

1393

☒ entered in the National Register
☐ See continuation sheet.
☐ determined eligible for the National Register
☐ See continuation sheet.
☐ determined not eligible for the National Register
☐ removed from the National Register
☐ other (explain):

5. CLASSIFICATION

OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY: Private**CATEGORY OF PROPERTY:** Building(s)

NUMBER OF RESOURCES WITHIN PROPERTY:	CONTRIBUTING	NONCONTRIBUTING
	6	1 BUILDINGS
	0	0 SITES
	0	0 STRUCTURES
	0	0 OBJECTS
	6	1 TOTAL

NUMBER OF CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES PREVIOUSLY LISTED IN THE NATIONAL REGISTER: 0**NAME OF RELATED MULTIPLE PROPERTY LISTING:** N/A

6. FUNCTION OR USE

HISTORIC FUNCTIONS: COMMERCE/TRADE: Specialty Store; Department Store**CURRENT FUNCTIONS: COMMERCE/TRADE:** Specialty Store; Department Store

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: LATE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY REVIVALS: Mission/Spanish
Colonial Revival

MATERIALS:	FOUNDATION	Concrete
	WALLS	Stucco
	ROOF	Terra Cotta
	OTHER	Glass; Ceramic Tile; Concrete

NARRATIVE DESCRIPTION (see continuation sheets 7-5 through 7-12).

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Highland Park Shopping Village
Highland Park, Dallas County, Texas

Description

Highland Park Shopping Village consists of seven units (A-G) designed in 1928-29 and constructed by unit principally from 1931 to 1941 with a 1953 addition to Unit E. Units A, B, C, D, and E are each largely composed of a single building, Unit F four buildings, and Unit G, originally two buildings, is now one. All units, except the replacement for Unit G, are outstanding examples of the Spanish Colonial Revival architectural style using elements of both Plateresque and Churigueresque ornamentation. Varied 1- and 2-story commercial buildings with irregular roof patterns and setbacks provide diversity and suggest a randomness of construction typical of a Spanish village. White stucco walls and red terra cotta tile roofs contribute to a unified architecture that is linked by accents of cast stone, wrought iron balconies and light fixtures, and exposed redwood eaves. The Village commercial blocks align the four principal streets and enclose two wide internal streets and large spaces for vehicular parking, mostly set in several rows at 60-degree angles. The 3-story tower of the Village Theater at the northwest corner of the complex is the focal point and strongest visual element in the center. Highland Park Shopping Center encompasses approximately ten acres in Highland Park, Dallas County, one of the most prestigious residential suburbs in the state, along two major arterials, Preston Road and Mockingbird Lane.

Highland Park Shopping Village encompasses approximately ten acres at the intersection of two major arterials Preston Road on the east and Mockingbird Lane on the north, and two local streets, Livingston Avenue on the south and Douglass Avenue on the west. The complex is immediately adjacent 1- and 2-story residential buildings in the original Highland Park West subdivision on the south and the 2-story John Sherman Bradfield Elementary School (1925) on the northwest. Across Preston Road to the east, Dallas Country Club (1912) occupies 120 acres of rolling and lushly landscaped land. North, across Mockingbird Lane, is the subdivision of Loma Linda on the border of University Park and Highland Park. The residential buildings once facing south on Mockingbird Lane on the northwestern corner of Mockingbird and Preston are now replaced with a parking lot for Highland Park Shopping Village. This parking area was not originally part of the designed shopping center and is not included in this nomination.

The original plan of the Village includes two wide streets, Avenue A on the south and Avenue B on the north, both accessing the major arterials and/or local streets (see site plan). Each avenue, originally divided by a raised median, ended on the west at Theater Court and on the east at Preston Court. A secondary entrance divided the northern and southern commercial blocks at a mid point making Mockingbird Court and Livingston Court on the north and south respectively. Angled 60-degree parking is provided along the two avenues and within the Theater and Preston Courts. Underground parking was added to Unit E in 1953. A few large deciduous trees and shrubbery are located at entrances and where the setback of buildings creates sufficient public space. Ample landscaping constitutes a buffer between a large 12-foot stucco wall (hiding the service areas) and the southern commercial blocks along Livingston Avenue. An additional public space between the buildings of Unit F is landscaped with hanging pots and terraced features. In recent years, the current owners added a small fountain at the top of a set of original concrete stairs that descend to the north and south.

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The perimeter of the center is by 1- and 2-story commercial blocks that are highly varied and immediately create a feeling of a detached and separate urban space. The white stucco walls and red terra cotta tile roofs and towers unite the complex for the pedestrian or motor vehicle operator. Consistent decorative street lights and wrought iron light fixtures add evening illumination that further creates atmosphere. The tallest building, the Village Theater, is placed at the northwestern corner away from the lower density commercial buildings and at the farthest point from the housing along Livingston Avenue. This arrangement steps the complex down as it approaches the lower density thereby making its massing and setback more residential in character.

The following are discussions of each of the seven units that are referenced on the attached site plans:

Unit A (1931-32)

Unit A is a large 1-story rectangular block, the second to be completed in the village, facing north along the eastern edge of the complex along Preston Road. The block is noted by a 1-1/2-story pyramidal tile roof tower set approximately 50 feet from the eastern facade which marks a deeper setback for the end store and provides a visual break along the storefront. The deeper setback allows for 90-degree head-in parking from Preston Road and at the rear and front of the end store. The storefronts along this block are flush with the upper facades which are smooth stucco surfaces broken by occasional cast stone ornamentation and arcuated cornices. A high stucco wall runs along Livingston to screen the rear service yard of Unit A. The service area is accessed near the Preston Road and Livingston Avenue intersection and terminates in the narrow street between Units A and B. Lush vegetation shields the wall along Livingston Avenue.

The occupants of Unit A have changed little over the years with the easternmost space being a drug store and the large westernmost space (approximately 8,000 square feet) being a supermarket. The middle spaces historically housed clothing retailers. These tenants are more typical of the smaller neighborhood shopping center than a community one.

Unit B (1931)

Unit B was the first full commercial block face initiated and completed in the complex. Anchoring the southwest corner, the 1-story unit faces north with its northwestern corner angled to follow the site plan and allow access from Douglass Street. A large flat roof covers the unit though the roof parapets terminate in side-gabled tiled roofs that vary in height. Set on a concrete foundation, the walls are smooth stucco in light cream tone with a staggered set back fronting the sidewalk and street. Truncated square towers with low-pitched pyramidal roofs mark the northeast, southeast, and southwest corners of the unit. A 1-1/2-story hexagonal tower rises at the point of angle on the northwest corner. The street facade is highly textured and diverse with a mixture of quatrefoils, balconets, groups of oculi with iron *rejas*, *portales* supported by broad arches or post-and-lintel columns with bracketed capitals, tiered cast stone ornamentation, and arcuated

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cornices. Wrought iron balcony details and light fixtures randomly balance the facade. Almost all of the original tile and wooden framed storefronts are replaced with full height glass display areas and single or double glass doors. An high stucco wall runs along Livingston Avenue to screen the rear service yard of Unit B. The separate service yard is accessed from the east along the narrow street between Units A and B, entered from Livingston Avenue, which then curves down to return to Livingston before reaching the western end of the development.

The original tenants of Unit B included Hunt Grocery Company, a prestigious grocery that mainly delivered groceries to wealthy customers owned by James A. Flemister, an A&P Grocery (known as the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company Store) and a variety of small retail businesses. A similar mix exists today including an upper-end restaurant, bookstore, and camera and apparel shops.

Unit C (Phase I, 1935)

Phase I of Unit C consists of the Village Theater completed November 1935. The L-shaped building lies at the northwestern corner of the complex. The smaller 2-story tile hipped roof lobby faces onto the interior parking area, and the larger sloping flat roof, with stepped tile parapet, auditorium forms the rear ell along Douglas Avenue. The 3-story stucco tower is the architectural tie between the lobby and auditorium. The tower is one of the most important elements of the complex as it is the tallest and most ornate. It is easily the focal point for the complex and the vertical element that draws customers into the shopping center. The square-shaped base of the tower is set on the rear lobby and rises first to a observation deck highlighted by balconets on each side, then in an octagonal shaft with four arched windows connected by a stringcourse continues until terminating in a pointed ring, and then is stepped back and rises to a sharply sloping decorative metal dome. Originally, light beams were projected from the dome. The lobby entrance is identified by a flat marquee over a broad glass entryway. Above the marquee, three sets of steel casement windows denote the second floor with cast stone ornamentation that culminates in pinnacles and shields almost full-width of the upper facade. Large illuminated letters for the "Village Theatre" are at the base of the tower above the lobby roof.

The Village Theater originally included two large murals of "early Texas history" painted by native artist, James Buchanan Winn, Jr., better known as Buck Winn, on either side of the lobby. Otherwise, the theater showed the design influences of the 1930s streamline moderne movement with rounded walls, modernistic lounges, and contour seating. The theater and lobby were remodeled in the 1980s.

Flanking the theater lobby, 2-story buildings with tiled side-gabled roofs extended north/south. The first floor of the southern building included a large arched storefront with three separate steel casement windows on the second floor. The northern building, setback deeper on the lot, included a larger gable roof that extended over a second floor balcony and large arched storefront similar to that on the southern building. The storefronts of both buildings were changed in later phases of development, but the buildings still retain their basic side-gabled roof form and setback.

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Phase I of Unit C was designed as a model suburban theater with the assistance of the local theater company, Interstate Circuit, Inc. Karl Hoblitzelle, Dallas resident and president of Interstate Circuit, supervised much of the design and donated the Winn murals.¹

Unit C (Phase II, 1939-40)

The second phase of Unit C consists of three detached buildings that changed the street facades of the shopping center dramatically. Constructed immediately west of the theater lobby, the first is a 2-story stucco building facing east and covered by a large side-gabled tile roof that extends down over a cantilevered balcony. The balcony and roof shield a series of multi-light steel casement windows that open to offices. Five large arched storefronts define the first floor each highlighted with cast stone. The storefronts are now modern glass following the original arch form.

The second building follows a general U shape that partially encloses a courtyard. The longer sections consists of large tile side-gabled roofs connected by a hyphen on the western end. Immediately west of the theater auditorium, the second building is a 2-story stucco with an arched arcade on the first floor supporting a second story walkway. Under the arcade and walkway are irregularly placed single wooden windows and doors. Square wooden posts support the roof over the second floor walkway and are connected by a criss-crossed balustrade. An open stucco-faced staircase provides access to the second floor on the east facade. Wrought iron light fixtures illuminate the courtyard area.

The third building is north of the theater occupying the triangular shaped lot bounded by Douglass Avenue, Mockingbird Lane, and the angled entrance to the center. This 1-story stucco building is in a L-shape with a 1-1/2-story tower at the intersection of the tile gabled roofs. A number of single wooden windows and doors punctuate the facade.

These buildings contribute to the village atmosphere and setting by breaking the site pattern and building massing. Their angled siting, courtyards, and balconies create interest among the more shallow and flat block fronts.

Unit D (1941)

Unit D is a large 2-story commercial block facing south at the northwest corner of the complex constructed in 1941. The stucco building is one the most ornate in the center with its extensive Plateresque detailing along the cornice of the center block. This rather flat facade is broken by a long series of multi-light steel casement windows. Much of this facade is divided by stylized stucco pilasters that enhances the storefronts and creates a rhythm broken only by a pyramidal roofed tower. The storefront turns in a northerly direction to follow the outline of the commercial block. The turn of the building is noted by a curved roof over a cantilevered wooden balcony that originally continued around to Mockingbird Lane and created a row of 90-degree head-

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in parking for the end commercial space. Unit D retains its integrity with the exception of some storefront alterations and a tower addition (c. 1985) at the northern corner now used for retail.

Some of the businesses operating in Unit D since its construction include Tote'm, one of the Southland Ice Company's convenience stores, a post office, and the first full suburban department store for Sanger Brothers (1950). During World War II, a basement under the Sanger's store was prepared as a bomb shelter for students at the nearby Bradfield School. This is believed to still be intact.² The current occupants are mostly clothing and accessory stores.

Unit E (1939, 1953)

Unit E consists of two principal divisions: the 1939 eastern section and 1953 western section. The 1-story eastern section consists of a large rectangular shaped building with a storefront facing east onto Preston Road, allowing 90-degree head-in parking, and a second storefront facing south into the center. The latter section includes a pyramidal roofed tower as the central facade element. The 2-story western section, left as surface parking for many years, became underground parking and additional commercial space after World War II. This section is treated as an addition to the former spaces and is therefore not separated because of age.

Early businesses in Unit E included Highland Park State Bank, its first branch bank and drive-in facilities accessed from Mockingbird, and Volks Village Shop, its second location in the center.

Unit F (1931, 1931-32, 1939, 1940)

Unit F consists of four 1-story arcaded buildings connected at the extreme western and eastern ends. Although constructed over a number of years, Unit F is quite consistent architecturally with large side-gabled roofs culminating in four 2-story gable elements set perpendicular to the larger element. The four 2-story features form a courtyard accented with overhanging wooden balconies and decorative wrought iron light fixtures. A flight of concrete stairs that peaks at the centerpoint of the courtyard add some whimsy to the otherwise utilitarian and decorative setting. Some of the stores at the northeastern corner burned (c. 1985) but were rebuilt as the original. The first building constructed in the center in 1931, the rental leasing office, was located at the eastern end of the unit facing Preston Court. This was demolished to construct the last of the four buildings.

Some of the early tenants in Unit F include the original Volks Brothers children's shoes store, Sammy's Restaurant at the far western end (the owner was Sam Lobello a legendary restaurateur in Dallas), and many of the small service shops sustaining the center.

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Unit G (1931, 1932, demolished 1966, new building 1966)

Unit G consisted of two filling stations and auto repair facilities. The 1-story south station was first constructed with intersecting gable roofs over large arched garage and window spaces. Decorative wrought iron lighting highlighted doorways and corners. The north station was identical to the south one except that it was turned in the opposite direction. Both stations faced east onto Preston Road and drew most of their customers from that arterial route.

Filling stations were elements often added to early shopping centers in the pre World War II and for some years following the war. They were almost always essential parts of neighborhood shopping centers at the same time and in some cases continue to be included. These two were leased to different oil companies for most of their existence. By the 1960s the need for additional leasable space and the intense corporate competition in the oil industry made the two buildings obsolete. In 1966, George B. Dahl designed a large replacement that added commercial space on the first floor and new banking facilities on the second and third floors. This building is noted as a Noncontributing element in this nomination.

Highland Park Shopping Village is largely intact and retains its integrity of location, feeling, setting, workmanship, materials, association, and design. Alterations to many of the storefronts and the removal of the filling stations do not detract from the overall expression and architectural intent of the center. As a set of commercial block buildings continuously operating in a dynamic and rapidly changing retail industry, Highland Park Shopping Village is a remarkably constant and enduring architectural statement.

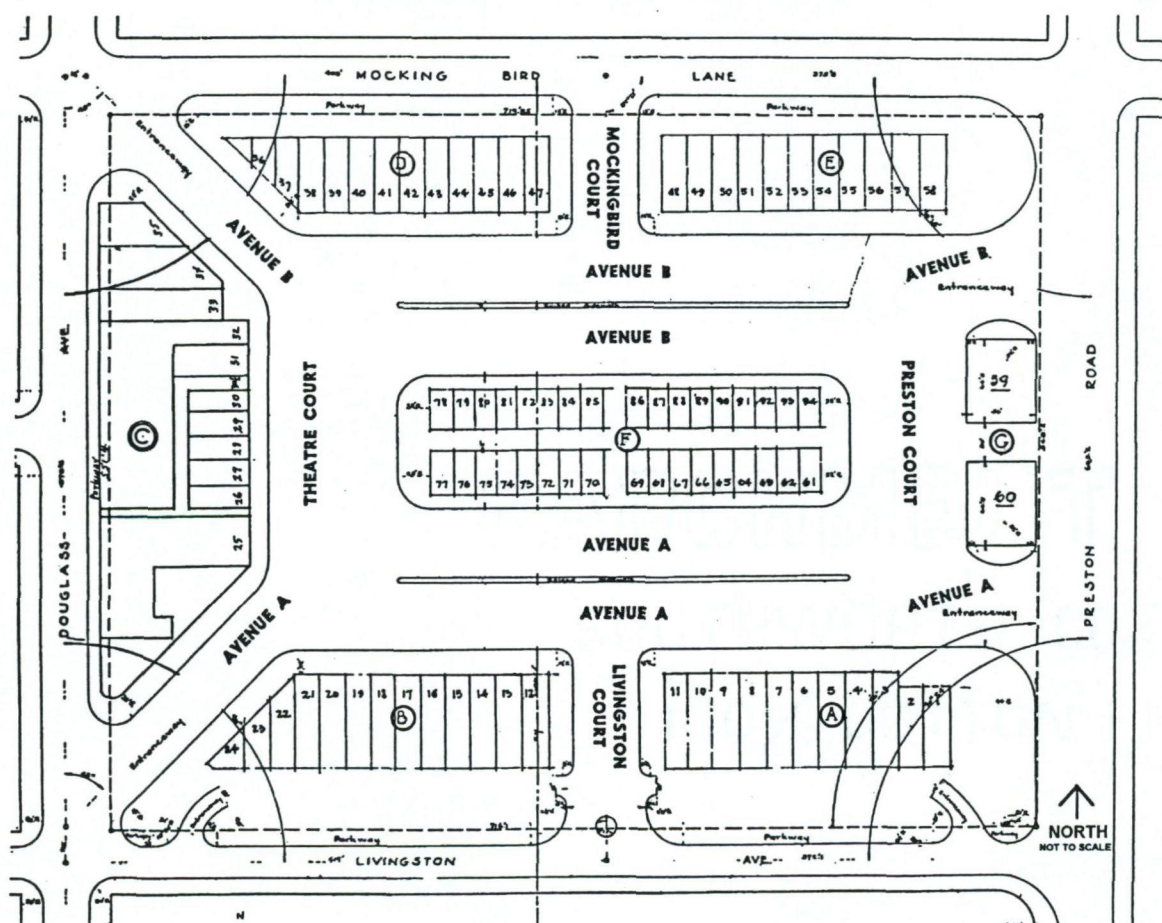
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HIGHLAND PARK SHOPPING VILLAGE

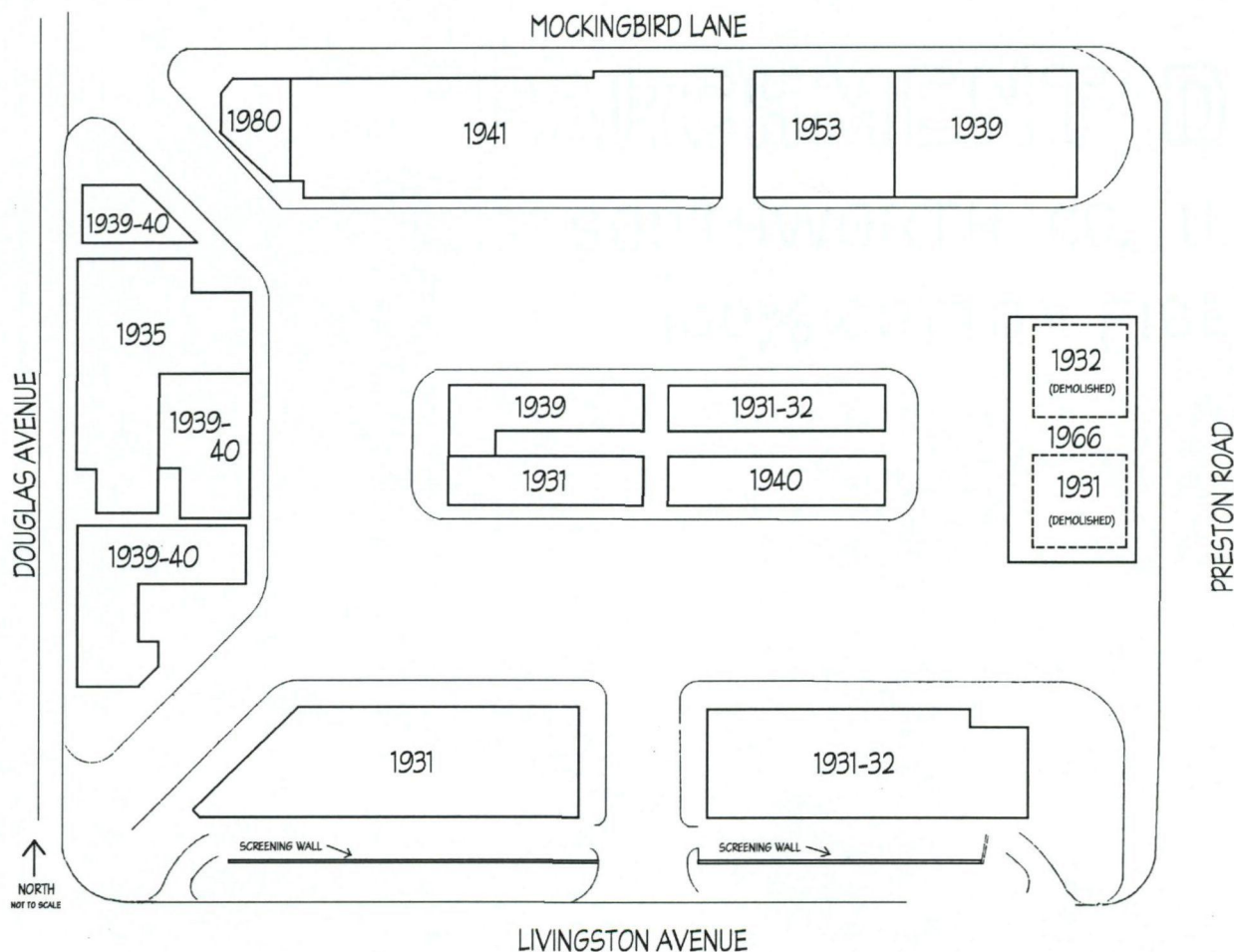


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8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

APPLICABLE NATIONAL REGISTER CRITERIA

- ☒ **A** PROPERTY IS ASSOCIATED WITH EVENTS THAT HAVE MADE A SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION TO THE BROAD PATTERNS OF OUR HISTORY.
- ☐ **B** PROPERTY IS ASSOCIATED WITH THE LIVES OF PERSONS SIGNIFICANT IN OUR PAST.
- ☒ **C** PROPERTY EMBODIES THE DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF A TYPE, PERIOD, OR METHOD OF CONSTRUCTION OR REPRESENTS THE WORK OF A MASTER, OR POSSESSES HIGH ARTISTIC VALUE, OR REPRESENTS A SIGNIFICANT AND DISTINGUISHABLE ENTITY WHOSE COMPONENTS LACK INDIVIDUAL DISTINCTION.
- ☐ **D** PROPERTY HAS YIELDED, OR IS LIKELY TO YIELD, INFORMATION IMPORTANT IN PREHISTORY OR HISTORY.

CRITERIA CONSIDERATIONS: N/A

AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE: Commerce; Architecture; Community Planning and Development

PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE: 1931-1953

SIGNIFICANT DATES: 1931, 1932, 1935, 1939, 1940, 1941, 1953

SIGNIFICANT PERSON: N/A

CULTURAL AFFILIATION: N/A

ARCHITECT/BUILDER: Cheek, James B.; Fooshee, Marion F. (Fooshee and Cheek Architects);
Byrne, James (contractor)

NARRATIVE STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE (see continuation sheets 8-13 through 8-30).

9. MAJOR BIBLIOGRAPHIC REFERENCES

BIBLIOGRAPHY (see continuation sheet 9-31-9-32).

PREVIOUS DOCUMENTATION ON FILE (NPS): N/A

- ☐ preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
- ☐ previously listed in the National Register
- ☐ previously determined eligible by the National Register
- ☐ designated a National Historic Landmark
- ☐ recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey #
- ☐ recorded by Historic American Engineering Record #

PRIMARY LOCATION OF ADDITIONAL DATA:

- ☒ State historic preservation office (*Texas Historical Commission*)
- ☐ Other state agency
- ☐ Federal agency
- ☐ Local government
- ☐ University
- ☐ Other -- Specify Repository:

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Statement of Significance

Highland Park Shopping Village, Highland Park, Dallas County, is a complex of seven detached commercial units focused on a central pedestrian and automobile parking plaza. In plan, the Village is noted for its enclosed parking areas within architecturally cohesive commercial blocks. The complex represents a pivotal point in the evolution of the shopping center as a distinctive building type in 20th century architecture in the United States. The Village is a hybrid of the community and regional shopping centers as defined by the real estate industry. As such, it houses today, as it did historically, a combination of grocery, drug, and related retail/service businesses typical of a community shopping center as well as department stores, restaurants, and a theater more typical of a regional shopping center. This unusual combination located in a high income community made the center an important proving ground for many of the first suburban department and chain stores in Dallas including Hunt Grocery Company (1931), Skillern & Sons drug store (1932), Volk Brothers (1935), and Sanger Brothers (1950). Thus, the complex is important for its role in facilitating the decentralization of the downtown commercial core and establishing the northern expansion of commercial and residential development that continued into the late 20th century in Dallas. Highland Park Shopping Village is eligible under Criterion A in the area of Commerce at the local level of significance and Criterion C in the areas of Architecture and Community Planning and Development at the national level of significance.

Highland Park Shopping Village is the result of several urban developments occurring over the course of the 20th century in Dallas as it did in most major urban areas of the United States. First, the city's development pattern in the late 19th century and early 20th century centralized most retail, banking, and commercial services in a central business district, then gradually dispersed these functions as economic trends changed. Second, national shifts in transportation and residential land use patterns created demand for different commercial centers that are embodied in the complex. Finally, the Village reflects the establishment and promotion by real estate developers and architects during the 20th century of the shopping center as a new building type.

Centralized Dallas: First Step in Urbanization

During the first three decades of the 20th century Dallas' business elite concentrated commercial, governmental, and financial operations in a central business district along Elm, Main, and Commerce Streets. Running approximately 15 blocks on an east-west axis and 3-4 blocks on a north-south, the central business district included the city's most stable businesses and monumental buildings. On the west, the Trinity River abutted the business district as a fleeting but promising avenue of transportation while the entire growing downtown fell squarely within a ring of railroad tracks owned by competing railway companies. Dallas County government buildings anchored the western end; municipal buildings did so on the eastern end. Industrial and manufacturing businesses mostly congregated in an area referred to as the "West End" (NR 1978), just north of the county government buildings along the Trinity River and railroad tracks. Some industrial and manufacturing activities, however, chose other sites along the encircling rail lines most notably Ford Motor Company (locally known as Adam's Hat Building), Continental Gin Company (NR 1983), John

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E. Mitchell Company (NR 1991), and Interstate Forwarding Company (NR 1992), just east of downtown along Commerce, and Stanard-Tilton Mill (NR 1997), and Sears, Roebuck, and Company warehouse facilities, just south of the central business district. Although most of the city's important industries located close to the downtown, a few industries selected sites in Oak Cliff, west across the Trinity River, and more detached sites north, south, and east. Despite the geographic spread of some economic functions, the city's first steps toward urbanization overwhelming moved principal economic activities toward the central business district, i.e., the downtown.

Dallas' strong and vibrant downtown developed in roughly three phases: 1890-1900, 1900-1915, and 1920-1930. Between 1890-1900, business developers established zones of use in the central business district. Hotels fell on the south and mostly west end, insurance occupied the center sections, finance largely moved into the north and east end, and the separate government entities flanked the core. Retail businesses also mostly congregated in the western quadrant, though they were small operations in comparison with later stores. In this decade, Dallas developed its regional economic dominance, especially in agricultural support manufacturing, insurance, and finance. The city remained completely dependent on rail transportation and established important financial links with St. Louis, Kansas City, and Philadelphia. Dallas' morphology at the end of the period may best be described as a vague "T shape" following a typical gridiron pattern that spread out from a curve on the Trinity River toward the east.

In the second phase, between 1900-1915, the center city attracted more substantial construction with the result being some of the city's major landmarks. This pre-World War I building boom yielded the Wilson Building (NR 1979), Busch-Kirby Building (NR 1980, expansion 1996), and the Adolphus Hotel (NR 1983). The most significant business concentration occurred among retailers. During this period, retail businesses collected along Elm and Main thereby establishing a solid retail district. Sanger Brothers Dry Goods Store (NR 1975), Neiman-Marcus, A. Harris & Company, and Titcher-Goettinger became the chief retailers in the new district with most stemming from the well-established Jewish merchant class.³ As the city began to shift its dependence on transportation from rail to vehicular modes, strong east-west transportation routes followed. The Dallas-Fort Worth Turnpike to the west dominated the east-west links and left the north-south ones relatively weak (including the links to the recently established suburb of Highland Park). In 1908 city leaders hired landscape architect George Kessler to improve the city's appearance and provide guidance for future development. Among Kessler's most important recommendations, and ones actually implemented, were to enhance the north-south routes with boulevards after removing the north rail lines along Pacific Avenue and allowing substantial north-south routes from downtown. By the end of this period, the morphological development of Dallas seemed on target with Kessler's recommendations constituting a concentrated gridiron central business district with radiating arterials.

The third phase, 1920-1930, easily reflects the most rapid period of development in the city's central business district. Several major oil and gas companies built headquarters including the Magnolia Building (NR 1921) and Lone Star Gas. Karl Hoblitzelle of Interstate Theaters, Inc., funded the construction of the Majestic Theater (NR 1977) as a flagship theater and anchor to the city's growing theater district in the northeast

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quadrant of downtown. In a significant flurry of retail growth, Titcher-Goettinger Department Store (NR 1996) and Volk Brothers (demolished) built major department stores to house increased depth in their merchandise like ready-to-wear apparel. In response to the large department store expansion, an increasing number of small retailers chose market niches yet unfilled and located in the abundant supply of smaller scale retail spaces in the downtown buildings. Sears, Roebuck and Company is an important exception to the trend toward centralization. About 1910, Sears constructed a major distribution center south of downtown, on South Lamar along the Trinity River, thereby seemingly establishing its independence from the economy of the central business district. In the 1920s, Sears began to offer retail services at this location and in 1929 expanded that to a space on West Jefferson Boulevard in Oak Cliff.

By 1930 the central business district of Dallas appeared largely set in its physical boundaries and diversity and depth of economic activity. Its economy, now solidly more regional than local, drew as much outside capital, that stabilized and strengthened it, as it did local clientele. The steady, and at times rapid, population growth since 1880 (see table), however, substantially bolstered downtown businesses that appeared to most local business owners in the decade as a never-ending market.

Population Growth in Dallas, 1880-1960

Census Year	Population
1880	10,358
1890	38,067
1900	42,638
1910	92,104
1920	158,976
1930	260,475
1940	294,734
1950	434,462
1960	679,684

Source: US Census Bureau

Of all the diverse economic sectors that appeared by 1930 (finance, insurance, retail, clothing manufacturing, auto manufacturing, agriculture support manufacturing), the retail industry seemed most secure with its market. In 1929, Dallas retailers sold over \$250 million with retail and wholesale clothing operations occupying over 46,000 square feet in the downtown. Among all Texas cities, Dallas led in retail sales and employment.⁴ All transportation systems (rail, streetcars, automobile highways) led to or through the central business district. This fact and the prosperity experienced in the 1920s encouraged downtown department stores to be optimistic about the future and thus strengthen their position at their downtown location. Thus, no major retailers, with the possible exception of hybrid wholesale/retail operations of Sears, looked out to the growing suburbs for a new market. The following department or specialty stores dominated all retailing in Dallas in 1930:

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Sanger Brothers Dry Goods/Department Store. Under the skillful direction of Alex Sanger and later Philip Sanger as well, Sanger Brothers Dry Goods began in Dallas in 1889. The Dallas brothers (there were other Sanger Brothers locations in Waco and Galveston) expanded the business to encompass several buildings along Elm, Austin, Main, and Lamar. The principal building was designed by Dallas architects Lang & Witchell in 1910 and remained the headquarters for the business until 1966 when the company was consolidated with A. Harris & Company (NR 1975). The first branch location was opened in 1950.⁵

Titche-Goettinger. The Titche-Goettinger Department Store, formed in 1902 by Max Goettinger and Edward Titche, opened in the relatively new Wilson Building designed by the Fort Worth architectural firm of Sanguinet and Staats. The store later moved to the expanded Wilson Building in 1911 (NR 1979). In 1928 the company began construction on a new location at Main, Elm, and St. Paul Streets (NR 1996). During construction in 1929, however, it was sold to Lew Hahn (Hahn Company) before the building was completed. The Depression affected the breadth of the retail market during Hahn's ownership changing the market from an upper income clientele to a middle income one. The store's competitive edge was largely lost to Neiman Marcus. The change in ownership and shifting clientele probably prevented the company from opening branch locations between 1930 and 1960. The company continued its support for and commitment to downtown retailing until the 1960s.⁶

A. Harris & Company. The A. Harris & Company, first begun in the 1890s, opened its first major downtown location on the first five floors of the Busch-Kirby Building at 1501 Main (NR 1980; NR 1996) in 1913. The department store largely catered to middle and upper income customers along the major retail avenue of downtown Dallas. The company expanded several times at this location to accommodate changes in retailing. In 1961 Federated Stores purchased the store and later merged it with Sanger Brothers at a new downtown location in 1965-66.⁷

Neiman Marcus Company. The Neiman Marcus Company formed in 1907 as a local specialty store rather than a full department store. Both owners, Herbert Marcus and Carrie Neiman (Marcus' sister), had worked for A. Harris & Company and Sanger Brothers before forming the new company. The first store location at Elm and Murphy burned in 1913, but the business survived and moved to its present location at Main and Ervay store in 1914. While the Depression slowed retailing for most stores, it did not hit Neimans as it did others because of its loyal clientele from the East Texas oil fields. In 1931 and 1932 the company sustained small losses, but by 1935 it returned to its pre-Depression levels of sales and profits. Neiman's opened its first branch store in 1951 and expanded the downtown store at the same time.⁸

Volk Brothers. The Volk Brothers Company began about 1891 in Dallas as a small shoe store under the direction of George and Leonard Volk. After several expansions, the company purchased its first major location in the retail center of downtown at 1206 Elm Street in 1912. In June 1921, George Volk purchased the land at 1806-10 Elm Street for a new and larger store. George, who died in 1922, was a major figure in the influential Retail Merchants Division of the Chamber of Commerce for 33 years. After his death, Leonard's son, Harold, took the lead of the business and oversaw construction of the new store in 1929,

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completed in April 1930. Greene, LaRoche, & Dahl were the architects for the Volk Brothers store that remained in operation at the downtown location until 1970. The building was demolished c. 1980.⁹

Decentralization of Dallas

The decentralization of Dallas actually began in the late 19th century with the assistance of a number of streetcar companies laying track from the central business district. After countless consolidations, innovations, and reorganizations, the streetcar lines reached neighborhoods in all directions.¹⁰ Streetcar or trolley stops became prime locations for commercial developments as they guaranteed a regular supply of customers for ordinary goods and functional services. One of the earliest commercial districts to appear in Dallas is at the intersection of Bryan and Peak Street near the Peak's Suburban Addition of East Dallas.¹¹

The Bryan-Peak Commercial Historic District (NR 1995) marks the commercial development that occurred after the arrival of the streetcar line in 1902, through the introduction of the Interurban Railway in 1912, and extended into the prosperous automobile years of the 1920s. These 1- and 2-story commercial buildings speak of the highly concentrated, economically diverse type of development typical of early decentralized commerce. The buildings, connected in a dense setting on all four corners of the intersection, originally offered common neighborhood businesses such as a grocery, drug store, shoe repair, and laundry, but by the mid 1920s added small clothing and department stores and the Ideal Theatre. The Bryan-Peak businesses served residential developments that prohibited commercial operations by deed restrictions farther east like Munger Place and Vickery Place. In its earliest years, the businesses also probably served Highland Park and Oak Lawn, both accessed by this streetcar line. Many of the small businesses based at the intersection closed during the Depression, losing their economic stronghold as decentralization passed them.¹²

In addition to Bryan-Peak, Oak Cliff, west of downtown, experienced relatively early commercial development. The North Bishop Commercial Historic District (NR 1994) is similar to that in East Dallas as it was the intersection for the turning streetcar line at North Bishop Avenue and Davis Street. Small businessmen constructed several 1-story commercial blocks flanking the intersecting streets. A few 2-story commercial buildings met additional business demands at the location. Generally influenced by period revival styles like Tudor Revival, the commercial blocks typified the post World War I commercial operations linked to the streetcar lines. Likewise, the 1- and 2-story Jacobethan Revival commercial block at 1310-1314 Davis Street in Winnetka Heights (NR 1983) illustrates commercial development linked to the accessibility of the streetcar and ever-present automobile.¹³

Although both of these developments followed modes of transportation that encouraged decentralization, West Jefferson Boulevard in Oak Cliff really functioned as a small town main street. West Jefferson Boulevard offered diverse small commercial businesses, but the Oak Cliff Medical and Dental Building easily was the area's most significant property. Opened on April 4, 1929, the 8-story tower provided dental and medical offices while 1- and 2-story commercial blocks flanking it became major retail space. The first floor of the tower and some adjacent spaces housed the first of the Dallas suburban locations for Sears Roebuck

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and Company from its South Lamar warehouse near downtown. A smaller space on a corner attracted one of the growing number of locally-owned Skillern & Sons drug stores. Other businesses along West Jefferson included dry cleaners, a bakery and deli, grocery stores, and a music store. Another notable additional were four theaters mostly built in the late 1920s. The largest and most impressive of the four, however, was the Texas Theater completed in 1931, making it one of the earliest suburban theaters in Dallas. Many of the West Jefferson Boulevard businesses also suffered during the Depression of the 1930s but the commercial flavor and diversity of businesses did not falter and continued the trend of Dallas' commercial decentralization.¹⁴

By 1930, Highland Park boasted a population of about 8,500 but supported almost no businesses within its city limits. The absence of commercial activity was in part due to the dominance of downtown Dallas that largely continued until the 1960s.

