
Introduction

At the conclusion of World War II, most Americans agreed with the views of Henry Luce in *Life* magazine that the USA would lead the world into the next century. With little concern for what other people in the world might think, Americans believed that, just as their country had come to the rescue of Europe, it would forge ahead as the very epitome of progress. With a deep and abiding positivist belief in a future guided by the most advanced science and technology, Americans shifted gears from marching in step in war to the cadences of industrial expansion. Government activity swelled.

Cold War rhetoric reinforced the idea that the way of life in the USA was the best path to follow, to be celebrated, and to be defended. American flags were displayed proudly, even in bomb shelters below ground. Conformity was important to veterans and their new families, who looked forward to a good life in the rapidly growing suburbs. There, “similar” people viewed the world from similar houses in a similar manner. Men and, gradually, more women entered colleges and universities. The veterans were encouraged to learn more while the country’s economy shifted from a wartime engine to a peacetime model. Women who had served as the mainstay for military production were encouraged to return to home-making, while young “coeds” were guided into traditional careers in nursing, home economics, and education. They would find the right man, one who would wear a grey flannel suit and be

proud to be a member of a corporation. The security of marriage would lead to happy children. The new family was the hallmark of success, just as obvious as the new car in the driveway and the new television in the “rec room.” Freedom increasingly became synonymous with mobility, guaranteed by an automobile-centered culture.

Even during the 1950s, however, it was clear that this was an incomplete and sometimes very misleading picture. Artists and writers captured the discontent in the suburbs, seeing the “crack in the picture window.” Sputnik’s launch in 1957 shook the American view that their leadership in science was unbeatable. Urban renewal schemes and new interstate transportation improvements spelled massive destruction and dislocation in cities. By the early 1960s, social movements erupted that, at first, seemed to characterize only a few disaffected individuals. As the number of these individuals increased, however, their disruptions became more worrisome. The structure of the social movements began to challenge established society with demonstrations, protests, and riots that contradicted any image of a single, monolithic viewpoint on a wide range of issues.

Many of the same fractures would be found in the historic preservation movement, although the authors involved with creating the 1966 National Historic Preservation Act did not comment upon contemporary social activities. Some preservation leaders were convinced the Modern Movement in architecture and planning offered a better way, while others instinctively reacted against it. Preservationists were also aware of the

expanding Civil Rights Movement. Indeed, on-the-street preservation activists often embraced some of the same protest techniques as African Americans, and alongside them insisted on a reversal of the top-down approach to planning. At the same time, most preservationists embraced the growing environmental movement, emphasizing recycling and ecological consciousness, embedding these ideas into the “new” historic preservation. In short, these three movements influenced the next generation of thinking as the preservation field expanded. Subsequently, advocacy for women’s rights, gay and lesbian initiatives, and Native American concerns provided added impetus.

The genius of the National Historic Preservation Act remains that it allowed a growing number of local interests to catalyze some important basic goals into a national policy. It legitimized widespread local advocacy and, while often challenged by those in authority, it remained flexible enough to continue to serve a broadening constituency with only relatively minor amendments. Although the traditional artifact-centered approach that preservationists had favored remained important, the range of objects of attention increased and the frontiers of the movement reached into the most remote communities across the country. From neighborhood conservation and main-street rehabilitation, the preservation community learned the political necessity of creating a coalition of all local interests, not just some. And, after the spotlights of the Bicentennial in 1976 were turned off, the political shift away from Washington and toward local interests increased. The American melting pot was transformed into a mosaic, celebrating roots and learning more about the differences among people.

By the mid-1980s, as edge cities sprang up across the country, preservation focus also shifted from city cores to the first and second ring suburbs, some of which were experiencing disinvestment and scattered depopulation. Preservation adopted the then-current “indirect” financial initiatives, rather than direct government funding. Tax incentives more truly demonstrated the public’s social priorities. The positivism that impelled the post-War era’s ambitions—character-

ized by unity, predictability, and certainty—was thrown into question by “post-modern” relativism, much of it based on identity politics. New initiatives that began with a strategic assessment of the available options supplanted comprehensive planning with more timely, politically calculated objectives. Postmodern planning attempted to understand but not resolve differences in culture, race, class, gender, and religion, leaving the solution to any problem to those working at the local level. In this context, the historic preservation movement continues to serve as a different way of thinking, influencing Americans in a manner that most early advocates would never have conceived. This chapter takes the history of the preservation movement from World War II to the end of the twentieth century. Subsequent chapters discuss themes introduced here in greater detail.

