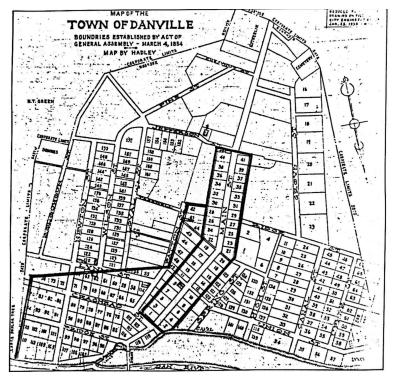


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¹⁸³ Clara G. Fountain. *Danville, A Pictorial History* (Virginia Beach: Donning Co., 1979), 20.

¹⁸⁴ "Largest Loose - Leaf Tobacco Market in the World." TuckDB Postcards, September 20, 2023. https://www.tuckdbpostcards.org/items/115077-largest-loose-leaf-tobacco-market-in-the-world.



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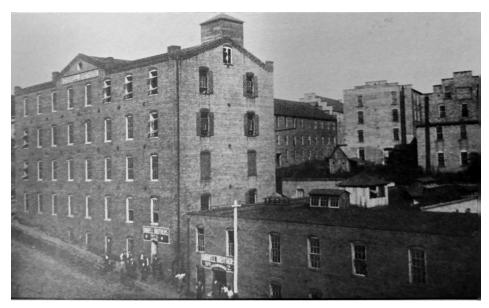


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¹⁸⁵ Ibid, 18-19. ¹⁸⁶ Ibid, 35.



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¹⁸⁷ Timothy J. Minchin. "Dan River Mills." Encyclopedia Virginia, February 9, 2021. https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/dan-river-mills/.

188 Clara G. Fountain. *Danville, A Pictorial History* (Virginia Beach: Donning Co., 1979), 2-3.



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¹⁸⁹ Danville Historical Society Facebook. Accessed May 4, 2024. https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=787791823387699&set=pb.100064706644895.-2207520000&type=3.

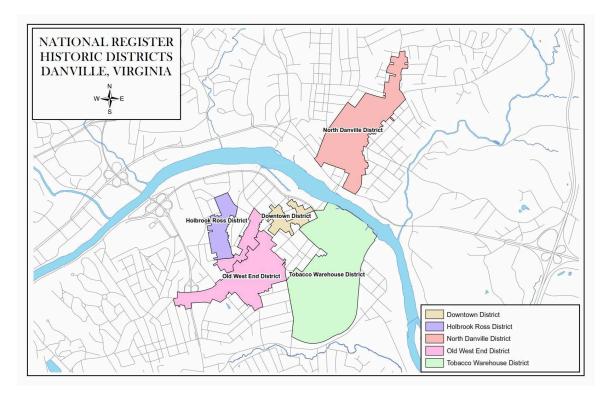


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¹⁹⁰ "Maps." Old West End National Historic District. Accessed April 15, 2024. https://oldwestendva.com/about/maps/.

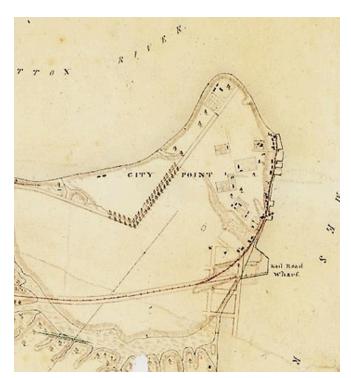


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¹⁹¹ "City Point through the Centuries." William & Mary. Accessed April 15, 2024. https://www.wm.edu/sites/wmcar/research/hopewellarch/maps/city-point-centuries/. ¹⁹² "City Point, Virginia." Digital Commonwealth. Accessed April 15, 2024. https://www.digitalcommonwealth.org/search/commonwealth:wd376w835.



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¹⁹³ "Hopewell Works for Guncotton at Hopewell, Virginia." Hagley Digital Archives. Accessed April 15, 2024. https://digital.hagley.org/1972341_0869.