Development of Highland Park

Dallas' earliest residential suburbs began in the 1880s with the development of Oak Cliff (1887-c. 1925) by Thomas L. Marsalis and John S. Armstrong west across the Trinity River (NR, *Historic and Architectural Resources of Oak Cliff*), and East Dallas (1882-1890) by Captain William H. Gaston (NR, *Historic and Architectural Resources of South and East Dallas*). In 1889, the Philadelphia Place Land Association, a conglomerate of Philadelphia financiers, purchased some 1,326 acres north of Dallas for the area's first northern suburb. Henry Exall, city leader and businessman, arranged the purchase for an average price of \$377, or \$500,000, for residential development much like model housing projects around Philadelphia. "Philadelphia Place," as it was proposed, included gravel roads and picturesque landscape features such as Exall Lake, created from the damming of Turtle Creek. Exall's residential development, however, soon faced a depressed local and national economy from the panic of 1893 leaving the tract largely undeveloped except for the site improvements. Exall, essentially bankrupt, used his salvaged investment for a horse breeding farm, Lomo Alto Horse Farm, and granted Dallasites recreational use of the lake.¹⁵

In 1906, John S. Armstrong purchased the Philadelphia Place land and proposed a new residential development named Highland Park. Armstrong, once partners with Thomas Marsalis in several investments, sold his real estate division to Marsalis, and Marsalis in turn sold his part in their grocery business to Armstrong, both transactions occurred in 1887. Armstrong subsequently restructured the grocery business and developed it into a sizable meat packing operation that he sold in 1906 to Swift & Company of Chicago. The proceeds of this sale allowed the purchase of Philadelphia Place.¹⁶

In 1907, Armstrong and his son-in-law, Hugh Prather, traveled to Los Angeles to meet with landscape architect, Wilbur David Cook. Cook, originally of New York, was then designing the prestigious and well-publicized residential and commercial development of Beverly Hills near Los Angeles. Using a topographical map provided by Armstrong and following one site visit, Cook prepared a master plan for the residential components of Highland Park. The first 100-acre addition began in 1907 east of Preston Road

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bounded by Abbott, Armstrong, Drexel, and Gillon, (near the Knox Street trolley line) with a second, the Lakeside Addition, extending from Turtle Creek to Hackberry Creek (including the Dallas Country Club) following in 1910. Although Armstrong financed and initiated Highland Park, he died in 1908 leaving the full development to the direction and vision of Hugh E. Prather, Sr., and Edgar L. Flippen, his son-in-laws.¹⁷

Flippen and Prather continued the development and marketing of Highland Park additions under the leadership of Flippen-Prather Realty, Inc. Two early slogans described the attributes of the development and the urban problems of Dallas, "Beyond the City's Dust and Smoke," and "It's Ten Degrees Cooler in Highland Park." While Highland Park gained a reputation for quality housing and handsome parklands, it also began to form its own urban identity. In 1913, the 500 residents requested in vain to be annexed by Dallas, so they voted to incorporate instead on November 29, 1913. When officially incorporated in 1915, Highland Park included approximately 1,100 residents. In 1915 Flippen-Prather Realty added a third addition east of the Dallas Country Club to Hackberry Creek, and in 1917 a fourth east of Hackberry Creek. The new city began its own waterworks which it operated until 1932 and built its own Spanish Colonial Revival city hall on Bartholow Square in 1923 under the design direction of Dallas architects Lang and Witchell.

About 1920 the City of Dallas initiated efforts to annex Highland Park. With new state laws requiring a vote by home rule cities, Highland Park residents repeatedly declined annexation and snubbed Dallas' growth north with the last vote occurring in 1945. The result was to surround Highland Park and its later sister city, University Park, effectively denying any of their attempts to grow. In response to residents' demands, Highland Park established its own school system and variously teamed with University Park to provide education, water, newspapers, and other community support systems.¹⁸

Until the early 1920s, Highland Park proper existed to the east of the early northbound road called Preston Road and south of Mockingbird Lane. Preston Road soon became the area's major thoroughfare and principal street. It was the first paved road in Highland Park and offered, through the foresight of Flippen and Prather, additional right-of-way for expansion. The developers continued to place a special emphasis as the community developed on design and civil engineering to create a setting attractive to the wealthy home buyers. The firm hired a number of well-known landscape architects to help in the design including L.M. Jenny of Cleveland, Ohio, George E. Kessler of Kansas City, Missouri, and Hare & Hare of Kansas City, Missouri. N. Werenskiold (unknown origin) played a major role in the engineering for the last single-family residential addition of Highland Park West in 1924. A final phase called Westpark was introduced in the late 1920s for high-end multi-family development.¹⁹

Highland Park West, the last major addition in Highland Park, lay immediately west of Preston Road and south of Mockingbird Lane. Begun in 1924, the addition used part of Armstrong's original land acquisition in 1907 that Cook had discarded because of its rather flat topography. The final subdivision plat varied lot

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sizes, introduced curved streets, and created boulevards and parkways to add interest where there were nonexistent natural features for design use. New residences in the addition adopted popular period revival styles of the 1920s and staggered setbacks with ample landscaping providing further interest to the development. To meet the demands of a growing school age population, the developers sold acreage between Douglas and Armstrong for a new elementary school in 1924. Bradfield Elementary School, designed by Lang & Witchell and built by Rogers & O'Rourke, opened in 1925 as Highland Park's second elementary school.²⁰

Flippen and Prather introduced their most significant change in residential development, however, with the reservation of approximately ten acres on the southwest corner of the intersection of Preston Road and Mockingbird Lane, adjacent Bradfield School, for commercial use. From 1907 to the mid 1920s, there were few commercial uses allowed in the Highland Park additions and only a handful of convenient shopping areas. Some residents drove to the Oak Lawn area for groceries and sundries, others frequented a growing commercial area along Knox Street mostly between Travis and Cole. The Knox Street commercial corridor focused on the trolley line stop at Knox and Travis and the Highland Park Railroad Station on the Katy Railway at Knox and Abbott Avenue. A number of small locally owned commercial operations began in this section including Highland Park Bakery, Highland Park Cafeteria, Highland Park Fruit Stand & Market, Highland Park Beauty Shop and Barber, and Highland Park Pharmacy, known for its early use of carhops. Some early commercial chains also operated along Knox including F.W. Woolworth, Piggly Wiggly Store (No. 9), (Jack) Long's Helpy Selfy Store (No. 21), and Clarence Saunders Store (also the developer of Piggly Wiggly, operated here by James A. Flemister). Although the Knox Street businesses offered a variety of neighborhood goods and services and some even carried the city's name, none of these were located within the city limits and none exclusively served Highland Park residents. These businesses flourished during the 1920s, some even expanded to other locations, but by the early 1930s many lost their economic foothold and failed during the Depression. The demise of nearby commerce in the early 1930s left business opportunities for the wealthy residential community that were not filled until the latter part of the decade elsewhere.²¹

Planning and Design of Highland Park Shopping Village

Hugh Prather, Sr., first conceived a commercial component for Highland Park when finalizing plans for the Highland Park West addition in 1924. Though the idea may have been planted earlier, several national developments doubtless influenced his thoughts and some planned developments within the state probably contributed to his final project.

Among the most notable influences is Country Club Plaza in Kansas City, Missouri. In 1922-23, Jesse Clyde Nichols announced and started one of the most widely publicized developments of the interwar years, Country Club Plaza. Nichols, a successful real estate developer from Kansas City, devised a shopping center for his 2000-acre residential development, Country Club District, begun in 1908. While other shopping complexes predated Country Club Plaza, and countless small shopping centers existed around transportation

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rights-of-way, none fully integrated business development with organizational and physical dimensions.²² Country Club Plaza was designed as a unified commercial area that blended with adjacent upscale residential buildings. Irregular blocks and architectural details contributed to uniformity that made almost all retail locations of equal importance. Furthermore, the Plaza was managed as whole with the selection and recruitment of tenants carefully planned to provide depth in the available retail goods and support services. Finally, Nichols diverged from existing commercial design practices by catering to motorists rather than the streetcar or pedestrian. Design for motorists meant more attention to streets and roads especially access, circulation, and parking.²³ Nichol's enhancement of the shopping center became the hallmark for centers until substantially after World War II.

Two other influences on Prather's design and planning probably came from proposals for the French Market and Spanish Market in San Antonio. The American Building Company and Joe J. Nix, real estate developer, proposed two separate commercial complexes along the city's major transportation routes. First promoted in 1928, the French Market planned for Fredericksburg Road in northwest San Antonio encompassed a full city block with 1- and 2-story buildings aligning the perimeter. Ellis F. Albaugh and Henry J. Steinbomer, partners in the San Antonio architectural firm of Albaugh & Steinbomer, completed drawings for the complex probably in 1928.²⁴ The connected buildings formed an enclosure around an unusual feature, a "motoryard," accessed from each side, that the developers advertised as four blocks long and 35 feet wide. The varied height, random use of stone and wood, turreted towers, and half-timbering created a setting reflective of a French village directly out of Normandy or Brittany. Despite the national French influence, the complex's name came from the widely visited French Market in New Orleans that itself carried an assortment of goods in a concentrated market setting. Some 40 planned businesses in the French Market included a drug store, dry goods store, service station, ethnic restaurants as well as professional offices and several studio apartments.

Spanish Market, in South San Antonio, also attributed to Albaugh and Steinbomer, followed the release of the French Market in 1929. Again under the direction of American Building Company and Joe J. Nix, the Spanish Market borrowed heavily from popular images of rural villages of Spain with its long arcades, tile roofs, and stucco multi-sided towers. The most significant difference in design from the previous market was that two automobile thoroughfares created a cohesive commercial streetfront and thus angled parking spaces rather than a motoryard.²⁵

The developers of the French Market and Spanish Market also proposed a relatively rare form of ownership in the retail industry that required tenants to purchase their units rather than lease. This method is similar to current multiple ownership terms in housing, but is unlike the management and tenancy programs of most retail shopping centers of the 20th century. Thus, the French Market and Spanish Market both served more as models for the design concepts of Highland Park Shopping Village rather than its management.²⁶

In February 1926, Prather announced plans for a shopping center along Preston Road. Despite his promotion, he apparently had few concrete ideas other than a general concept. His first step toward

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completion of the project began with the hiring of James B. Cheek of Fooshee & Cheek, architectural firm of Dallas. In 1928 Prather and Cheek completed several forays to collect supporting documentation and ideas for the center. The first of these trips took them for two months in the summer of 1928 to Southern California to visit the Spanish missions and probably some combination of sites including Palos Verdes Estates (Los Angeles County), Rancho Santa Fe (San Diego County), the Panama-California Exposition buildings (San Diego), and the reconstructed commercial core of Santa Barbara.²⁷ Prather and Cheek also traveled to South Texas to visit the Texas missions and possibly made contact with Joe Nix or Ellis Albaugh and Henry Steinbomer.

A year after the southern California trip, the pair made their final research trip to Spain (Seville and Barcelona). The World Exposition in Barcelona attracted most of their attention, especially the Spanish Village. The Exposition's composite presentation of architecture representing the old Spanish communities provided special inspiration. Cheek made sketches of ornamentation, took photographs, and purchased good examples of light fixtures and *rejas* to be duplicated in Texas.²⁸

At some point in the planning years, Prather and Cheek also traveled to Kansas City to meet with J.C. Nichols and visit the landmark shopping complex, Country Club Plaza. Nichols' now years of observation and experience with his commercial development proved critical in the final planning. He made a number of recommendations to the Dallas visitors that they reportedly incorporated in Highland Park Shopping Village.²⁹ Although the exact nature of the recommendations is unknown, Nichols probably encouraged Prather to provide an alternative to on-street parking as found in the Plaza. He was keenly aware that his parking was inadequate and other approaches should be considered.³⁰

Prather and Cheek concluded their research in 1928-29 and released the final design to the local press in April 1930. The final plan for the shopping center placed contiguous 1- and 2-story commercial buildings facing inward around the site and through the center of the ten acres. Two private streets, Avenue A and B, separated by the center line of buildings, allowed access to rows of 60-degree head-in parking along both interior commercial fronts and in a double row through the center of each street. The effect was a site plan similar to the common courthouse squares of many small town in Texas. In later years, Prather would acknowledge that the parking arrangement was indeed inspired by the state's courthouse squares. The provision of off-street parking for some 650 automobiles is the most significant aspect of the shopping center design and the element that gives the complex its prominence in the evolution of the building type.³¹

Cheek turned to the Country Club Plaza model again for a unified architectural style. Borrowing the Spanish Colonial Revival style of the Plaza, he simplified the design choosing the more vernacular expressions in Spanish Colonial architecture in California and Texas rather than the academic ones found in the Plaza.³² Using white stucco and red tiles, Cheek created a cohesive environment that appealed to the shopper as pedestrian or and motor vehicle operator. He further enhanced the setting with cast stone detailing, leaded mirrors in quatrefoil windows, and removable wrought iron railings. The use of exposed redwood beams, copper sashes, and glazed tile storefront kickplates emphasizes his attention to fine finishings.³³ Prather and

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Cheek commissioned Potter Art Metal Studios of Dallas to make all the light fixtures and much of the wrought iron details for the center. The center as designed in the late 1920s and promoted in 1930 promised to be one of the most distinctive commercial environments in the pre-World War II years.

In spite of the Depression, Prather began construction of the first phases of Highland Park Shopping Village in 1931. James Byrne, a Dallas contractor for many of the firm's buildings, supervised construction of the initial phases of the complex and continued in this role through the 1950s. The first building was a temporary sales office placed at the eastern end of the center block. Shortly afterwards, Unit B at the southwestern end and the south filling station were completed. By June 1932, Units A and B on the south side, and two filling stations at the eastern end along Preston Road were complete. The next phase, including the Village theater, were completed in 1935-36 with all but one of the final units finished by 1941.³⁴ The last phase included an underground parking facility and concluded the Village in 1953. Alterations and additions after 1953 detracted from architectural cohesiveness of the complex but do not alter the basic configuration or plan.

The tenants and management of the center proved to be as significant to the local economy as the architecture. Prather early recognized the importance of creating a market mix of goods and services that primarily service the residential population of Highland Park. Thus, the first tenants included two grocery stores, Hunt Grocery Company and The Great A&P Tea Company, in adjacent stores in Unit B. Hunt served a high-end customer and offered delivery from its first suburban location as well as its downtown headquarters. A&P offered groceries on a self-serve basis that was already found in other locations along Knox and in Dallas. S&S Catering moved to the center from a Knox Street location when Prather offered the owners three months free rent. Later renamed and relocated to Unit C, S&S Tearoom became one of the most prominent restaurants in the city and remained a tenant until it closed in 1987.³⁵ Among the other early businesses were the Village Book Shop, Oriental Rug Shop, The Stocking Shop, The Mary Ann Shop, The Chimney Corner, a beauty shop, and the two filling stations, one operated by the Texas Company and the other called the Highland Park Service Station.³⁶

After the completion of Unit A in 1932, Skillern & Sons, Inc., opened one of the first suburban drug stores in Dallas. Begun as J.A. Skillern Drugstore in 1885 in Lewisville, Texas, the company became Skillern & Sons in 1914 and expanded operations to a number of small locations in major downtown Dallas buildings. The company continued to expand as a chain of stores to include 33 locations in 1954 and 43 in 1964. It was one of the first drug store chains to departmentalize and become self-selective. Rae E. Skillern and his family moved to Beverly Drive in Highland Park West in the 1920s, just a few blocks from the center, and lived there until their tragic death in 1964. The Highland Park Shopping Village location became store number five (replacing an earlier location of a number five) and reportedly quickly outsold many other stores.³⁷ Its location at the easternmost end of Unit A along Preston Road gave it visibility to drivers along the road and created additional 90-degree parking spaces on Preston and at the rear of the store. A drug store continues in this location.

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Unit A also housed a third grocery store when it opened in 1932. The grocery was short-lived and replaced by Safeway Stores in 1935. Safeway continued in this location until replaced by Tom Thumb grocery which continues today.

In November 1935, the Village Theater opened as the largest and most prominent building in the center. Although built by Flippen and Prather for a cost of \$150,000, the theater operated under a long term lease with Interstate Circuit, Inc., with Karl Hoblitzelle as president. The theater boasted over 1300 seats and featured some of the most important showings of the period. When opened, it was one of the earliest suburban movie theaters in Dallas and certainly among the best appointed.³⁸ The theater remains in operation being leased in 1987 to American Multi-Cinema, the second largest theater company in the United States. The exterior is slightly modified from its original appearance, though its interior is significantly modified. Adjacent the theater when it opened in 1935, Martha Washington's Ice Cream Parlor became one of the center's customer draws. It, however, was closed and revamped as retail space probably in the 1960s.³⁹

Volk Brothers is the most significant of the new businesses locating to the center during the 1930s. George and Leonard Volk began the Volk Brothers Company about 1891 as a small shoe store in downtown Dallas. In 1935, the company opened its first suburban location in Unit F of the Village offering only children's shoes. By March 1940, Volks Brothers expanded to a specially designed store in Unit E on the northern side and included women's and misses clothing, children's clothing, and a more extensive line of shoes. This store is the first of the fashionable downtown department stores to recognize its suburban market and open a branch. Sanger Brothers, renamed Sanger-Harris in the 1960s when the two downtown department stores consolidated, joined Volks Brothers about 1950 in Unit D.⁴⁰ The Village location became the first full branch store of Sanger Brothers as well.

In 1940-41, Southland Ice Company opened a Tote'm convenience store at the northwest corner of Unit D. This location allowed direct head-in automobile access to the store from Mockingbird Lane, a requirement for the quick service and perishable goods it offered. Southland Company, a early national leader in the convenience store business, was led by Joe C. (Jodie) Thompson, for much of the 20th century. Thompson and his family also resided in Highland Park where he served for a short time on the city council. The Village store remained in operation for many years but changed its name to Seven-Eleven Dairy Store after the company shifted its marketing and corporate image in 1946.⁴¹

Highland Park Shopping Village continued to develop and expand its tenant mix until World War II slowed commercial expansion. Flippen and Prather Realty Company later incorporated its shopping center management under Flippen & Prather Stores, Inc. This management company continued until 1966 when Howard Corporation purchased the complex. In 1976 Henry S. Miller, local real estate developer, purchased the center to redirect its declining retail status in the community.⁴² Miller's company is now headquartered in the complex and responsible for all marketing and management aspects. The Village continues to attract an

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upper end retail mix and clientele.

Fooshee and Cheek

Formed about 1920, Fooshee and Cheek rose to prominence in North Texas during the rapid physical expansion of the interwar years. Fooshee & Cheek are arguably one of Dallas' most prominent architectural firms in the mid 20th century. The firm made its name largely on residential designs in the upper income neighborhoods of Highland Park and University Park showing a special interest in adaptation of period revival styles, especially Spanish Colonial Revival.

Marion Fresenius Fooshee (1888-1956) was born in Weatherford, Texas, but his family moved shortly afterward to Corpus Christi and then Dallas. Fooshee graduated from Dallas High School (NR 1995) which offered a variety of vocational programs at the time including technical drawing and architectural blueprint reading. After graduation, he apprenticed for five years to Hal B. Thomson (1882-1974), one of the state's first native born and professionally trained architects. Thomson, born into a wealthy Austin family, graduated from MIT in 1906/1907 and began his architectural practice in Dallas the following year. Dallas' elite businessmen became some of Thomson's early clients with many of them commissioning residential designs for lots along Swiss Avenue in the prosperous years preceding World War I.⁴³ Though not educated in a professional college, Fooshee received quality training and wide exposure to residential design work in Thomson's office. Fooshee left Thomson's office to enter the armed forces in World War I and upon return to Dallas established his partnership with James Cheek.⁴⁴

Thomson's office and high-end design commissions also attracted James Bruce Cheek (1895-1970). Unlike Fooshee, Cheek, born south of Dallas in Hillsboro, Texas, studied architecture at the University of Texas at Austin in 1913-14. He left the university after one year and began work with C.D. Hill & Company in Dallas in June 1914. In May 1915, Cheek transferred to work with Hal Thomson where he remained through October 1917. During World War I, he entered the US Navy working as a draftsman in the Public Works Department in Gulfport, MS, and then in Naval Operations in Hampton Roads, VA. In February 1919 Cheek returned to Dallas and began a "general practice" of architecture entering into a partnership with Marion Fooshee either late 1919 or 1920.⁴⁵

The new partnership first located in Wichita Falls in North Texas in response to the growing wealth from the regional oil fields. Though little is documented on their work in Wichita Falls, by 1925, the firm relocated to Dallas and entered their most prosperous years. When selected by Hugh Prather, Sr., about 1928 as architects for Highland Park Shopping Village, Fooshee and Cheek then gained immediate local attention and received numerous commissions for work. Highland Park Village is arguably the finest work of the firm.

Although little is published of their work, the firm designed a number of other commercial buildings in the mid 20th century. Grande Tourist Lodge (1931, demolished 1995), Magnolia Filling Station (c. 1931, demolished), and the Bon Aire Courts (c. 1935, believed demolished) are among their contemporary works.

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The firm remodeled their office at 1901 ½ Harwood (demolished) in a Spanish Colonial Revival style (c. 1930). Residential works of the period include the W.G. Sterrett, Jr., House at 4208 Beverly Drive, Albert Moss House at 3510 Drexel Avenue, W.G. Sterrett House (number one) at 4200 Beverly Drive, and their own residences at 4443 Westway Drive (Fooshee) and 4417 Westway Drive (Cheek).⁴⁶ The firm completed residential designs in Tyler and Fort Worth as well. Highland Park Shopping Village was the most extensive commercial design for the firm and its longest continuous design project. When the filling stations were demolished in 1966, the owners requested James Cheek to design a new building. Mr. Cheek declined because of illness leaving the infill to be completed by another Dallas architect George Dahl.⁴⁷

Shopping Center as Building Type

The shopping center is defined as a "group of commercial establishments under a single ownership, planned, developed, and managed as a single unit, with off-street parking provided, and related to the area it serves in the size and type of its stores."⁴⁸ Although the shopping center as we know it today is largely a post World War II development, several early centers played a significant role in its evolution. A commercial block designed by Frederick Clarke Withers as part of Olmsted's Riverside, Illinois, development in 1870, is probably the first among the precursors to today's shopping center. Roland Park Shop Center (1894) in Baltimore, Maryland, is generally recognized as another precursor by most scholars of the building type. The third major center is Country Club Plaza (1923) in Kansas City, Missouri. This development (discussed earlier) was the work of J.C. Nichols as a commercial center to his 5,000-acre adjacent residential community. Country Club Plaza is without question the most important milestone in the pre World War II years. The Park and Shop in Cleveland Park in Washington, DC, is another complex that is best known for defining the parameters and scope of the neighborhood shopping center.⁴⁹

The shopping center as recognized today as a distinctive American building type exists in three types: neighborhood, community, and regional. Neighborhood shopping centers typically serve a minimum of 750 families for a market. A supermarket and drug store will be the lead businesses with a combination of service operations including a dry cleaner, beauty and barber shops, laundry, shoe repair, and a variety store. These centers can occupy from five to ten acres and are accessed from a major arterial. Community shopping centers serve a larger market and include junior department stores, shoe stores, children's apparel and shoe stores, men's clothing, candy and gift stores, and a theater. In some centers, banks and a post office are also included. Professional offices may be included as well, usually on second stories. These complexes typically occupy 15 to 30 acres of land. Regional shopping centers are much larger than the prior centers and include as major tenants one or two departments stores. The market is generally between 300,000 and 900,000 people within a 30 minute drive. The regional center will occupy between 20 and 50 acres, though post World War II centers are often larger.⁵⁰

Highland Park Shopping Village is recognized by most scholars of the building type and the real estate industry for its incorporation of vehicular parking within a unified architectural space. As such, it represents

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a critical step in the development of the building type from on-street parking to off-street parking, as the latter is used in the definition. Highland Park Village served as a model in this respect for later shopping center developments, most notably the Bellvue Shopping Center in Seattle, Washington. The Village also represents a hybrid between the community and regional shopping centers in its design scope, marketing strategy, and tenant mix. Over 60 years of successful operation suggests that the hybrid is a workable combination, though possibly not ideal.

Highland Park Shopping Center remains an active and vital commercial operation. Under the leadership of Henry S. Miller and associates, the complex continues to adjust to changing markets and demands of a fast-paced industry. The tenacity of the complex and its ability to outlive numerous more recent shopping centers is a further testimony to excellent planning and design of Hugh Prather, Sr., and James B. Cheek. The center is eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion A in the area of Commerce at the local level for its role in the decentralization of commerce in Dallas; and under Criterion C in the areas of Architecture and Urban and Regional Development at the national level for its impressive position in the development of the shopping center as a significant building type in 20th century American architecture.

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¹ Noted in advertisement for the theater in the *Dallas Morning News*, November 15, 1935, II-2.

² Telephone interview with Mrs. James Cheek, June 1997.

³ For more information on the Jewish merchant class of Dallas, see National Register nomination for Titche-Goettinger Department Store, 1995, by Kate Singleton.

⁴ This is more widely discussed in the National Register nomination for Titche-Goettinger Department Store, 1996, written by Kate Singleton.

⁵ See MacDonald, pp. 43-46, and National Register nomination for Sanger Brothers Complex 1975, written by Joe R. Williams and Stephen Smith.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ See Busch-Kirby Building, National Register nominations, including expansion in 1996, written by Peter Maxson.

⁸ Hendrickson, *The Grand Emporium*, pp. 182-183.

⁹ Draft National Register nomination for Volk Brothers Store Building, dated 1980, draft completed by Peggy Riddle, Mary Beth McCauley, and Kate Singleton.

¹⁰ For a full discussion of streetcar developments, see McDonald, *Dallas Rediscovered*.

¹¹ Acheson states that this intersection was one of the first shopping centers in Dallas after 1900, p. 42.

¹² See National Register nomination for Bryan-Peak Commercial District, listed 1995, part of *Historic and Architectural Resources of East and South Dallas*.

¹³ See National Register nominations for North Bishop Commercial Historic District, listed 1994, and the Winnetka Heights Historic District, listed 1983.

¹⁴ See draft National Register nomination for West Jefferson Historic District, 1990, on file at Texas Historical Commission.

¹⁵ Information on Highland Park is drawn from a number of sources with the principal ones being Lisa Maxwell's statement in *The New Handbook of Texas*, p. 602; Sam Acheson's notes in *Dallas Yesterday*, pp. 52-56; and *The Park Cities, A Walker's Guide & Brief History* by Diane Galloway and Kathy Matthews.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ The engineer and landscape architects are from Acheson's description of Highland Park. Because his work is not footnoted, these individuals and their contributions to the design are not able to be verified. Despite the heavy use of Acheson's work in subsequent publications, these individuals are seldom mentioned though he is generally considered an authority of early Dallas and is probably accurate.

²⁰ Galloway and Matthews, p. 103.

²¹ Galloway and Matthews, pp. 56-65, and p. 66; also use of the 1928 and 1934-35 *Dallas City Directory*.

²² Longstreth, "Diffusion of the Community Shopping Center Concept During the Interwar Decades," p. 4.

²³ Ibid, pp. 4-6.

²⁴ Albaugh & Steinbomer practiced together for only one year 1928, thus giving a clear date to the drawings for the French Market. See "Henry J. Steinbomer" in *Texas Architect*, 11-12-89, p. 72.

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Highland Park Shopping Village
Highland Park, Dallas County, Texas

- ²⁵ Ibid, pp. 22-23; "The French Market" a promotional brochure included in the collection of drawings of Highland Park Shopping Village by Fooshee & Cheek as donated to University of Texas at Austin Architectural Drawings Collection by Mrs. James B. Cheek, c. 1990.
- ²⁶ Longstreth, "The Diffusion of the Community Shopping Center Concept," pp. 22-23.
- ²⁷ Ibid., notes, p. 31.
- ²⁸ Toews, Anita. "Spanish Colonial Architecture," pp. 9-11.
- ²⁹ Ibid., p. 11.
- ³⁰ Longstreth, "The Diffusion," p. 14.
- ³¹ Ibid. For more discussion of the plan see the notes for this section of the Longstreth work.
- ³² Ibid, p. 15.
- ³³ Toews, pp. 11-12.
- ³⁴ Longstreth, "The Diffusion," p. 15.
- ³⁵ Galloway and Matthews, p. 102.
- ³⁶ City Directory, 1934-35.
- ³⁷ *Dallas Morning News*, Sunday, January 17, 1954; *News* 1964.
- ³⁸ Information drawn from *Dallas Morning News* clippings beginning with September 15, 1935, through November 15 & 23, 1935.
- ³⁹ Galloway and Matthews, pp. 104-105.
- ⁴⁰ The Galloway and Matthews guide reports a Sanger branch as early as 1941, additional research revealed that the Highland Park branch opened in 1950, *Dallas Morning News*, "Sanger Board Decides to Sell," July 10, 1951; also "Volk Bros. Branch Opens in Park City," *Dallas Morning News*, March 17, 1940.
- ⁴¹ *Oh Thank Heaven*, privately published by Southland Company, c. 1980.
- ⁴² Galloway and Matthews, p. 106.
- ⁴³ Application for membership in American Institute of Architects, Washington, DC, November 13, 1916, document on file at AIA Archives, Washington, DC. Accepted for membership, but terminated by AIA on March 1, 1927, for non-payment of dues. He was reinstated in 1947.
- ⁴⁴ Information is also drawn from *Encyclopedia of Texas*, 1915, on file in the Dallas Public Library; and Duncan T. Fulton, "Fooshee and Cheek," *Texas Architect*, 11-12-89, p. 52; and Fulton in *The New Handbook of Texas*, TSHA, Austin, Volume II, p. 54 and p. 1070.
- ⁴⁵ Application for membership in the American Institute of Architects in Washington, DC, document on file in the Archives of the AIA in Washington, DC. Although accepted, the AIA terminated Cheek's membership on December 21, 1928, for non-payment of dues.
- ⁴⁶ Toews, pp. 10-12.
- ⁴⁷ Based on an interview with Mrs. James B. Cheek, May 1997.
- ⁴⁸ Meredith L. Clausen, "Northgate Regional Shopping Center," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, p. 146.

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Highland Park Shopping Village
Highland Park, Dallas County, Texas

⁴⁹ The early shopping centers are discussed in several places, but are given extensive treatment in Longstreth's "The Neighborhood Shopping Center," in *the Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, March 1992, pp. 5-12.

⁵⁰ Baker and Funero, *Shopping Centers Design and Operation*, 1954, p. 10. There are other discussions of these characteristics in the publications of the Urban Land Institute.

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Dallas City Directories (1920s through 1930s)

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

ACREAGE OF PROPERTY: approximately 10 acres

UTM REFERENCES	Zone	Easting	Northing	Zone	Easting	Northing	
1	14	705320	3635100	3	14	705320	3634900
2	14	705560	3635100	4	14	705560	3634900

VERBAL BOUNDARY DESCRIPTION (see continuation sheet 10-33)

BOUNDARY JUSTIFICATION (see continuation sheet 10-33)

11. FORM PREPARED BY

NAME/TITLE: W. Dwayne Jones

ORGANIZATION: Texas Historical Commission

DATE: 5/97

STREET & NUMBER: P.O. Box 12276

TELEPHONE: (512) 463-6006

CITY OR TOWN: Austin

STATE: TX

ZIP CODE: 78711

ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTATION

CONTINUATION SHEETS

MAPS (see USGS)

PHOTOGRAPHS (see continuation sheet Photo-34-36)

ADDITIONAL ITEMS

PROPERTY OWNER

NAME: Henry S. Miller Interests, Inc.

STREET & NUMBER: 47 Highland Park Village, Suite 200

TELEPHONE: (214) 521-0050

CITY OR TOWN: Dallas

STATE: TX

ZIP CODE: 75205

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Continuation Sheet

Section 10 Page 33

Highland Park Shopping Village
Highland Park, Dallas County, Texas

Verbal Boundary Description

The nominated property includes all buildings and appurtenances bounded by Mockingbird Lane on the north, Preston Lane on the east, Livingston Avenue on the south, and Douglass Avenue on the west.

Boundary Justification

The boundaries include all property originally set aside for development as the shopping center in c. 1924.

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Continuation Sheet**

Section Photo Page 34

Highland Park Shopping Village
Highland Park, Dallas County, Texas

Photograph Inventory

The following pertains to all photographs unless otherwise noted:

Name of Property	Highland Park Shopping Village
Address	Preston Road at Mockingbird Lane
City/County/State	Highland Park, Dallas County, Texas
Photographer	Unknown
Date of Photograph	1997
Location of Negatives	Henry S. Miller Interests, Inc. 47 Highland Park Village, Suite 200 Dallas, TX 75205

Photo Number	1 of 20
Camera Facing	Southwest (aerial view)
Date of Photograph	c. 1931

Photo Number	2 of 20
Camera Facing	Northeast (aerial view)
Date of Photograph	c. 1940

Photo Number	3 of 20
Camera Facing	Northwest
Date of Photograph	c. 1945

Photo Number	4 of 20
Camera Facing	South
Date of Photograph	c. 1945

Photo Number	5 of 20
Camera Facing	Northeast
Date of Photograph	c. 1945

Photo Number	6 of 20
Camera Facing	North
Date of Photograph	c. 1945

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Section Photo Page 35

Highland Park Shopping Village
Highland Park, Dallas County, Texas

Photo Number 7 of 20
Camera Facing Northwest
Date of Photograph c. 1945

Photo Number 8 of 20
Camera Facing Southwest
Date of Photograph c. 1940

Photo Number 9 of 20 (Unit B)
Camera Facing Southwest
Photographer Charles Peveto
Location of Negatives Texas Historical Commission
Date of Photograph May 1997

Photo Number 10 of 20 (Unit B)
Camera Facing Southwest
Photographer Charles Peveto
Location of Negatives Texas Historical Commission
Date of Photograph May 1997

Photo Number 11 of 20 (rear of Unit B)
Camera Facing West
Photographer Charles Peveto
Location of Negatives Texas Historical Commission
Date of Photograph May 1997

Photo Number 12 of 20 (Unit C and Unit B, Unit F at a distance)
Camera Facing Northeast
Photographer Charles Peveto
Location of Negatives Texas Historical Commission
Date of Photograph May 1997

Photo Number 13 of 20 (Unit C)
Camera Facing Northeast
Photographer Charles Peveto
Location of Negatives Texas Historical Commission
Date of Photograph May 1997

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Section Photo Page 36

Highland Park Shopping Village
Highland Park, Dallas County, Texas

Photo Number	14 of 20 (Unit C)
Camera Facing	Southwest
Photographer	Charles Peveto
Location of Negatives	Texas Historical Commission
Date of Photograph	May 1997
Photo Number	15 of 20 (Unit C)
Camera Facing	West
Date of Photograph	c. 1985
Photo Number	16 of 20 (Unit D)
Camera Facing	Northwest
Photographer	Charles Peveto
Location of Negatives	Texas Historical Commission
Date of Photograph	May 1997
Photo Number	17 of 20 (Unit F)
Camera Facing	North
Photographer	Charles Peveto
Location of Negatives	Texas Historical Commission
Date of Photograph	May 1997
Photo Number	18 of 20 (Unit F)
Camera Facing	Northwest
Photographer	Charles Peveto
Location of Negatives	Texas Historical Commission
Date of Photograph	May 1997
Photo Number	19 of 20 (Unit F)
Camera Facing	North
Photographer	Charles Peveto
Location of Negatives	Texas Historical Commission
Date of Photograph	May 1997
Photo Number	20 of 20 (Unit G, Noncontributing)
Camera Facing	Northeast
Photographer	Charles Peveto

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES
EVALUATION/RETURN SHEET

REQUESTED ACTION: NOMINATION

PROPERTY Highland Park Shopping Village
NAME:

MULTIPLE
NAME:

STATE & COUNTY: TEXAS, Dallas

DATE RECEIVED: 10/10/97 DATE OF PENDING LIST: 10/22/97
DATE OF 16TH DAY: 11/07/97 DATE OF 45TH DAY: 11/24/97
DATE OF WEEKLY LIST:

REFERENCE NUMBER: 97001393

NOMINATOR: STATE

REASONS FOR REVIEW:

APPEAL: N DATA PROBLEM: N LANDSCAPE: N LESS THAN 50 YEARS: Y
OTHER: N PDIL: N PERIOD: N PROGRAM UNAPPROVED: N
REQUEST: N SAMPLE: N SLR DRAFT: N NATIONAL: N

COMMENT WAIVER: N

___ ACCEPT ___ RETURN ___ REJECT ___ DATE

ABSTRACT/SUMMARY COMMENTS:

*Recommended for study as
potential NHL as a seminal example
of the building type within the
context of only a handful of
comparable examples nationwide.*

RECOM./CRITERIA Accept A+C

REVIEWER Savage

DISCIPLINE Architectural History

TELEPHONE _____

DATE 11/17/97

DOCUMENTATION see attached comments Y/N see attached SLR Y/N



HIGHLAND PARK SHOPPING VILLAGE
MOCKINGBIRD AT PRESTON

HIGHLAND PARK, DALLAS CO., TEXAS

PHOTOGRAPH 1 of 20



HIGHLAND PARK SHOPPING VILLAGE
MOCKINGBIRD AT PRESTON
HIGHLAND PARK, DALLAS CO., TEXAS

PHOTOGRAPH 3 of 20

Hunt Grocery Company, Quality First, Service Always



HIGHLAND PARK SHOPPING VILLAGE
MOCKINGBIRD AT PRESTON
HIGHLAND PARK, DALLAS CO., TEXAS
PHOTOGRAPH 4 of 20



HIGHLAND PARK SHOPPING VILLAGE
MOCKINGBIRD AT PRESTON
HIGHLAND PARK, DALLAS CO., TEXAS

PHOTOGRAPH 5 of 20

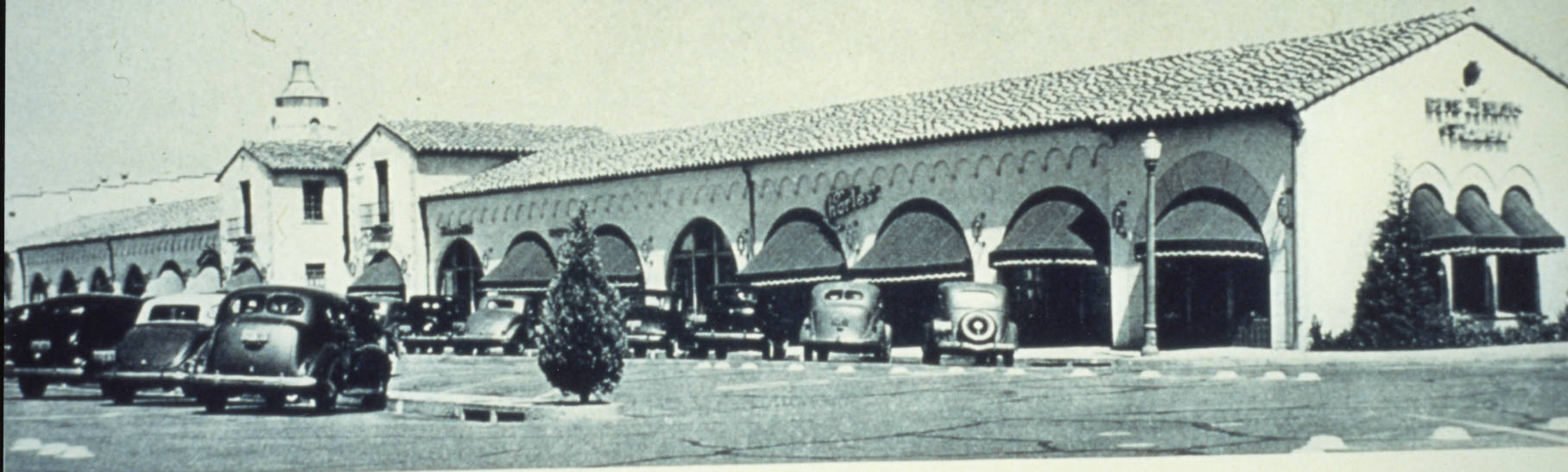


HIGHLAND PARK SHOPPING VILLAGE

MOCKINGBIRD AT PRESTON

HIGHLAND PARK, DALLAS CO., TEXAS

PHOTOGRAPH 6 of 20



CENTER UNITS

HIGHLAD PARK SHOPPING VILLAGE
MOCKINGBIRD AT PRESTON
HIGHLAND PARK, DALLAS CO., TEXAS

PHOTOGRAPH 7 of 20



HIGHLAND PARK SHOPPING VILLAGE

MOCKINGBIRD AT PRESTON

HIGHLAND PARK, DALLAS CO., TEXAS

PHOTOGRAPH 8 of 20



HIGHLAND PARK SHOPPING VILLAGE
MOCKINGBIRD AT PRESTON
HIGHLAND PARK, DALLAS CO., TEXAS

PHOTOGRAPH 9 of 20



HIGHLAND PARK SHOPPING VILLAGE
MOCKINGBIRD AT PRESTON
HIGHLAND PARK, DALLAS CO., TEXAS

PHOTOGRAPH 11 of 20



HIGHLAND PARK SHOPPING VILLAGE
MOCKINGBIRD AT PRESTON
HIGHLAND PARK, DALLAS CO., TEXAS

PHOTOGRAPH 10 of 20



HIGHLAND PARK SHOPPING VILLAGE
MOCKINGBIRD AT PRESTON
HIGHLAND PARK, DALLAS CO., TEXAS

PHOTOGRAPH 12 of 20



HIGHLAND PARK SHOPPING VILLAGE
MOCKINGBIRD AT PRESTON
HIGHLAND PARK, DALLAS CO., TEXAS

PHOTOGRAPH 13 of 20



HIGHLAND PARK SHOPPING VILLAGE
MOCKINGBIRD AT PRESTON
HIGHLAND PARK, DALLAS CO., TEXAS
PHOTOGRAPH 14 of 20



HIGHLAND PARK SHOPPING VILLAGE
MOCKINGBIRD AT PRESTON
HIGHLAND PARK, DALLAS CO., TEXAS

PHOTOGRAPH 15 of 20



HIGHLAND PARK SHOPPING VILLAGE
MOCKINGBIRD AT PRESTON
HIGHLAND PARK, DALLAS CO., TEXAS

PHOTOGRAPH 16 of 20



HIGHLAND PARK SHOPPING VILLAGE
MOCKINGBIRD AT PRESTON
HIGHLAND PARK, DALLAS CO., TEXAS
PHOTOGRAPH 17 of 20



HIGHLAND PARK SHOPPING VILLAGE

MOCKINGBIRD AT PRESTON

HIGHLAND PARK, DALLAS CO., TEXAS

PHOTOGRAPH 18 of 20



HIGHLAND PARK SHOPPING VILLAGE
MOCKINGBIRD AT PRESTON
HIGHLAND PARK, DALLAS CO., TEXAS
PHOTOGRAPH 19 of 20



HIGHLAND PARK SHOPPING VILLAGE
MOCKINGBIRD AT PRESTON
HIGHLAND PARK, DALLAS CO., TEXAS

PHOTOGRAPH 20 of 20

Missing Core Documentation

Property Name

Highland Park Shopping Village

County, State

Dallas County,
Texas

Reference Number

97001393

The following Core Documentation is missing from this entry:

☐ Nomination Form

☒ Photographs (missing #2)

☐ USGS Map

HUTCHINS
6649 11 NW



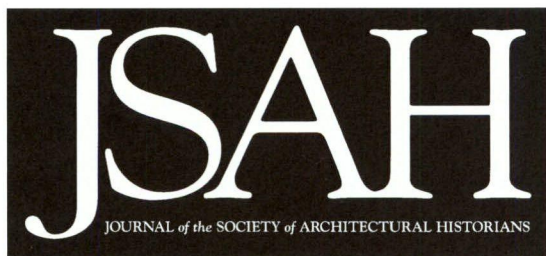
JOURNAL of the SOCIETY
of ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIANS

Founded as American Society of Architectural Historians, 1940.