Changes in Historic Preservation in the Post-War Era

Early in the twentieth century, Charles Ashbee had introduced the English National Trust to the USA with the idea of enlarging the public willing to advocate for significant monuments. William Sumner Appleton had suggested that a nationwide nongovernment organization was needed to save endangered historic properties, and the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society had held out the idea that a countrywide preservation network was possible. Unfortunately, the Depression and then World War II made the establishment of a unified private sector initiative across the country a low national priority. The American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society’s membership rolls dropped precipitously by mid-century. Similar dips in attendance in other nonprofit professional and volunteer organizations were common until peace returned.

The clearest sign of a resurgence of interest in historic preservation centered around the founding the National Trust for Historic Preservation. In late 1946, David E. Finley, Director of the National Gallery of Art, invited George McAneny, President of the American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society; Christopher Crittenden,

Fig. 2.1 The need to protect “Hampton,” the remarkable eighteenth century mansion north of Baltimore, and other estates like it, was one impetus for the creation of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. (Author’s photograph)



from the North Carolina Department of Archives and History; and Ronald F. Lee, a historian in the National Park Service, to a meeting to discuss the common problems they faced saving historic properties (Doheny 2006). Finley was frustrated by having failed to get the National Park Service to accept the responsibility for “Hampton,” a splendid, intact eighteenth-century mansion north of Baltimore (Fig. 2.1). Finley also faced the prospect that Oak Hill, the former home of President Monroe, would be sold. The National Park Service was reluctant to become involved in these cases because so many similar estates across the country were on the market, and the agency could not take care of them all (Hosmer 1981, pp. 814–820).¹ What the country needed, the four men agreed, was a new nongovernmental organization that could quickly become involved in saving buildings of architectural and historic importance and open them up to the public, with a mission statement modeled after the National Trust in England (Finley 1965).

Subsequent meetings with a number of interested parties broadened interest in the idea. Under

Finley’s leadership, in early 1947, 41 representatives of a wide range of allied groups assembled and formed the National Council for Historic Sites and Buildings. The Council would increase public awareness and give birth to the National Trust, which would deal with the acquisition and operation of historic properties. By October, the Council had as its president Maj. General US Grant 3rd and a young, Harvard-trained National Park Service historian, Frederick L. Rath, Jr., loaned to the new organization as the first Executive Secretary. Rath’s office was in what became the first headquarters of the organization, Ford’s Theatre in Washington, D.C. With the continued support of allied, historically minded groups, bills were introduced and passed in the Senate and the House, and President Truman signed the legislation approving a Congressional charter for the National Trust for Historic Preservation on October 26, 1949.

Initially the National Trust was to hold and administer such properties and encourage public participation in their preservation.² However, Ex-

¹ In the case of Hampton, ultimately the Avalon Foundation and Mrs. Ailsa Mellon Bruce provided the funding that led to the transfer of the property to the National Park Service. Both were also early financial supporters of the nascent National Trust.

² The National Trust adopted a policy of accepting gifts of important architectural and historic monuments if some means could be found for their support, either by income from endowments or operation by other qualified organizations.

Fig. 2.2 “Woodlawn,” another historic estate, was to be sold to Belgian monks until the Historic Woodlawn Public Foundation stepped in to save it, transferring it to the National Trust as the organization’s first house museum. (Author’s photograph)



ecutive Director Rath saw the nascent organization as more than a steward of great estates and townhouses. To him, the organization was the center of a network of likeminded advocates. He believed the National Trust should be a “clearing-house” for information, applying the phrase used by staff and many of the organization’s members until the 1990s. In hundreds of letters to people in every corner of the country, he advised advocates on how they could learn from one another to save properties.