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¹⁹⁴ Mary Mitchell Calos, Charlotte Easterling, and Ella Sue Rayburn. *Old City Point and Hopewell: The First 370 Years* (Virginia Beach: Donning Co., 1983), 2-3.



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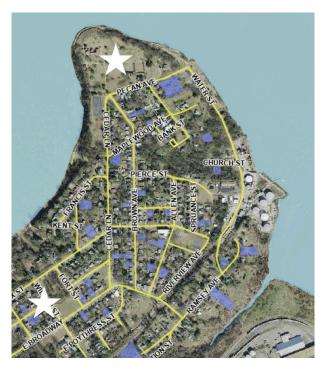


Figure 38: An aerial photograph of the northeastern portion of Hopewell. A white star marks the general vicinity of the City Point Historic District (north) and the Downtown Hopewell Historic District (south). City of Hopewell GIS, 2023.

¹⁹⁵ "Transforming Hopewell: From Chemical Spills to Community Trees." Chesapeake Bay Foundation, November 11, 2020.

https://www.cbf.org/blogs/save-the-bay/2020/11/transforming-hopewell-from-chemical-spills-to-community-trees. html.

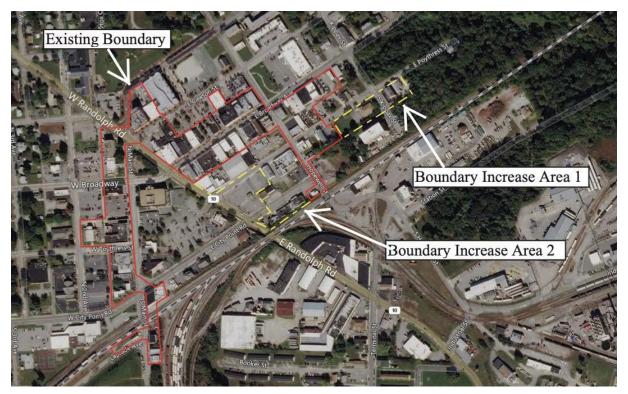


Figure 39: An aerial photograph marked with the boundaries of the Downtown Hopewell Historic District, including the areas of the three district boundary increases.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁶ Virginia Department of Historic Resources. "National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Downtown Hopewell Historic District," 2002.

 $https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/116-5031_Downtown_Hopewell_HD_2002_Final_Nomination.pdf$



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¹⁹⁷ Monique Calello. "PHOTOS: Central Avenue before the 'Urban Renewal."" *News Leader*. March 11, 2020. https://www.newsleader.com/picture-gallery/news/2020/03/11/photos-central-avenue-before-urban-renewal/5023137 002/ 198 Ibid.

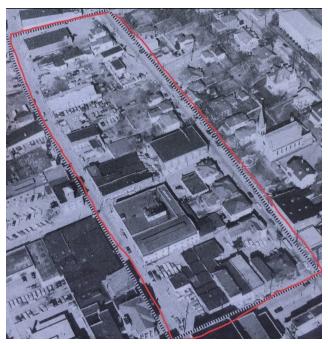


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¹⁹⁹ Ibid. ²⁰⁰ Ibid.



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https://lpda.net/lpda-project/danville-river-district-streetscape/.

²⁰¹ "Unwrapping the Magic of the Holidays in Staunton." Visit Staunton, December 11, 2023. https://visitstaunton.com/unwrapping-the-magic-of-the-holidays-in-staunton/.

²⁰² "Danville River District Revitalization." LPDA, February 10, 2019.



Figure 46: A 1960s aerial photograph of the area of downtown Hopewell between Randolph Road and Main Street impacted by urban renewal. Structures that were demolished are highlighted in yellow. 101 South Main Street is visible in the very bottom of the right corner. Courtesy of the author.