Incorporated Society of Architectural Historians, 1947.

Published quarterly in March, June, September, and December.

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The Diffusion of the Community Shopping Center Concept during the Interwar Decades

RICHARD LONGSTRETH, *George Washington University*

The years between the first and second world wars were crucial ones in laying the groundwork for the shopping center as a major, arguably the dominant, force in retail development during the second half of the twentieth century. The concept of the shopping center existed before the 1920s, but in embryonic form with a relatively small number of examples, almost all of them modest in size, limited in scope, and localized in trade. These complexes, the precursors to what were later defined as neighborhood shopping centers, generally contained from five to ten stores, all addressing routine needs, with a market as the principal tenant. During the 1920s, the concept expanded significantly to include a complex of buildings, with at least several dozen businesses purveying not only everyday goods and services, but a variety of more specialized ones as well. These centers were targeted to a considerably larger population that resided in the prosperous enclaves around them and in other outlying parts of their respective cities.

Thus cast, the shopping center was more than a place of convenience; it served as a destination and as a focus of activity in the fast-growing suburban landscape. These new complexes were also distinctive in their physical presence, highly individualistic in character, possessing memorable imagery and configurations that set them apart from most commercial development in city centers and outlying districts alike. During the interwar decades, the shopping center remained an exceptional as well as an experimental phenomenon, yet it nevertheless emerged as a significant force in retailing. Pre-World War II examples provided an essential proving ground for the type, facilitating its proliferation after 1945. In business and design realms alike, these centers helped give new definition to the ever more complicated, decentralizing structure of metropolitan areas.

Before the late 1940s, no term gained acceptance that clearly delineated the characteristics of these complexes, which combined aspects of what were later defined as regional and community shopping centers. "Community shopping center" is nevertheless an appropriate and logical term for the proto-

typical enterprises as well as for some of their postwar successors. Although early community centers, like later regional ones, were intended to serve a sizable population that extended beyond municipal boundaries, the scope of goods and services they purveyed was markedly narrower. In further contrast to postwar regional centers, almost all of the earlier complexes were conceived to complement, rather than compete with, the downtown shopping district. Most were built primarily to serve the large, comprehensively planned residential districts of which they were a part or a reasonably well-defined section of their environs. In physical no less than in functional terms, they became emblems of the places they served. "Community" thus describes both the principal purpose and identity of these shopping centers at the time they were new.¹

Although few community shopping centers were realized by 1941, they were important in the fast-changing role of retail functions outside the urban core that emerged as a significant trend in the 1920s and continues today. At least several of these centers demonstrated the long-term economic value of large-scale operations that were situated amid residential tracts well removed from downtown. They helped reveal that outlying areas need not be limited to businesses providing basic goods and services, but could also sustain prestigious, specialized ones theretofore associated almost entirely with the central shopping district. The detailed planning and management characteristic of the shopping center were advantageous, perhaps even essential, in attracting a critical mass to these establishments and creating a stable business environment in which they would remain over time.

Prewar community shopping centers also afforded important lessons in what succeeding ventures should avoid. As a group, these complexes were tentative and experimental schemes. Their creators sought the most effective ways to address circumstances that were just beginning to be understood. The location, size, tenant mix, circulation paths, and parking accommodations of a center were among the factors that, singly and in relation to each other, required resolution for which there was little precedent. The search was for answers that would help define the problem. These retail

complexes also reflected a pattern common in the emergence of any new building type. In a quest for identity, traditional and otherwise familiar associations can play at least as important a role as departures from normative practices. The dichotomy implicit in this phenomenon was intensified by the tendency toward theatrical and otherwise exaggerated forms of expression that characterized so much design between the world wars. Although oriented to the automobile and part of a rapidly evolving tendency toward metropolitan dispersal, most community shopping centers of the period projected a highly idealized image of a preindustrial village. These complexes helped lay the foundation for the postwar shopping center boom, while standing in conspicuous physical contrast to that legacy.

The factors that led to the emergence of the community shopping center are for the most part well known. U.S. cities experienced substantial population and economic growth over the first three decades of the twentieth century. At the same time, a large number of people with disposable incomes were moving ever greater distances from the urban core. That dispersal was fostered by a rapidly growing use of motor vehicles for routine transportation beginning in the 1910s and especially during the 1920s. A corresponding increase occurred in land values in outlying areas, which were no longer dependent upon rail lines for development. Building in central business districts was also on the rise, resulting in increasing densities that forced many small-scale retailers to look elsewhere to expand or even to continue their businesses. Both the exponential growth of downtowns and the flood of motor vehicles now in their midst caused massive congestion problems, which particularly affected high-end retailers whose clientele were ever less enthusiastic about braving the human and vehicular gridlock.

As a matter of cost and of convenience, it was becoming more advantageous to locate goods and services close to their market. Some basic retail and office functions had long existed outside the city center, but businesses that targeted the middle and upper markets had generally been much more limited in scope and often less satisfactory in nature than those

downtown. The complete commercial center in a residential district had traditionally been associated with lower-income neighborhoods, not middle-class or affluent ones. By the 1920s, however, the situation was beginning to change. Shopping well removed from downtown began to assume an element of prestige as the caliber and range of consumer items available increased dramatically.

All of these factors led to a pronounced dispersal of business, which primarily assumed an unplanned form, responding freely, though not always effectively, to market forces and advanced by a multitude of independent, often competing, parties. During the interwar decades the shopping center emerged as an economically appealing alternative to these conventional practices, but the concept was born of another imperative: to control commerce and make its presence welcome in comprehensively planned residential communities of the well-to-do. This idea took root shortly after the Civil War; however, not until the early twentieth century did it begin to achieve more than occasional, sporadic acceptance. These early ventures served as a point of departure for the larger complexes initiated in the 1920s.

Comprehensively planned residential developments enjoyed unprecedented popularity after World War I. Before that time, their siting on the metropolitan perimeter offered sanctuary, but also posed problems that came with isolation. The automobile greatly improved access to and from such locations, especially for housewives, who were no longer bound by train or trolley schedules in pursuing activities outside their neighborhood. Mobility proved a double-edged sword, however, for it also fostered pell-mell lateral growth of all kinds, and thus made the protection afforded by a comprehensively planned enclave seem even more attractive to well-heeled householders.

The accelerated rise of controlled residential development just before and particularly after World War I spawned the creation of the community shopping center. The new scale of planning enlarged the scope of routinely used, or "shopping," goods (such as food, pharmaceuticals, and hardware); included a substantial number of less frequently purchased "style" goods (such as apparel, accessories, furnishings, and



FIGURE 1: Country Club Plaza, Kansas City, Missouri, begun 1922, Edward Buehler Delk, Edward W. Tanner, architects; Hare & Hare, landscape architects. General view looking southwest, late 1930s.

gift items); and also expanded the number of recreational and professional service functions. These complexes provided numerous goods and services either not available nearby or scattered in less compelling, unplanned nodes along traffic arteries. The community shopping center demonstrated that commerce could exist on a substantial scale while being contained, controlled, and visually harmonious with its domestic environs. These complexes were conceived not just as concentrations of businesses, but as landmarks on the metropolitan periphery, functioning much like recreation centers and public and religious institutions as a focus for human interaction and as a definer of place. Among the first persons to understand the potential of the shopping center to enhance the appeal of outlying communities and to generate significant revenues in its own right was the Kansas City real estate developer J. C. Nichols.

Announced in 1922 and begun the following year, Nichols's Country Club Plaza was not the first community shopping center to be planned, but with a projected 250 stores and an equal number of other businesses, it was without rival in size for at least a decade [Figure 1].² The Plaza also was the best known and by far the most influential work of its kind nationally before World War II. Some of its attraction stemmed from the fame of its creator. By the mid-1920s, Nichols was recognized as being among the most innovative and successful residential real estate developers in the United States. His

Country Club District, begun in 1908 and boasting around 2,000 acres, with a population of 10,000 fifteen years later, was an exemplar for others in the field. The Plaza was likewise seen as a model, frequently visited and carefully studied by developers coast to coast.

Situated four miles south of downtown Kansas City, the Plaza was substantially different from most outlying retail centers of the period in a number of ways, which became key components in defining the shopping center as a distinct form of retail development. Far more than any predecessor, Nichols advanced the concept of integrated business development in both organizational and physical dimensions. The complex was planned, built, owned, and managed under the auspices of a single organization—a company or a subsidiary that was formed specifically for the project. This practice contrasted with the conventional one by which property owners sold lots piecemeal to purchasers who, in turn, might sell them again before a given parcel was developed. After construction, the facility might be sold to yet another party. Sometimes a real estate firm focused on selling lots in a concentrated area; sometimes, too, a purchaser undertook building more than one business block in that area. Nevertheless, the process was characterized by uncoordinated endeavors far more than by carefully orchestrated ones.³

In layout and design, the Plaza was treated as an entity, its components harmonious among themselves and also with the residential blocks beyond. Buildings, street paving and fix-

tures, landscaping, and signs were all planned as parts of a greater whole. The quality of design represented a high standard for commercial work of the period by furthering the ambience of a stylish suburban community and affording a conspicuous counterpoint to the city center [Figure 2]. Quite the opposite effect characterized most outlying developments, whose stature was based in part on the degree to which they resembled downtown. Not only was the basic vocabulary the same, but buildings were erected with little or no thought about relating them to their neighbors. The aura of visual competitiveness was enhanced by an abundant application of signs. Even precincts catering to the upper end of the consumer market generally encompassed a considerable range of buildings, many of which were regarded as eyesores.

Nichols and other shopping center developers of the period appear to have relied heavily on their architects to create settings that were distinct and memorable. They invested conspicuously more in appearances than developers of mainstream commercial architecture, especially examples in outlying areas. The architects chosen were mostly well known and respected as designers in their respective communities. Significantly, most had general practices and were recognized for domestic and institutional work as much as, if not more than, commercial projects. Their appeal to developers lay at least in part in an ability to create buildings that seemed fully compatible with a middle- and upper-middle-class residential environment. In the case of the Plaza, the working relationship was close. Both Edward Buehler Delk, who designed the first buildings, and Edward Tanner, who was retained to design the rest from the mid-1920s into the 1950s, did extensive residential work for the Nichols Company.⁴ On the other hand, the programmatic innovations, including the site plan, departed from the architectural conventions of the period and were so closely tied to the Plaza's merchandising agenda that they were almost certainly the work of Nichols.

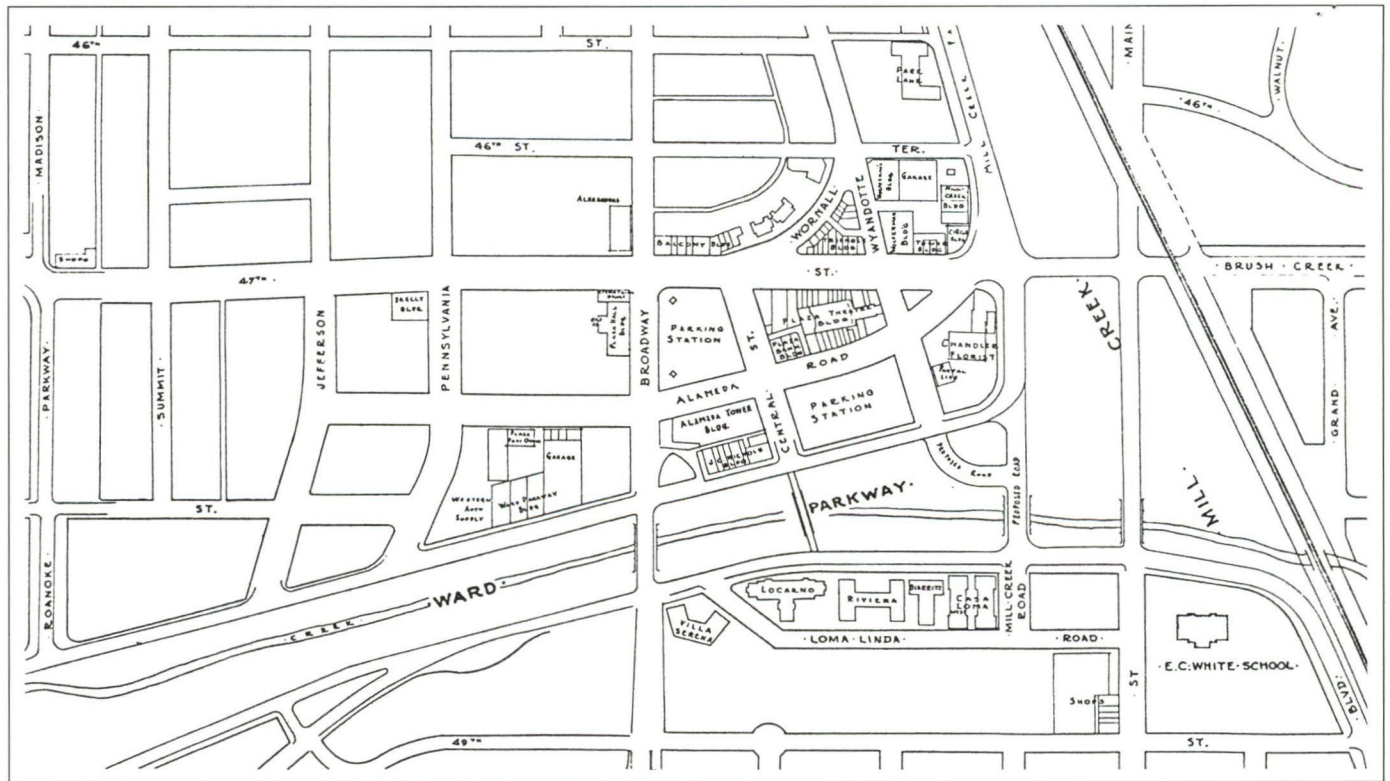
The holistic approach devised for the Plaza thus fused

design with business, extending beyond visual display to entail a comprehensive strategy for attracting consumers and selling goods. Careful choices were made in selecting tenants based on both the caliber and type of products they purveyed, the ultimate objective being that each unit reinforce all the others. Many businesses that wished to secure leases were excluded in the process. In contrast, most outlying commercial districts of the 1920s were fueled by a boom mentality. Real estate brokers sought well-known businesses in the hope that they would attract many others. The level of discrimination was much lower, and since numerous independent parties could be involved in the development of an area, tenant redundancy was common. At the Plaza, the scope, or mix, of businesses was correlated to a specific clientele—the target audience—defined by income and location of residence in relation to the center's site. That mix was designed to offer a sufficient selection so that customers would not have to search elsewhere. Achieving the complete mix, however, was an incremental process. Growth was based on careful market analysis rather than on wishful projections. In most outlying developments, on the other hand, growth occurred in a less structured fashion; with competing interests each hoping to eclipse the others, supply could exceed demand.

Perhaps the most radical departure from prevailing practices was a nonhierarchical approach to location at the Plaza that gave the site of each business more or less equal standing. To achieve this balance, the complex was organized as a series of irregular blocks, sufficiently related to one another to facilitate orientation, yet sufficiently varied to enhance visual interest [Figure 3]. Almost imperceptibly, this arrangement prevented any one block or intersection from seeming more important than the others. In most outlying areas, as in the downtown shopping district, pronounced differences existed in the desirability of frontage. Select intersections were touted as "100 percent locations" where stores of a certain kind could reap maximum profits. The farther a site from that point, the



FIGURE 2: Country Club Plaza, view looking west on 47th Street, c. 1930



sharper the decline in its assessed value.⁵ Such variation occurred on main shopping streets and could be far more pronounced on intersecting ones.

The shopping center concept, as Nichols refined it and applied it on an unprecedented scale, possessed a number of economic advantages. Surrounded by residential enclaves, the setting was fully controlled by the developer. Unwanted competitors could not locate nearby as was often the case in other commercial areas. The developer also could be very selective, picking only the tenants best suited to the shopping center's purpose. Often applications were far greater than the space available, because merchants understood the value of being in a carefully selected site with a prime target audience all to themselves. The center was appealing to consumers for these reasons and also because of its appearance and parking accommodations. Everything about the shopping center's design and operation during the interwar decades was undertaken by men, but with a growing realization that the setting should be tailored to women, the major clientele. In accounts of the period, parking provisions were frequently cited as catering to female wishes. In all probability, however, the intimate scale and domestic associations of the center also were fashioned to attract female patronage.

Few real estate speculators were known to the general public, but Nichols and others of his ilk were much more in the limelight, respected as primary shapers of their communities, who combined what were seen as the best aspects of enlightened control and free enterprise.

Challenges existed too, which, together with the economic upheavals of the depression, made the community shopping center a very limited phenomenon before World War II. Creating such a complex took a considerable length of time, which must have seemed inordinate to most entrepreneurs in a period when quick profits were the conventional goal. Nichols reportedly took ten years to assemble the land for the Country Club Plaza. More time was spent building the center incrementally. Why take decades, the sentiment ran, to realize returns that might be achieved “overnight” in a “hot” location? The process of realization was much more complicated than that to which most speculators were accustomed. Typically, real estate entrepreneurs acquired the land, surveyed and platted it, and perhaps made some basic improvements to foster its sale. The courting of businesses, on the other hand, was the job of a real estate brokerage firm. Those businesses or perhaps yet another party would undertake the construction and management of the building. By contrast, the shopping center developer had to execute all these functions and do so in a coordinated fashion with more than the usual amount of care. Few people in the real estate field had operations of sufficient size or sophistication to encompass all these demands.

Shopping centers further required large amounts of capital to realize. They were considerably bigger than most parcels developed in outlying business districts. Buildings and other site improvements tended to be costlier than the norm as well. Moreover, there were substantial carrying costs in holding land that had yet to be developed. Nichols had acquired the necessary capital from some fifteen years of large-scale residential development, but few colleagues had comparable treasuries at their disposal. Money could, of course, be borrowed, but it is likely that numerous lending institutions or investors would have been leery of dispensing large sums for a kind of enterprise that was still highly experimental in nature. The number of people involved in commercial development in outlying areas who had sufficient credentials to persuade corporate lenders or fellow investors to embark on such a venture were few. Finally, the shopping center carried high risks that most in the real estate field avoided, especially when normative practices could be so lucrative.

Even with all the challenges, the diffusion of the community shopping center concept was quite rapid. The Country Club Plaza remained in a nascent stage through the mid-1920s; the complex was still less than half its projected size at the end of the next decade and was not fully developed until the mid-

1950s. Most subsequent community shopping centers were conceived during a very short period, between 1927 and 1930, when the Plaza was just beginning to function as a complex of some consequence rather than as a modest group of stores. Nichols’s vision may have had more impact than the reality achieved to date on those who followed his course before the depression.

Had prosperity continued at levels assumed before the stock market crash, the shopping center might have proliferated at a fast pace, becoming a standard feature of the metropolitan landscape by 1940. As it was, the handful of community centers that were initiated during the interwar decades endured a period of arrested growth, rebounding toward the late 1930s. This small group proved crucial nonetheless to demonstrating the efficacy of integrated business development on a large scale. They rendered the Plaza a true paradigm, showing that its lessons could be adapted to suit varied local conditions. Through this process, the shopping center as a significant concentration of business activity ceased to be a singular experiment and began to emerge as a national enterprise, providing an important cornerstone to the widespread acceptance and further evolution of the type after 1945.

In the process of diffusion, however, no pattern emerged as the dominant one during the interwar decades. The Plaza’s influence lay more in broad, conceptual terms than in the particulars of its form. Examples inspired by the Kansas City center were characterized foremost by their singularity. Each was a distinct endeavor in size, layout, expressive qualities, location, and, to a certain degree, in tenant mix. Such diversity may in part be explained by the tentative, experimental nature of the concept itself. Further impetus for modification came from the differing circumstances under which these centers were created. Some were parts of planned residential developments, where the primary objective was to create a contained commercial enclave that would be an amenity to householders. Other centers were targeted to a more general audience and were the work of syndicates, formed especially for that purpose. One unrealized scheme may have been initiated by the major downtown department store whose branch would serve as the anchor unit.⁷ Each endeavor was very much a personal creation, closely identified with the individuals who developed it, reflecting their tastes as well as their business ideas.

Only one offspring, Westwood Village, was directly patterned on the Plaza in layout and size [Figure 4]. Conceived by the Janss Investment Company, one of southern California’s largest residential developers of the period, the project was announced in December 1927. Construction began the following April and continued rapidly, despite the economic downturn, through the next decade. By 1939, Westwood Village boasted over 450 businesses, making it the largest retail center

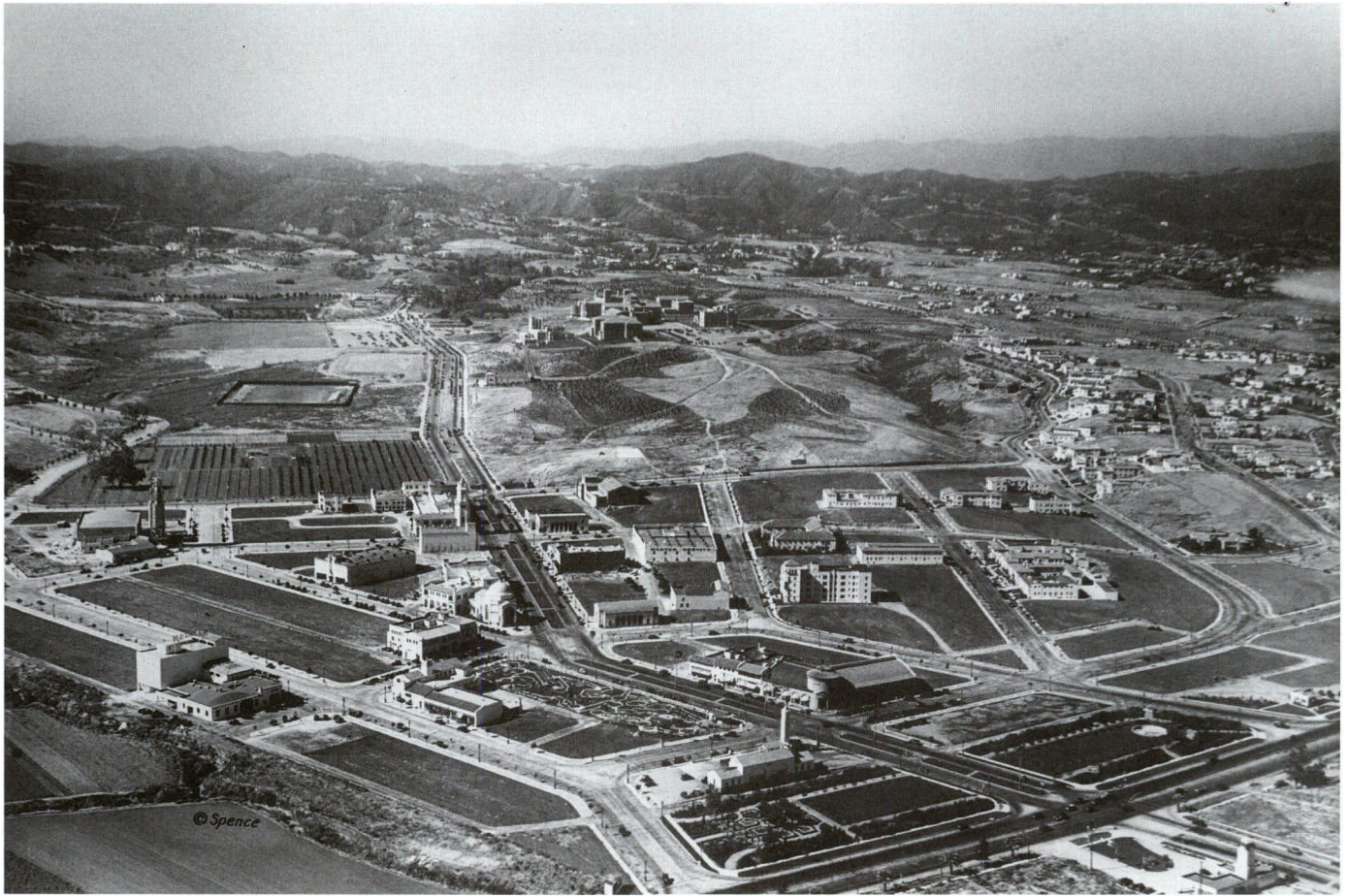


FIGURE 4: Westwood Village, Los Angeles, California, begun 1928, Harlan Bartholomew and L. D. Tilton, planners. Aerial view, c. 1930.

of its kind in the country. Yet the complex differed significantly in tenant mix from the Plaza and all other shopping centers realized during the period. The Plaza's stores were mostly small in scale and independently owned. Some were modest branches of downtown emporiums, but many others were single outlets of the sort most vulnerable to escalating downtown rents. While Nichols and many of his followers sought to complement the city center, which, they believed, would always serve a key retail function, Janss aimed to create a substitute, adding large branches of downtown stores and major chain units to the ensemble.⁸ Equally important, Westwood Village was not a shopping center in the strictest sense of that term because, like most other speculators of the period, Janss sold parcels to parties selected to develop them. Westwood Village differed from the norm in the care with which those parties were chosen and in the detailed oversight the company retained in design, tenancy, and operation. But unlike Nichols, Janss does not appear to have believed that retaining ownership was essential to maintaining the center's viability over a sustained period of time.

Other community shopping centers were less ambitious in size and in scope. The majority were planned for forty to fifty stores

and a more widely varying number of offices. The most modest venture in this respect was Shaker Square in Cleveland, Ohio, whose developers, the Van Sweringen brothers, were strongly influenced by the work of Nichols. Much like the Country Club District, the Van Sweringens' Shaker Heights was begun in the early twentieth century and had become a sprawling network of comprehensively planned residential tracts targeted to a middle-income as well as to a more affluent clientele. With a population of about 18,000 in 1930, Shaker Heights had acquired a distinct identity of its own.⁹ Like the Plaza, Shaker Square was designed as a portal to its community and was surrounded by apartment houses that both substantially increased the center's patronage and formed a buffer zone for the single-family-house enclaves beyond. But the Van Sweringens' approach differed from Nichols's in a crucial respect: high-speed rail transportation was the basis for much of their planning. Shaker Heights residents might rely on the automobile while in the area, but the preferred means of travel to and from the city center was to be the mass transit system that formed a two-pronged spine through the district. In further contrast to the Plaza, where major automobile routes defined the perimeter to the east and south, Shaker Square was divided by the arteries that served it.

The character of Shaker Square was shaped in part by the evolution of its site. In 1922, the Van Sweringens sold the property, then known as Moreland Circle, for a \$30,000,000 apartment house development planned by Cleveland Discount Company president Josiah Kirby.¹⁰ Some retail facilities were to be built at the circle, but their role was localized, serving residents within a few blocks' radius. When Kirby's company failed less than a year later, the Van Sweringens reassumed control of the land and explored options for realizing Kirby's or some other scheme. After several years of study, the final design, smaller in size, was prepared by a new architect, Philip Small. Much like Delk and Tanner, Small had worked extensively for his client and enjoyed local prominence.¹¹ In this case, however, the architect may have played a greater role in the overall layout, which was more akin to town center plans of the period than to that of the Plaza. Unveiled in May 1928, the scheme retained some apartment houses and a considerably larger retail center, organized around a newly configured public open space [Figure 5].¹² Both its dimensions and arrangement indicated that Shaker Square was more than a neighborhood shopping facility, but with its buildings stretched around a green and the wide streets and rail line shooting through the center, the arrangement suggested a point of transition—a place to be visited in passing—instead of a principal focus of activity.

However much credit Small deserves for the scheme, the Van Sweringens' focus on fast, efficient surface rail connections to downtown was probably the decisive factor in its planning. The site lay at the western edge of Shaker Heights and at the convergence of the principal car lines. It was anticipated that many residents who did not live near one of those lines would drive to Shaker Square, leave their cars, and proceed by rail to the urban core. Thus plans called for a garage to hold 750 transient cars, far more spaces than were planned for Shaker Square patrons. Equally important, the complex was developed in tandem with the Terminal Tower, which lay at the downtown end of the Shaker Heights lines on the Public Square. Containing offices, stores, a hotel, and a railroad station as well as streetcar facilities, the project ranked among the largest, most functionally complicated building endeavors in the nation.¹³ This massive ensemble was intended not just to serve the business core, but to reinvigorate its western end. Since the late nineteenth century, many stores and offices had gravitated eastward, along Euclid Avenue, away from the Public Square. With the square's new function as the principal entry point to downtown, the prospects for intense new development of Van Sweringen property adjacent to the tower were greatly enhanced. The projected boom was cut short by the deepening depression; however, one major component, the twelve-story Higbee department store (1930–1931), suggests the extent to which the developers

sought to recast the business district [Figure 6].¹⁴ Within this broad framework, Shaker Square's retail function was relatively minor.

The modest scope of the project and its developers' vast reserves enabled Shaker Square to be constructed in a single campaign, completed about seventeen months after the plan was unveiled. Most units seem to have been occupied by the close of 1930. The movie theater was the only part of the original plan that experienced a long delay, opening in December 1937. The Van Sweringens apparently saw no need to phase implementation because the tenant mix was relatively limited in range.¹⁵ Among the forty or so businesses in the complex, food stores made up the single largest group, followed by others that purveyed shopping goods. Yet others were small stores that specialized primarily in children's wear. The final group was geared toward recreation. Besides the projected theater, there were a bowling alley, restaurant, and small hotel. With establishments of high caliber, the complex

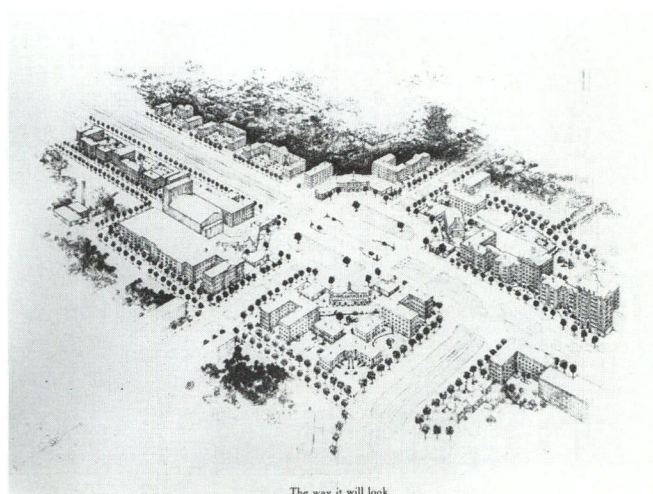


FIGURE 5: Shaker Square, Cleveland, Ohio, 1928–1929, Small & Rowley, architects. Presentation drawing, 1928; somewhat modified in execution.

FIGURE 6: Terminal Building Group, Cleveland, 1917–1919, 1928–1931, Graham, Anderson, Probst & White, architects. View showing projected buildings around Public Square, with Higbee's department store to the immediate left of the Terminal Tower.

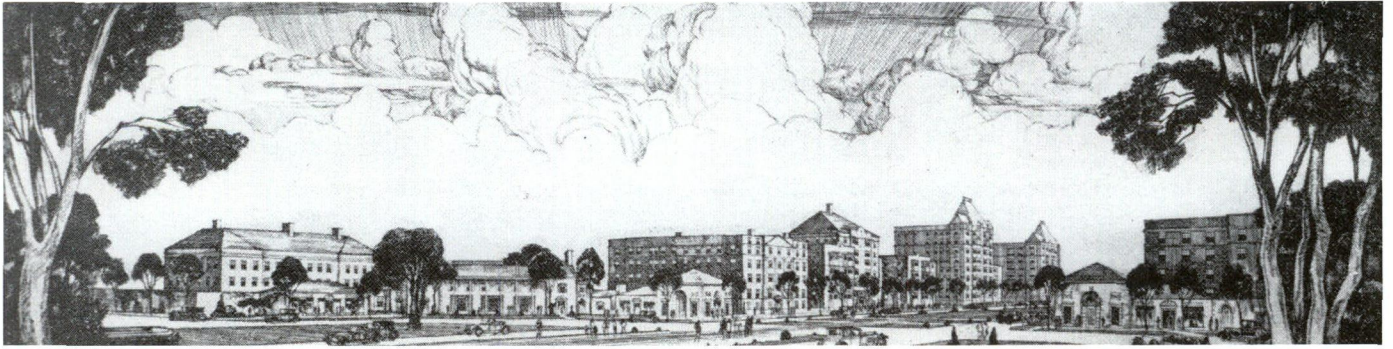


FIGURE 7: Shaker Square, general view, rendering

FIGURE 8: Shaker Square, detail of building in northwest quadrant (photo, 1972)

offered more for its well-heeled clientele than many neighborhood shopping districts, including several built elsewhere in Shaker Heights, but fell short of functioning as a major complement to downtown.¹⁶

On the other hand, Shaker Square's symbolic role was key to the Van Sweringen's two-pronged initiative. Several contemporary accounts emphasized the significance of the complex as Cleveland's second square, complementing the Public Square, around which the city was platted in 1796. Through mass transit, the Van Sweringens were connecting the two. Shaker Square, which officially opened in October 1929, less than a year before the Terminal Tower, lay nearly six miles to the southeast at the other "end"—literally for the many motorists who left their cars there, but also figuratively, as the portal to the Van Sweringen's vast residential haven [Figure 7]. While the tower aggressively represented the urban core as the modern metropolis, Shaker Square no less embodied the virtues of domestic tranquility. To enhance the sense of tradition in this new public space, the developer had about forty maturing elm trees transplanted around its perimeter. Evocations of the city's Anglo-American heritage may also have led to the choice of a staid Georgian mode for the buildings, elegantly rendered as if part of a prestigious institution or country club [Figure 8]. Shaker Square was a civic billboard for the suburban ideal, "exemplifying," as one account pro-

claimed, "the art of community living in the twentieth century. . . [that] serves as an artistic and economic example to the whole area."¹⁷ Shaker Square was thus as much an emblem as a place of business and a hybrid whose conception was framed in the centralized urban world of the streetcar as well as in the decentralizing one of the automobile.

The conflict between these two realms was readily apparent in the site plan. On one hand, ease of vehicular circulation was noted as the primary factor in the decision to reshape Moreland Circle into a "square" (in actuality, an octagon) [Figure 9]. Through traffic on Shaker Boulevard, and the rail line in its center, would be unimpeded; cross traffic would be limited to two points of intersection and would be kept to a slow speed by the angled path. This configuration was also important since all the original shopper parking lay along that path, with the intention that these spaces would allow patrons to leave their cars in front of the establishments where they were shopping. Yet the possibility that bifurcated store groups, with a 500-foot swath of boulevard, greenway, and trolley tracks, might impede both pedestrian and vehicular circulation from one side of the complex to the other does not seem have been a major consideration. Furthermore, only a modest number of automobiles could be accommodated in the layout, which carried little flexibility for expansion of either stores or off-street parking space.

Like Shaker Square, Highland Park Village, situated about three miles north of downtown Dallas, was built to serve a comprehensively planned residential area whose developer, Hugh Prather, looked to Nichols's example. Here the Country Club Plaza was a more direct point of departure. Highland Park Village was projected to have as many as seventy-five businesses and to function as a major center of specialty stores for style as well as for shopping goods. Comprising 1,400 acres, Prather's Highland Park was smaller than Shaker Heights; in 1923 its population was only about 8,000. At the same time, the shopping center was planned as the sole island of commerce within this separately incorporated community.¹⁸ Much like the Plaza, Highland Park Village was fashioned as a major destination for the greater community; when completed, it

would rank among the most complete business centers outside downtown Dallas and exceed all others in its stylish ambience.