Large estates in the Tidewater region of Virginia continued to demand immediate attention. “Woodlawn,” the estate near Mt. Vernon given by George Washington to his foster daughter and his nephew, seemed destined to be sold to an order of Belgian monks (Fig. 2.2). A young lawyer, Armistead Wood, and a small group of associates stepped up to attempt to raise sufficient funds on behalf of the newly established Woodlawn Public Foundation. While Rath was skilled in house museum administration because of his National Park Service work, he also found himself involved with fundraising. It was not until wealthy collector Paul Mellon assisted the organization by providing a matching grant that it became possible to tender an offer that ultimately led to the first

house museum owned and operated by the National Trust (Hosmer 1981, pp. 842, 845).³

Although the initial decision-makers in and around Washington were men, women would soon make contributions to the Trust. Helen Bullock, who joined the staff in 1950, shaped the organization and its early views more than any other employee. Bullock coordinated regional meetings and house tours to build a preservation constituency, and edited and wrote many of the early publications. As a researcher of colonial recipes, she became an acknowledged expert on early American cooking. By gaining the interest of a division of the National Biscuit Company in a line of historical recipes that could be adapted to a ready-mix method, she was able to provide financial support to the Trust and allied organizations, such as the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation at Monticello (Mulloy 1976; Pilot 1995; Thomas 1956).

After the Trust acquired Woodlawn in 1951 and the Decatur House on Jackson Square in Washington, D.C. 3 years later, the word spread

³ The site would later serve as the home of an additional building, the Pope Leighey House, designed by Frank Lloyd Wright.

to potential donors.⁴ Mrs. Frances Adler Elkins bequeathed her property, "Casa Amesti," in Monterey, California, a site the organization accepted in 1955. Clearly, the first years of the National Trust were house-museum oriented. Fred Rath resigned in 1956 and, although Helen Bullock managed the affairs of the Trust, it was under the executive direction of the President of the Board for 4 years. In 1958, the president gained a new assistant, William J. Murtagh, who carried the Trust's message to dozens of communities around the country. The next executive director, Robert Garvey, would expand the activities of the organization with even more vigor. Garvey's career in historic preservation had begun in 1955, managing Old Salem, the outdoor museum of the Moravian community in the Piedmont of North Carolina.⁵ His skill as a manager was important, but his ability as a fund-raiser was the chief reason he was valued at the Trust. Garvey had come to the attention of Christopher Crittendon, head of the North Carolina Department of Archives and History, who was also a founding board member of the National Trust.⁶ Garvey joined the National Trust during the early fall of 1960 and quickly began to expand the staff (Author's Papers August 4, 1981). As will be shown, the Trust's employees became extremely important when implementing the "new preservation" nearly a decade later. Although most members of

the team were familiar with museums, they were all eager to go beyond them to spread the ideas of the preservation movement.

From "Do It Yourself Digs" to "New" Archaeology

The post World War II changes taking place in the preservation community ran parallel to the transformations in archaeology, eventually affecting the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, established by the National Historic Preservation Act in 1966. When the American Anthropological Association reorganized in 1946, the prevailing idea among its membership was to present the field as an integrated scientific discipline, despite the humanistic orientation from which it had grown. Archaeologists in the country were keenly aware that, to become involved with the rising number of public improvements projects, they needed to demonstrate rigorous scholarship that would be useful in planning viable alternatives to the destruction of valued sites. During the 1950s, the US Army Corps of Engineers focused its efforts on flood control in the heartland of the USA by building dams. It soon became apparent to anthropologists and archaeologists that the resulting flooding behind the dams would cover several major prehistoric sites. The alarm was an urgent one, and an informal agreement reached between the Smithsonian Institution and the National Park Service became formal in the adoption of the 1960 Reservoir Salvage Act, whereby Congress would make available funds for subsurface investigations by a wide variety of public institutions.

At the same time, a number of popular books stimulated the rising interest in archaeology and increase the number of amateur archaeologists. Exciting stories of archaeologists' great discoveries in Crete, Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, and Yucatan were penned by the German journalist Kurt W. Marek, writing under the pseudonym C.W. Ceram. He produced *Gods, Graves, and Scholars*, his first book, in 1951, and over 10,000 copies sold every year during the ensuing decades (Books in Print 1951). The marked increase in

⁴ The fact that the Decatur House was designed by architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe added a note of distinction.