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Figure 49: Two members of Hopewell's Kepone disaster clean-up crew pictured in 1976.²⁰³

²⁰³ "The Legacy of Kepone." Virginia Humanities, March 18, 2021. https://virginiahumanities.org/2016/12/the-legacy-of-kepone/.



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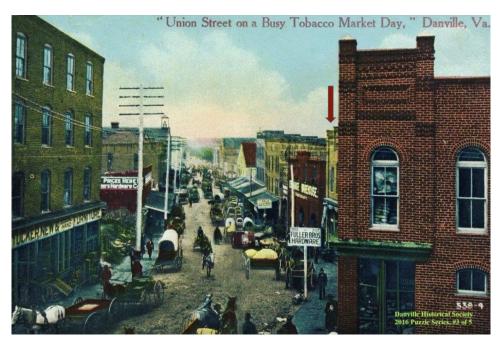


Figure 51: A historic postcard of the 200 block of North Union Street, featuring 206/208 (marked by a red arrow) to the left of Fuller Brothers Hardware Store. ²⁰⁵

²⁰⁴ "Home." City Point Ice Cream & Burgers, June 12, 2023. https://citypointicecream.com/.

²⁰⁵ Robin Marcato. "This Is Who We Are. Details about Danville Historical Society's Board and Staff." Danville Historical Society, November 4, 2022.

 $https://danvillehistory.org/this-is-who-we-are-details-about-danville-historical-societys-officers-board-and-staff-40c\ 23c814184.$

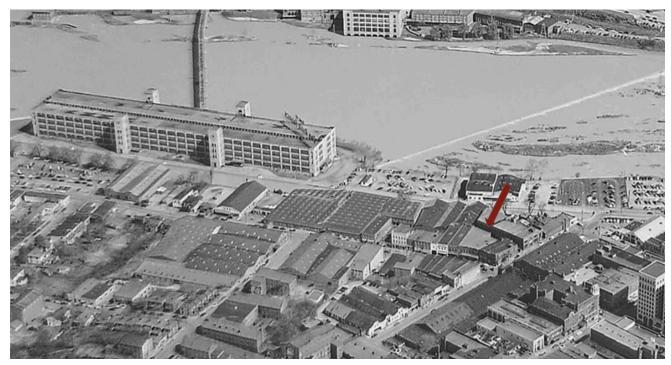


Figure 52: A close-up from Figure 29 with a red arrow marking 206/208 North Union Street. For reference, Dan River Mills is the large-scale factory structure seen to the left.

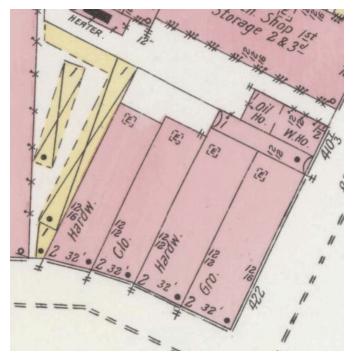


Figure 53: A close-up from one of Danville's 1904 Sanborn maps showing 200 to 208 North Union Street. Here, 208 (in yellow) has yet to be built.²⁰⁶

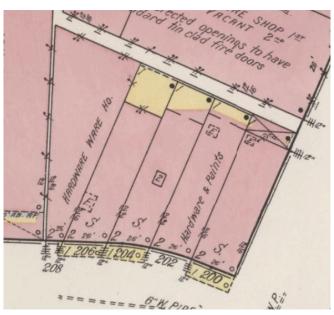


Figure 54: A close-up from one of Danville's 1910 Sanborn maps again showing 200 to 208 North Union Street.

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²⁰⁶ Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Danville, Independent Cities, Virginia. Sanborn Map Company, Nov, 1904. Map. https://www.loc.gov/item/sanborn09010_005/.

²⁰⁷ Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Danville, Independent Cities, Virginia. Sanborn Map Company, Feb, 1910. Map. https://www.loc.gov/item/sanborn09010_006/.



Figure 55: The interior of Fuller Brothers Hardware Store circa 1903. Courtesy of the River District Association.