Like the Plaza, too, Highland Park Village was intended to draw customers from the metropolitan area, as well as from the immediate environs, and thus was oriented almost entirely to motorists. Prather nevertheless waited until most of Highland Park's acreage had been sold to achieve a critical mass of core clientele before starting the project. A nine-acre tract was set aside for the purpose c. 1910, when Highland Park was in its initial stages of development. Plans for the shopping center were announced in February 1926, but Prather apparently had yet to do much preparation for the endeavor. Detailed studies began some two years later; the design was unveiled in April 1930 [Figure 10].¹⁹

The delay was in all likelihood crucial to the shopping center's final configuration, which substantially differed from the Plaza's. The fact that by 1928 Nichols realized that streets were insufficient for parking needs may have led Prather to plan for an unusually large number of cars—650 at any given time. This accommodation was achieved not by creating separate lots, for which there was no room, but by making the streets about twice as wide as the Plaza's so that they could encompass four rows of diagonally parked cars, two in the

center and two at the curb [Figure 11]. The inspiration for this idea, Prather claimed, came from the region's courthouse squares, whose equally capacious enframing streets assumed the traditional role of marketplace on Saturdays.²⁰ In sharp contrast to its Kansas City forebear, Highland Park Village had a centralized plan, enframed by buildings, with small specialty shops instead of a courthouse in the middle. The layout's most significant innovation was that all the "streets" remained private, controlled by and used exclusively for the shopping center.²¹

The courthouse square was too common a feature of the Texas landscape and its late nineteenth-/early twentieth-century building stock too out of fashion for use in a complex intended as modern and unique. Instead Prather turned to Spanish colonial precedent, a decision no doubt reinforced by the Plaza's Spanish imagery. However, the two designs differed to a significant degree in their expressive character. Prather selected an architectural firm, Fooshee & Cheek, that had only recently begun practice, very possibly because its partners could devote an unusual amount of time to studying afresh the problems of expression and layout. At an early stage of planning, he took Cheek on an extended tour of both California and Spain to examine precedents firsthand.²² The architect

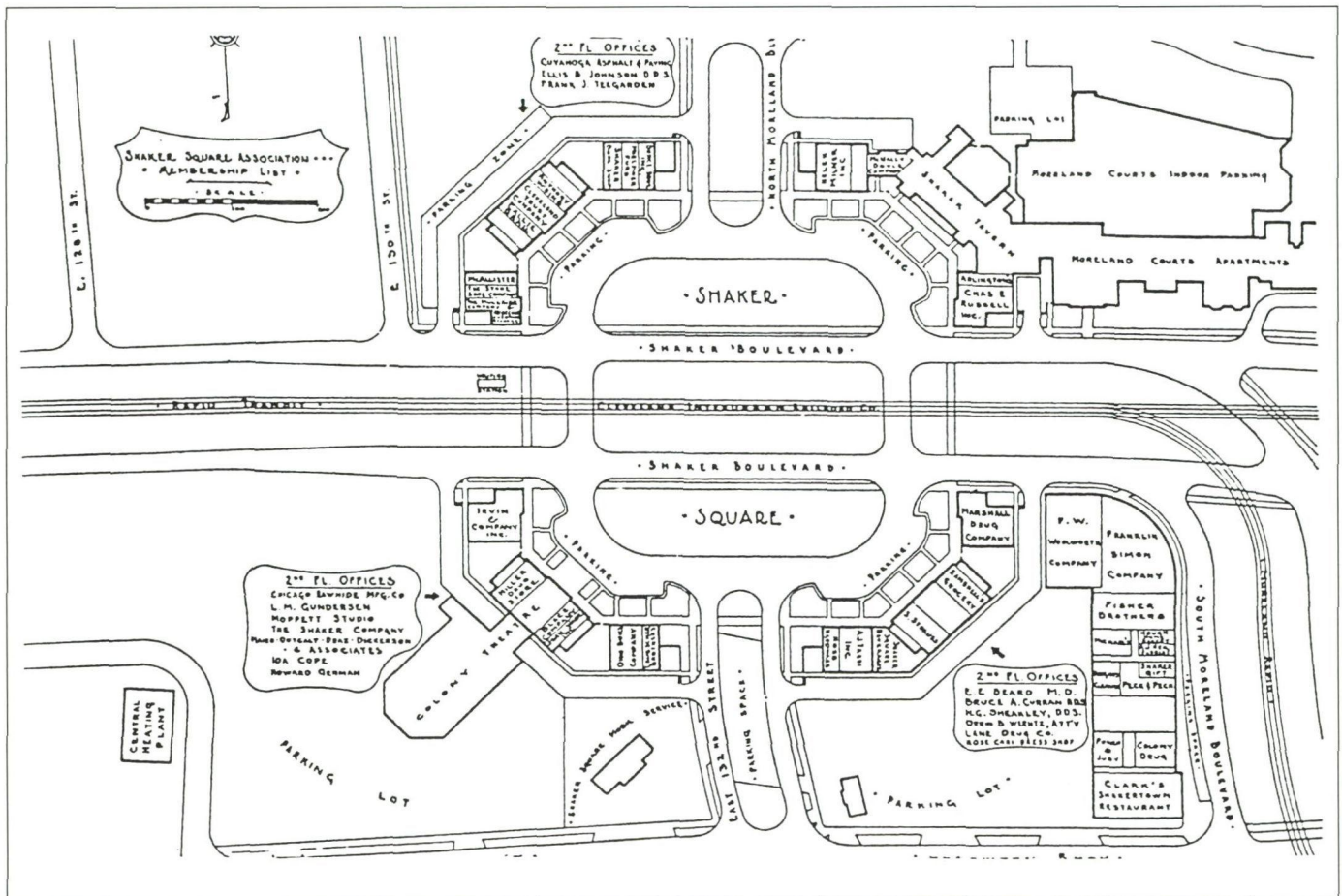


FIGURE 9: Shaker Square, plan, showing 1941 store block addition at lower right

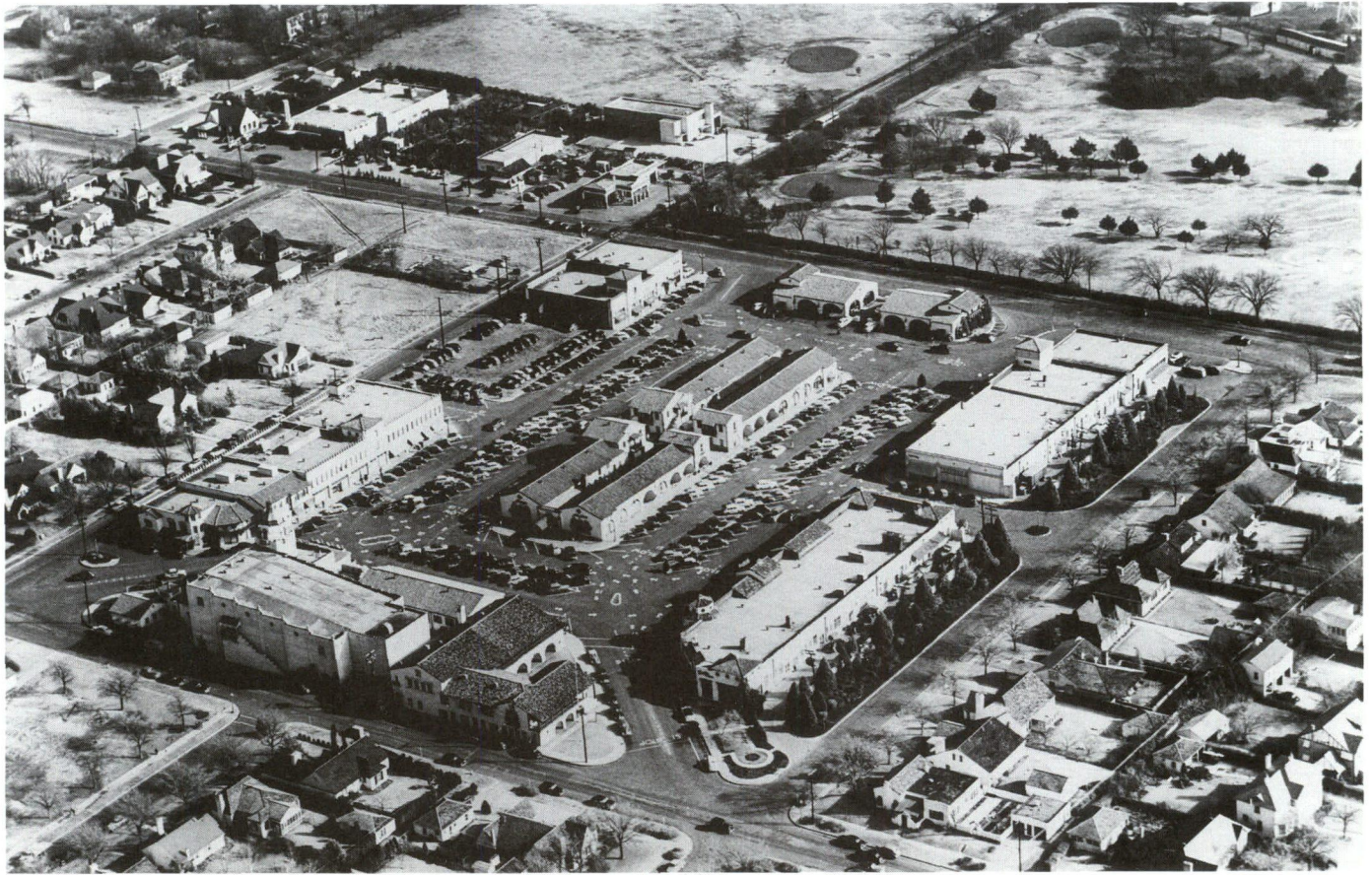


FIGURE 10: Highland Park Village, Highland Park, Texas, begun 1930, Fooshee & Cheek, architects. Aerial view looking northeast, c. 1950.

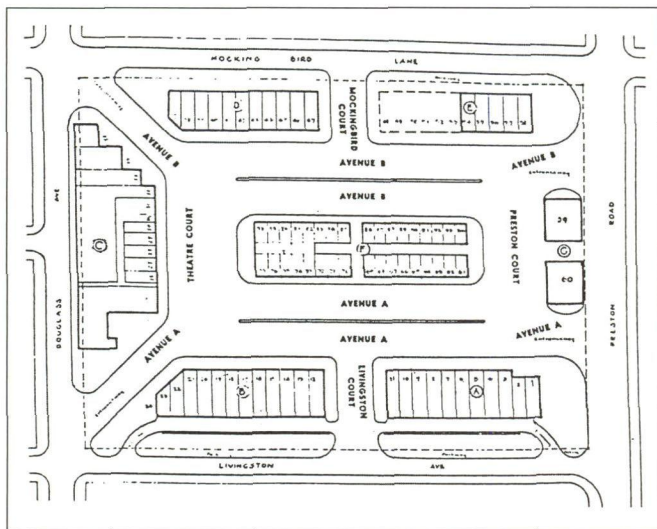


FIGURE 11: Highland Park Village, plan as of late 1940s

learned fast; the scheme he developed stands among the more sophisticated adaptations of the Spanish Colonial Revival mode for commercial purposes. The classical and churchly motifs used at the Plaza were eschewed in favor of a relaxed, arcaded vernacular, which, being associated with some of southern California's most fashionable communities, seemed well suited to its affluent residential environs [Figures 12, 13]. Prather was



FIGURE 12: Highland Park Village, general view, c. 1940

willing to spare no cost to give his Texas clientele a place like no other in the region.

Prather intended to erect Highland Park Village incrementally, but remained confident when work began, not long after the stock market crash, that completion would come in "several years." The worsening economic climate slowed the pace, however. Two store blocks and two filling stations were the only components completed by June 1932. A second block and the movie theater were built in 1935–1936, and eight other sections between 1939 and 1941.²³

The depression proved important to revealing the community shopping center's strengths. A multitude of visions for retail development born in the late 1920s were soon shattered

by the economic downturn; few entrepreneurs in this sphere hoped that they could revive their plans a half dozen years later. By contrast, Highland Park Village remained an economic asset despite its arrested pace of growth. Phased construction did not encumber undue amounts of capital. Furthermore, the portions that were realized were quite profitable, enabling additional components to be undertaken. The designs of new buildings were modified from the original plan to suit the particulars of tenancy as well as shifts in taste. Yet the basic character of the scheme and the quality of its execution were not compromised, a point Prather took pains to emphasize.²⁴ Two parcels nevertheless remained vacant by the close of 1941, to be developed only after the war. The community shopping center required as much patience as it did capital and merchandising acumen.

The array of goods and services found at Highland Park Village was crucial to its success as a destination. Initial tenants mostly dealt in shopping goods, but as the complex began to mature, numerous stores carrying style goods were added, catering to a wide range of needs. Like the Plaza, many businesses were small, independently owned, and oriented to a discerning clientele. Units of national chains were few.²⁵ The only branch of a major downtown emporium was that of Volk Brothers, a high-end apparel store for women and children, which opened a small facility at the shopping center in 1935 and a more substantial one four and a half years later. The move generated considerable interest, for while branch development among major downtown stores had been occurring in a number of metropolitan areas since the mid-1920s, Volk's claimed to be the first in the south-central U.S.²⁶ In developing the tenant mix, Prather ensured that his well-to-do clientele would have an abundance of stores for items used routinely and also a somewhat larger selection of fine specialty goods—an array that complemented, but fell far short of seriously challenging, the choices available downtown.

Several aspects of a third community shopping center begun in the late 1920s, Suburban Square, represent the most pronounced departure from the precedents set by Nichols. The site lay not in isolation from commerce, but adjacent to the commercial core of Ardmore, then the largest concentration of businesses among Philadelphia's affluent Main Line communities. The retail complex was not part of a planned residential community; rather, it was positioned to serve a sizable network of enclaves, which, while still growing, had reached maturity before World War I. When the scheme was made public, a number of nearby householders protested to no avail that it would be an encroachment of business on a choice residential area, precisely the phenomenon the shopping center was conceived to prevent. Initiated in 1926 by the Suburban Company, a syndicate of Philadelphia businessmen specifically

formed for the purpose, the enterprise was probably conceived as an integrated business development, with a general plan, a predetermined tenant mix, and a long-range program for management. On the other hand, the complex was portrayed as an extension of Ardmore's downtown, and was loosely referred to as North Ardmore until it was christened Suburban Square in 1939.²⁷

Probably because Suburban Square lay adjacent to an existing commercial district and occupied a comparatively small area (six acres), the developer focused on securing businesses that would complement those already found in Ardmore and also be major attractions in their own right. The target trade area was farther removed from the urban core than counterparts in Kansas City, Cleveland, or Dallas—the property lay about seven miles northwest of Center City Philadelphia—but the area benefited from a superb commuter railroad system that terminated near the heart of the downtown shopping district and was used routinely by the affluent no less than the middle class. Suburban Square, which stood directly across from Ardmore's train station, had to provide outlets of sufficient caliber and scope to alter this pattern, convincing well-heeled consumers that a drive or train ride to this outpost was a preferable alternative.

The complex began to achieve the necessary distinction at an early date. By the closing months of 1929, plans were underway for a four-story branch of Strawbridge & Clothier, the venerable Philadelphia department store. Opened the following May, the emporium ranked among the largest, most lavish extensions of a downtown retail concern in any outlying area of the nation and was conceived to attract customers from a radius of up to twelve miles [Figure 14]. Contemporary accounts emphasized the convenience of the site to train and streetcar alike, but an abundance of curbside parking was the most touted aspect of the store's accessibility [Figure 15]. Strawbridge & Clothier executives planned the branch not as a substitute for the immense downtown plant, but as a means of bolstering trade with an affluent clientele.²⁸ The outlet's suc-



FIGURE 13: Highland Park Village, Village Theatre, 1935–1936, and store block (left), 1940 (photo, 1983)

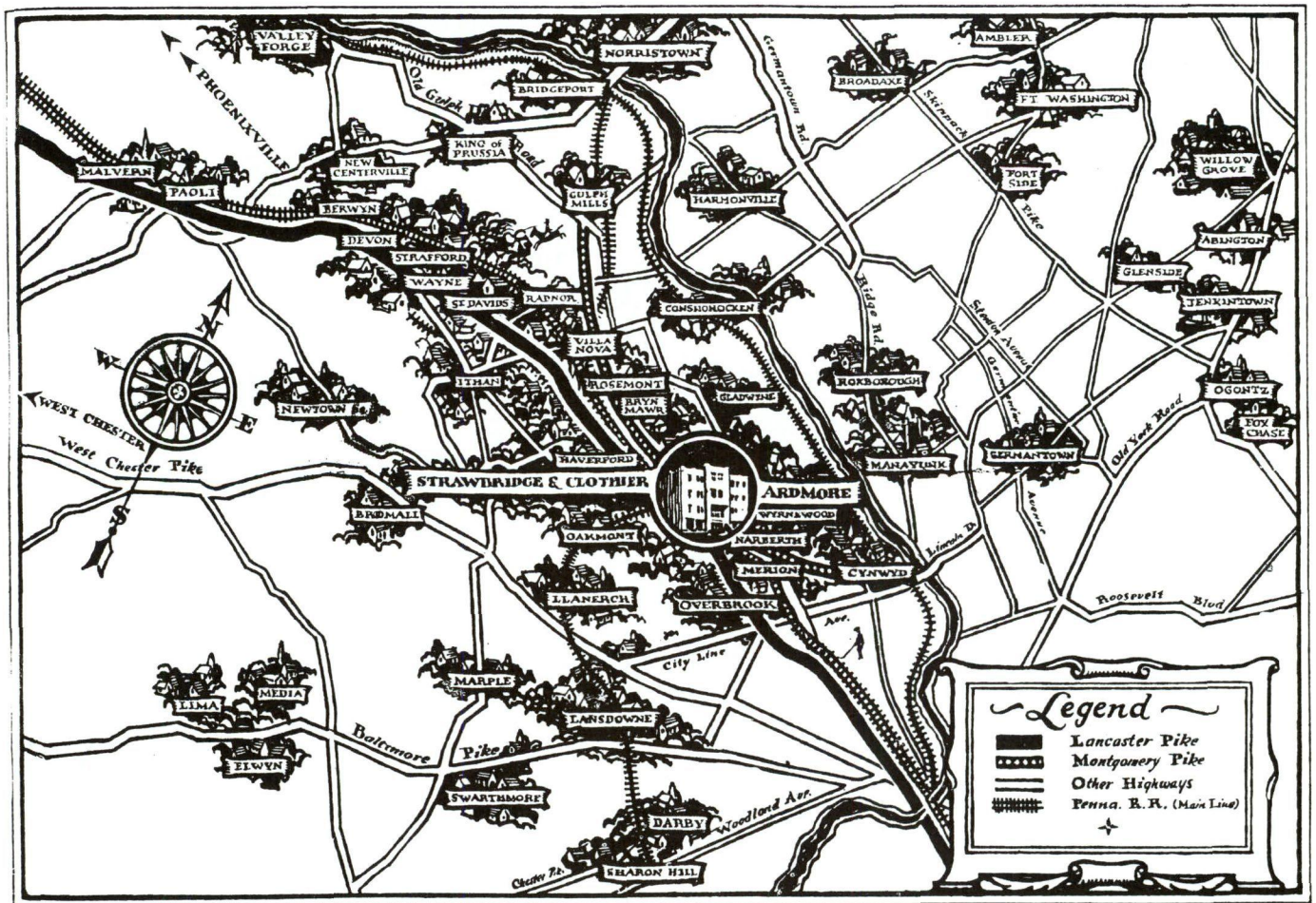


FIGURE 14: Suburban Square, Ardmore, Pennsylvania, Strawbridge & Clothier department store, 1929–1930, Dreher & Churchman, architects, advertisement (1930)

cess exceeded expectations; within a year the company initiated plans for a men's shop across the street.²⁹ The Suburban Company benefited, too. Up to this point, most tenants catered to routine consumer needs, just as did those in the established center of Ardmore; now the complex could draw from numerous outlying communities.

The second major facility built at Suburban Square was the Times Building, which housed Strawbridge's annex and the recently established *Main Line Times*, but whose primary use was as a medical office center. The movement of physicians and dentists from downtown to outlying areas so as to be in more convenient reach of their clientele had become a pronounced trend across the country by the mid-1920s. The Plaza and other community shopping centers cultivated these professionals as tenants, but almost never in large numbers. The Times Building, on the other hand, was a deliberate concentration, with seven stories of space programmed to accommodate around fifty offices [Figure 16].³⁰ Intended as the premier address for doctors on the Main Line, the facility complemented the elegant department store. Together, they solidified Ardmore's new role as a major destination.

The two buildings also gave Suburban Square a decisively

metropolitan character. While the Plaza and other offspring cultivated the use of quasi-domestic imagery, much of it drawn from rural vernacular sources, Suburban Square seemed like a fashionable uptown extension of the urban core. In this respect, the complex was more conventional than other community shopping centers, casting itself much like large unplanned business districts that became booming centers on the urban periphery after World War I. Frederick Dreher and C. W. Churchman, the Suburban Company's architects, appear to have played an important role in the conceptualization and development of the complex. Their clients lacked experience in these realms, and Dreher later assumed control of the operation. The senior partner was raised and trained in New York. Quite plausibly that region's large outlying business centers, such as Hempstead on Long Island, New Rochelle and White Plains in Westchester County, and East Orange in New Jersey, were at least unconscious references around which he created a more compact and carefully planned variation.³¹ On the other hand, Dreher followed the general approach to the Plaza's layout, with buildings oriented to wide internal streets designed primarily for the circulation and diagonal parking of customer automobiles [Figures 17, 18]. Despite the

numerous differences between the two projects, enough similarities in configuration as well as in business structure existed to suggest that Dreher was well aware of Nichols's work and frequently turned to it for inspiration.

However ambitious the vision, the Times Building was the last project at Suburban Square for a number of years. The high cost of the project (about \$300,000) may have been too great given the protracted decline of economic conditions. The syndicate collapsed in the mid-1930s. Dreher persuaded creditors to place him in control of the operation. In his new capacity as developer and manager as well as architect, he more than doubled the number of stores and added some three acres to the complex between 1937 and 1942.³² Dreher's approach was conservative. The buildings were unpretentious, one-story blocks, with stores of modest size [Figure 19]. The tenuousness of the economy no doubt affected this program, but there also was little room in which to build. The density of previous development now posed problems, too. In planning Suburban Square, Dreher and his associates seem to have assumed that a sizable percentage of customers would take the train or one of the several nearby surface lines. Like many entrepreneurs of the 1920s, they underestimated the growing reliance on the automobile for shopping trips. As a result, most of the land Dreher later acquired was used for parking. He took the optimal course under the circumstances, courting small specialty stores that purveyed one-of-a-kind goods favored by well-to-do consumers. As with Highland Park Village, both the setting and tenant mix were difficult to match in so compact an area anywhere in the region.

Strawbridge & Clothier entertained creating a similar development in Jenkintown, Pennsylvania, whose town center served much the same function for prosperous suburban communities due north of Philadelphia as Ardmore did for the Main Line. The store at Suburban Square was so successful that the company announced plans in November 1930 for a second, larger Jenkintown branch despite the worsening economic situation. Dreher was retained as architect. Work proceeded quickly and the facility opened nine months after its plans were unveiled.³³ What Strawbridge executives did not discuss publicly was that the store was conceived as the centerpiece for a shopping center, to be developed by the same syndicate as Suburban Square [Figure 20].³⁴ The layout was much like the Ardmore complex, with a basically urban character and buildings organized around side streets for convenient parking. But here the department store was more centrally positioned as the focus, with no office tower casting its shadow on one side. Even more important was the inclusion of two large parking areas beyond the stores. The shortage of space at Suburban Square was becoming apparent even at this early date. As late as November 1931, store officials hoped the project would materialize, but it never progressed beyond the schematic

stage. While scarcely known and, it seems, without any influence on later trends in the field, the design was nonetheless precocious as the first shopping center planned from the start with a major department store as its anchor and with large amounts of offstreet parking at the periphery.

For every developer who fully embraced the shopping center concept, there were many others who incorporated some aspects while drawing on more conventional patterns as well. A sampling of these latter projects illustrates the range of experimentation in the field at an early stage and also suggests

PARKING PLAZA

... the greatest asset any store could have, for the convenience of its customers, in this day of congested traffic and limited parking facilities. Parking Plaza is hundreds of square feet of additional parking space provided for the many who stop and shop at the ...

STRAWBRIDGE & CLOTHIER
MAIN LINE STORE

You can swing in here from any avenue of approach, choose your parking space on seven different parking lines, in addition to our private parking ground on Parking Plaza, park as long as you wish to park, and shop with a free mind.

More than fifty different departments are maintained in our beautiful new Main Line Store, Montgomery Avenue and St. James Place, Ardmore ... merchandise for the home and for every member of the family.

Each of these departments is operated on the sound principles of all good store keeping; consequently each has, at sometime or other, special value-giving events for its customers.

**The Best Value in Years in
WOMEN'S DRESSES \$25**

We have never before seen Women's Dresses of the character and quality of those to sell at \$25.00. Silks that one touch tells you are quality silks—styles that one glance tells you are right. Chiffons with subtly draped neck lines and flat crepes with fur trimmings.

The plain dark redingote over bright printed silks. Coat dresses that reveal a contrasting blouse effect. Printed dresses with short dark jackets. Daintier effects on Vivian's shimmering lines. Corps Georgeotte. Afternoon Dresses with a decorative touch of lace.

Register and take Women's Store
LONGSTRETH: CHIFFON DRESSES TRIMMED WITH LACE

Motor here and park in safety while you do your shopping

FIGURE 15: Strawbridge & Clothier store advertisement (1931)



FIGURE 16: Suburban Square, Times Medical Building, 1931, Dreher & Churchman, architects (photo, 1971)

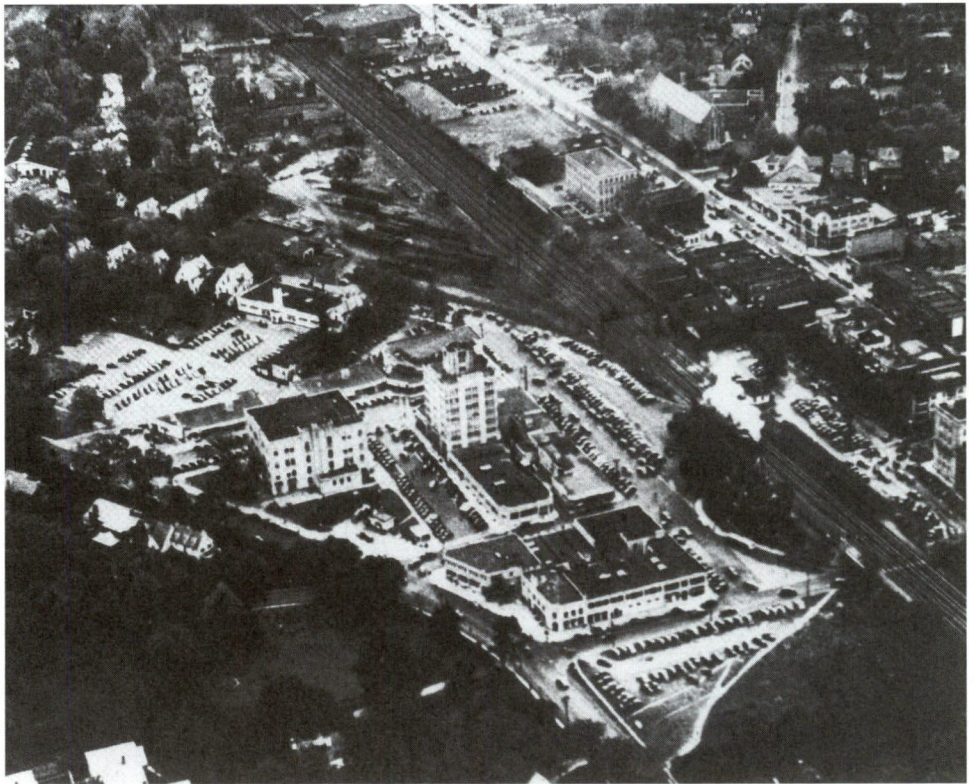


FIGURE 17: Suburban Square, begun 1927, Dreher & Churchman, architects. Aerial view looking southeast, Ardmore town center at right, c. 1945.

that, however obvious the advantages of the shopping center might seem in hindsight, they were not always so apparent at that time.³⁵ In some planned communities, for example, centers were laid out according to a general plan and building designs reviewed to ensure visual compatibility; but otherwise these were much like speculative developments elsewhere. Such was the case with the complex, sometimes called the community center, sometimes the Mallway, at Upper Arling-

ton, a tract of nearly 1,000 acres lying about five miles northwest of downtown Columbus, Ohio. Work began on the development in 1915 under the aegis of King Thompson, one of a growing legion of J. C. Nichols's disciples. Incorporated two years later, Upper Arlington quickly became a favored enclave of the city's elite. By 1925, the acreage had been expanded by a third and the community boasted some 450 households.³⁶ Small in comparison to the Country Club District, Shaker

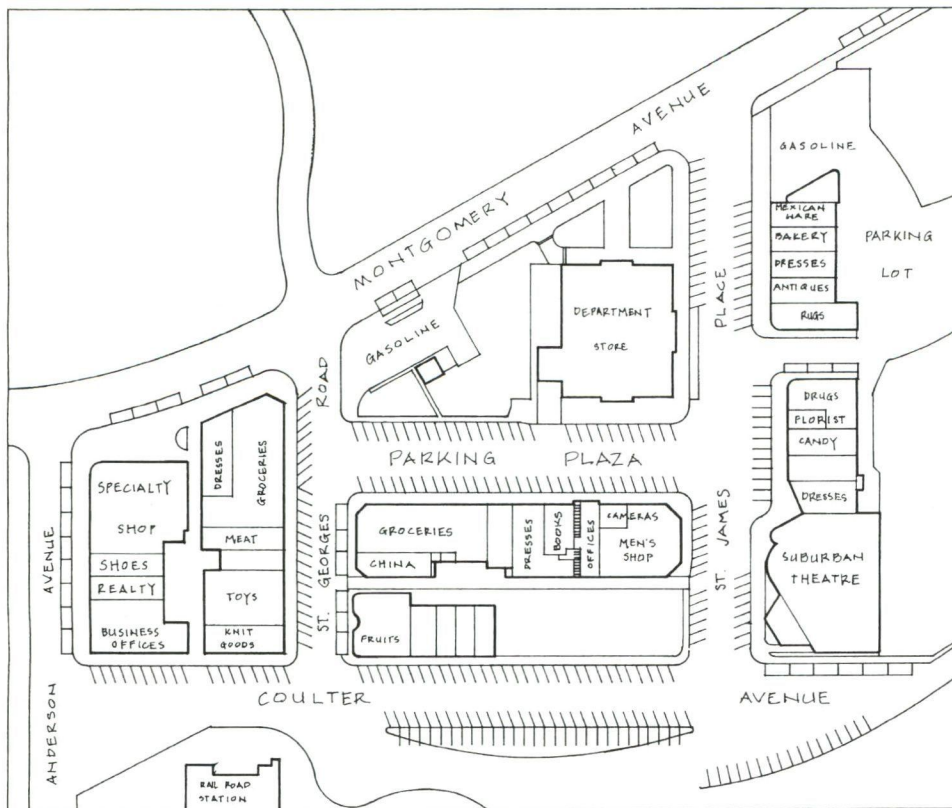


FIGURE 18: Suburban Square, plan as of mid-1930s, including designation of diagonal and parallel parking spaces



FIGURE 19: Suburban Square, store block, 1936–1937, Dreher & Churchman, architects, William H. Lee, architect of theater (photo, c. 1937)

Heights, or Highland Park, Upper Arlington did not itself require a large commercial center, and Thompson decided not to build one that would draw from a great geographic area.³⁷ Rather, seclusion seems to have been an objective. Limited to purveying basic goods and services, the complex was situated in the middle of the community and was part of the town's equally modest civic center. Two blocks were set aside for businesses, separated by a small park—the Mallway—

with the public school and the municipal building terminating the mall axis at either end [Figure 21]. Completed in 1924, the school was the initial component of the group, followed by a cluster of commercial buildings in 1927–1928 and the municipal building in 1929–1930.³⁸ Rendered in a free interpretation of postmedieval English vernacular sources that was characteristic of their kind in affluent suburban districts of the period, the store blocks probably were subject to design guidelines

and/or review by Thompson's Upper Arlington Company. Otherwise, these properties were developed according to normative practices: each was undertaken by an independent party responsible for both construction and leasing.³⁹

The process of creating Spanish Village in Oklahoma City was equally hybrid. Undertaken in 1927 by G. A. Nichols, one of the most prolific developer/builders of houses and store blocks in the region, the complex lay along a newly platted street, The Paseo, extending in an arc across three city blocks, about a mile and a half north of downtown. Though no relation, Nichols was a great admirer of the Kansas City developer, and went so far as to use images of the Plaza in announcing of his own scheme. The 80-foot-wide Paseo was created to separate the stores from through traffic and provide ample room for curbside parking. Nichols promoted his complex-to-be as a unique attraction—"a village complete within itself as a commercial center and as picturesque as a winding street in some ancient Latin country."⁴⁰

But while Nichols cultivated association with the Plaza, his venture was marked more by contrast than similarity. The location seemed strategic, a few blocks north of the city's premier

residential district and otherwise surrounded by rapidly growing tracts developed for the middle class. Yet the master plan of Spanish Village appears to have been sketchy at best, and the design of individual buildings, produced by the developer's own draftsmen, fell below the standard that characterized community shopping centers of the period [Figure 22]. Nichols created the complex independently of other projects, save small apartment houses constructed on remaining portions of the blocks purchased for the center.⁴¹ Furthermore, the retail units were built speculatively. About five weeks after the first store block was completed, it was sold, a pattern followed with subsequent buildings as well.⁴² Finally, Nichols does not seem to have been particularly selective in choosing or locating tenants. Never fully realized and soon supplanted in function by the Uptown shopping district several blocks to the south, Spanish Village remained an idiosyncratic variation on a conventional neighborhood business cluster. By 1928, most of its developer's attention was focused on larger projects: Niconia Park, a "poultry colony," where aspiring homeowners could supplement their incomes raising livestock, which opened that January, and Nichols Hills, which opened a year later and emulated some of the costlier tracts in the Country Club District.⁴³

The idea of a Latin village was also appropriated by the syndicate formed in 1926 to create a commercial center serving the prosperous North Shore communities above Chicago. The Spanish Court, as it was eventually called, was located in unincorporated territory and hence subject to no local ordinances, a cause of consternation among strait-laced residents of neighboring Wilmette and Kenilworth. Unlike Ardmore, where citizen concern lay with commercial encroachment, North Shore residents feared commercial facilities that would attract the "wrong" social elements. Syndicate representatives countered that the complex would be of the best type, in terms of both physical plant and tenants.⁴⁴ Such claims failed to soothe protesters' anxieties; however, no legal provisions existed to curtail or even to influence the complexion of the project, and work proceeded as planned. A small block of stores and a movie theater opened in April 1927; a larger group of stores and apartments was begun a year thereafter [Figure 23].⁴⁵ Yet the project failed to progress further, and much of its vacant land was appropriated for parking. Like Spanish Village it attained neither the critical mass nor the type of tenants that would attract a steady, sizable clientele. Whether a master plan was devised beyond vague notions of a large business center is uncertain. The syndicate had anticipated the construction of two large beach clubs by other parties on adjacent land, but neither scheme materialized. Without either this pleasure-seeking constituency or one to take its place and with the onset of the depression, the Spanish Court was sold in January 1930, joining the ranks of hundreds of speculators' unfulfilled dreams of the era.⁴⁶

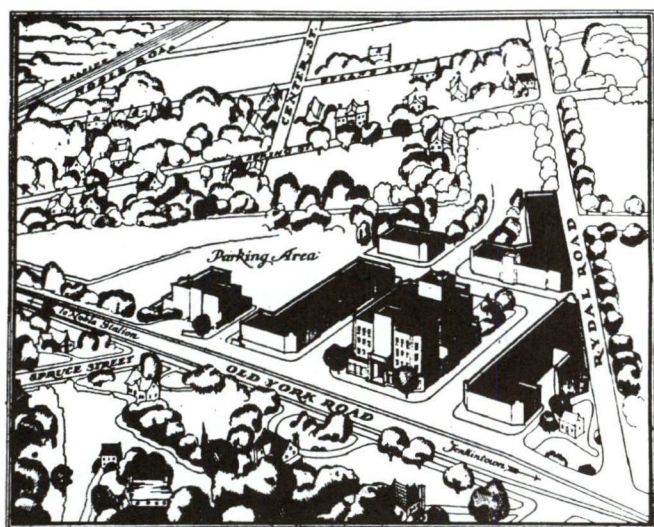


FIGURE 20: Proposal for shopping center to accompany Strawbridge & Clothier store (1930–1931), Jenkintown, Pennsylvania, 1930, Dreher & Churchman, architects

FIGURE 21: Community center, Upper Arlington, Ohio, most business buildings 1927–1928, architects unknown. General view looking north (photo, 1993).



FIGURE 22: Spanish Village, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, 1927–1928, G. A. Nichols, Inc., designer/builder. General view looking southwest (photo, 1986).

FIGURE 23: Spanish Court, Wilmette, Illinois, 1926–1928, Edwin W. Clark, architect. Aerial view looking east, c. 1929.

Two of the most unusual schemes of the late 1920s, in terms of both their design and their proposed operational structure, were the French Market and the Spanish Market in San Antonio. Announced with fanfare in October 1928 and February 1929, respectively, the ventures had solid credentials.⁴⁷ The developer, the American Building Company, and the broker, Joe J. Nix, were local leaders in their fields. Each scheme was sited along a major artery to the city center, one approximately three miles to the north, the other one and a half miles to the south. Each complex was to contain forty retail establishments and an additional number of offices to provide a complete

roster of routinely used goods and services that would attract shoppers throughout the metropolitan area. Yet accounts give no indication that either scheme incorporated a critical mass of specialty shops in apparel or other style goods. Furthermore, both had a provision that may have been particularly inhibiting: the requirement that business owners purchase rather than lease units. The arrangement, prospectuses emphasized, was not like a cooperative, yet the means by which the entire operation would be run remained vague. While this approach might have facilitated financing the project, it also posed risks business owners probably considered undue.