⁵ In later life Garvey was proud of the fact that, when he arrived at Old Salem, only one building was open to the public, but by the time he left, seven exhibit structures were operating (Author's Papers 1981).

⁶ Crittendon's role was also important earlier, for he transformed the American Association of State and Local History (AASLH). Although it can trace its origins to the early twentieth century, under his leadership the organization rededicated itself to advancing many ideas well known in the local history field that would later have a significant influence on the National Trust. These included teaching in schools and colleges, issuing press releases and communicating with the general public, serving as a clearinghouse for information among members and non-members, creating radio programs and magazine articles, and, whenever possible, preserving historic buildings (Alexander 1991).

local and regionally based archaeological organizations was noticed, and would often be helpful when a dam or highway was about to be constructed. In all but three states, the recognized associations noticed a surge in their numbers, as legions of amateurs got down to the earth, guided by state archaeologists and enthusiastic spokesmen, such as Roland Wells Robbins. He led teams of “dig-it-yourself” archaeologists on sites at the Saugus Iron Works in Massachusetts and at Philipse Manor in Tarrytown, New York (Jones 1958; Linebaugh 2005). Schoolteachers, housewives, and family parties were attracted to the Philipse site so that they could experience the excitement of discovery.

With more sites explored and more information available, an increasing number of archaeologists began to ask embarrassing questions about what was *not* being explored. Like preservationists, archaeologists were becoming simultaneously more precise and broader in their interests. Although scientific tools such as dendrochronology (Hawley 1937; Schulman 1956; Vivian and Kletso 1964; and Stokes 1968) and radiocarbon dating were more commonplace in highly structured academic archaeological digs (Johnson 1951; Libby 1955), a growing sensitivity arose toward the need for the study of settlement patterns, community organization, crop patterns, subsistence practices, fauna and flora, artifact distribution, and statistics. This “new archaeology” placed much greater emphasis on the vernacular or common activities of people and, with time, affected others disciplines, such as history, art history, and architectural history (Sabloff 1998).⁷

With these developments, the distance grew even further between classical archaeology, with its iconic attitudes about the interpretation of high-style artifacts and major sites of interest to Europeans, and American archaeologists, who were increasingly inter- and multi-disciplinary, interested in applying high technology and science to their investigations. For many archae-



Fig. 2.3 Charles Peterson and Ivor Noel Hume shaped the work of young professionals for decades, raising questions about the appropriate course of action. (Author’s photograph)

ologists, particularly academics, the growing amount of information tended to create specialization and distanced them from the amateurs (King et al. 1997). By contrast, museum interpretation provided a connection to the public. The most visible exponent was Ivor Noel Hume (Fig. 2.3). Although trained in theatre in England and coming to archaeology as a second career, he was the most influential historical archaeologist of the period, guiding the development and interpretation of Colonial Williamsburg at the same time he wrote some of the most easily accessible texts, spelling out methods and techniques to guide investigations (Hume 1969, 1974; Hume and Miller 2011).

While archaeology on the vast federal and state lands in the Midwest and West became widespread, only rarely did a city employ an archaeologist. The city of Alexandria, Virginia, was the first to hire an urban archaeologist outside of the museum setting provided by Colonial Williamsburg. The need arose in 1960–1961 when their urban renewal program, centered on the old

⁷ “New archaeology” is understood to begin with the publication of Lewis Binford’s *Archaeology as Anthropology* in 1962.

town, uncovered hundreds of Civil War artifacts. When the city failed to pick up the expenses for the work, a committee of 100 citizens supported the project for a few years. The city created the permanent position of city archaeologist in 1973, and it served as a model for other communities to broaden their programs (AllianceLetter 1983; Cressey 1979). Subsequently, city archaeology programs began in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston.⁸

Preservation as an Alternative to Urban Renewal

After World War II, the poor condition of American housing caused by long-deferred maintenance demanded immediate attention. Housing specialists stated that the unsatisfactory units occupied by tenants were twice as likely as owner-occupied units to witness continued social and economic problems. In 1949, an improved and expanded version of the Housing Act of 1937 attempted to relieve the postwar housing shortage with new apartments (Foard and Fefferman 1967; Bauman 1987; Schuyler 2002). In both laws, federal urban redevelopment efforts focused predominantly on residential uses.