Figure 56: A circa 1919 photograph of the founding directors of First State Bank, which was later renamed the Danville Savings Bank and Trust Company, and is known today as Movement Bank.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁸ Dante Lee. "Virginia's Last Black-Owned Bank Is Gone after Nearly 100 Years in Business -- What Happened?" Black Business News | Directory of Black-Owned Businesses, October 4, 2018. https://www.blackbusiness.com/2017/08/first-state-bank-last-black-owned-bank-virginia-gone.html.

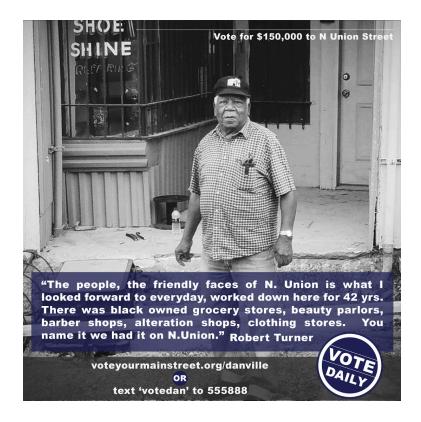


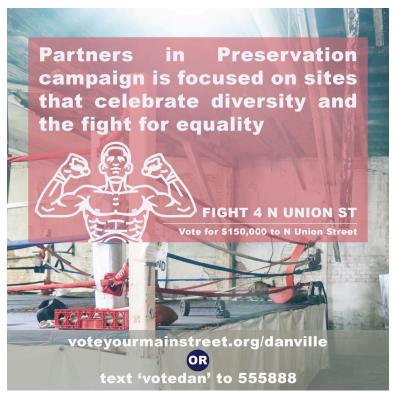
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Figure 58: A map of the 20 communities involved in the 2018 Partners in Preservation Campaign. Courtesy of the River District Association.

²⁰⁹ "Bearing Witness to the Danville Civil Rights Protests of 1963." Virginia Humanities, February 6, 2020. https://virginiahumanities.org/2016/04/bearing-witness/.





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Figure 61: 206/208 North Union Street before rehabilitation, 2018.²¹⁰



Figure 62: A contemporary view of 206/208 North Union Street post rehabilitation, 2023. Courtesy of the author.

²¹⁰ "Vote Your Main Street!" Virginia Main Street, September 25, 2018. https://virginiamainstreet.com/2018/09/25/vote-your-main-street/.





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Figures 63-65: Frazier Associates' Main Street facade improvement drawings for 206/208 North Union Street.

Courtesy of the River District Association.





Figures 66-67: The exterior and front interior of 208 North Union Street before rehabilitation, featuring the historic shoe shine station, 2018. Courtesy of the River District Association.



Figure 68: The back interior of 208 North Union Street before rehabilitation featuring the former boxing gym, 2018. Courtesy of the River District Association.

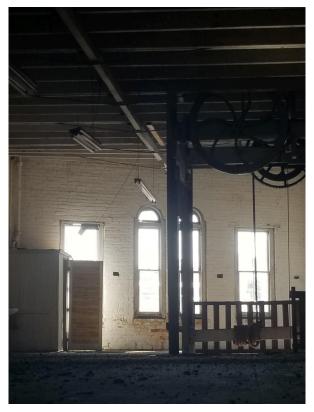


Figure 69: The second floor of 206 North Union Street before rehabilitation, 2018. Courtesy of the River District Association.



Figure 70: The front interior of 206 North Union Street before rehabilitation, 2018. Courtesy of the River District Association.