Given a tenuous structure of multiple ownership, the designs of the two centers may have seemed liabilities to prospective purchasers as well. The French Market was fashioned as a kind of stage-set version of a postmedieval village in Brittany, with portals leading to a large central court [Figure 24]. This space, along with side streets, was configured to provide an unusually generous amount of parking. The Spanish Market had its own streets to serve the same purpose and was no less fanciful in appearance [Figure 25]. The costs of elaborate buildings and offstreet parking space were commonly viewed as unwarranted extras in retail building at that time. When a well-capitalized developer such as Nichols or Prather was willing to bear that burden for long-term benefits, merchants were willing to participate, yet when a still unconventional course necessitated a collective investment their reaction was likely less than enthusiastic. It may well have been for these reasons that both projects failed to progress beyond the preliminary stage, even before the stock market crash, and that the

shared ownership strategy failed to emerge as a viable one in shopping center development.⁴⁸

The challenges of undertaking a community shopping center project when the costs were high, economic growth patterns were uncertain, and the concept itself was still experimental in nature is underscored by the fact that few projects were launched during the decade before American entry into World War II.⁴⁹ A number of schemes may have been proposed, such as those by Frederick Dreher for the outskirts of Camden, New Jersey, and Wilmington, Delaware [Figures 26, 27]. Probably drawn in the late 1930s, they reflect the architect/developer's still unconventional beliefs that a major department store branch should serve as the retail anchor and that generous space for parking should be allocated at the periphery.⁵⁰ Initiatives of this kind seldom progressed beyond the preliminary stage, however. Department store companies remained

uncertain about the potential of large suburban branches. Many other retailers as well as financial sources were also wary of such a major commitment

The most ambitious shopping center begun during the 1930s was Hampton Village, on a twenty-one-acre site seven miles southwest of downtown St. Louis. The complex was envisioned in 1930, but plans do not appear to have been developed in any detail until shortly before the project was announced nine years later. Like Suburban Square, the undertaking was the work of a specially formed syndicate, Boulevard Frontage Company, but in this case led by a veteran real estate broker, Harry Brinkop.⁵¹

Hampton Village was an important transitional work, designed late enough to absorb lessons learned from predecessors of the 1920s, yet before the sweeping changes of the postwar era [Figure 28]. With 200 stores projected, the size of the complex reflected the continuing rise in demand for retail outlets near the urban periphery. The site lay well removed from existing commercial nodes of any importance in a part of the metropolitan area that had been the fastest growing in recent years. Served by U.S. Route 66, Hampton Village was planned to draw a regional audience in southwestern St. Louis and neighboring Missouri and Illinois communities. The advantages of this location were predicated almost entirely on a motorist trade. Considerable effort was made to avoid the pitfalls of earlier developments, where parking had soon proved inadequate. The site plan seems to have been inspired by Highland Park Village; however, the extent of space allocated to automobiles was much greater. With total capacity estimated at between 2,500 and 3,500 vehicles, the car lot was of unprecedented size for a retail center. Equally important, parking

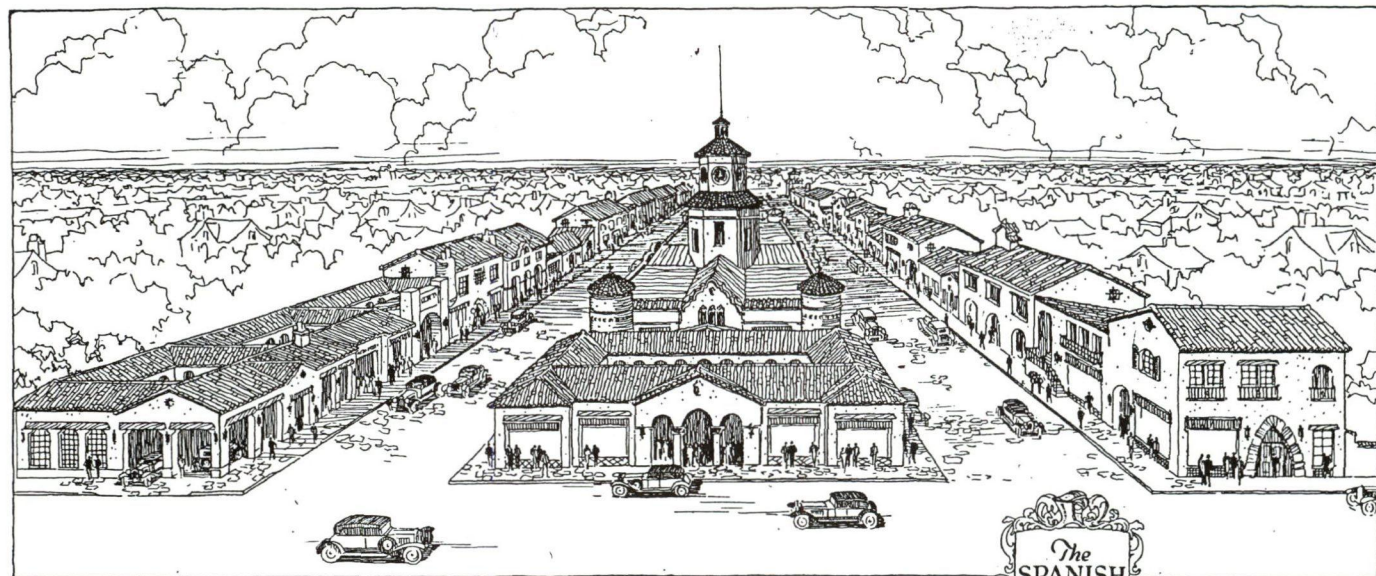
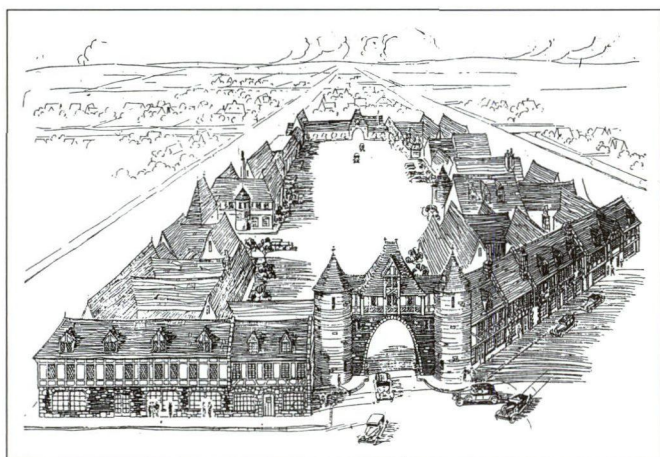


FIGURE 24: French Market, San Antonio, Texas, 1928, project, architect unknown.

FIGURE 25: Spanish Market, San Antonio, 1929, project, Albaugh & Steinbomer, architects

space was no longer tied to streets, even interior ones as at Highland Park Village. Instead, the layout followed those of recently built recreational facilities and industrial plants where all vestiges of the traditional street were abandoned for a circulation system of feeder lanes organized for efficient access to parking spaces. In this respect, Hampton Village was a key precursor to the large shopping center lots created after the war.

For all its promise, Hampton Village experienced difficulties from the start. The first unit built was the 20,000-square-foot market, which opened in December 1939. The operation, run with thirty-five concessionaires, soon proved faulty and was closed in the early months of 1941. Within a year, the building was again in service, now as a supermarket leased by one of the area's leading chains, but the delay, combined with a new round of uncertainties stemming from the war abroad, placed further development on hold.⁵² Construction resumed with the return of peace. Two store blocks were built in 1946, another the following year, and a fourth in 1949, all according to somewhat revised plans. Still, only a small portion of the complex unveiled a decade earlier was standing, and almost nothing more was built during the years that followed [Figure 29].⁵³

The failure of Hampton Village to live up to expectations in a period of prosperity and fast-paced metropolitan growth reflected flaws that were inherent to the first generation of community shopping centers. In their definitive trade study of 1951, *Shopping Centers: Design and Operation*, Geoffrey Baker and Bruno Funaro wrote of Suburban Square: "As with many other of the centers started just before the depression, it has reached a full measure of success only after its plan has become outdated."⁵⁴ Though still a major retail destination after World War II, the complex had virtually no place to expand.⁵⁵ Suburban Square's problems were not as great as those at Shaker Square, where room for parking was minimal. Land to the rear of the store buildings, originally intended for apartment houses, was used for cars by 1937, but this arrangement failed to provide easy or attractive access to businesses. A large new block of stores was added in 1941, and the area's first downtown department store branch was built at the end of the decade, making Shaker Square more of a retail magnet for the metropolitan area. Yet the siting of these, too, was compromised for lack of space. Cramped at either end of the complex's southern range, they undercut existing shopper circulation patterns and reinforced the sense of separation between units on either side of Shaker Boulevard.⁵⁶ Even with these changes, the complex remained smaller than market demand. Much the same was the case at Highland Park Village, where no room at all existed for expansion.

Although these problems were more fully addressed at Hampton Village, two of its four sides were cut off from the car lot, one by U.S. 66, the other by a cross street that had come to

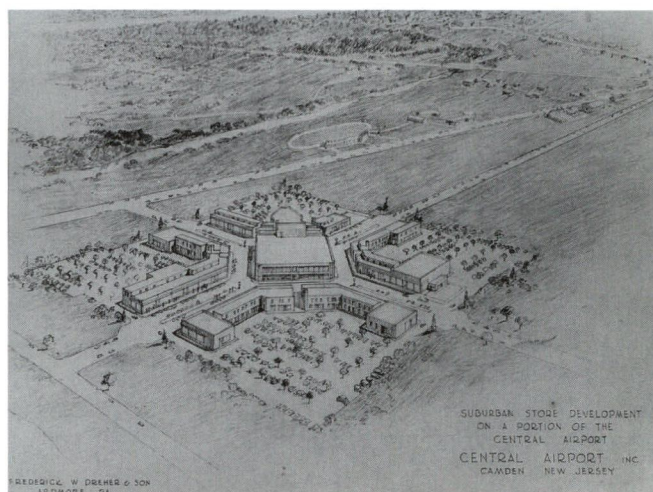
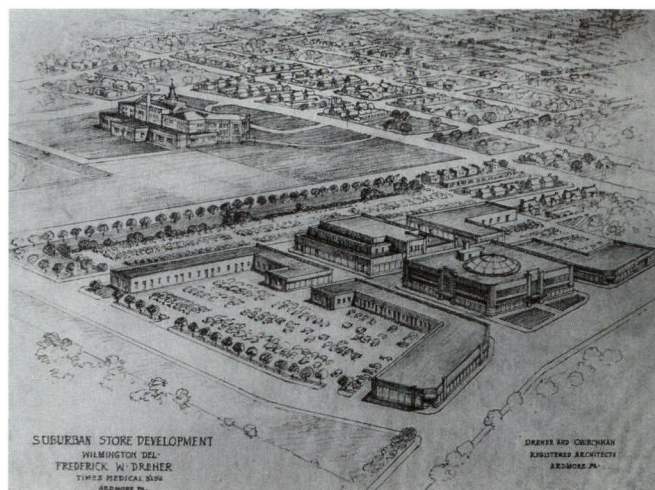


FIGURE 26: Proposal for shopping center, Wilmington, Delaware, c. 1938, Dreher & Churchman, architects. Schematic presentation drawing.

FIGURE 27: Proposal for shopping center, Camden, New Jersey, c. 1940, Frederick W. Dreher & Son, architects. Schematic presentation drawing.

be heavily traveled. For consumers, this arrangement seemed to retain many of the drawbacks of conventional arterial development, in which movement to various parts of the precinct, whether on foot or by car, was inhibited by traffic. The locations of the first two store blocks on these edge sites only compounded the problem.

If community shopping centers of the interwar decades did not provide enough space for parking or expansion and sometimes suffered from disjunctive layouts, they nevertheless lay the essential groundwork for the numerous large-scale shopping centers constructed after World War II. Most of their shortcomings stemmed from success, not failure. They underscored the efficacy of the concept of an integrated approach to retail development on a large scale and also provided testing grounds for ideas in planning, design, operation, and tenancy. Suburban Square and Hampton Village were also important

FIGURE 28: Hampton Village, St. Louis, Missouri, begun 1939. Presentation drawing showing original plan, C. R. Kohlmeyer, architect. All components except market building (center) modified in execution.

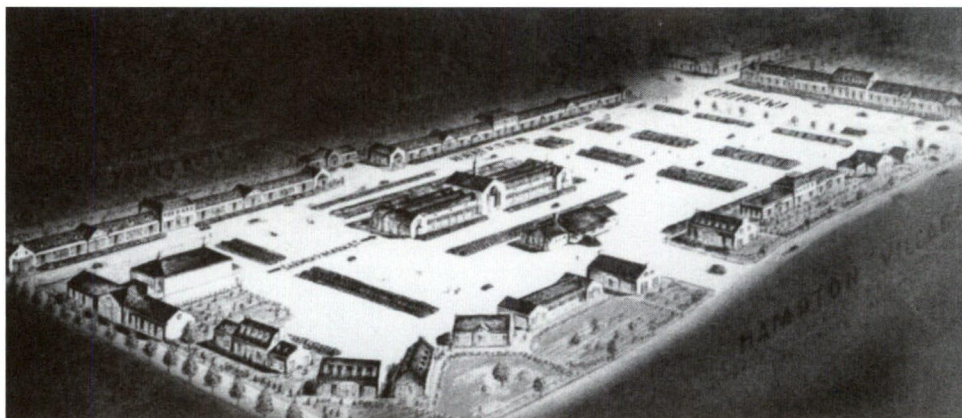


FIGURE 29: Hampton Village as realized. Aerial view looking southeast, c. 1960s, retail complex at right a separate development.

initial steps in developing a large shopping center independent of a planned residential development. These experiments were enough to indicate that a concept created primarily to serve the upper end of the market was viable enough to be applied to a much larger percentage of the population. Without this trial-and-error phase and the attention paid in retrospect to shortcomings as well as strengths, that which followed would have been far more tentative and limited and perhaps less profitable in nature.

The Country Club Plaza and its offspring became well

known among retail developers, many of whom made trips across the country to observe and gather information on precedents. Within a few years a trade literature began to emerge. All the major prewar examples—Hampton Village, Highland Park Village, Shaker Square, and Suburban Square as well as the Plaza—were analyzed for strengths and weaknesses in Baker and Funaro's *Shopping Centers*, which served as a standard text for some years. The Urban Land Institute, a Washington-based office that J. C. Nichols helped found in 1940 to advance standards of real estate development, in-

cluded analysis of the Plaza and Highland Park Village in early editions of its *Community Builders Handbook* and in the first two issues of its *Technical Bulletin* that were devoted to shopping centers.⁵⁷

In part because the shopping center was now developed for broader application, changes made after the war were abrupt and radical. Lingering doubts about the viability of large-scale retail development on the urban periphery dissipated with the rapid growth in population, a booming economy, new residential tracts of unprecedented proportion ever farther from the core, and still increasing reliance on the automobile for routine travel. The enormous amount of space needed for parking and the importance of minimizing the distance customers walked from car to store called for layouts that differed completely from the more tradition-oriented ones of earlier centers. The store size required by many retailers, predicated on volume sales to a mass market, further required new approaches to arranging both the complex and the overall site. Downtown department store companies now assumed a major role in the development process, building units of 100,000 to 200,000 square feet or more. National chain variety and clothing stores, which were seldom found in community centers before the war, likewise became a key component of the mix. Changes in taste, coupled with steady rises in the cost of construction and the allocation of a greater percentage of that cost to building systems and to equipment for display, worked against ornate, historicizing exteriors.⁵⁸ The extent to which circumstances changed is suggested by the fact that none of the developers or architects who created the prewar community shopping centers contributed significantly to the innovations introduced after the war.

Among the many shifts, the most striking in effect were the replacement of singularity by a drive toward uniformity and of the ideal of the shopping center as community embellishment by a more pragmatic approach. Developers discovered that large shopping centers could yield handsome profits without being distinct signifiers of place. In contrast to earlier years, they hired architects long involved in the commercial sphere and with little background in the domestic one, who began to specialize in the booming market for shopping centers. Many of the leading firms in this sphere, such as Welton Becket & Associates, John Graham & Company, and Abbott, Merkt & Company, gained national prominence for the efficiency and economy they gave to their projects. By the mid-1950s, new shopping centers bespoke utility far more than civic decorum [Figure 30].

In light of the new, pervasive quest for cost-effective minimalism, the ornamental embellishment of prewar centers, coupled with their siting near high-income residential areas, enabled these complexes to remain viable centers of trade, even if they were eclipsed in size by many postwar successors. Benefiting from wise management, the Plaza has always flourished. Many of its offspring experienced some decline by the early 1970s, but their physical and locational attributes have enabled them to be revived.⁵⁹ Their capacity for long-term success also has led some real estate developers and retailers, as well as planners and architects, to consider the prewar community shopping center as a precedent for new work.⁶⁰ They are rare survivors in the retail sphere, where frequent change is generally seen as essential, and they underscore the fact that components of the urban landscape long viewed in the past tense can assume renewed significance for the future.

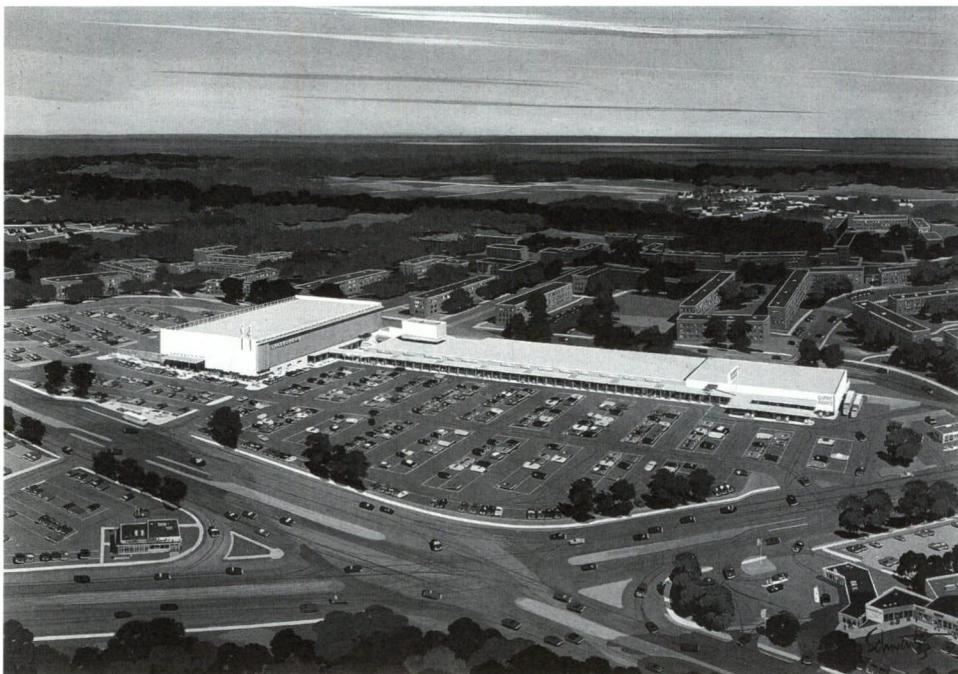


FIGURE 30: Shopping center, Langley Park, Maryland, 1954–1955, Abbott, Merkt & Co. and David Baker, architects; altered. Presentation drawing.

Notes

The material for this project has been gathered over a substantial period of time. Besides those acknowledged in the text, I am grateful to Robert Brueggemann, Jay Henry, W. Ray Luce, and Beth Savage as well as to Lee Fowler and Barbara Barrickman of the J. C. Nichols Company and to the staffs of the *Jenkintown Times-Chronicle*, *Main Line Times*; Library of Congress; Free Library of Philadelphia; Hagley Library, Manuscripts Department, Wilmington, Del.; Upper Arlington Public Library; Wilmette Public Library; Palm Springs Public Library; and Palm Springs Historical Society.

¹ Concerning definitions of shopping center types, see Richard Longstreth, "The Neighborhood Shopping Center in Washington, D.C., 1930–1941," *JSAH* 51 (1992): 6–7, n. 4. That article discusses the importance of the smaller, neighborhood centers to the type's evolution during the interwar decades.

² The first such complex was Market Square (1915–1916), built as a renewal project in Lake Forest, Illinois, and probably an important precedent for Nichols. For background, see Richard Longstreth, *City Center to Regional Mall: Architecture, the Automobile, and Retailing in Los Angeles, 1920–1950* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), 150–152. Concerning the Plaza, see idem, "J. C. Nichols, the Country Club Plaza, and Notions of Modernity," *Harvard Architecture Review* 5 (1986): 121–135; and William S. Worley, *J. C. Nichols and the Shaping of Kansas City* (Columbia, Mo., 1990), chap. 8.

Arguably, the Plaza can also be described as a prototype for the regional shopping center, given the scale of its operation and the large geographic scope of its audience. Much of its physical plant, however, was not realized until after World War II and, perhaps most significantly, the prewar scope of its tenancy was quite limited. The Plaza housed no branches of major downtown stores until the opening of Emery, Bird, Thayer in 1950 and Harzfeld's in 1954. For the most part, large chain store units were likewise postwar additions.

³ For background, see Chester H. Liebs, *Main Street to Miracle Mile: American Roadside Architecture* (Boston, 1985), 10–15; Longstreth, *City Center to Regional Mall*, chap. 3; and idem, "The Forgotten Arterial Landscape: Photographic Documentation of Commercial Development along Los Angeles Boulevards during the Interwar Years," *Journal of Urban History* 23 (1997): 437–459.

⁴ George Ehrlich, *Kansas City, Missouri: An Architectural History, 1826–1990*, rev. ed. (Columbia, Mo.: 1992), 72–75, 85, 87.

⁵ For a sampling of period accounts, see Charles W. Scaling, "How to Determine the Comparative Rental Value of Different Store Locations," *Annals of Real Estate Practice*, 1927, 224–236; Lawrence B. Cummings, "Elements of Successful Store Locations," *Annals of Real Estate Practice*, 1928, 349–355; Henry W. Wilcox, "Traffic—Location—Trends as Considered by the Chain Store," *National Real Estate Journal* 30 (8 July 1929): 39–41; and D. R. Davies, "How to Submit Locations to Chain Store Companies," *National Real Estate Journal* 31 (6 Jan. 1930): 23–25.

⁶ The Plaza was, however, surrounded by a number of apartment houses, which provided a buffer for the single-family house tracts beyond and increased the immediate trade population by about 10,000. Given their proximity, almost all of these renters would have walked rather than driven to the shopping center.

⁷ Several other projects were undertaken by philanthropists to bring new vitality and respectability to existing town centers. The most notable examples were Merchants Square in Williamsburg, Virginia, and Palmer Square in Princeton, New Jersey, which are the subject of a separate study currently in preparation.

⁸ For detailed discussion, see Longstreth, *City Center to Regional Mall*, chap. 6. In both its size and the nature of its tenancy, Westwood Village came closest to the characteristics of the postwar regional center. The geographic extent of its draw, on the other hand, may have been more limited than the Plaza's because by 1940 it was competing with four large outlying retail districts to the east: Beverly Hills, the Miracle Mile, the mid-Wilshire district, and downtown Hollywood.

⁹ For background, see Eric Johannessen, *Cleveland Architecture, 1876–1976* (Cleveland, 1979), 131–134, 167–175.

¹⁰ "\$30,000,000 to Be . . .," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 26 Mar. 1922, 1-A, 22-B; Johannessen, *Cleveland Architecture*, 172–173.

¹¹ For examples of other work by Small, see "Display Room of the Eller Motor Company . . .," *Architectural Record* 48 (1920): 535–541; *American Architect* 135 (1929): pl. 805; and Johannessen, *Cleveland Architecture*, 164, 169, 196–197.

¹² "Vans to Make Shaker Center Model for U.S.," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 20 May 1928, 1-A, 12-A; *Cleveland Press*, 21 May 1928, 15. Johannessen, *Cleveland Architecture*, 173, states that the complex was begun in 1927, but contemporary accounts indicate otherwise.

¹³ Johannessen, *Cleveland Architecture*, 177–183; Sally A. Kitt Chappell, *Architecture and Planning of Graham, Anderson, Probst and White, 1912–1936: Transforming Tradition* (Chicago, 1992), 36–39, 174–181.

¹⁴ "Higbee's Move . . .," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 21 May 1930, 1, 3; "Work Begins . . .," *Women's Wear Daily*, 23 May 1930, 1-2; "Retailers Assist . . .," *Women's Wear Daily*, 1 July 1930, 1-13; "New Higbee Store . . .," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 8 Sept. 1931, 1, 21.

¹⁵ "All-Chain Shopping Area Sets High Construction Standard," *Chain Store Age*, General Merchandise Ed., 6 (Dec. 1930): 56, 58, 60, 62; "Model Business Center," *National Real Estate Journal* 31 (22 Dec. 1930): 35–36; and "Theater Rounds Out . . .," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 26 Dec. 1937, 17-C, provide the most detailed accounts of the period I have found. See also *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 13 Jan. 1929, 1-C; "Puts Main Office . . .," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 4 Aug. 1929, 1-D; *Cleveland* 5 (Nov. 1930): 33; W. Ward Marsh, "One Moment, Please!" *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 19 Dec. 1937, 11-C, 12-C; "Winner Who Named Theater . . .," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 26 Dec. 1937, 17-C; "New Colony Theater . . .," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 29 Dec. 1937, 14; and Geoffrey Baker and Bruno Funaro, *Shopping Centers: Design and Operation* (New York, 1951), 184–185. Clara Amster of the Shaker Square Merchants Association and Steve Albert of Shaker Square, Ltd., kindly supplied me with additional information from their files.

¹⁶ "Shaker Block Shows . . .," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 18 Sept. 1927, 7-B; "Will Serve Large . . .," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 18 Mar. 1928, 7-B; "This New Shaker Block . . .," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 29 July 1928, 3-D; *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 1 Nov. 1934, 7; "New Store Block . . .," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 27 Aug. 1939, 26-A. One account of the period suggested that the Van Sweringens may have financed some of the businesses; see "Shops Open . . .," *Women's Wear Daily*, 29 June 1930, 1-6.

¹⁷ "Civic Brevities," *Cleveland* 4 (July 1929), 17.

¹⁸ By 1937, Highland Park's population had risen to 9,200. For background on the community, see Hugh E. Prather, "Highland Park—A Dallas Development," *National Real Estate Journal* 21 (21 June 1920), 21–23; "Highland Park Lands . . .," *Dallas Morning News*, 1 Oct. 1935, VIII-12; and Diane Galloway, *The Park Cities: A Photo History* (Dallas, 1989).

¹⁹ *Dallas Morning News*, 21 Feb. 1926, 1-16; "Construction Under Way . . .," *Dallas Morning News*, 6 Apr. 1930, Society Sect., 8. See also "Build Business District of Concrete in Residential Suburb," *Concrete* 38 (Mar. 1931): 16–17; "Dallas Builds Spanish Village . . .," *Retailing*, 24 Jan. 1931, 7; and "A Model Shopping Village in Texas," *Architectural Record* 70 (Sept. 1931), 197–198.

²⁰ The analogy did not appear in print until the 1950s (Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 91) and was reaffirmed to me by Prather's son, himself long involved in the center's operation (interview with Hugh Prather, Jr., Highland Park, 4 May 1989). Assuming the verity of the source, the inspiration may not have been revealed in contemporary accounts because it would have seemed too commonplace when promotional literature was stressing the unusual and "unique" attributes of the complex. For illustrations of courthouse squares, see Willard B. Robinson, *The People's Architecture: Texas Courthouses, Jails, and Municipal Buildings* (Austin, 1983), 67, 129, 165, 181, and 203.

²¹ It is possible that this idea was derived at least in part from several largely unrealized commercial centers in the planned residential community of Palos Verdes Estates in Los Angeles County. Prather and his architect visited the region in the course of preparing the Highland Park Village plan, as discussed in the text below, and are likely to have visited the site. For discussion of these complexes see Longstreth, *City Center to Regional Mall*, chap. 6.

²² In Spain, Prather and Cheek visited Seville and Barcelona, the latter primarily to see the fanciful work of the exposition then being held. Nothing is known about their California itinerary, but it is likely Prather would have wanted to see the planned communities of Palos Verdes Estates in Los Angeles County and Rancho Santa Fe in San Diego County. Other possible sites that may have offered precedents include the Panama-California Exposition buildings at San Diego and the reconstructed commercial core of Santa Barbara. See also n. 48 below. For background on the architects, see Anita Toews, "Spanish Colonial Revival Architecture in Dallas: The Work of Fooshee and Cheek," *Perspective*, SAH/Texas Chapter, 13 (1984): 9–15; and Jay C. Henry, *Architecture in Texas 1895–1945* (Austin, 1993), 182, 210–211, and 259–260.

²³ Detailed coverage is given in the *Dallas Morning News*. See "Shop Village Going Up . . .," 12 Oct. 1930, Real Estate Sect., 13; "Second Unit Begun . . .," 27 Sept. 1931, I-11; "Bank Being Organized . . .," 27 Sept. 1931, II-1; "Street in Spain . . .," 18 June 1932, I-10; 15 Sept. 1935, I-6 and Sect. II; 23 Nov. 1935, I-12; "Shopping Village Vastly Improved," 19 Jan. 1936, I-12; "New Unit . . .," 15 Oct. 1939, I-12; "Highland Park State Bank . . .," 5 Nov. 1939, IV-12; "Highland Park Shopping Village . . .," 5 Nov. 1939, IV-13; "Volk Bros. Branch . . .," 17 Mar. 1940, I-16; and "New Buildings . . .," 21 Apr. 1940, IV-8. See also "The 'Ideal' Village Makes Profits," *Southwest Business* 15 (Mar. 1937): 9, 28–29; "Unique Shopping Village Continues to Expand," *Southwest Business* 19 (June 1940), 19; *Southwest Business* 20 (June 1941), 16; Seward H. Mott and Max S. Wehrly, "Shopping Centers: An Analysis," Urban Land Institute, *Technical Bulletin No. 11*, July 1949, 26–28; J. Ross McKeever, "Shopping Centers: Principles and Policies," Urban Land Institute, *Technical Bulletin No. 20*, July 1953, 37–38; Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 91–93; and Henry, *Architecture in Texas*, 188–190.

²⁴ "The 'Ideal' Village"; "Unique Shopping Village."

²⁵ A number of tenants are mentioned in the newspaper pieces cited in note 23. The first complete listing I have found is in "Shopping Centers: An Analysis," 26, 28, which appears to be much the same as it was just before World War II.

²⁶ "Volk Bros. Branch . . ." (see n. 23). Extensive research on the subject of branch store development during the interwar decades has failed to uncover any evidence to contradict Volk's claim for Texas. Concerning the business, see *Dallas Morning News*, 17 Aug. 1930, Volk Bros. Co. Sect. Sanger Bros. department store opened a small branch in the complex fourteen years later; see "Hear Sanger's . . .," *Women's Wear Daily*, 16 Nov. 1949, 2 and *Dallas Morning News*, 21 Dec. 1949, I-12.

²⁷ Details of Suburban Square's origins are hampered by the fact that, beyond the predictable absence of company records, copies of local newspapers are difficult to find before the mid-1930s. The earliest published account yet found is "New Bank Building . . .," *Main Liner*, 18 Mar. 1927, 1, 2, a print of which exists with building permit 4817 in the Lower Merion Township offices. The piece makes no mention that this initial group of buildings is part of a larger complex, perhaps as a cautionary measure due to the hostility of some residents and apparently of some local merchants as well. An account written three years later ("Store Is Climax of Great Development," *Our Town* [Narberth, Pa.], 16 May 1930, 25, a copy of which is in vol. 78, Strawbridge & Clothier Collection, Hagley Museum and Library [hereafter S&C/H]), explicitly notes the Suburban Company's careful tenant selection policy and other measures suggesting a fully integrated development. I am grateful to Stephanie Dyer for bringing these and several other important sources to my attention.

Building permits indicate that the initial four store blocks were constructed in 1927 and 1929. The most detailed early account is "Now They Stop and Shop in Ardmore," printed in *Integrity Spokesman*, house organ of the Integrity Trust Company, Nov. 1930. The complex was still called North Ardmore in an *Ardmore Chronicle* advertisement of 15 Sept. 1939; the first use of "Suburban Square" I have found appears in a *Main Line Times* advertisement of 30 Nov. 1939.

²⁸ Alfred Lief, *Family Business: A Century in the Life and Times of Strawbridge & Clothier* (New York, 1968), 183–186. Period accounts include "Large Phila. Store . . .," [Philadelphia] *Public Ledger*, 22 Sept. 1929, 2; "Strawbridge Store . . .," [Philadelphia] *Public Record*, 22 Sept. 1929, 12; "Strawbridge Plans Branch . . .," *Women's Wear Daily*, 23 Sept. 1929, I-1, 2; "Large Store Coming . . .," *Main Liner*, 27 Sept. 1929 (S&C/H); "Building Details . . .," *Main Liner*, 4 Oct. 1929 (S&C/H); "Main Line Greets . . .," *Public Ledger*, 20 Feb. 1930, 2; "Strawbridge Ardmore Unit . . .," *Women's Wear Daily*, 6 May 1930, I-13; *Ardmore Chronicle*, 9 May 1930, Strawbridge & Clothier Ed. (S&C/H); "New Store Opens . . .," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 12 May 1930, 7; "2,000 Attend Opening . . .," *Women's Wear Daily*, 13 May 1930, I-13; "New Strawbridge & Clothier Store . . .," *Our Town*, 16 May 1930, 25, 27 (S&C/H); "Store Building of Modern Design Completed on Ardmore Site," *Building Magazine* 10 (May 1930), 25–26; and *Architectural Record* 68 (1930), 464–465.

²⁹ "Main Line Men's Store . . .," *Main Line Daily Times*, 13 Mar. 1931, 1; "Strawbridge Opens . . .," [Jenkintown] *Times-Chronicle*, 17 Sept. 1931, 2.

³⁰ "Contract Awarded Today . . .," *Main Line Daily Times*, 4 Mar. 1931, 1, 9; *Main Line Daily Times*, 17 Oct. 1931, *Times-Medical Building Supplement*.

³¹ One contemporary account ("Store Is Climax" [see n. 27]) credits

Churchman with the actual designs of the buildings, noting Dreher's responsibilities were more organizational and supervisory. The latter's increasingly important role in the development of Suburban Square is discussed in the text below.

³² "New Theatre in Ardmore . . .," *Ardmore Chronicle*, 11 Dec. 1936, 1; *Main Line Times*, 29 Sept. 1938, Suburban Theatre Sect. (with Lower Merion Township building permit A2553); "Six New Shops . . .," *Ardmore Chronicle*, 31 Mar. 1939, 1; "Shopping Center Accepts . . .," [Washington] *Evening Star*, 9 Dec. 1939, B-4; "Shopping Center in Glass and Metal," *American Builder and Building Age* 62 (Mar. 1940), 74–75; *Main Line Times*, 14 May 1942, 42; "New Acme Food Market . . .," *Ardmore Chronicle*, 15 May 1942, 3; Bernard J. Birnbaum, "Shoppers' Haven," *Liberty* 19 (19 Jan. 1946), 20–21, 75–76; "Suburban Square Is Pointed Out . . .," *Main Line Times*, 21 Oct. 1948, 25; "Vision, Courage Originated Square," *Main Line Times*, 1 Oct. 1953, 19; Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 191–193.

³³ "Another Branch for Strawbridge," *Women's Wear Daily*, 20 Nov. 1930, I-1; "The New Strawbridge & Clothier . . .," *Main Line Daily Times*, 4 Dec. 1930, 2; [Jenkintown] *Times-Chronicle*, 4 Dec. 1930, 1–2; "Big Store to Serve . . .," *Public Ledger*, 4 Dec. 1930, 10; *Women's Wear Daily*, 8 Dec. 1930, I-6; "Strawbridge's Takes . . .," *Women's Wear Daily*, 9 Sept. 1931, I-1, 5; "Thousands View . . .," *Times-Chronicle*, 10 Sept. 1931, 1–4; "Strawbridge Firm Opens . . .," *Public Ledger*, 10 Sept. 1931, 4; "Strawbridge & Clothier Take New Store to Suburbanites," *Retailing*, 12 Sept. 1931, 7–8.

³⁴ "Strawbridge & Clothier to Have . . .," *Main Line Daily Times*, 19 Nov. 1930, 1 (S&C/H), notes the syndicate's role, here under the name of the Jenkintown Noble Company, but not the envisioned shopping center. The only evidence of the scheme I have been able to find is a store advertisement in the Jenkintown *Times-Chronicle*, from which Figure 20 was taken. Store officials must have been cautious about proceeding with the plan given the economic uncertainties of the period.

³⁵ Indeed, less than fully integrated retail developments continued to be the norm into the post–World War II era. For examples, see Longstreth, *City Center to Regional Mall*, chaps. 7, 9; idem, "The Mixed Blessings of Success: The Hecht Company and Department Store Branch Development After World War II," in Carter L. Hudgins and Elizabeth Collins Cromley, eds., *Shaping Communities: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, VI (Knoxville, Tenn., 1997), 244–262; and idem, "Silver Spring: Georgia Avenue, Colesville Road and the Creation of an Alternative 'Downtown' for Metropolitan Washington," in Zeynep Celik et al., eds., *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space* (Berkeley, 1994), 247–258, 294.

³⁶ "Upper Arlington Grows . . .," *Columbus Dispatch*, 26 Apr. 1925, Real Estate Sect., 4; "Upper Arlington," [Upper Arlington] *Community News*, 19 Oct. 1923, 4; Marjorie Garvin Sayers, ed., *History of Upper Arlington* (Upper Arlington, 1977), chap. 1; Patricia Burgess, *Planning for the Private Interest: Land Use Controls and Residential Patterns in Columbus, Ohio, 1900–1970* (Columbus, 1994), 38, 56–58.

³⁷ In contrast to the Kansas City and Dallas development, which lay near other, mostly older, tracts of a more or less similar demographic complexion, Upper Arlington was somewhat isolated from neighborhoods of comparable stature. As a result, Thompson may have feared that a large shopping center would draw customers local residents would not welcome.

³⁸ "Proposed Upper Arlington . . .," *Community News*, 4 Aug. 1922, 1; "Upper Arlington to Have . . .," *Community News*, 26 Jan. 1923, 1; *Columbus Dispatch*, 20 Nov. 1927, 23; "Upper Arlington Building . . .," *Community News*, 25 Nov. 1927, 4; "Upper Arlington Business Center . . .," *Community News*, 9 Mar. 1928, 1; "Gaudieri Opens . . .," *Community News*, 13 Apr. 1928, 1–2; "Drug Store Opening . . .," *Community News*, 1 June 1928, 1; "Mallway Pastry Shop . . .," *Community News*, 19 Oct. 1928, 1; "Village Residents to Vote . . .," *Columbus Dispatch*, 8 Sept. 1929, A-7. Historical accounts give several other dates for the store buildings; however, period sources suggest most were constructed in 1927–1928. For an exception, see "Ohio National Bank . . .," *Columbus Dispatch*, 1 Apr. 1949, 12-B.

³⁹ At least one of the Upper Arlington buildings was developed by Don M. Casto, one of the most prolific builders of commercial properties in Columbus, who after World War II became nationally prominent as a developer of shopping centers. I am grateful to Don M. Casto III for providing me with information on the firm.

⁴⁰ "Spanish Village . . .," *Daily Oklahoman*, 19 June 1927, A-14. The *Daily Oklahoman* gave extensive coverage to Nichols's real estate endeavors, including

his store blocks. For examples, see 27 Jan. 1929, Classified Sect., 8; and 17 Mar. 1929, A-19. Concerning Nichols, see Bob L. Blackburn, *Heart of the Promised Land: Oklahoma County, an Illustrated History* (Woodland Hills, Calif., 1982), 126.

⁴¹ *Daily Oklahoman*, 19 Aug. 1928, B-2; "Nichols Building . . .," *Daily Oklahoman*, 14 Apr. 1929, A-16; "Village Gets New Activity," *Daily Oklahoman*, 8 Dec. 1929, B-6.

⁴² "Nichols Sees Gain . . .," *Daily Oklahoman*, 15 Apr. 1928, A-16; "More Buildings Added . . .," *Daily Oklahoman*, 13 May 1928, A-12; "Spanish Style Business . . .," *Daily Oklahoman*, 24 June 1928, A-14; *Daily Oklahoman*, 19 August 1928, B-2; "Spanish Village Unique Section," *Daily Oklahoman*, 5 May 1929, Nichols Hills Sect., 4.

⁴³ "Nichols Buys . . .," *Daily Oklahoman*, 17 July 1927, B-3; *Daily Oklahoman*, 22 Jan. 1928, I-13; "Large Crowds . . .," *Daily Oklahoman*, 3 June 1928, B-7; "Nichols Company Speeds . . .," *Daily Oklahoman*, 11 Nov. 1928, A-14; "Nichols Hills' Selected . . .," *Daily Oklahoman*, 9 Dec. 1928, B-10; "English Idea . . .," *Daily Oklahoman*, 3 Mar. 1929, A-16; *Daily Oklahoman*, 5 May 1929, Nichols Hills Sect.; G. A. Nichols, Inc., *Nichols Hills Country Club District* ([Oklahoma City], 1930).

⁴⁴ "No Man's Land Looms . . .," *Wilmette Life*, 21 Jan. 1927, 1, 39. See also Robert Shea, *From No Man's Land to Plaza del Lago* (Chicago, 1987), 32–34.

⁴⁵ *Wilmette Life*, 24 Sept., 1926, 6, 14; *Wilmette Life*, 22 Apr. 1927, Teatro del Lago Sect.; "Plan \$500,000 Buildings . . .," *Chicago Tribune*, 25 Mar. 1928, III-1; *Wilmette Life*, 6 Apr. 1928, 61, 66; Shea, *From No Man's Land*, 34–46.