In the mid-1950s, inner city rental properties were almost two thirds of the nation's housing inventory. As the decade wore on, the decline in manufacturing and problems associated with the transition to a peacetime economy riveted the attention of policy makers. Obsolescent structures of all kinds, not only houses but also factories and entire commercial blocks, became candidates for demolition and removal, particularly if they were in poor condition. At the same time, it was already clear that the nonwhite population of the inner city was growing, and African Americans were increasingly segregated in certain downtown neighborhoods (Frieden 1964).

Post-World War II federal urban renewal legislation often worked against saving historic structures, particularly in locations designated as "blighted," that is, targeted for demolition. The structures most in need of maintenance, repair, and improvement were some of the most significant examples of architectural or historical merit. Although the long period of neglect during the Depression and the national priorities of wartime left inner city housing with many problems, to some there was no apparent way to reconcile housing needs with the goal of saving historic properties, and often the areas immediately adjacent to an urban renewal project continued to experience decline.

In early historic districts, in Charleston and New Orleans, the role of the architectural survey was critical to determining the character of the properties and districts. The surveys also provided guidance about the procedure for designating properties as important for their architectural and historical significance. In Charleston, for example, a rating system differentiated the properties deemed most significant, and the published survey results became well known (Carolina Art Association 1944).

To explore alternatives to demolition, the Housing Act of 1954 contained a new provision, Section 314, which allowed urban renewal demonstration grants to be used to match funds raised from the community. This spurred a recognizable pattern in historic preservation planning that combined the characteristics of a housing study with an architectural historical survey, and rated buildings on a weighted numerical scale (Kalman 1976).⁹ Urban renewal in Providence, Rhode Island provided an early template that many cities would follow. The transformation began with advocacy in the state legislature, where enabling legislation was passed that allowed municipalities to establish redevelopment agencies, and the city adopted a master plan focusing on residen-

⁸ For example, Dr. Sherene Baugher was hired in August 1980 as the first archaeologist for New York City and Stephen Mrozowski was hired in Boston the following year (Author's Papers 2007).

⁹ Kalman provides a comparison of the advantages and disadvantages of qualitative and quantitative techniques, theorizing the need for more dynamic systems of evaluation. Further examination of these ideas can be found in Chapter 6.

tial properties. By early in 1948, the city council had designated 17 areas suffering from blight and dilapidation, and, in November, the voters approved city bonds to establish a redevelopment revolving fund. Questions arose about the constitutionality of the legislation, but planning proceeded so that the Providence Redevelopment Agency could begin demolition. The Agency and a mayor's advisory committee held over 60 public meetings in the following 2 years, discussing the proposed clearance legislation.

Critical flashpoints arose when Brown University wished to expand its dormitories, demolishing 13 residential properties in 1952 with more targeted for removal in 1955. Continued destruction by Brown seemed certain. The reaction among concerned citizens was swift. In April 1956, the Providence Preservation Society was founded to stem the rapid loss of historically and architecturally significant property on College Hill, immediately adjacent to Brown University (Woodward 1982; Woodward and Sanderson 1986). Encouraged by John Howland, chairman of the Board of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, the organization attempted—in vain—to stop the University's plan to demolish 30 historic structures south of its existing campus for a new residential quadrangle. Although this was not the first time that the residents of this city had fought to save residential and commercial buildings and lost, never before had so much real estate been at issue at one time (Wright 1964).¹⁰

Mrs. William Slater Allen, the first president of the Providence Preservation Society, and John Nicholas Brown, the chairman of the board, quickly approached the Providence City Plan Commission and the Redevelopment Agency, seeking information about how to halt the destruction. At the same time, they lobbied the State legislature for historic zoning (Wright 1964, pp. 20–21). Previous studies regarding the future of the area included a Master Plan for Land Use and Population, a controversial Mas-

ter Plan for Thoroughfares that was revised as an official transportation plan (1950), and several central area studies financed by the US Housing and Home Finance Agency. All of the proposals included considerable demolition and clearance, but none of these studies mentioned the architectural or historic character of the city, or College Hill, the home of Brown University.