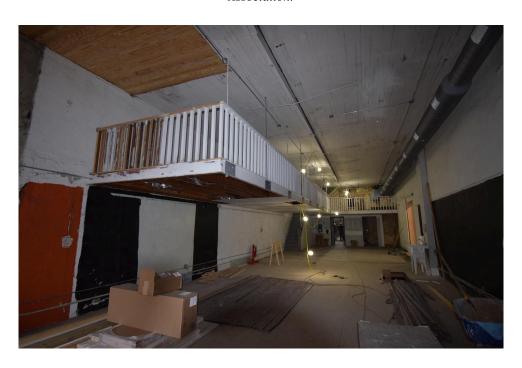




Figures 71-72: The back interior of 206 North Union Street before rehabilitation, 2018. Courtesy of the River District Association.



Figure 73: The mezzanine of 206 North Union Street before rehabilitation, 2018. Courtesy of the River District Association.





Figures 74-75: Progress photographs from the rehabilitation of 206 North Union Street, 2018. Courtesy of the River District Association.



Figure 76: A progress photograph from the rehabilitation of 208 North Union Street, 2018. Courtesy of the River District Association.



Figure 77: The rehabilitated storefront of 206 North Union Street.²¹¹



Figure 78: The rehabilitated first floor of 206 North Union Street. 212

²¹¹ "Danville's Storefront for Community Vision Planning." Virginia Main Street, March 9, 2023. https://virginiamainstreet.com/2023/03/09/danvilles-storefront-for-community-vision-planning/.
²¹² "Danville Opens Storefront Space Where Residents Can Share Input on Comprehensive Plan." Discover

Danville, March 20, 2023.

https://www.discoverdanville.com/news/danville-opens-storefront-space-where-residents-can-share-input-on-compr ehensive-plan/.

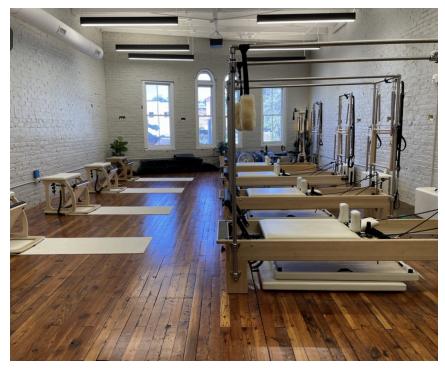


Figure 79: The rehabilitated second floor of 206 North Union Street, formerly home to Mind Body Wellness Pilates studio. 213



²¹³ "Mind Body Wellness Pilates - Danville, VA." Yelp. Accessed April 15, 2024. https://www.yelp.com/biz/mind-body-wellness-pilates-danville-4.



Figures 80-81: Early 1930s photographs of the present-day 101 South Main Street property featuring a view of the railroad crossing and W.L. Broaddus, Inc. Courtesy of the author.



Figure 82: Another early 1930s image of 101 South Main Street. Courtesy of John Stallings.

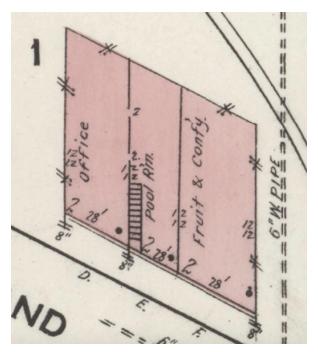


Figure 83: A close-up from one of Hopewell's 1921 Sanborn maps showing the present-day 101 South Main Street property.²¹⁴



Figure 84: A 1960s Hopewell News advertisement for Sowers Hardware and Marine Store. 215

²¹⁴ Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Hopewell, Independent Cities, Virginia. Sanborn Map Company, Feb, 1921. Map. https://www.loc.gov/item/sanborn09032_001/.

²¹⁵ Appomattox Regional Library System Historic Newspapers -- microfilm image viewer. Accessed May 4, 2024. http://appomattoxcl.archivalweb.com/imageViewer.php?i=1048182&q=sowers+hardware+AND+marine&s=q%3Ds owers%2Bhardware%2Band%2Bmarine%26p%3D29%26r%3D0.