⁴⁶ "Named Managing Agents . . .," *Economist* [Chicago], 53 (25 Jan. 1930), 214. By the 1960s, the complex was parceled among several owners. The tract was reassembled and expanded as a shopping center, named Plaza del Lago, in 1967–1968; see Shea, *From No Man's Land*, 76–85.

⁴⁷ "\$500,000 French Market . . .," *San Antonio Express*, 28 Oct. 1928, C1-3; *The French Market*, promotional brochure, n.d. [1928]; *San Antonio Express*, 3 Feb. 1929, C5; *Spanish Market*, *San Antonio*, promotional brochure, n.d. [1929].

⁴⁸ It is possible that the designs of the French and Spanish markets influenced that of Highland Park Village, given the chances that Prather would have known about a major project of this kind in a "neighboring" city. A copy of the French Market's brochure, cited in n. 47 above, was found with Highland Park Village material in James B. Cheek's papers at the University of Texas, Austin. I am grateful to W. Dwayne Jones of the Texas Historical Commission for bringing this item to my attention.

A layout similar to that of the French Market was used for an unrealized scheme in Milwaukee three years later, but the correspondence is probably coincidental. See "Plan \$1,000,000 Retail Center . . .," *Women's Wear Daily*, 4 Nov. 1931, I-20; "English Type 'Colony Mart' . . .," *Milwaukee Sentinel*, 28 Oct. 1931, 45; and *Milwaukee Journal*, 28 Oct. 1931, II-1.

⁴⁹ An important exception was Palm Springs Plaza (1936) in Palm Springs, California, which contained thirty-four shops, a theater, and automobile service facilities. The complex is not discussed here because it catered to a seasonal resort community. Furthermore, rather than being part of an outlying residential area, it formed probably the largest concentration of businesses in the core of what was then a small town. For background, see: "Plaza Project . . .," *Palm Springs News*, 13 Feb. 1936, 1, 28; "First Tenants Ready . . .," *Palm Springs News*, 15 Oct. 1936, 1, 15; and " . . . New Palm Springs Project," *Women's Wear Daily*, 12 Nov. 1936, I-3. Another one-of-a-kind shopping center was at Parkchester, an enormous, high-rise apartment complex built by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company to house 40,000 people in Queens, New York. Rather than forming a discrete ensemble, retail functions were situated at street level scattered among twenty-four apartment buildings, following the conventional pattern of New York neighborhoods. See Mott and Wehrly, "Shopping Centers," 37–38. Some other projects were really sizable neighborhood centers, among the most publicized of which was in the River Oaks district of Houston. See Richard Longstreth, "River Oaks Shopping Center," *Cite* 36 (winter 1996), 8–13.

⁵⁰ Dreher's son, Ernest C. Dreher III of Sarasota, Florida, kindly supplied me with the images, but knew nothing of the circumstances under which the schemes were developed. In all likelihood, they were sketches the firm prepared in hopes of convincing retailers and investors to join the enterprise. I have found no evidence that either scheme progressed beyond this stage, although the Camden site was still being considered for these purposes as late as 1952 ("Strawbridge's Said Planning . . .," *Women's Wear Daily*, 22 August 1952, 1, 45). The firm of Dreher & Churchman changed to Frederick W.

Dreher & Son in 1939. The layout and other aspects of the presentation suggests the two schemes were designed in relatively close sequence, making 1938–1940 a likely period for dating.

⁵¹ *Building: The National News Review* 3 (15 Apr. 1939): 12; Robert Latimer, "St. Louis Launches Shopping Center," *Super Market Merchandising* 5 (Feb. 1940): 14, 33–34; "Forum: Hampton Village," *Freehold* 6 (15 June 1940): 412–413.

⁵² *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 10 Dec. 1939, III-12; "Bettendorf Features Labor Saving Innovations," *Super Market Merchandising* 7 (Feb. 1942): 14–16, 18, 20, 22; "Trends and Topics Among St. Louis Supers," *Super Market Merchandising* 7 (Sept. 1942): 4–6.

⁵³ "\$11,000,000 St. Louis Shopping Center," *Women's Wear Daily*, 29 Jan. 1947, 54; "Hampton Village Suburban Shopping Center," *Retail Management* 42 (June 1947): 14–15, 41; "Shopping Center in St. Louis," *Department Store Economist* 10 (Sept. 1947): 30–31; "S. S. Kresge Leases . . .," *Women's Wear Daily*, 18 Feb. 1948, 78; *Buildings* 49 (Nov. 1949): 29; *Architectural Forum* 92 (Feb. 1950): 129; "Colonial Motif . . .," *Women's Wear Daily*, 10 March 1950, 37; "Appraisers in Helicopter . . .," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, 23 Mar. 1950, 3A; "Hampton Village to Have . . .," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, 15 Oct. 1950, 12C; "Hampton Village Stores . . .," *Women's Wear Daily*, 1 Nov. 1950, 14; Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 188–190. Thomas V. Lane, senior vice president of Nooney Krombach Real Estate Services, St. Louis, kindly supplied me with additional information.

⁵⁴ Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 191.

⁵⁵ The only substantial changes made to Suburban Square during the postwar era were an addition to the Strawbridge & Clothier building and a new store block immediately to the west, where a service station had been located. See "Department Store Plans . . .," *Main Line Times*, 29 July 1948, 1; "Ardmore Retail Area . . .," *Women's Wear Daily*, 30 Mar. 1949, 51; "Strawbridge Suburban . . .," *Women's Wear Daily*, 1 Feb. 1950, 71; "New Strawbridge & Clothier . . .," *Main Line Times*, 1 June 1950, 2.

⁵⁶ "New Franklin Simon Store . . .," *Women's Wear Daily*, 3 Mar. 1941, 24; "Simon's to Open . . .," *Women's Wear Daily*, 30 Apr. 1941, 32; Winifred H. Goodsell, "Tomorrow Brings . . .," *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 22 Aug. 1948, 18-D; "First Unit . . .," *Women's Wear Daily*, 16 Sept. 1948, 51; "Branch Store at Shaker Square . . .," *Cleveland* 23 (Sept. 1948), 11; "Branch Store . . .," *Architectural Forum*, 92 (Feb. 1950), 96–101; Baker and Funaro, *Shopping Centers*, 186–187.

⁵⁷ See nn. 15, 23, 32, and 53 above; and Community Builders' Council of the Urban Land Institute, *The Community Builders Handbook* (Washington, D.C., 1947, 1948, 1950), various pp. See also Christine Long, "Plaza . . . Acts as Case Study," *Women's Wear Daily*, 29 Dec. 1952, II-24.

⁵⁸ Postwar centers are discussed in detail in Elizabeth Cohen, "From Town Center to Shopping Center: The Reconfiguration of Community Marketplaces in Postwar America," and Thomas W. Hanchett, "U.S. Tax Policy and the Shopping-center Boom of the 1950s and 1960s," *American Historical Review* 101 (1996): 1050–1081, 1082–1110, resp.; and Longstreth, *City Center to Regional Mall*, chaps. 9, 11.

⁵⁹ See, for example, Margaret Opsata, "Re-leasing: The Secret of Successful Older Centers," *Shopping Center World* 8 (May 1979), 102, 104, 106, 210; Leslie Wayne, "Ardmore Update . . .," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 3 June 1979, 1-D, 2-D; "Rehab Restores Charm to 51-Year-Old Highland Park Village," *Shopping Center World* 11 (Sept. 1982), 66, 68; and Maura K. O'Brien, "Retirement Nowhere in Sight for 60-Year-Old Texas Center," *Shopping Centers Today*, Oct. 1991, 23–24.

⁶⁰ See, for example, Lisa Jennings, "Reston Seeks Urban Image with Town Center," *Washington Business Journal*, 24 Feb. 1986, 1, 9; Eric Garland, "Building a Cozy 'Village' . . .," *New York Times*, 13 Sept. 1987, F6; Barbara Flanagan, "A Suburban Mall Is Now 'Downtown,'" *New York Times*, 14 Mar. 1991, C1, C10.

Some of the material in this article was earlier presented, by invitation, at the First Congress for a New Urbanism, held at Alexandria, Virginia, in 1993. The gathering's organizers were particularly interested in what might be learned from these examples as it applied to future work.

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Figures 1, 2. Courtesy J. C. Nichols Company

Figure 3. *National Real Estate Journal*, February 1939, 36

Figures 4, 19, 30. Author's collection

Figure 5. Western Reserve Historical Society

Figure 6. *Women's Wear Daily*, 26 April 1927, 40

Figure 7. *Cleveland*, July 1929, 17

Figures 8, 13, 16, 21, 22. Photo: author

Figures 9, 11. Urban Land Institute, *Technical Bulletin No. 11*, July 1949, 41 and 27

Figures 10, 12. Courtesy Highland Park Village

Figure 14. *Society* [Philadelphia], May 1930, 5

Figure 15. *Main Line Daily Times*, 14 February 1931, 5

Figure 17. *Liberty*, 19 January 1946, 21

Figure 18. Drawn by J. Brenden Meyer, after *Main Line Daily Times*, 29 September 1938, 8

Figure 20. [Jenkintown] *Times-Chronicle*, 1 October 1931, 6

Figure 23. Private collection

Figure 24. *San Antonio Express*, 28 October 1928, C-3

Figure 25. *The Spanish Market*, developer's prospectus, n.p.

Figures 26, 27. Courtesy Ernest C. Dreher III

Figure 28. *Building: The National News Review*, 15 April 1939, 12

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Islamic-Style Mansions in Byzantine Cappadocia and the Development of the Inverted T-Plan

THOMAS F. MATHEWS AND ANNIE-CHRISTINE
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New York University

THE GAP IN BYZANTINE DOMESTIC ARCHITECTURE

Although hardly a stone remains of the extensive building program of Basil I (867–886), the account given by his grandson Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos in his *Vita Basilii* conveys an impression not only of its glamorous effects—the Nea Ekklesia he offered to Christ “like a bride adorned with pearls and gold, with gleaming silver, with the variety of many-hued marble, with mosaic tesserae and clothing of silken stuffs”—but also of the general direction of his architectural patronage.¹ Cyril Mango has characterized Basil’s architecture as largely private, in contrast to the public nature of Justinian’s (527–565).² The harbors, bridges, forums, and colonnaded streets that occupied his predecessor are missing in reports of Basil’s work. Even Justinian’s ecclesiastical foundations had a markedly public character, whether one thinks of his grand Hagia Sophia, Hagia Eirene, or the Holy Apostles, or of his more intimate Sergius and Bacchus, which Prokopios says was open to the public in spite of being part of the Hormisdas Palace.³ The ecclesiastical foundations of Basil, however, are peculiarly private. Although he dutifully looked after the upkeep of Constantinople’s great old churches, Mango notes that all eight of the new churches founded by Basil were located within the confines of the imperial palace. Indeed, each of Basil’s new residential complexes was given its own church or chapel, so that, for example, the great hall called the Pentakoubiklon had a chapel of St. Paul; the lofty wing to the east of the Chrysotriklinos called Aëtos, or “Eagle,” had a church of the Mother of God; the “pyramidal” residence had another church of the Mother of God; and a new marble walkway outside the Pharos had a chapel of John the Evangelist.⁴

Neither Basil’s preoccupation with palace building nor the private character of his ecclesiastical foundations was an innovation of the Macedonian dynasty, which he inaugurated. The principal architectural undertakings of Theophilos (829–842)

had also consisted of extensive additions to the imperial palace. Remains of the most famous of them, his Bryas palace on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus, have been identified at Maltepe, perhaps indicating a domed chamber preceded by a long hall, though nothing of the superstructure survives.⁵ Theophanes tells us that the plan came from Baghdad via Theophilos’s ambassador to the caliph, and that next to his bedchamber the emperor built a church of the Mother of God, while in the courtyard he dedicated a triconch church to Michael the Archangel and certain women martyrs.⁶ This adoption of an Islamic-style plan is all the more remarkable in view of the bitter war Theophilos waged against the caliphate during his entire reign. This receptiveness to the “enemy’s” culture implies that it was perceived as somehow “neutral” and not infected by the ideology of its foreign source.

Churches serving the emperor’s needs have been called “palace” churches, but the category is larger than imperial. Not only the emperor but the aristocracy in general incorporated churches into their living complexes. For example, the two houses of the historian and high bureaucrat Michael Attaleiates (1020s–1080s), one in Constantinople and one in the suburbs, each had a church before they were dedicated to serve as hospices for the poor.⁷ The local landowner would as a matter of course include a chapel or church in his villa or manor house for his family use. The more comprehensive category, then, is “domestic” or “residential.”

From the bishops’ point of view domestic chapels created a chaotic situation for ecclesiastical discipline. They were not episcopal property, and the bishops had trouble controlling their ministers. The legal basis of private ecclesiastical foundations has been examined by John P. Thomas in a book of extraordinary importance for the history of Byzantine architecture.⁸ Legislators of the eighth and ninth centuries sought various remedies for this episcopal/aristocratic conflict, but the decisive *Basilika* of Leo VI (886–912) came down on the side of the magnates. Leo observed the problem that “although by divine grace oratories have been erected to God in nearly every dwelling, not only of the eminent but also of the more lowly, the salaries and maintenance of priests cannot be assured by all in an equal manner.”⁹ His solution, as Thomas

Images of an

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Edited by Thomas Carter

University of New Mexico Press
Albuquerque

Innovation without Paradigm

The Many Creators of the Drive-in Market

RICHARD LONGSTRETH

Significant changes in architecture designed for retail purposes as well as for many other functions tend to be associated with individual businesses and often with the individuals who lead them. Among the best-known examples is A. T. Stewart, who conceived the dry goods store as a grand emporium purveying a wide range of wares at reasonable prices in an elegant setting. A radical departure from what was then the norm, Stewart's "marble palace" in New York (1846–50) and second, larger building (1859–62) became springboards for the enormous department stores erected in major cities during the Gilded Age. Similarly, Marshall Field and John Wanamaker were leaders in recasting the department store along even more sumptuous lines at the turn of the twentieth century, setting a new standard in the process. Robert E. Wood guided Sears, Roebuck into the retail field after World War I, creating stores that defied conventional wisdom by locating them on sites that were easily reached by car but were well removed from established business districts of any size—a pattern that would become widespread for major department store branches some twenty years later. Concurrent with the first Sears outlets, Kansas City real estate developer J. C. Nichols was emerging as the nation's foremost exponent of the shopping center as a fully planned, integrated business enterprise that was also oriented to the motorist. Nichols's Country Club Plaza, conceived in 1922 to contain over two hundred stores, afforded a prototype for the regional shopping center that continued to be studied by colleagues well into the 1950s.¹

Distinguished architectural firms often have contributed significantly to creating paradigms in the commercial sphere. D. H. Burnham and Company designed buildings for Field and Wanamaker in a majestic mode that offered a dramatic contrast to their predecessors at home and abroad—one that aptly symbolized the department store as a nexus of consumerism as well as the shift in hegemony from wholesale to retail operations. George Nimmons gave singular form to the Sears outlets as

beacons for the motorist, creating a vocabulary inspired as much from industrial buildings as from those that distinguished the retail core. Victor Gruen and Morris Ketchum were key agents in redefining the nature of small specialty shops just prior to World War II, applying avant-garde design precepts as if they had been conceived to foster merchandising. A decade later, both men became leaders in advocating the efficacy of the pedestrian mall as the organizational spine of the regional shopping center and the redeveloped core shopping district alike.²

While the extent to which singular contributions have shaped retail architecture is impressive, they by no means afford a complete picture. As in so many other historiographic realms, focusing on the great figures often occurs first because the documentary material needed is among the easiest to retrieve and analyze. Even when primary sources no longer exist, a substantial amount of evidence can be gleaned from published accounts of the period. The process of investigation can be self-reinforcing since contemporary writings often reflect biases that range from the overt—flattering the most powerful figures in the field—to the wholly unintentional—it is easier for authors and the people they interview to pinpoint a few things that have influenced their work than to sort out the myriad ones that may actually have had an impact.

Probing beyond the titans can be a difficult task. Even if adequate source material exists, the evidence is likely to be so diffuse that reconstructing the historical record entails discovering, then piecing together, small, scattered fragments of information. Yet this kind of inquiry is needed, not only to depict major works in their appropriate context, not only to understand typical patterns as well as extraordinary ones, but also to identify innovations of consequence that have escaped collective memory. Things that fall into this latter group may be hard to recognize because they are neither connected to a well-known person or company nor present a clear paradigmatic example. Their historical import derives from a cumulative rather than a singular occurrence. No clearer illustration of this pattern can be found in commercial architecture than the drive-in market.

At first the subject might seem hardly worth detailed study, for the drive-in market was a very brief phenomenon. The earliest known example was erected in 1924, the last in 1932, and the great majority between 1928 and 1930. The drive-in market was also a localized phenomenon. Most examples were constructed within a twenty-five-mile radius of downtown Los Angeles. Some could be found as far south as San Diego, as far east as Tucson, and as far north as Sacramento, but except in a few isolated cases, these places represent the extremities of the type's geographic dispersal. Finally, the drive-in market has been a long-forgotten phenomenon. Many examples remain extant, but few give clear indication of their original use. These buildings are part of a vast arterial panorama that is presumed yet seldom really seen. Few people are even familiar with the term. Historical accounts of the region's

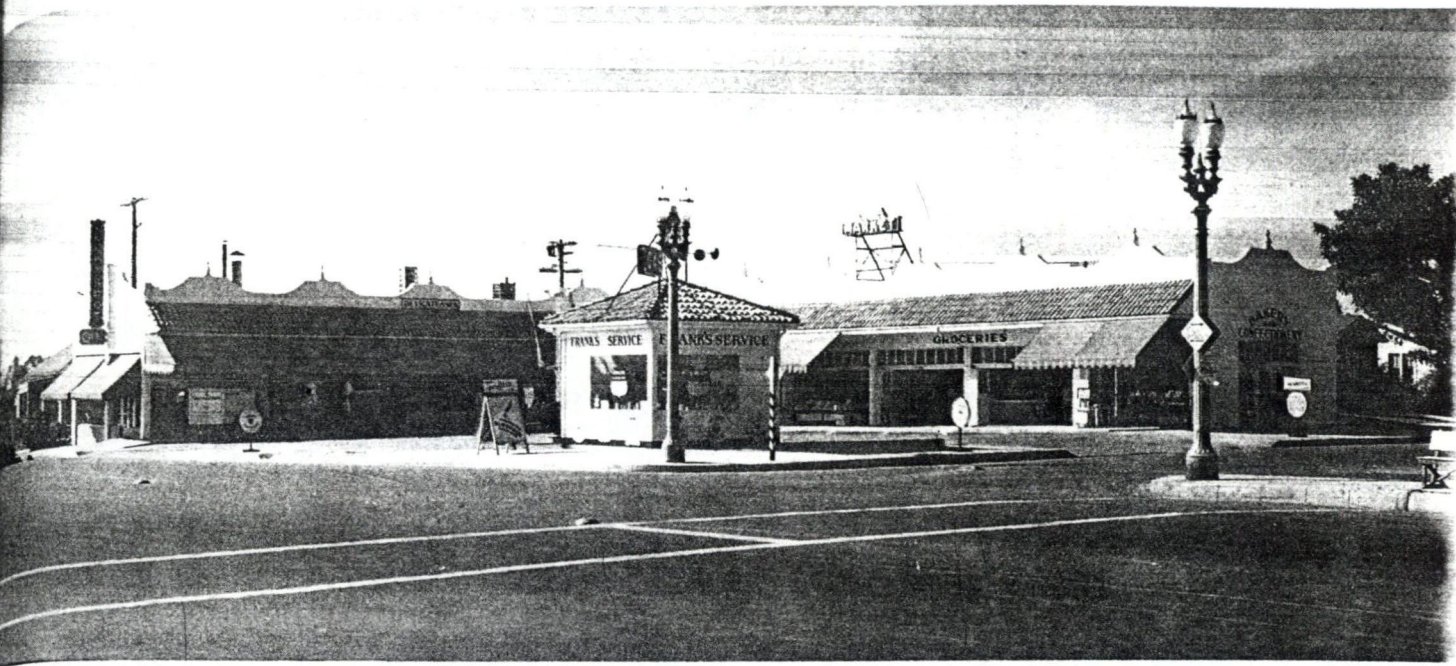


Figure 11.1. Wilshire at Fourteenth Drive-In Market, Wilshire Boulevard, Santa Monica, California; Fred Nowell Jones, designer-builder, 1927; no longer standing. (Photo by "Dick" Whittington, 1929; courtesy Whittington Collection, Department of Special Collections, University of Southern California)

architecture and urban development as well as of the automobile's impact on commercial work in the United States all but ignore this legacy.³

Despite its elusive past, the drive-in market serves as a benchmark in the development of retail outlets beyond the city center, one that in time would have a profound effect on the urban landscape nationwide. The transformation entailed three interrelated aspects: the drive-in concept, one-stop shopping, and business integration. The drive-in concept—arranging a facility so that off-street parking for customers is a major determinant of the entire layout—was a new idea in the 1920s. Among traditional building types, the food store was the first to experience substantial modifications along these lines. The resulting drive-in market offered consumers a new degree of convenience by having the sales area a linear space open to the forecourt, a parking lot situated at the front of the property where patrons could pull off the street and leave their cars while shopping (fig. 11.1). This configuration,



Figure 11.2. Wilshire and Harvard Market, Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles; Gable and Wyant, architects, 1929; no longer standing. (From *Chain Store Review*, October 1930, p. 12)

now so ubiquitous as to be taken for granted, seemed revolutionary at that time and was heralded as a dramatic change in the design of retail facilities.⁴ The location of these markets away from business nodes was no less a departure, demonstrating that orientation to the motorist demanded different citing criteria than those normally employed to attract streetcar passengers or pedestrians. The drive-in could prosper on a site free from congestion by attracting motorists in transit and even functioning as a destination point in itself.

The drive-in market exerted considerable influence on merchandising techniques, for it helped extend the selling of many related items under one roof beyond the realm of the department and variety stores. The drive-in was a pioneer in the practice of combining retail services for the distribution of everyday goods in outlying parts of a metropolitan area.⁵ Concessions existed for all basic types of food products in a single space where purchases could be made quickly and easily (figs. 11.2, 11.3). In

many cases, a few other household needs could be satisfied in one or two separate units of the building. These complexes were seldom fully integrated businesses; more often, each food concession was separately owned and the ensemble lacked a central management structure. Yet the coordination of activities between merchants was common, owing to the need for the market proper to function as a more or less unified entity and the support stores to operate in concert. Prior to the depression, the drive-in revealed the economic value of such linkage to as great a degree as any form of business outlet beyond the city center.

The drive-in market became a standard fixture at an early date. No type tailored to the needs of a mobile consumer society was as prevalent in an urban setting during the 1920s save those devoted to the car itself.⁶ About 300 drive-in markets were designed in California, out of which at least 250 were realized. Because the drive-in market was at once ubiquitous as a food emporium and anomalous among other

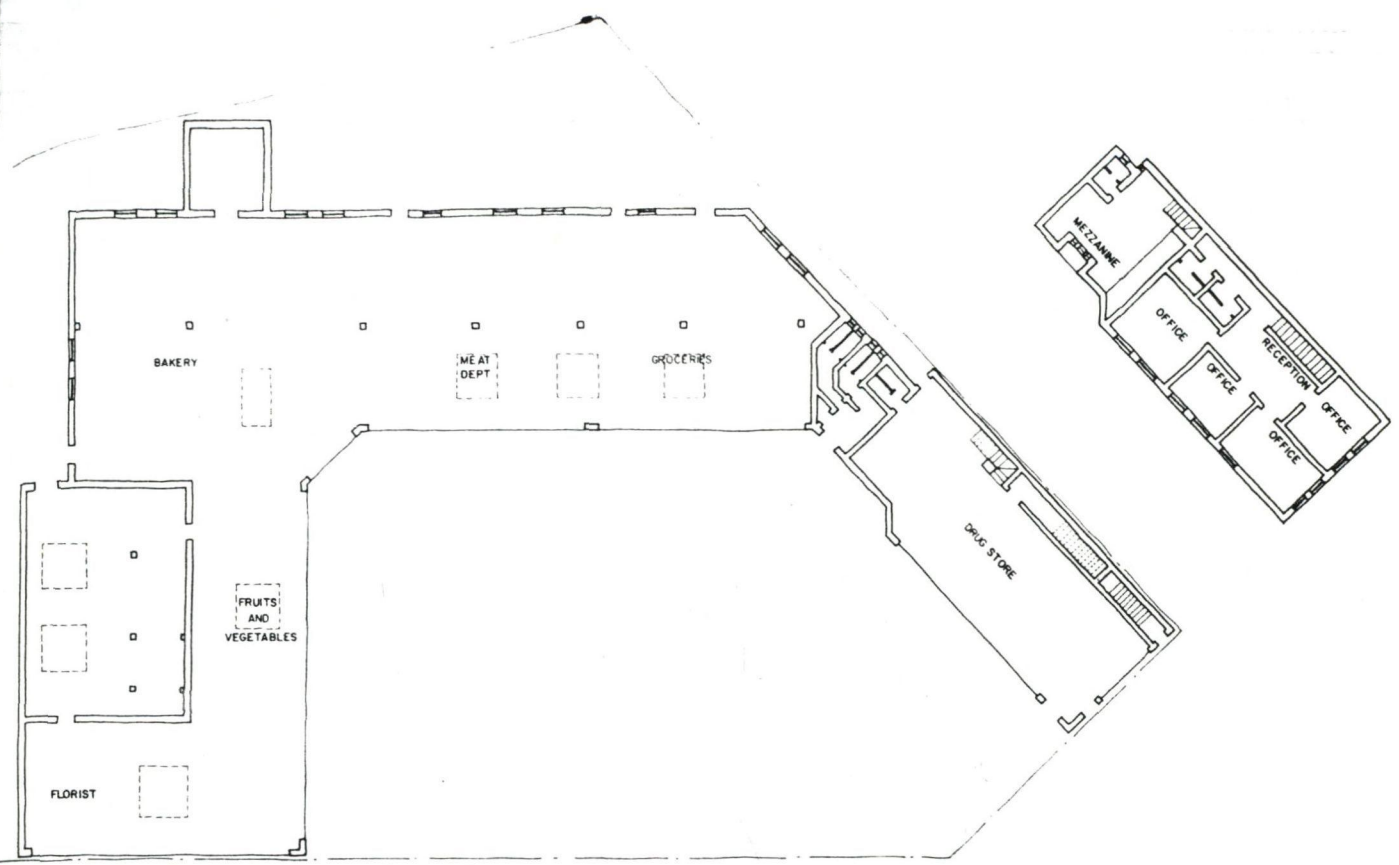


Figure 11.3. Mesa-Vernon Market, Crenshaw Boulevard, Los Angeles; George J. Adams, architect, 1928; burned 1992. (Floor plan drawn by Julie Osborne)

retail types, it was instrumental in acclimating motorists to changes in their routine patterns of movement—changes that affected where, when, and most importantly how they purchased things. While the car greatly facilitated movement from home to shopping place, automobile congestion at the latter imposed a new set of problems. The drive-in underscored how much frustration could be alleviated by a site removed from concentrated business areas where one could park on the premises. The type served as a catalyst to new patterns of consumer conduct in which the automobile played a determining rather than a supportive role.

Despite its innovative attributes, the drive-in market would have remained a peripheral phenomenon in the history of retail architecture were it not for the decisive impact it had on two other building types during the late 1920s and 1930s. These latter facilities—the supermarket and the shopping center—became key agents in reordering the structure of retail development nationwide during the mid-twenti-

eth century. The drive-in laid much of the groundwork for the supermarket by demonstrating the merits of coordinating the sale of all basic food items in a sizable emporium located somewhat apart from business nodes—a place to which more customers would drive than walk and where off-street space existed for their cars. That the supermarket to a large degree also was a child of Southern California was probably no coincidence given the extent to which the two types corresponded.⁷

The drive-in's relation to the shopping center design was equally strong. The small, or "neighborhood," shopping center, containing fewer than twenty store units from which a balanced spectrum of basic goods and services was purveyed under single management, predated the drive-in market by more than a decade. By the mid-1920s examples of the neighborhood center could be found coast-to-coast, albeit in very limited numbers as part of planned residential enclaves. The drive-in subsequently provided a direct model for how the shopping center could be modified to provide generous amounts of off-street parking and also how it could be built independent of a single residential community. Both were important to the shopping center's rise as a significant force in retailing by the eve of World War II. That tendency, in turn, fostered the ascent a decade later of considerably larger shopping centers as the preeminent form of retail development—a form in which the drive-in concept, one-stop shopping, and business integration attained maturity as interrelated facets of a single plan.

The creation of the supermarket, possessing all the attributes that would make it the foremost type of store selling food products coast-to-coast by the 1940s, was primarily the work of the Los Angeles-based Ralphs Grocery Company. Ralphs's first full-fledged supermarket was erected on Wilshire Boulevard in 1928. For well over a decade thereafter, the company continued to bring innovations to the design and operation of its buildings that set a standard for the industry nationwide. On the other hand, adapting lessons learned from the drive-in market to the neighborhood shopping center first occurred in Washington, D.C., through the work of a locally prominent real estate firm, Shannon and Luchs. The company's first project of this genre opened in 1930 on Connecticut Avenue. Although Shannon and Luchs never attained a national stature comparable to Ralphs, it remained a leading local force in shopping center development and its work appears to have been quite influential in other parts of the country. One searches in vain for equivalence with the drive-in market. By 1928 the size, configuration, and tenant mix of these buildings adhered to a relatively consistent norm; however, no one preceding example stands out as the paradigm for these conventions. Likewise, no one party or small group of parties emerges as the central protagonist for advancing the type. There was, in effect, no clear leadership. Profiles of the clients and architects involved resist such neat categorization.⁸



Figure 11.4. Taxpayer block, South Vermont Avenue, Los Angeles, ca. 1925. (Photo by “Dick” Whittington, 1931; courtesy Whittington Collection, Department of Special Collections, University of Southern California)

During the 1920s, few buildings that housed food stores in outlying areas of any city were designed for that specific purpose. Typically such an emporium was quartered in a speculative commercial facility, which seldom contained more than a dozen, and often no more than four or five, store units (fig. 11.4). Known as taxpayer blocks—ostensibly because they could generate sufficient revenue to cover building costs and property taxes until such time as demand warranted more intense development—these buildings were so generalized in plan that a property owner could have one designed by an architect or builder without much thought as to what tenants would occupy the space.⁹ Variation in store size was not great, and if a prospective lessee required more space than the norm, two or three contiguous units could be leased. Once a real estate broker began to secure leases, either in the course of construction or after the building was completed, preparation of each



Figure 11.5. Commercial buildings, including Mac Marr food store, South Vermont Avenue, Los Angeles, 1925–26; no longer standing. (Photo by “Dick” Whittington, 1931; courtesy Whittington Collection, Department of Special Collections, University of Southern California)

unit for occupancy was minimal. Most of the work entailed installing fixtures and signs. Groceries as well as fruit and vegetable stores in Southern California were distinguished by open fronts, with folding doors or gates to secure the premises after hours, but even this modification could be made quickly and at low cost. Flexibility was considered an attribute of the taxpayer block since it was difficult for the owner or his agent to anticipate the precise tenant composition at the start and that composition was expected to change over time.

Chain companies in the food business assumed a more aggressive role than independent merchants in order to secure prime locations for their outlets. If a chain did not find space to its liking in a taxpayer block it could work through a real estate broker to purchase or lease a site and erect a facility. However, the product seldom differed to any substantial degree from its generic counterparts and, like them, could be easily adapted to other functions if the venture proved unsatisfactory (fig. 11.5).¹⁰

The process of developing a drive-in market was more complex. The configuration of both interior and exterior space was function-specific and ill-suited to most other uses. Planning the facility necessitated careful site selection and no less care in choosing at least three or four, and more commonly six or seven, merchants who were adept in their respective trades and could operate in concert. Property management entailed not only the building but its paved forecourt. The retailers who participated in such enterprises generally had small businesses; few possessed either the ability or the inclination to undertake a project of this scope. A grocer such as the locally well-known I. M. Hattem, who built and operated two drive-in markets, was an exception. Either the owner or someone acting on his behalf had to devote a considerable amount of expertise as well as time and money if the undertaking was to be a success.¹¹

The principal forces behind both the emergence and subsequent proliferation of the drive-in market were the real estate developer and broker. Working together, these parties, who were sometimes one and the same, picked the site (or how best to utilize a site already in hand), determined the building's basic characteristics, chose someone to design the facility, secured the tenants, and oversaw the completed project. The real estate industry was in effect an instigator and guide, the catalyst of the phenomenon itself. The success of that phenomenon came from a series of clever, intuitive responses to the desire among many small-scale businessmen to bolster their trade in an increasingly competitive field, to the mounting anxiety among shoppers over traffic congestion in outlying areas, and to the insatiable appetite among Southern Californians for real estate as a means of increasing their assets.

An indication of the real estate field's pivotal role in the development of drive-in markets is given by the fact that many persons so engaged also were the owners. In Los Angeles proper, approximately half of those drive-in market owners whose occupations have been documented were in some aspect of the real estate business, including a major share of those who undertook such building projects in the formative period between 1924 and 1928. Sometimes individuals entered the field to develop land holdings as rapid growth occurred nearby. Frank Dishbrow had purchased his nine-acre tract shortly after moving to Pasadena in 1902 and used the land as a citrus nursery until pursuing his plans for the Mother Goose Market and a group of adjacent houses in 1926. E. F. Bagardus, owner of the Sunset-Western Market in Hollywood (1928), had acquired the land in 1900 as a site for his country house. The accelerated pace of urbanization that took place in the vicinity following World War I induced him to develop the land in increments, first with a small office building, then a block of shops, and finally the market complex. In other instances, the land was purchased with the intent of concentrated development. Louis McCray, president of a local oil company, entered into partnership with two other businessmen to undertake the large Toluca Lake Park subdivision in the San Fernando Val-

ley, for which the Toluca Market (1929) was a service center. Charles Chapman was a rancher, but also president of the company that bore his name and controlled numerous real estate holdings in Southern California. Chapman's portfolio included an office building in downtown Los Angeles, mines, and oil fields as well as the eighty-five-acre tract in the mid-Wilshire district where he erected the enormous Chapman Park Market in 1928–29.¹²

A number of owners were in the real estate business full-time and built a drive-in market to supplement their regular income. Often, too, a real estate firm initiated a project. Some of these companies appear to have been modest in scope, run by a few shareholders and concentrating on parcels within a limited precinct. On the other hand, the Taft organization, which included companies specializing in real estate sales, land development, construction, and mining, was headquartered in Hollywood and involved in projects throughout much of the metropolitan area as well as further afield. Burton and Company was a smaller operation, dealing in commercial property scattered from the mid-Wilshire district to Inglewood. The Walter H. Leimert Company had yet another focus—developing sizable tracts principally with moderate-priced single-family houses—and was unusual in the attention it gave to long-term planning. Some companies were organized as real estate syndicates, pooling the resources of a limited number of rich investors, or as real estate investment trusts, tapping the huge market for participation in speculative development among people of lesser means.¹³

The importance of the real estate field to the development of the drive-in market is further indicated by the fact that most owners who were not in that business had little or no experience in work that would prepare them for undertaking such a project on their own. These people were a diverse lot in terms of background, occupation, and resources at their disposal. Collectively, they represent a cross-section of both the elite and the huge middle class that so characterized the Los Angeles metropolitan area's populace. Some owners were rich and had numerous business interests. Many others had limited funds; for them, constructing a drive-in market may have represented the largest single investment they made. A few people were engaged in vaguely related work such as building construction, paving, or house moving. Some businesses were related to the automobile. The Muller Brothers of Hollywood had built one of the region's largest service stations. Karl Woestman made a rare attempt to combine an auto service facility, which he ran, with the drive-in market he built in Pasadena. Elmer Johnson operated a garage in Santa Barbara. Herman Shapiro was president of an automobile loan corporation. Louis Smith sold used cars. Other merchants were involved as well. Samuel Leess was a florist. W. R. Bryant of San Fernando and Cary Johnson of Santa Ana operated drug stores.¹⁴

Just as many owners were employed in entirely different fields as salesmen, clerks,

photographers, or civil servants. C. L. Peckham, who was responsible for the first known drive-in market, was a partner in an insurance adjustment firm. Some were professionals: physicians, dentists, attorneys, and engineers. J. M. Curtis of San Bernardino sat on the California Supreme Court. James McKinley was a state senator. Raymond Griffith and Conrad Nagel were actors. So, of course, was Mary Pickford under whom a company was established to invest the large sums she netted from United Artists.¹⁵ Other owners do not appear to have been employed at all, living on incomes acquired through inheritance, investment, or a career from which they had retired. In several cases, drive-in markets were constructed by executors of estates. Some owners were wives of businessmen; others were widows. In at least one case, the chance to participate in such a venture stemmed from having a house on a site that became opportune for commercial use. Rosa McKenzie moved her dwelling to the rear of the property, facing the side street, so that she could have a drive-in market erected along the Western Avenue frontage, which was rapidly escalating in value.