The city contracted with Lachlan Blair, the former head of the state planning division and deputy planner of Providence, to write the grant for the College Hill Urban Renewal Project, originally covering 120 acres.¹¹ (Fig. 2.4) Blair's success netted the city ample funds to create a plan, and he formed a private consulting group with planner Stuart Stein in 1957. More important to the young firm was the addition of local advocate and architectural historian Antoinette Downing and architect and planner William Warner. In an explicit attempt to conduct a demonstration study aimed at improving urban renewal techniques in an historic area, they created a rating system by which an historic district could become part of a comprehensive master plan.¹² (Fig. 2.5)

The College Hill Plan also demonstrated how to integrate contemporary architecture in the historic neighborhoods in an aesthetically pleasing fashion. The program included guidance on developing an historic trail, a park and museum, street improvements, historic area zoning, a program for cooperative planning, methods of encouraging private investment, and citizen involvement (Providence 1959).

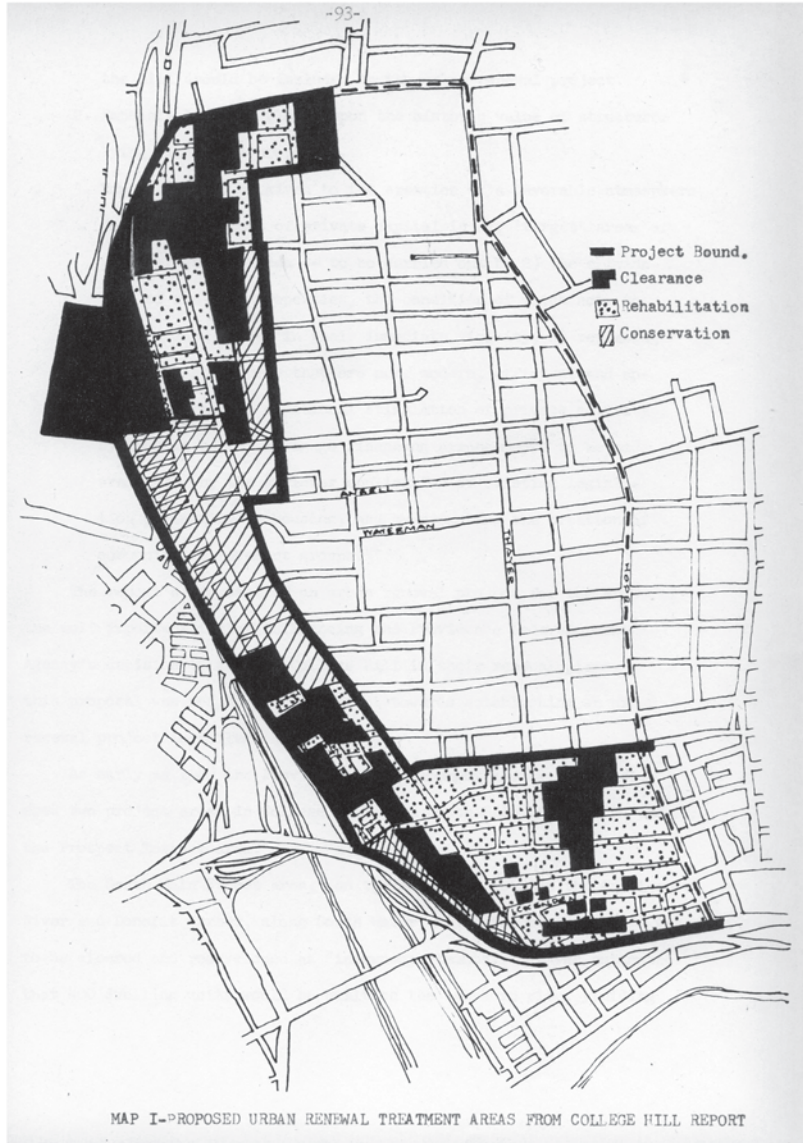
The publication of the report became the basis for other studies and future development. The specific proposals involved clearance, rehabilitation, and conservation, with an historic trail and National Park status for the Roger Williams' Spring site. Other ideas included a long-range

¹⁰ Russell Wright, Jr. worked for Lachlan Blair and Stuart Stein on the College Hill Plan and took the time to review the background of his work with his former employers, local officials and advocates when writing his thesis in 1964.