Figure 85: An early 2000s photograph of 101 South Main Street before rehabilitation. At the time, the property was home to the Hopewell Marine Service. 216



Figure 86: Part of the first-floor interior of 101 South Main Street before rehabilitation when the property was home to the Hopewell Marine Service.²¹⁷

²¹⁶ "101 S. Main Street, Hopewell, VA 23860 | Listing Information | Long & Foster. Accessed April 15, 2024. https://www.longandfoster.com/commercial-for-sale/101-S-Main-Street-Hopewell-VA-23860-330676371.









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Figure 91: A progress shot via the Hopewell Downtown Partnership of the repainting of 101 South Main Street, March 2024. 218



Figure 92: The exterior of 101 South Main Street during rehabilitation, April, 2024. Courtesy of the author.

²¹⁸ Hopewell Downtown Partnership Facebook. Accessed May 4, 2024. https://www.facebook.com/photo/?fbid=829703749183554&set=pb.100064318106594.-2207520000.

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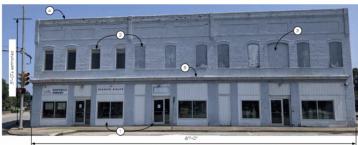
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SHEET 2 OF 6

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Figures 93-96: A selection of Frazier Associates' Main Street facade improvement drawings for 101 South Main Street. Courtesy of the Hopewell Downtown Partnership.



Figure 97: A 1950s photograph featuring the 11 North Central Avenue facade of the News-Leader office.²¹⁹



Figure 98: A 1976 photograph featuring the heavily remodeled facade of 11-15 North Central Avenue. Courtesy of the Historic Staunton Foundation.

 $^{^{219}}$ Our Century Together: 100 years of Photos, Memories and News Leader Front Pages (Washington State: Pediment Publishing, 2004).

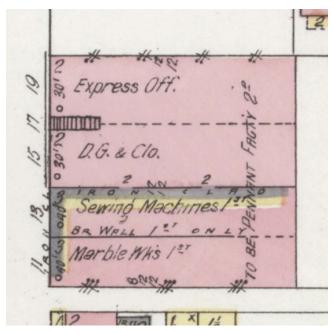


Figure 99: A close-up from one of Staunton's 1909 Sanborn maps showing the present-day 11 North Central Avenue property.²²⁰



Figure 100: 11 North Central Avenue before rehabilitation. At the time, the building was occupied by the Staunton News Leader, 2017. 221

²²⁰ Sanborn Fire Insurance Map from Staunton, Independent Cities, Virginia. Sanborn Map Company, Sep, 1909. Map. https://www.loc.gov/item/sanborn09077_006/.

²²¹ "11 N Central Ave., Staunton, VA 24401 | Listing Information | Long & Foster. Accessed April 15, 2024. https://www.longandfoster.com/commercial-for-sale/11-N-Central-Ave-11-15-17-Staunton-VA-24401-159809516.



Figure 101: A pre-rehabilitation photograph of the 1987 warehouse addition completed by the News Leader, $2017.^{222}$



Figure 102: A contemporary view of the 11 North Central Avenue/the HUB post rehabilitation, 2024. Courtesy of the author.

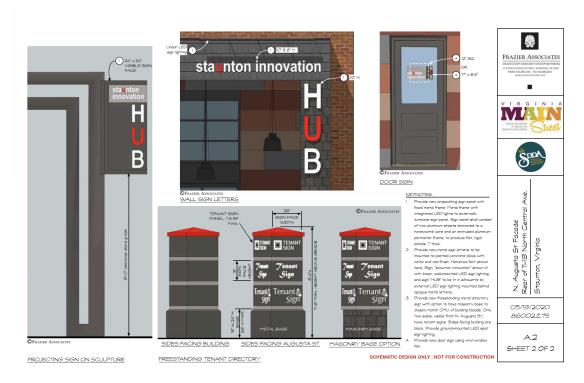
²²² Ibid.



Figure 103: The 1987 warehouse addition of the 11 North Central Avenue building post rehabilitation, 2024. Courtesy of the author.