Among owners, sizable real estate companies and rich investors tended to become involved later; few began to build drive-in markets prior to the closing months of 1928. Many of the latter group owned or were senior officers of businesses and may have taken a conservative approach toward involvement with a type of enterprise still considered new. Max Arnold was sales manager for Miller and Lux, which controlled a large share of the San Joaquin Valley's agricultural production. Edward Murphy headed a wholesaling firm and was vice-president of the Los Angeles Brick Company. Samuel Curson was president of the Security Building and Loan Association; Ellis Bishop, president of the Investment Securities Company in Pasadena. Individuals and organizations with considerable means at their disposal contributed significantly to refinements of the type by commissioning some of the largest, most striking, or the most polished examples, as is evident in Bagardus's Sunset-Western Market (fig. 11.6). For them the market appears to have served as a personal monument much as could an elaborate office building, store block, or apartment house of the period. Yet wealth was by no means the sole, or even the determining, force behind the quality of the product. A number of distinguished drive-in market designs emanated from less affluent parties. Moreover, access to large amounts of capital did not necessarily mean a substantial sum would be lavished on the project. The lackluster appearance of the facility commissioned by the Mary Pickford Company (1930), for example, suggests a minimal investment.¹⁶

The pioneering drive-in market projects were undertaken, instead, by parties, including real estate operations, with some, but not vast amounts of, capital at their disposal. Before 1928 only two more affluent developers, the Leimert Company and Edward Murphy, became involved. Whether rich or not, none of these early participants nor any among the multitudes who followed emerged as an acknowledged

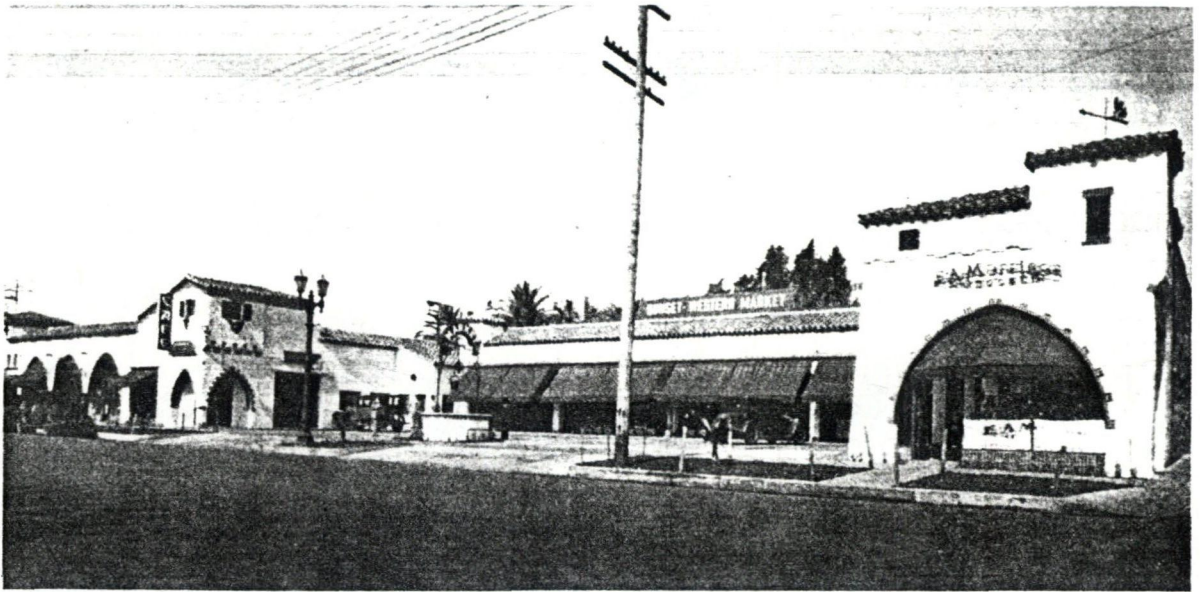


Figure 11.6. Sunset-Western Market, Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles; Carl Jules Weyl, architect, 1928; no longer standing. (From *Los Angeles Realtor*, November 1928, p. 42)

leader in the field.¹⁷ Moreover, the overwhelming majority of parties involved erected only one such establishment, and very few are known to have owned or operated more than two. Hattem's markets on Western and Vermont avenues (1927, 1930) and the large establishments of Louis McCray—the Toluca Market and the Palm in Beverly Hills (1928–29)—represent the most ambitious programs realized by a single party. If plans were conceived to develop a network of drive-in markets, they never got beyond the preliminary stage.¹⁸ Since the impetus to build these complexes came primarily from outside the food business, little inducement existed for such specialized development. From the investor's perspective, handsome returns could be made on constructing a number of other types as well. Most retail food chains were still wedded to small outlets, and most independent competitors either lacked the desire or the resources to develop more than one or two facilities. Even if someone had

wanted to break away from the standard pattern, there was little time to devise an effective strategy for erecting numerous drive-in markets. By 1928 so many individuals had entered the field that examples more or less saturated the metropolitan region in less than three years.

Ample temptation existed for active and passive parties alike to join the entrepreneurial fray. In the myriad accounts of the profits to be made in Los Angeles real estate, the soaring land values in outlying areas were the most impressive. Property at the intersection of Western Avenue and Santa Monica Boulevard increased over 2,200 percent between 1918 and 1928; at Western and 54th Street, the increase was over 2,100 percent; at Western and Slauson, over 3,600 percent; at Western and 6th, over 800 percent; Vermont and 7th, over 1,200 percent; Crenshaw and Washington, 860 percent.¹⁹ Most of these places were developed with one- or two-story buildings; however, in a few cases the growth was much more intense. The skyscrapers that rose along Wilshire Boulevard near where it crossed Western Avenue, occupying property that for the most part had lain vacant through the mid-1920s, fuelled the hopes of many speculators that their land might eventually undergo a comparable transformation (fig. 11.7). Often the persons involved were savvy in the mercurial realm of real estate development. At the same time, the dream of making a fast fortune also attracted an array of novices.²⁰ Chronicles of the real estate bonanza often focused on the latter group. One observer depicted what had become a stereotype: the family that had spent most of its life in a small town or rural district of the Midwest, had recently moved to the region, and was enticed into spending its hard-earned reserves: "Ma experiments with clothes and beauty, while Pa may be drawn into building. This is the buildingest town! . . . After fifty years in a corn belt farmhouse, Pa goes Spanish. Or he experiments with business, develops a super-service station, a drive-in market—something just as new as the way of serving customers."²¹ As often as not, these accounts emphasized the financial loss, even the financial ruin, experienced by naive investors. A 1927 article written for the *Saturday Evening Post* and given the sardonic title of "Let's Play Store," quoted one local business counselor:

"People come to California expecting to make millions; they've always thought of it as a wonderland where anything is possible. They bring with them more money than they have ever possessed in their lives. . . . They get all hopped up dreaming about a business of which they know nothing, and it's as much as your life is worth to tell them the truth. . . . Rash epidemics of drug stores or furniture shops break out in certain neighborhoods, for no reason explainable by the rules of business, and run their courses, like an epidemic, and die out with the failure of the stores."

Does [the newcomer] want to play grocery store? [The implication

was that many of them did.] There are numerous obliging gentlemen who will start the game for as little as \$500 and let him play until [his] money is gone, but it will never be anything more than make-believe. With a few thousands of dollars, however, and some good business counsel and some experience in the grocery business, he could have a successful store.²²

One especially scathing depiction of the scene by an anonymous veteran of the local real estate business detailed the plight of individuals who assumed high mortgages and planned to live off the income generated by the property, only to find the operation marginal and of scant leverage for a sale or exchange. Frequently, too, the author asserted, methods used to entice investors were shady: "Planted tenants and also leases, often of little or no value, figure largely in effecting the sale of various classes of property in Los Angeles. Stores, drive-in markets, rented bungalows, are palmed off on the newcomer in the same way. Buyers are attracted by the classified advertisements in the local papers and are invariably influenced by the high net returns of property is said to earn; these figures are usually from fifteen to forty percent."²³

Because it was easy to find purchasers who knew little about store location or running a business but harbored dreams of having their acquisition increase exponentially in value, and because land zoned for commercial development commanded higher prices than that designated for residential purposes, speculators pressed for a continuation of strip zoning practices along arteries in new areas of the metropolis. Their efforts almost always met with success, creating a huge oversupply of commercially zoned lots (fig. 11.8). The process fueled itself, as one of the most authoritative contemporary analyses of the situation emphasized: "The purchaser of . . . such lots soon finds that his promising investment is a burden, and he becomes desperate and risks additional funds and credit to erect store buildings. These vacant store buildings [in turn become] . . . an urgent invitation to every individual to open a retail outlet . . . especially a grocery store."²⁴ As a result, there was a relatively high rate of small business failures as well as store vacancies prior to the depression.

Despite the fact that drive-in markets were among the enterprises singled out as object lessons in poor investment, the degree to which they contributed to this phenomenon is highly problematic. Some owners were no doubt ill-equipped to engage in real estate development; some were probably naive; and some stores were poorly planned, poorly located, poorly run, or all three. The depression, which began to have a major impact on local businesses by 1931, also took its toll, reducing returns from even some of the best operations.

Yet there is no evidence that drive-in markets as a whole constituted a poor investment. To the contrary, the type demonstrated how the spread of poorly conceived businesses in outlying areas could be countered through planning. Develop-

ers had ample inducement to take care in selecting tenants, as one poor choice could undermine the entire operation. Furthermore, they could afford to be choosy since many food retailers were anxious to participate in such ventures. The abundant supply existed because many independent merchants saw the drive-in as a means to remain competitive with the chain food stores, which were aggressively expanding into outlying areas by the mid-1920s. Merchants at a drive-in could not match the chains' low prices, but the facility possessed attributes the chains lacked: a wider range of products, the convenience afforded by off-street parking, and a site away from congested commercial nodes. These factors made a critical difference. One study conducted at the height of the drive-in's popularity found that the income they generated ran about four times that of a standard food store in the same approximate location. With most drive-in leases structured on a percentage basis, greater profit for the retailer also meant a greater



Figure 11.7. Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, looking west from Oxford Avenue toward Western Avenue intersection; Pellissier Building, 1930–31 (*left*) and Wilshire Professional Building, 1929–30 (*right*) in midground. (Photo by “Dick” Whittington, ca. 1932; courtesy Whittington Collection, Department of Special Collections, University of Southern California)

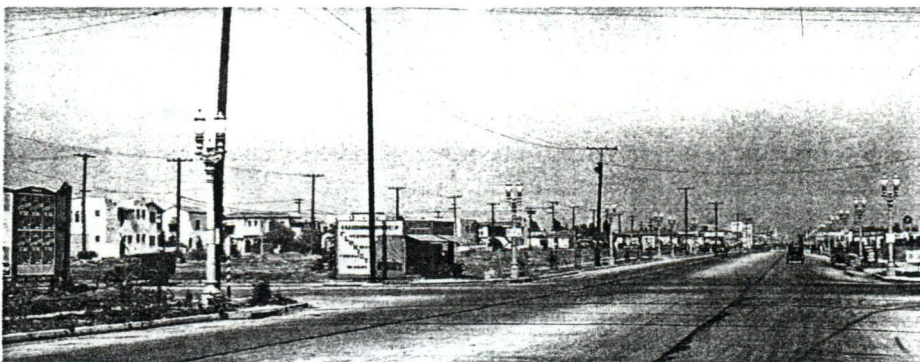


Figure 11.8. Beverly Boulevard at La Cienega, Los Angeles. (Photo by “Dick” Whittington, 1932; courtesy Huntington Library)

return for the owner. By 1930 an account written in a trade journal for chain store executives indicated that the drive-in was giving stiff competition to nearby chain outlets and an increasing number of chains were taking leases in new drive-in facilities.²⁵ Sometimes the company would join independent food merchants as another tenant, a course taken by Von's Grocery at the Palm Market (fig. 11.9). In several cases, however, a chain would operate the entire facility. Billie Bird Markets had four drive-ins in Los Angeles and Alhambra, at least two of which appear to have been commissioned by the firm. Similarly, the then nascent Alpha Beta chain procured the initial lease for all food departments in a complex developed by a Whittier realtor, and the company's first vice-president, J. A. Gerrard, maintained his office on the premises (fig. 11.10).²⁶

The capital required to develop a drive-in was also a key factor in the type's success. The buildings themselves generally cost between \$5,000 and \$15,000. A few were less; many others ran between \$16,000 and \$25,000. Some of the largest complexes entailed considerably greater amounts: \$40,000 for the Palm Market, \$50,000 for the Sunset-Western, and \$115,000 for the Chapman Park. Fixtures and the purchase of the land could make the total investment much more. Base construction cost of the Toluca Market was \$25,000, while the total expenditure came to \$75,000; Hattem's second outlet cost \$50,000, the total, \$200,000. The average overall investment was probably about \$30,000 to \$50,000.²⁷ Most of the people who were willing and able to commit such resources were capable of securing sound business advice, or at least were far less prone to become the victim of unscrupulous agents.

The amount of funds required to construct a drive-in market was sufficiently great to appeal to sensible investors and helps to explain why so many of them became involved. In 1928 the base construction cost of other types of markets averaged much less than the drive-in; few were more than six thousand dollars. Much the same held true for store blocks generally, although the occasional large retail building, erected to house stylish specialty shops or one of the major variety chains such as F. W. Woolworth or S. H. Kress, could cost many times that amount. Gasoline stations averaged under four thousand dollars except when they included large service facilities.²⁸

The other principal realm of speculative building investment to occur in outlying areas of the region was in multi-unit housing, for which there was mounting demand.²⁹ Within this sphere, by far the most prolific development in 1928 was of small complexes containing ten units or less—edifices classified as "apartments" (two to three stories in height with four to ten units) and as "flats" (generally two stories with four units)—with a base construction cost averaging between \$8,000 and \$15,000. Duplexes, averaging between \$7,000 and \$13,000, and apartment buildings, with from ten to twenty units and averaging \$15,000 to \$30,000, also were popular. The overall cost of such projects may have been somewhat lower than a

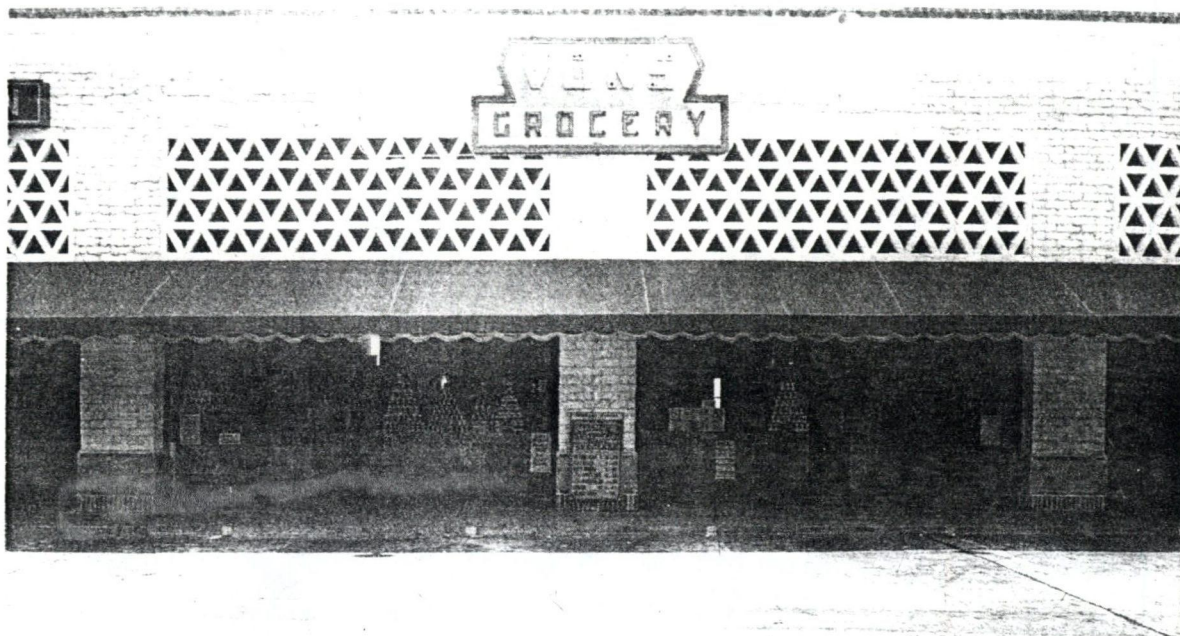
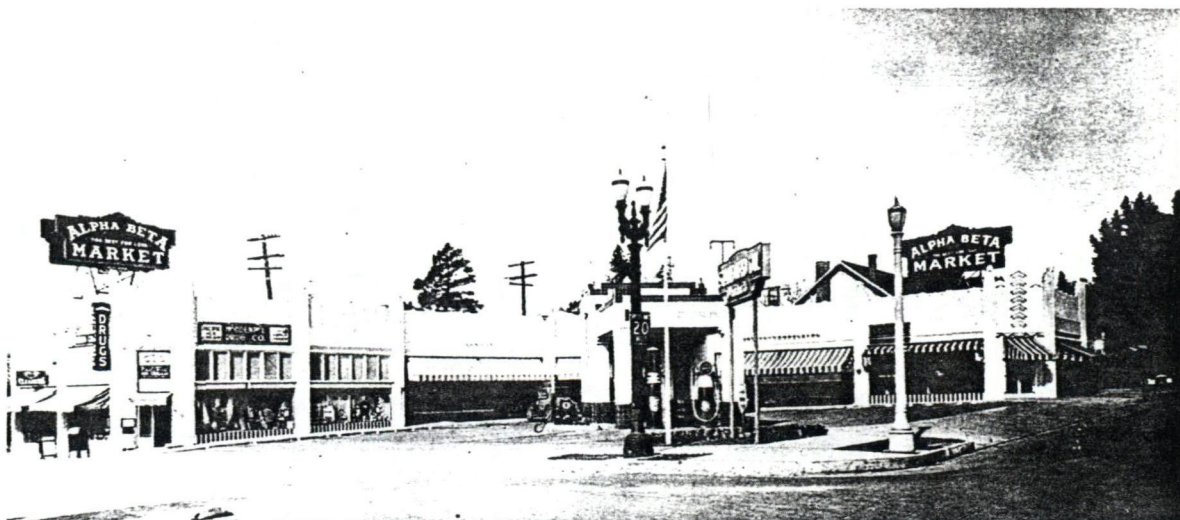


Figure 11.9. Von's Grocery unit of Palm Market, Wilshire Boulevard, Beverly Hills; J. Bryon Severence, designer, 1928–29; no longer standing. (Photo by “Dick” Whittington, 1929; courtesy Whittington Collection, Department of Special Collections, University of Southern California)

Figure 11.10. Alpha Beta Market No. 28, Philadelphia Street, Whittier, California; David S. Bushnell, architect, 1930; burned 1970. (Photo ca. 1930; courtesy Edward Schmidt)



drive-in market owing to the smaller parcel of land needed and the fact that, since many of these lots did not front major arteries, they tended to command smaller square-foot prices. Yet in general terms, both the moderate-size, multi-unit dwelling and the drive-in market fell within the middle range of real estate investment— attractive to people who did not have, or want to commit, the substantially greater sums necessary for a large office building, hotel, apartment house, or theater, but who did seek to encumber more than was needed to construct a taxpayer block, which was itself proving to be a risky venture due to poor location and oversupply. The drive-in market probably had further appeal because the base construction cost was low relative to the amount of land occupied, allowing investors to get a handsome return without huge expenditure on a lot that might eventually hold a much larger building if the pressures for urban development continued.

The drive-in market proliferated because of a confluence of favorable circumstances that did not require strong leadership to guide the course. The type was relatively simple in its building and operational programs as well as sufficiently reasonable in its overall cost for participation in the development process to be widespread. Just as a number of parties had independently undertaken the initial work, so a far greater array of individual interests could draw from that aggregate, utilizing what proved to be the most effective practices, to continue the process of diffusion.

When Alexander Haddad erected one of the first drive-in markets in 1925, the idea of securing professional design services probably never occurred to him any more than it would have to a roadside entrepreneur wishing to construct a shelter from which to sell fruits and vegetables (fig. 11.11). The cost would have been too great, the skills involved unnecessary. Some three years later, Richard Neutra, who would soon attain an international reputation as one of the foremost avant-garde architects in the U.S., created several schemes for drive-in markets, in part as a means of illustrating the new, abstract modernism he championed (fig. 11.12). Few subsequent drive-in markets were as unassuming as Haddad's and fewer still fully embodied avant-garde ideals, yet these polarities underscore the remarkable speed with which the drive-in market emerged from a home-grown experiment to a building type that attracted widespread professional interest. The spectrum of people involved in this process encompassed a complete cross-section of building design practice in one of the country's largest metropolises.³⁰ Yet, much as with the owners, no single practitioner or small group of practitioners assumed the dominant role at any stage of the type's development.

Three of the most prominent firms to design drive-in markets—Walker and Eisen; John and Donald B. Parkinson; and Morgan, Walls, and Clements—ranked among the oldest and largest in Southern California and were the acknowledged local leaders in the commercial sphere. Theodore Eisen had opened his office in the mid-

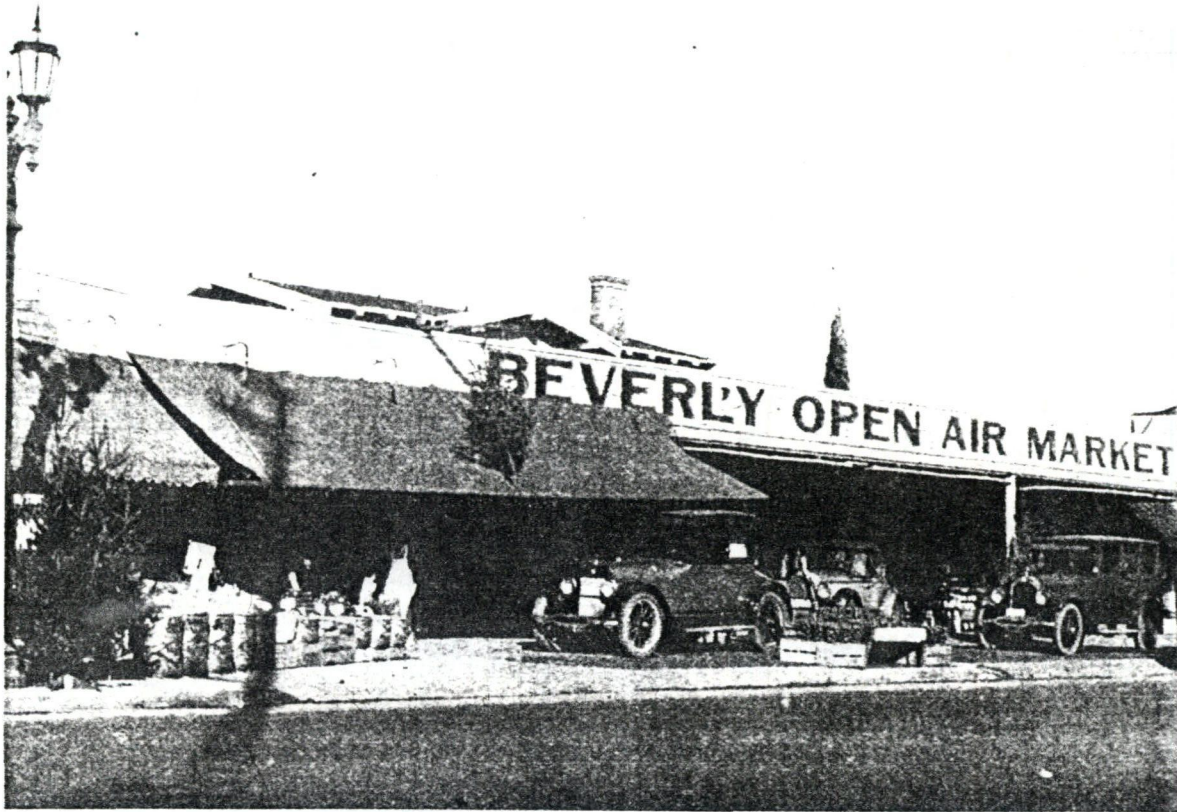


Figure 11.11. Beverl'y Open Air Market, Beverly Boulevard, Los Angeles, 1925; no longer standing. (From *Chain Store Review*, July 1929, p. 45)

1880s, Octavius Morgan in 1888, and John Parkinson in 1894. Each firm had a much younger partner in charge of design who was a major regenerating force: Albert Walker (partner in 1919), Donald Parkinson (1920), and Stiles Clements (1922). Thus the three offices benefited from long-standing ties to business leaders while keeping abreast of current tendencies in the commercial field. Collectively their work formed a large component of the office blocks, banks, hotels, theaters, and other buildings situated downtown as well as in more recent outlying centers such as Hollywood and the mid-Wilshire district.³¹ These firms also produced dozens, indeed probably hundreds, of more modest commercial buildings—from elaborate branch banks to unassuming taxpayer blocks—along the miles of boulevard frontage throughout the greater metropolitan area. This triad exerted a decisive impact in setting the standard and introducing new tendencies in the design for virtually the entire range of commercial architecture in the region. Morgan, Walls, and Clements's contribution beyond the city center was of particular importance, for under the direction of

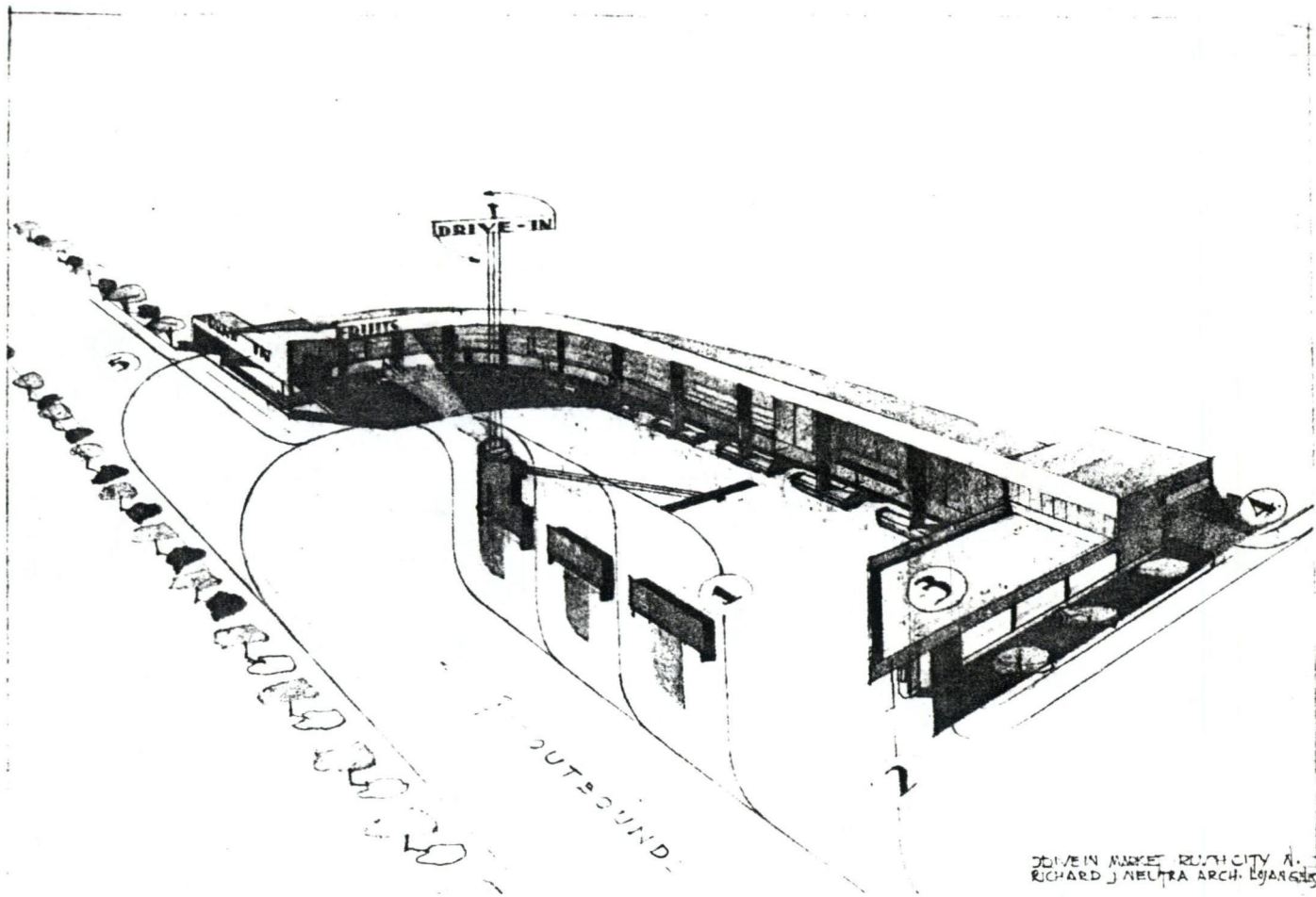


Figure 11.12. Unidentified design for a drive-in market; Richard Neutra, architect, ca. 1929. (Courtesy Thomas Hines)

its junior partner, the firm made a specialty of small-scale work, giving distinction to buildings that many comparable offices considered worth a minimal allocation of time, albeit an important a source of income. Clements was a pioneer in this respect, marshaling the talent of a large office to leave a strong imprint on the new, decentralized landscape.³²

Several other architects who designed drive-in markets were known and gained prominence for the caliber of their work generally. Marston, Van Pelt, and Mayberry, considered the leading firm in Pasadena, also had a national reputation. Locally it secured many of the choicest commissions for projects ranging from office blocks to service garages, retail stores to clubs, houses for the rich to apartment buildings for persons of moderate income. The work of Ralph Flewelling was concentrated in Beverly Hills and, while less extensive, was frequently recognized for its high stan-

dard of design. Gilbert Stanley Underwood, on the other hand, had projects in many parts of the West, which were as varied as rustic resort hotels at Yosemite and Sun Valley, classicizing federal buildings in San Francisco and Seattle, and Art Deco skyscrapers in Los Angeles. Far better known today, of course, were Southern California modernists Richard Neutra and Lloyd Wright. Each pursued a manifestly different approach to design, the former seeking a cool, yet dramatic, play of form and space embodying a machine aesthetic; the latter, a more naturalistic, expressionist vein. At the same time, both Neutra and Wright were fascinated by the possibilities of a commercial architecture whose character embraced the automobile no less than new, mass-manufactured building products and techniques of illumination. Both men also yearned for the chance to undertake large-scale projects—to have a major impact on the character of their adopted city—even though most of their commissions prior to World War II were limited to the residential sphere.³³

While this array of the region's leading architects was involved with the drive-in market, none of them, individually or as a group, became a shaping force in the type's development. Their work generally adhered to patterns of size and configuration already established by others. Neutra's and Wright's schemes were prophetic of expressive tendencies in commercial architecture a decade or two later, but had no impact on the drive-in market itself. Morgan, Walls, and Clements's Plaza Market (1928) stood among the most polished examples, and their Chapman Park Market among the most unusual and ambitious (figs. 11.13, 11.14).³⁴ Nevertheless, their work did not generate the salient expressive qualities for the type in the way that their earlier store blocks did for more conventional forms of retail development. In a few cases, as with the Parkinsons' Leess Drive-In Market (1927), the results were utterly unexceptional (fig. 11.15). Moreover, the contribution of these offices amounted to a small percentage of the total in quantitative terms. Morgan, Walls, and Clements was the most prolific of any firm, with six drive-ins, four of which were realized, to their credit. Neutra's proposals probably were unsolicited and never advanced beyond the schematic stage. One of Wright's two plans saw execution. Flewelling, Underwood, and Marston, Van Pelt, and Mayberry did one each; that designed by Walker and Eisen was not built.

A somewhat larger portion of drive-in markets came from architects who achieved a degree of prominence in their time, but who are virtually forgotten today. Men such as Arthur Kelly, Theodore Pletsch, Allen Ruoff, and Kemper Nomland practiced primarily in the residential field. The Austin Company of California specialized in commercial and industrial buildings. Others, including Gable and Wyant, H. L. Gogerty, Alfred Priest, Carl Jules Weyl, Henry Withey, and A. C. Zimmerman had general practices. A few, such as George Adams and L. G. Scherer, had begun to experiment in a modernist vein; however, most remained tied to the academic tradition, at least until the general thrust of architecture locally began to change dur-

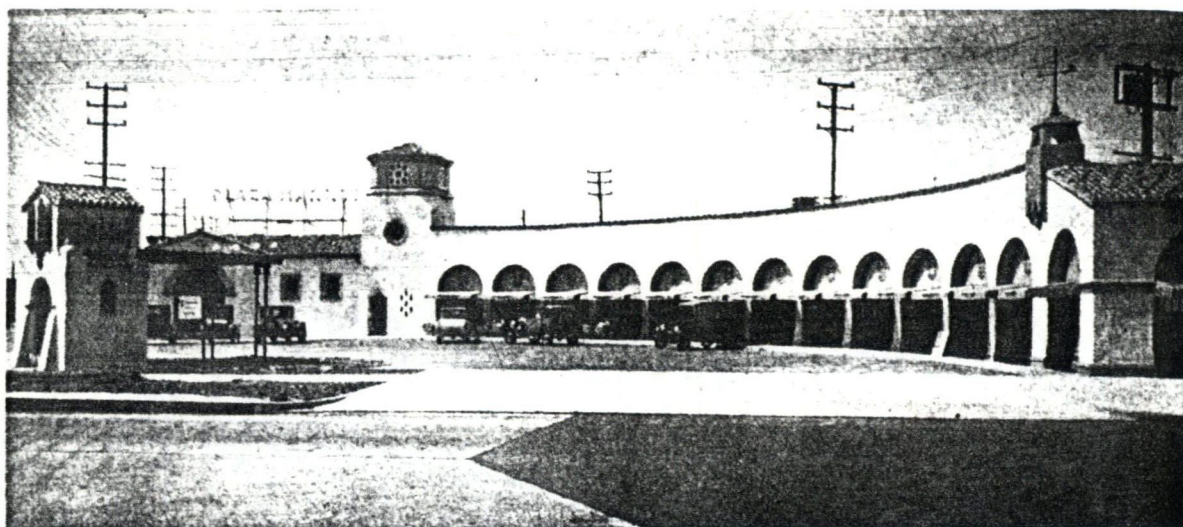


Figure 11.13. Plaza Market, Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles; Morgan, Walls, and Clements, architects, 1928; no longer standing. (From *Architectural Forum*, June 1929, p. 901)

ing the 1930s. More often than not, their offices were modest in size, their buildings modest in scale. None created designs that achieved recognition as major works, then or now. At the same time, these architects represented a high level of competence, which collectively did much to enhance the metropolitan environment.³⁵

The largest contingent of architects who designed drive-in markets had bread-and-butter practices, producing plans mostly for small, inexpensive residences, apartments, commercial blocks, and institutional buildings. Their work was almost never covered by the region's professional or trade presses and very little is known about it today. Such architects, however, were among the first to experiment with the drive-in. The designers of the 1926–27 Mission Motor-In Market, one of the initial half dozen examples to be realized, were Cramer and Wise, a small-scale architectural and engineering firm (fig. 11.16). Walter Folland, who was responsible for the slightly earlier plans of the Mother Goose Market had just recently arrived in Pasadena, and much of his practice there focused on designing modest houses and residential hotels. Walter Hegedohm, architect for both of Hattem's markets, trained as a draftsman for the Southern Pacific and Los Angeles electric railroads before he established his own practice in 1927. Many other such architects contributed subsequently, including H. C. Deckbar, Frank Harrington, J. Robert Harris, J. Byron Severence, Frank Stiff, McNeal Swasey, and George M. Thomas. Among them, only Norstrom and Anderson might be considered specialists, preparing plans for numerous taxpayer blocks and similarly small-scale commercial buildings in the region.³⁶

Some designers had yet to gain professional status as architects. Men such as Kenneth Albright, Milton Sutton, and Eugene Voght were employed as draftsmen and probably worked on plans such as those they did for drive-in markets as a source of additional experience and income. Others were not pursuing an architectural career. At least three people—C. Waldo Powers, Frank Webster, and H. Sage

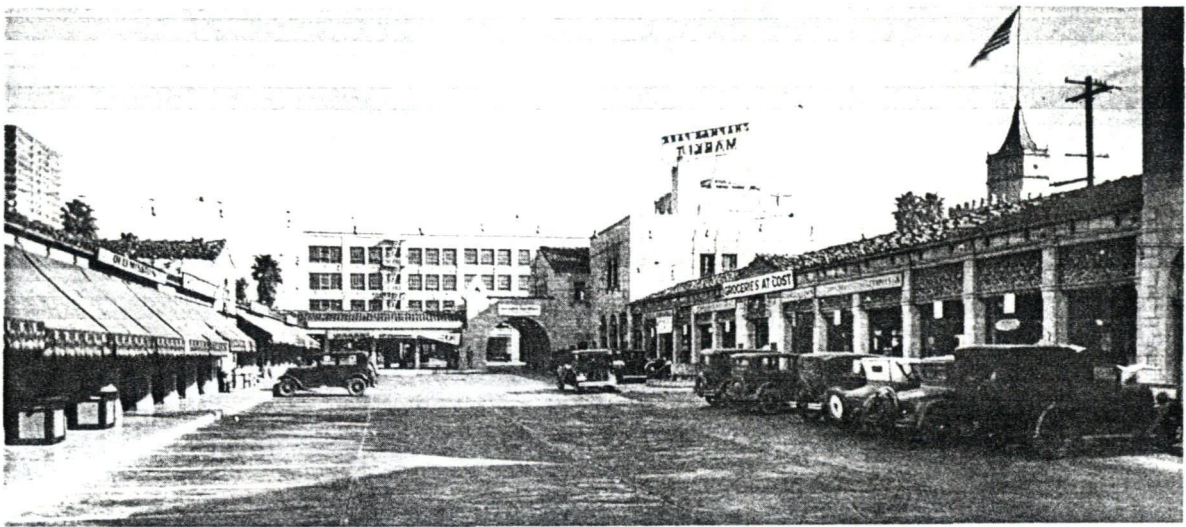


Figure 11.14. Chapman Park Market, West Sixth Street, Los Angeles; Morgan, Walls, and Clements, architects, 1928–29. (Courtesy *Progressive Grocer*)

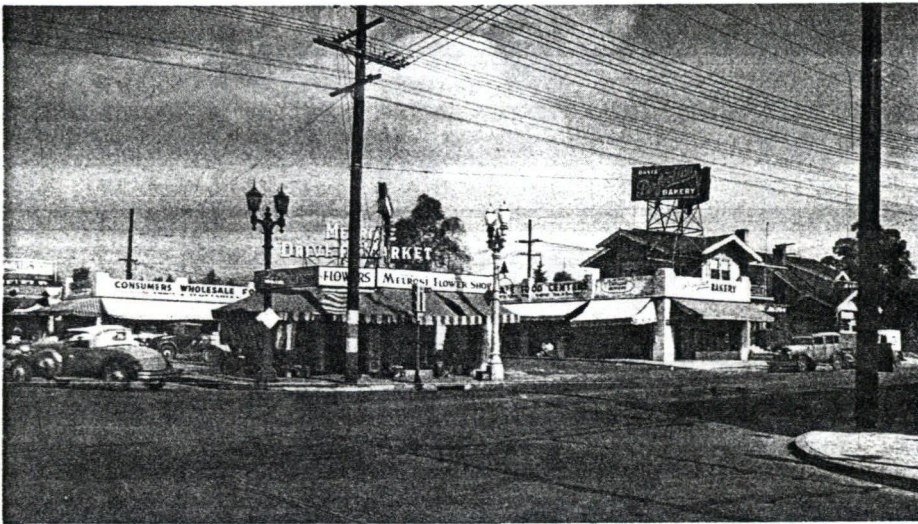


Figure 11.15. Leess Drive-In Market, North Vine Street, Los Angeles; John and Donald B. Parkinson, architects, 1927; altered. (Photo by “Dick” Whittington, 1933; courtesy Whittington Collection, Department of Special Collections, University of Southern California)

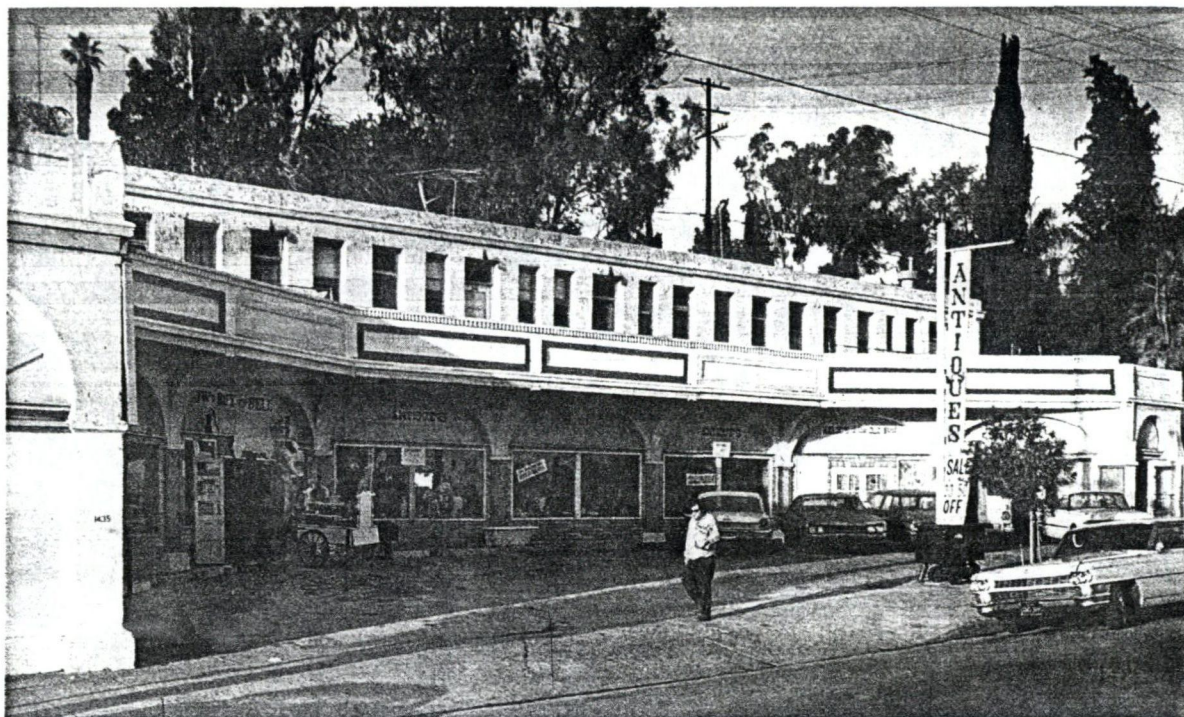


Figure 11.16. Mission Motor-In Market, Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles; Cramer and Wise, architects, 1926–27. (Photo by author)

Webster—practiced as engineers. Some were established contractors. Firms such as the Ted R. Cooper Company, Schumacher Home Builders, and C. W. Wilson and Sons appear to have had sizable construction businesses and were well equipped to draw plans as part of services offered. The Los Angeles Investment Company was a pioneer locally in large-scale residential development. Engaged in land sales and building thousands of houses since the 1890s, the organization provided a host of related services, among them mortgages and loans on property sold; savings accounts for prospective home buyers; and architectural, insurance, and rental departments. Business extended well beyond the company's tracts. Many clients had their own projects, including four who contracted for the design and erection of drive-in markets. Several drive-ins were designed by plan companies such as Bungalowcraft, and at least one was by a manufacturer of prefabricated building

components, Safety Steel Products. More frequently, drive-in markets were designed by contractors who seem to have had small, localized practices, including Malcolm Smith (who drew the plans for the first known drive-in) Harry Beall, Charles Buschlen, Robert Eckert, Clyde Jones, L. D. Machado, Harly Martin, and Frank Rasche.³⁷

No single firm can readily be given credit for playing the key role in either the early development of the drive-in market or in setting the standard among later examples. It is doubtful whether those involved at the formative stage were interested in conceptualizing some bold departure from basic patterns or retail design. The products suggest instead that these men concentrated on addressing the practical requirements of their clients to develop efficient, economical solutions, with the attributes that became characteristic evolving in modest increments and through repeated use. The "model" was formed by collective experience rather than by singular example. Because that model represented a rather elementary, straightforward solution, it was easy to emulate. As a result, scores of designers who worked for a large building firm or in architectural practices of no great distinction created work on much the same level as that by more prominent colleagues, and did so without the latter group leading the way (fig. 11.17). Little-known designers could be just as inventive as well-recognized architects and were responsible for numerous refinements to the type after its general characteristics were established. Two of the most widely published examples were Adams's Mesa-Vernon Market (1928) and Severence's Palm Market (1928–29), both of which were praised for their strikingly simple exteriors calculated to attract the attention of the passing motorist (fig. 11.18).³⁸ Yet however practical in nature, few such variations had an impact on the general thrust of subsequent work. In its mature as in its nascent phase, the drive-in market resisted paradigms.