¹¹ Lachlan Blair went on to become a well-known preservation planner and educator at the University of Illinois, Urbana from 1966 to 1988, serving on Urbana's first preservation commission (NCPE 2001).

¹² The criteria for evaluating the significance of historic buildings were more extensive than previous studies. From approximately 1700 College Hill buildings, about 1350 were surveyed and maps were created to visualize the areas in need of protection, private investment, and renewal.

Fig. 2.4 The College Hill Plan, in Providence, RI, the first historic preservation plan developed with the support of federal urban renewal funds, became a well-known model for providing an approach to specifying a range of preservation treatments, especially rehabilitation. (Author’s photograph)



plan for the growth of educational institutions in College Hill, recommendations for community facilities such as a school, park space, playgrounds, an historic area-zoning ordinance, and changes in the current zoning ordinance. Key was the reduction of traffic, intersection improvement, and increased off-street parking. At the same time, local realtor Beatrice “Happy” Chace purchased and restored 15 structures and built new infill housing in College Hill.

Although this initiative provided a positive preservation alternative, most urban renewal

project directors had no compunction about proceeding as quickly as possible to accomplish much more destructive goals. For example, in 1958 Edward J. Logue, then urban redevelopment director in New Haven, Connecticut, quoted the words of Federal Housing Administrator Albert M. Cole, who said that “Any city that does not set in motion a comprehensive program to halt blight will be flirting with municipal ruin by 1965” (Logue 1958). Logue was proud of his city’s demolition initiative and, without any apparent fear of contradiction, stated that “New



Fig. 2.5 Architectural historian Antoinette Downing took an active role in the preservation of several properties in the College Hill historic district, and the Providence City Hall. (Author's photograph)

Haven believes it will have become the first city in America to be completely rid of slums and blight” (Logue 1958). He further noted that big-city representatives in Congress supported the rebuilding of Europe under the Marshall Plan so that it “was time” to recognize the 18 million Americans living in “slum saturated cities” who could be helped by Federal aid “just as great and urgent as any nation of Europe and Asia.” And Logue was later noted as having said “the best thing that could happen to San Francisco would be another earthquake and fire.”¹³ It was precisely this kind of “macho” behavior and the fear that it instilled that stimulated preservation advocacy.

¹³ Jane Jacobs recalled this attitude when discussing the research for her book *Death and Life of Great American Cities* in an interview by James Howard Kunstler (Kunstler 2001).

In the southeast, Charleston continued to provide preservation leadership but Savannah also became increasingly well known. The demolition of the City Market in 1954-1955 provided the initial stimulus for the founding of a citywide preservation organization, the Historic Savannah Foundation (HSF; Morning News 1955). Artist-writer Anna Colquitt Hunter led a group of women to rally to save the Isaiah Davenport House, slated to make way for a funeral parlor parking lot.¹⁴ The Davenport House was saved, eventually opening as a house museum in 1963; in the meantime, energetic members of HSF set about learning all they could and enlisting outside help. Among the first invited to Savannah was professor of planning Carl Feiss, an early trustee of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. In his 1958 lecture to HSF, Feiss recommended that a survey of the historic and architecturally significant properties in the old city should be an immediate priority (Feiss 2011).

The survey effort was put on the back burner, however, when it became known in 1959 that “Marshall Row,” four Savannah grey brick houses on East Oglethorpe Avenue, were slated for demolition (Fig. 2.6). The property owner sold the Savannah grey bricks to a contractor who had begun demolition with the carriage houses at the rear of the properties. HSF stepped in and asked that further demolition be stopped, offering to purchase the bricks from the contractor. This is the first instance in which the young stockbroker Lee Adler became involved with the new organization that ultimately secured and rehabilitated the properties.

HSF began to get on its feet with a staff and a corps of volunteers by 1961. As president of the organization, Adler formed a broad structure that included a steering committee composed of the presidents of a local bank and the gas company. Together, they developed the financial approaches needed to advance the ideas of the

¹⁴ The others were Elinor Grunsfeld Adler, Katharine Judkins Clark, Lucy Barrow McIntire, Dorothy Ripley Roebing, Noia Roos, and Jane Adair Wright. Harvard educated historian Walter Hartridge served as a trusted advisor to the group.



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