Figures 104-106: Frazier Associates' Main Street facade improvement drawings for the HUB. Courtesy of Frazier Associates.



Figure 107: Part of the News Leader office pictured shortly after rehabilitation work began. As depicted in this photograph, before revitalization, drop ceilings and carpeting masked much of the building's historic character.²²³



Figure 108: The 1987 warehouse addition pictured under construction, 2018. ²²⁴

²²³ Laura Peters. "Innovation Hub Hits Snag, Project Delayed but Receives State Grant for Outdoor Space." News Leader. July 25, 2019.

https://www.newsleader.com/story/news/2019/07/25/innovation-hub-progress-stalls-but-receives-grant-outdoor-spac e/1825456001/. ²²⁴ Ibid.

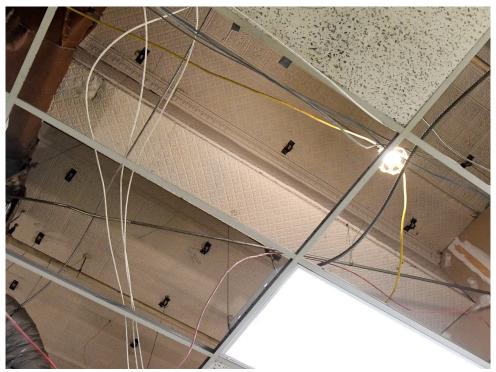


Figure 109: An in-progress photograph of the rehabilitation of the warehouse addition featuring the construction of the mezzanine, 2018. 225



²²⁵ Ibid.





Figures 110-112: Additional progress photographs from the rehabilitation of 11 North Central Avenue. Wood floors and original tin ceilings, as pictured here, were uncovered throughout the building's revitalization. ²²⁶

²²⁶ Ibid.

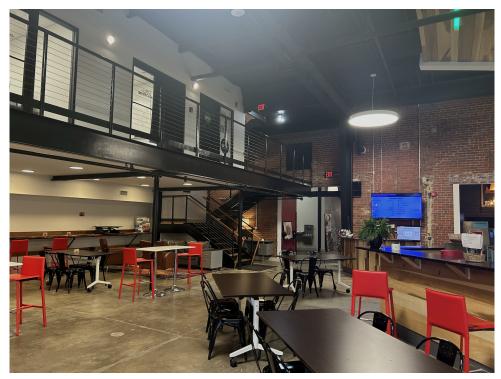


Figure 113: A contemporary view of the warehouse addition, 2024. Courtesy of the author.



Figure 114: A contemporary view of one of the conference room's in the warehouse addition, 2024. Courtesy of the author.

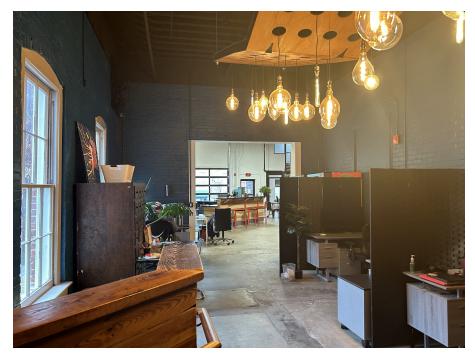


Figure 115: A contemporary view from the rear of the 1905 portion of the building, looking into the warehouse addition, 2024. Courtesy of the author.



Figure 116: A view of a glass brick window, outfitted with colorful lights, uncovered during the building's revitalization, 2024. Courtesy of the author.

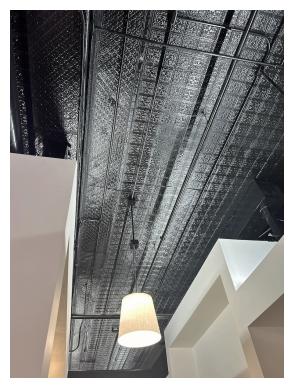


Figure 117: A view of the restored tin ceiling in the first floor of the 1905 portion of the HUB, 2024. Courtesy of the author.