The diffuse nature of the emulation process was at least in part shaped by the involvement of so many independent parties. Like the architectural elite, few designers of less prominence prepared plans for more than one, or at the most two, drive-in markets. The construction firm of Cartwright and Huffman was the exception in designing five. Thus no one office could gain the recognition and with it the potential for influence, by having secured a large share of the business. Architectural specialization in food store design did not coalesce until the next decade when Stiles Clements became the leading figure locally and a well-known one nationally. After creating the prototypical Ralphs supermarket in 1928, he continued to develop new features that set the standard for the type well into the post-World War II era.³⁹

In design as in ownership, the drive-in market's development lay in the hands of many people. Lesser-known architects and builders, many of whom had small practices, were the dominant group involved, paralleling the contribution made by the

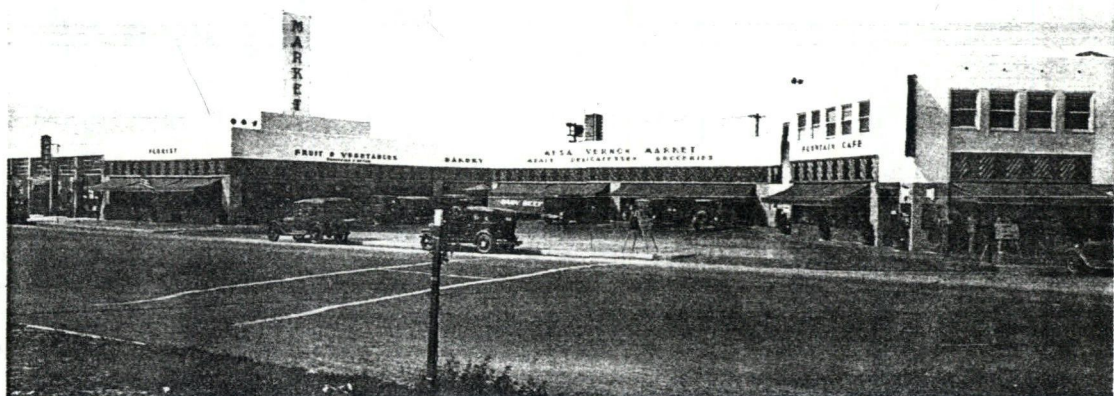


Figure 11.17. Clock Market, Wilshire Boulevard, Beverly Hills; C. W. Wilson and Sons, designer-builder, 1929. (Photo by "Dick" Whittington, 1930; courtesy Whittington Collection, Department of Special Collections, University of Southern California)

Figure 11.18. Mesa-Vernon Market. (Photo by "Dick" Whittington, 1929; courtesy Whittington Collection, Department of Special Collections, University of Southern California)

numerous small-scale real estate concerns and individual investors. The type remained essentially a vernacular phenomenon to which myriad discrete parties contributed at a grassroots level. Prominent architects and businessmen participated, but introduced no significant modifications that were sustained at the popular level. And while a majority of drive-in markets shared characteristics in their size, configuration, siting, tenancy, and cost that made it easy to delineate what constituted typicality, no one scheme can be identified as the definitive model. Invention occurred in a modest way, with incremental steps taken by people of modest stature, driven by practical objectives and using empirical methods. A paradigm was not needed.

Notes

This essay draws from material gathered in the course of research for a forthcoming book on the drive-in and the supermarket in Southern California. Support for that project included several grants from the University Facilitating Fund and Center for Washington Area Studies at George Washington University as well as from the National Main Street Center at the National Trust for Historic Preservation. Many people have contributed ideas and information during the course of my research. I am especially indebted to Robert Bruegmann, David Gebhard, Thomas Hines, Tom Owen, Ed Whittington, and Robert Winter. I am also very grateful to Randall Mackinson for allowing me to stay on several occasions at the Gamble House in Pasadena, which afforded both sanctuary and inspiration.

1. For general background, see Susan Porter Benson, *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890–1940* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), chaps. 1–2. Much has been written on Stewart in this regard, including Harry E. Resseguie, “A. T. Stewart’s Marble Palace—The Cradle of the Department Store,” *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 48 (April 1964): 130–62; Harry E. Resseguie, “Alexander Turney Stewart and the Development of the Department Store, 1823–1876,” *Business History Review* 39 (autumn 1965): 301–22; and Deborah S. Gardner, “A Paradise of Fashion: A. T. Stewart’s Department Store, 1862–1875,” in *A Needle, a*

Bobbin, a Strike: Women Needleworkers in America, ed. Joan M. Jensen and Sue Davidson (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1985), 60–80.

For background on Wood’s contribution to the company, see Boris Emmet and John E. Jeuck, *Catalogues and Counters: A History of Sears, Roebuck and Company* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950), chaps. 20–21; and James C. Worthy, *Shaping an American Institution: Robert E. Wood and Sears, Roebuck* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984).

Concerning the Country Club Plaza, see Richard Longstreth, “J. C. Nichols, the Country Club Plaza, and Notions of Modernity,” *Harvard Architecture Review* 5 (1986): 120–35; William S. Worley, *J. C. Nichols and the Shaping of Kansas City* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1990), chap. 8.

2. Concerning Burnham’s work, see Thomas S. Hines, *Burnham of Chicago, Architect and Planner* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 303–7; Ann Lorenz Van Zanten, “The Marshall Field Annex and the New Urban Order of Daniel Burnham’s Chicago,” *Chicago History* 11 (fall–winter 1982): 130–41; and Neil Harris “Shopping—Chicago Style,” in *Chicago Architecture 1872–1922, Birth of Metropolis*, ed. John Zukowsky (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1987), 142–47.

Many commercial architects have generally been neglected by scholars. For a sampling of period sources on the work Nimmons’s firm

did for Sears, see George C. Nimmons, "The New Renaissance in Architecture as Seen in the Design of Buildings for Mail Order Houses," *American Architect* 134 (5 August 1928): 142-48; "A Mail Order Store Building in Los Angeles, California," *Architectural Record* 64 (July 1928): 65-69; "No Windows," *Architect and Engineer* 120 (February 1935): 35-38; Leonard E. Dunlap, "Concrete for Sears in Every Climate," *Architectural Concrete* 6, no. 2 (1940): 2-6; and "5 Retail Stores Planned for the Motor Age," *Architectural Record* 88 (September 1940): 32-42.

A good record of Gruen's and Ketchum's early retail work is contained in Emrich Nicholson, *Contemporary Shops in the United States* (New York: Architectural Book Publishing, 1945). For an account of Ketchum's ideas on retail design, see Morris Ketchum Jr., *Shops and Stores* (New York: Reinhold, 1948). Gruen's writing on the subject is voluminous. See, for example, Victor Gruen and Larry Smith, *Shopping Towns USA: The Planning of Shopping Centers* (New York: Reinhold, 1960). Gruen is also the focus of a recent study, Howard Gillette Jr., "The Evolution of the Planned Shopping Center in Suburb and City," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 51 (autumn 1985): 449-60.

3. The drive-in market can be defined as a facility designed for the sale of all basic types of food product (meat, groceries, baked goods, fruit, vegetables, etc.) and open to at least one side of an off-street parking area that is an integral part of the site plan. The selling area was almost always a long, shallow space. Generally each type of food product was sold by a separate concessioner, but never by multiple ones as was standard in municipal and other so-called public markets. The form of the drive-in was generally a rectangle or some variant of an L or U. Size averaged between four thousand and seven thousand square feet of ground floor area, though examples could be found with less than three thousand and more than sixteen thousand square feet. Typically the parking area occupied more than one-half and sometimes as much as two-thirds of the entire lot.

Basic data on the drive-in market noted here and elsewhere in the text were compiled from contract and other notices in the daily *Southwest Builder and Contractor*, period telephone directories and Sanborn fire insurance maps for

California and neighboring states, field work, and coverage in Los Angeles area newspapers, including *Alhambra Post Advocate*, *Beverly Hills Citizen*, *Glendale News-Press*, *Hollywood Daily Citizen*, *Huntington Park Signal*, *Inglewood Daily News*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Long Beach Press-Telegraph*, *Pasadena Star-News*, *Santa Ana Daily Register*, *Santa Monica Evening Outlook*, *South Gate Tribune*, *Southwest Wave*, *Van Nuys News*, and *Venice Evening Vanguard*.

Work that appears to have been directly inspired by California examples can be found in such distant places as Norfolk, Virginia, New Orleans, and Battle Creek, Michigan; see Louis Fisher Jr., "Putting the New Store Over," *Chain Store Age, Administrative Edition* 9 (February 1933): 14-15; "'10 Stores in One' to Open for Community Shopping," *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, 4 May 1933, 7; W. E. Penick, "Hold that Opening Crowd," *Chain Store Age, Grocery Edition* 9 (June 1933): 16-17, 38, 40; Robert Latimer, "T-Shaped Building Makes Effective Super," *Super Market Merchandising* 6 (February 1941): 46-48; and "Michigan: Short-Lived Shopping Center for Unstable Land," *Architectural Record* 84 (July 1938): 44-45. Nevertheless, these examples entailed modifications in both form and operational structure that differentiated them from their West Coast models. More importantly, such work remained anomalous in other regions.

In some instances, the name "drive-in market" was appropriated and off-street parking was part of the plan; however, no significant correspondence existed between the parking area and the selling space inside. See, for example, "New Food Market Open," *Portland Oregonian*, 20 April 1930, sec. 2, p. 2; "Mac Marr Develops the 'Drive-In' Store," *Chain Store Age, General Merchandise Edition* 6 (October 1930): 59-62, 72; "Lighthouse Advertises Oregon Drive-In Market," *Chain Store Review* 5 (February 1932): 51; *Indianapolis News*, 3 November 1932, Kroger Section; James R. Branson, "New Drive-In Unit Opened by Kroger In Indianapolis," *Progressive Grocer* 12 (February 1933): 30-31, 80; *Indianapolis News*, 2 November 1933, Kroger Section; "Standard Opens Big Drive-In Market," *Chain Store Age, Grocery Edition* 10 (May 1934): 19; and "Kroger Opens Big Drive-In Market," *Chain Store Age, Grocery Edition* 10 (October 1934): 42, 74.

4. Recently, the drive-in market has been the subject of a brief essay: Richard Longstreth,

"The Perils of a Parkless Town," in *The Car and the City: The Automobile, the Built Environment, and Daily Urban Life*, ed. Martin Wachs and Margaret Crawford (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 141–53, 310–13. The best period accounts include a series of articles by Willard D. Morgan, an architectural photographer then living in Los Angeles: "California Drive-In Markets Serve Motorists on the Go," *Chain Store Review* 1 (September 1928): 29–31; "'Drive-Ins' Drive On While Stores Sleep," *Chain Store Review* 2 (May 1929): 15–16, 30–32; "At Last—A Place to Park!" *American Builder* 47 (July 1929): 58–61; "Stores the Road Passes Through," *Nation's Business* 17 (July 1929): 45–46; and "The Super Drive-In Emerges from Competitive Whirl," *Chain Store Review* 3 (October 1930): 10–12, 40. See also "Drive-In Markets Popular in West," *Progressive Grocer* 7 (June 1928): 22–23; Walter Van de Kamp, "An Innovation in Retail Selling," *Magazine of Business* 56 (July 1929): 42–43; Arthur E. Goodwin, *Markets: Public and Private* (Seattle: Montgomery Publishing, 1929), 70–74; Marc N. Goodnow, "Drive In and Shop," *Forbes*, 1 February 1930, 15–17; S. Lewis Brevit, "Drive-in 'Department Stores' Gaining Popularity in West," *Sales Management* 17 January 1931, 118; Crag Dale, "Is Main Street Doomed?" *Popular Mechanics*, May 1931, 765–68; Albert Frey, "Amerikanische Notizen," *Werk* 20 (October 1933): 314; and Clarence S. Stein and Catherine Bauer, "Store Buildings and Neighborhood Shopping Centers," *Architectural Record* 75 (February 1934): 185–86.

5. Several other types also contributed to this process during the 1920s, the most commonplace of which were the chain variety store and the chain drug store. In many sizable outlying business districts of major cities, "neighborhood" department stores, which were generally modest in size, limited in selection, and emphasized practicality over fashion, were constructed at this same time. Finally, Sears Roebuck and Montgomery Ward entered the retail field in the mid-1920s. Among all these developments, Sears had the only retail-specific buildings that were located away from concentrated commercial areas and incorporated off-street parking for customers. These two attributes were an integral part of the company's program beginning with its first two large, purpose-built retail stores, which opened in Chicago on 2 November 1925. See "Sears-

Roebuck's 2 Chicago Retail Units Open Today," *Women's Wear Daily*, 2 November 1925, 2, 55.

6. Probing in a number of other metropolitan areas have failed to yield any other building type, aside from automobile service facilities, specifically configured for a motorist clientele that approached anything like the ubiquitousness of the drive-in market. On the other hand, roadside stands and other buildings designed in response to motor travel had become quite numerous in some rural areas by 1930.

7. Fundamental differences between the drive-in market and the supermarket entailed configuration and size. While the drive-in's form was essentially linear, comprised of a shallow selling space oriented to a forecourt, the supermarket of the 1930s tended to be a chunky rectangle—the depth of its selling area generally about twice the width—oriented to the street. If an off-street parking area existed, it lay to one side of the building. Save for Ralphs's stores, scant visual relationship was created between the two components of the site. The drive-in's size was predicated on customers making daily or at least frequent trips to purchase relatively small quantities of goods at a time. The supermarket, on the other hand, depended on a large volume of purchases. Furthermore, pioneering supermarket operations of the 1920s, most notably those of Ralphs in Los Angeles, and Heinke and Pillot in Houston, owned all or nearly all the departments on the premises, a business structure that became widespread in the industry by the end of the next decade.

Good overviews of the development of the supermarket are Chester H. Liebs, *Main Street to Miracle Mile: American Roadside Architecture* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1985), 117–35; and James M. Mayo, *The American Grocery Store: The Business Evolution of an Architectural Space* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1993), chaps. 4–5. Whereas two New York-area companies, King Kullen and Big Bear, are generally thought to have been the principal catalysts in the supermarket's emergence as a national phenomenon, Southern California-based firms and, to a somewhat lesser degree, others based in Houston, established all the key attributes of supermarket operation during the 1920s. Furthermore, a close reading of trade literature of the period reveals that the contribution of Southern California, especially, was well

recognized by the mid-1930s. See, for example, A. E. Holden, "Is Price-Wrecking Wrecking the Super-Markets?" *Chain Store Age, General Merchandise Edition* 9 (June 1936): 82; Donna Collister, "Inside Story of a Supermarket," *Progressive Grocer* 13 (August 1934): 40; M. M. Zimmerman, "Super-Market!" *Nation's Business* 25 (March 1937): 90-98; M. J. Rowoldt, "How Supers Operate in California," *Progressive Grocer* 16 (October 1937): 30; Emanuel Rapaport, "The Economic Significance of the Super Market," *Super Market Merchandising* 3 (February 1938): 84-85; "Today's Super-Markets," *Progressive Grocer* 17 (July 1938): 23-25; and M. M. Zimmerman, "A Cross Country Impression," *Super Market Merchandising* 5 (April 1940): 37, 40.

8. Concerning the Wilshire Boulevard store, see *Los Angeles Times*, 29 April 1928, sect. 5, p. 1; and Harriet Burdsall, "Thousands Enjoy Opening of Ralphs Market on Wilshire," *Hollywood Daily Citizen*, 21 September 1928, p. 9. Seven additional large stores were opened in the metropolitan area between that year and 1931. Useful accounts include "Ralphs Invite[s] Everyone to Three-Day Opening of New Store," *Hollywood Daily Citizen*, 5 June 1929, Ralphs Section; "Ralphs Alhambra Store Opens Tomorrow," *Alhambra Post-Advocate*, 11 September 1929, Ralphs Section; *Pasadena Star News*, 2 October 1929, Ralphs Section; "Ralphs Opening Sixteenth Store," *Santa Monica Evening Outlook*, 20 November 1929, 14-18; Harriet Burdsall, "Ralphs Adjust[s] Marketing System to Modern Requirements," *Hollywood Daily Citizen*, 2 January 1930, 9-10; "Beautiful New Ralphs Store Ready for Gala Opening," *Southwest Wave*, 13 April 1932, 1-6. For a sampling of material on the company's equally important building campaign of 1937-41, see "New Ralphs Grocery Opens Saturday," *Beverly Hills Citizen*, 11 June 1937, Ralphs Section; J. Gordon Wright, "Sharing Economies with Public, Ralphs' Policy," *Super Market Merchandising* 2 (September 1937): 6, 8, 10; *Los Angeles Times*, 28 April 1929, Ralphs Section; J. Gordon Wright, "Ralphs Twenty-Seventh Unit Makes Debut," *Super Market Merchandising* 4 (June 1939): 10, 19; and "Ralphs Opens 28th Super Unit," *Super Market Merchandising* 5 (March 1940): 14-15, 19.

For background on shopping centers, see Richard Longstreth, "The Neighborhood Shopping Center in Washington, D.C., 1930-1941,"

Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 51 (March 1992): 5-34.

9. Early accounts of taxpayers in Washington, D.C., indicate that covering expenses on land that might later soar in value may have been the underlying motivation, at least in many instances, but also reveal these buildings were often quite profitable in their own right. See "One-Story Stores Figure in Development of Realty," *Washington Evening Star*, 14 January 1911, sect. 2, p. 2; "Row of One-Story Stores Brings Good Price in Sale," *Washington Evening Star*, 22 July 1911, sect. 2, p. 2; and "Interesting Development along Eighteenth Street," *Washington Evening Star*, 9 November 1912, sect. 2, p. 3. For a historical overview of the type, see Liebs, *Main Street*, 10-15.

10. For a contemporary account describing the practices of Safeway Stores, see H. S. Wright, "Locating Grocery Stores," *Chain Store Age* 1 (August 1925): 10-11, 54-55.

11. For a recent account of Hattem, see Maurice I. Hattem, "I. M. Hattem and His Los Angeles Supermarket," *Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly* 11 (April 1979): 243-51. Documentation has been found on only nine other food retailers who were the initial owners/operators of drive-in markets. Among them, Billie Bird Markets owned at least two and operated two more; Alexander Haddad appears to have operated at least two concurrently; Leonard Redman owned two. The rest owned one each; however, three of them operated a conventional outlet as well.

12. Most of the information concerning owners noted here and in the paragraphs below has been gleaned from notices in the *Southwest Builder and Contractor* and the *Los Angeles Times*, as well as listings in local directories. In only a few instances have biographical accounts been found. Collectively, these sources yield at least the name and occupation of more than one-half of the drive-in market owners in Los Angeles itself and about one-third of those elsewhere in the state.

Concerning Dishbrow, see "Mother Goose Pantry Is to Open," *Pasadena Star-News*, 31 August 1927, pp. 22-23.

On Bogardus, see "E. F. Bogardus Opens Sunset-Western Market Tomorrow," *Hollywood Daily Citizen*, 28 September 1928, p. 17; *Los Angeles Realtor* 9 (November 1928): 42; and Edward Palmer, *History of Hollywood*, vol. 2 (Los Angeles: Arthur H. Cawston, 1937) 237-39.

On Chapman, see William A. Spalding, *History of Los Angeles City and County*, vol. 3 (Los Angeles: J. R. Finnell and Sons, 1931), 587–91; Palmer, *Hollywood*, vol. 2, 49–52; and Ralph Hancock, *Fabulous Boulevard* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1949), 292–93.

13. Concerning the Taft Companies, see *Men of California . . .*, (San Francisco and Los Angeles: Western Press Register, 1925), 38; and *Who's Who in Los Angeles County 1932–1933*, (Los Angeles: Charles J. Lang, 1933), 62. Real estate advertisements provide the best readily available documentation for many of these ventures. Concerning Burton and Company, see, for example, *Los Angeles Times*, 26 February 1922, sect. 5, p. 5. The Leimert Company's first tract was Bellehurst Park in Glendale (*Los Angeles Times*, 16 March 1923, sect. 2, p. 9, 18 March 1923, sect. 5, p. 20). Leimert Park was much more ambitious in both its size and planning; see V. Cahalin, "Spanish Type Houses Pay," *Building Age* 51 (May 1929): 37–40; and "Residence Area Growth Shown," *Los Angeles Times*, 16 August, 1931, sect. 5, p. 2.

14. Concerning the Muller Brothers, see James V. Murray, "Super-Service Station Caters to Stars in Hollywood," *Filling Station and Petroleum Marketer*, 10 January 1927, 24–25; "Everything for the Car on One Lot," *National Petroleum News*, 25 July 1928, 83, 86; Brad Mills, "Mullers' Complete Service," *Petroleum Marketer*, June 1929, 22–23; and *Hollywood Daily Citizen*, 4 October 1929, 13–19. On Woestman, see "Woestman's Drive-In Group of Buildings Opens Tomorrow . . ." *Pasadena Star-News*, 11 July 1930, 25–26; and *Who's Who in Los Angeles County, 1930–1931*, 168.

15. On McKinley, Griffith, and Nagel, see *Who's Who in California . . . 1928–1929* (San Francisco: Who's Who Publishing, 1929), 94, 430, 366–67, respectively. On Pickford, see Robert Windeler, *Sweetheart: The Story of Mary Pickford* (London: W. H. Allen, 1973), 189.

16. The facility still stands, somewhat altered, at 1040–1060 South La Brea Avenue. Base construction cost was only six thousand dollars.

17. Willard Morgan incorrectly credited Alexander Haddad with conceiving the first drive-in market and suggested he was a key figure in establishing practices widely followed by others who entered the field (see especially "California Drive-In," 30–31). Yet Haddad's first building (fig. 11.11) was unusually modest in both physical and operational terms. Haddad

appears to have built one other drive-in, slightly more ambitious in nature, and later to have leased space in a third. The evidence found to date shows Haddad to have made a modest contribution as an early figure to experiment with the concept of the food store as a drive-in facility, but gives no support to his role as a seminal innovator.

I. M. Hattem was among the most publicity conscious of drive-in market owners and secured considerable name recognition in the Los Angeles metropolitan area during the late 1920s and early 1930s. Hattem's showmanship no doubt fostered the drive-in's popularity, but his business practices did not provide a direct model. In contrast to the norm, Hattem owned and operated almost all the departments in his two stores, just as would later become commonplace with the supermarket.

18. One account, in noting that "several companies have been formed to establish these markets, build the stalls and lease them," was probably referring to real estate agents rather than owners. See Brevit, "Drive-In 'Department Stores,'" 118. No evidence has been found to suggest that large businesses engaged in the sale of food were behind the drive-in market as would occur later with the supermarket.

19. See, for example, James W. Elliott, "Los Angeles Leads Nation as Realty Hot Spot," *Los Angeles Times*, 17 June 1928, sect. 5, pp. 1, 5; Stuart O'Melveny, "How Is Los Angeles Real Estate?" *Los Angeles Realtor*, 9 (December 1928): 12–13; and Otto G. Wildey, *An Approach to Business Real Estate*, (Los Angeles: Otto G. Wildey, 1930), 6, 8.

20. For contemporary accounts of experienced businessmen who were influential in guiding the growth of modest-size outlying commercial precincts, see "Lilly-Fletcher Company," *Los Angeles Times*, Midwinter Number, 1 January 1921, sect. 3, p. 24; and, "J. D. Farquhar Has Part in Making Western Avenue Section Grow to Present Thriving Proportions," *Hollywood Citizen*, 8 April 1921, sect. 1, p. 2.

21. James Collins, "Los Angeles: Ex-Crossroads Town," *World's Work* 59 (August 1930): 54.

22. James Collins, "Let's Play Store," *Saturday Evening Post*, 19 November 1927, 54.

23. *Sunshine and Grief in Southern California*, (Detroit: St. Claire Publishing, 1931), 47–48.

24. "Retail Store Location: Some Aspects of the Problem," *Eberle Economic Service*, 10 September 1928, 222. See also Carl Bush, "What

About Zoning?" *Los Angeles Realtor* 5 (October 1925): 17, 36; and "Proportion of Neighborhood Stores Vacant in Los Angeles," which appeared biannually in *Eberle Economic Service*, during the 1920s and early 1930s.

25. Morgan, "Super Drive-In," 10, 12; and Van de Kamp, "Innovation in Retail Selling," 42, among other accounts, indicate a high success rate. A later study, commissioned by *Progressive Grocer*, documents the soundness of a well-run operation; see M. J. Rowoldt, "We Study a California Market for You," *Progressive Grocer* 15 (October 1926): 34-35, 99. Concerning chain store involvement, see Morgan, "Super Drive-In," 40.

26. "This Market Largest of Kind in World, Is Claim," *Beverly Hills Citizen*, 18 April 1929; *Alhambra Post-Advocate*, 24 July 1929, Billie Bird Section; "New Store Shows Confidence Placed in City," *Alhambra Post-Advocate*, 14 January 1931, p. 3; *Alhambra Post-Advocate*, 27 July 1931, Billie Bird Section; *Whittier News*, 25 May 1933, Alpha Beta Section; interview with Edward Schmidt, Whittier, California, 9 July 1987.

27. Base construction costs were mostly gleaned from notices in the *Southwest Builder and Contractor*. Less information is available on total expenditures per project; the most reliable information comes from contemporary newspaper accounts. Irrespective of size, cost per square foot was generally between \$1.50 and \$2.30.

28. Most conventional food markets constructed in 1928 cost between five hundred and four thousand dollars. Figures were obtained for the great majority of markets for which notices appeared in the *Southwest Builder and Contractor*. For stores and other building types cited below, averages are based on a random sampling taken from the *Southwest Builder and Contractor* between January and December 1928, using a total of 225 projects as a data base.

29. Robert M. Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles 1850-1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), 146; Scott L. Bottles, *Los Angeles and the Automobile: The Making of the Modern City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 187, 189; "Building in Los Angeles and the National Tendency Toward Multi-Family Structures," *Eberle Economic Service*, 5 July 1928, 167-70; "Economic and Sociological Aspects of the Increase in Multifamily Dwelling Construction in Large Cit-

ies," *Eberle Economic Service*, 18 July 1928, 173-75; "The Housing Situation," Security-First National Bank of Los Angeles, *Monthly Summary of Business Conditions in the Pacific Southwest*, 2 January 1934, n.p.

30. Little information exists on most of the architects and others involved with the design of drive-in markets. My search for material in conjunction with this study was necessarily limited, focusing on that which could be gleaned from architectural periodicals, biographical compendia, and directories of the period. The most valuable document reconstructing the nature of these individual's practices are the contract and other notices published in the *Southwest Builders and Contractor*; however, time permitted only a cursory sampling. Further information was taken from more recent sources such as Henry F. Withey and Elsie R. Withey, *Biographical Dictionary of American Architects, Deceased* (1956; reprint, Los Angeles: Hennessey and Ingalls, 1970), a few recent scholarly accounts, and the membership files in the Archives of the American Institute of Architects in Washington (hereinafter cited as AIA). David Cameron, Robert Judson Clark, David Gebhard, Tom Owen, Robert Winter, and the staff of the Pasadena Urban Conservation Office generously supplied additional material. The citations in the notes below are not comprehensive, but are intended to give a sense of work done during the period in question.

31. Concerning Walker and Eisen, see Donald Schippers, "Walker and Eisen: Twenty Years of Los Angeles Architecture, 1920-1940," *Southern California Quarterly* 46 (December 1964): 371-94; Harris Allen, "Southern California Architects . . .," *Building Review* 22 (October 1922): 43-45, plates 48, 51; and F. A. Evans, "Recent Work of Messrs. Walker and Eisen," *Architect and Engineer* 82 (August 1925): 50-89.

Concerning the Parkinsons, see Robert Tracey, "John Parkinson and the Beaux-Arts City Beautiful Movement in Downtown Los Angeles" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1982); *Who's Who in the Pacific Southwest* (Los Angeles: Times Mirror Printing and Binding House, 1913), 285; *Men of California*, 47; *Architect and Engineer* 124 (January 1936): 57; and Withey and Withey, *Biographical Dictionary*, 455-56.

Concerning Morgan, Walls, and Clements, see "Personal Glimpses," *Pacific Coast Architect* 27 (February 1925): 22, 27; *Architect and Engi-*

neer 101 (May 1930): 27; *Who's Who in Los Angeles County, 1930-1931*, 133; and David Gebhard, *The Richfield Building, 1928-1968* ([Los Angeles]: Atlantic Richfield, [1970]), 6, 8.

32. See, for example, Harwood Hewitt, "Is Good Architectural Design a Paying Investment and How Much Does It Cost?" *Pacific Coast Architect* 25 (March 1924): 5-17; "Shops in Los Angeles," *Pacific Coast Architect* 25 (April 1924): 11-24; Arthur Duncombe, "Beautiful Architecture a Magnet of Trade," *California Southland* 6 (September 1924): 7-8; Donald E. Marquis, "The Spanish Stores of Morgan, Walls and Clements," *Architectural Forum* 50 (June 1929): 901-16; and Stiles O. Clements, "Some Considerations in the Design of Small Banks," *Pacific Coast Architect* 33 (December 1928): 11-26.

33. For background on Marston, Van Pelt, and Mayberry, see "Spanish and English Colonial Homes in California," *California Southland* 4 (January 1922): 10-11, 25; Prentice Duell "Some Recent Works of Marston and Van Pelt," *Architectural Record* 52 (July 1922): 16-38; R. W. Sexton, *American Commercial Building of Today* (New York: Architectural Book Publishing Co., 1928), 133-37, 149, 152, 186, 199, 202, 260-61, 274-75; and Withey and Withey, *Biographical Dictionary*, 303-4.

For biographical information on Flewelling, see *Who's Who in California*, 130; and *Architect and Engineer* 155 (April 1941): 44. For illustrations of work, see *Architectural Record* 70 (November 1931): 332-33; 71 (January 1932, 19; 73 (March 1933, 204-7; *Architect and Engineer* 93 (April 1928): 40; 93 (May 1928): 46; 96 (January 1929): 44; 101 (June 1930): 67-81; 108 (January 1932): 62; 113 (April 1933): 14-17; *Pacific Coast Architect* 33 (December 1928): 42-44; 36 (October 1929): 50-55; 37 (May 1930): 24-29; 38 (August 1930): 36-39; *Architectural Digest* 6, no. 3 (1927): 33-35; 8, no. 2 (1931): 18-22; 8, no. 3 (1931): 45-47, 52-55.

For background on Underwood, see Joyce Zaitlin, *Gilbert Stanley Underwood* (Malibu, Calif.: Pangloss Press, 1989).

Concerning Neutra, see Thomas S. Hines, *Richard Neutra and the Search for Modern Architecture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); and Thomas S. Hines, "Designing for the Motor Age: Richard Neutra and the Automobile," *Oppositions* 21 (summer 1980): 34-51. Neutra's drive-in market schemes are discussed at some length in Morgan's accounts, see "Calif-

ornia Drive-In," 31; "At Last," 59-61; and "Super Drive-In," 11-12.

Concerning Wright, see David Gebhard and Harriette Von Breton, *Lloyd Wright, Architect* (Santa Barbara: Art Galleries, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1971); "Modern Marketplace Celebrates Opening with Gala Day, Tomorrow," *Hollywood Daily Citizen*, 19 December 1930, 8; and "Corrugated Galvanized Iron, Yucca-Vine Market, Hollywood, California," *American Architect*, 90 ((March 1932): 22-23.

34. The Chapman Market departed from the norm not only in its size but also configuration and tenancy. Here, the parking court was surrounded by the complex, which contained three markets, each oriented toward somewhat different shopping needs. For descriptions, see "Largest Drive-In Market Rising," *Los Angeles Times*, 21 October 1928, sect. 5, p. 6; Olive Gray, "New Market Unusual One," *Los Angeles Times*, 20 June 1929, sect. 2, p. 2; and Frank. H. Williams, "495 Cars Can Park in this New Drive-In Market," *Progressive Grocer* 8 (October 1929): 30-31, 130.

35. On Kelly, see Los Angeles Architectural Club, *Yearbook*, (hereinafter cited as *Yearbook*), 1910, 1911, 1916, 1919; Ellen Leech, *California Homes by California Architects* (Los Angeles: California Southland Magazine, 1922), 32-34; *Architectural Record* 34 (December 1913): 563-65; *Pacific Coast Architect* 27 (March 1928): 41-42; *Architectural Digest* 5 (1925): 66-67; 7, no. 1 (1929): 16-17, 85-93; 7, no. 2, (1929): 102-3, 124-25, 128-29; 8, no. 1 (1930): 33-37; 9, no. 3 (1933): 28-29; 9, no. 4 (1933): 120-21.

On Pletsch see *American Architects Directory*, ed. George S. Koyl (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1955), 437; *Architectural Digest* 10, no. 4 (1934): 109. I am grateful to Mr. Pletsch for providing me with additional information about his work.

On Ruoff see *Pacific Coast Architect* 31 (April 1927): 15; *Architectural Digest* 5 (1922): 58-59, 70-71; 9, no. 4 (1933): 122.

On Nomland see Koyl, *Architects Directory*, 407; AIA; *Architectural Digest* 9, no. 4 (1933): 70-73.

On Gable and Wyant, See *Architectural Forum* 53 (December 1930): 721; *Pacific Coast Architect* 30 (November 1926): 19-25; 32 (December 1927): 28-35; 35 (January 1929): 36-39; *Architectural Digest* 8, no. 1 (1930): 74-77, 82-85; *Shapes of Clay* 3 (September 1927): 7; 6 (March 1930): 14; *California Southland* 9 (December 1927): 14.

On Gogerty, see Koyl, *Architects Directory*, 200; AIA; *Architectural Forum* 53 (December 1930): 713–16.

On Priest, see *Architects and Engineers* 97 (May 1929): 83–90; 105 (June 1931): 84; *Shapes of Clay* 2 (January 1926): 8; 3 (September 1927): 10.

On Weyl, see *Architectural Record* 64 (December 1928): 466–68; *American Architecture* 134 (20 December 1928): 84–86; *Architect and Engineer* 99 (December 1929): 90–97; *Architectural Digest* 7, no. 3 (1929): 153.

On Withey, see Koyl, *Architects Directory*, 614; AIA; *Yearbook*, 1911, 1916, 1919; *Yearbook*, 1922, 24; Leech, *California Homes*, 45, 56; *Architect and Engineer* 94 (August 1928): 81–89; 96 (January 1929): 46.

On Zimmerman, see *Yearbook*, 1922, 62; *Pacific Coast Architect* 28 (August 1925): 37–41; 29 (January 1926): 13–17; *Architect and Engineer* 85 (May 1926): 36; *Architectural Record* 59 (May 1926): 410–11.

On Adams, see AIA; *Architect and Engineer* 96 (March 1929): 14; *Architectural Record* 76 (November 1934): 346–47.

On Scherer, see *Who's Who in Los Angeles County, 1930–1931*, 67, 248; L. G. Scherer, "The Architect Comes to Himself," *Architect and Engineer* 102 (July 1930): 111–12; *Architect and Engineer* 101 (June 1930): 62; 105 (April 1931): 54; 107 (February 1932): 25.

36. On Cramer and Wise, see *Architect and Engineer* 100 (February 1930): 2.

On Folland, see *Pasadena Star-News*, 17 April 1951, and architects' files, Pasadena Urban Conservation Office, Pasadena.

On Hagedohm, see Koyl, *Architects Directory*, 218; and AIA.

On Harrington and Harris, see AIA.

On Norstrom, see Withey, *Biographical Dictionary*, 444; *Los Angeles Times*, 20 May 1928; 14 December 1930, sect. 5, p. 2.

37. For background on the Los Angeles Investment Company see J. M. Guinn, *A History of California . . .*, vol. 1 (Los Angeles: Historic

Record, 1915), 371; *Los Angeles, the Old and the New* (Los Angeles: J. E. Scott, 1911), 55; and the numerous house plan books the company published, such as *Practical Bungalows* (1911), *Inexpensive Bungalows* (1912), and *Modern Homes of California* (1913). Activities during the 1920s are chronicled by numerous real estate advertisements. See, for example, *Los Angeles Times*, 24 September 1922, sect. 5, p. 8; *Los Angeles Evening Herald*, 7 May 1927, B-2, B-3; 6 June 1928, B-3. Concerning the other drive-in market projects, see *Los Angeles Times*, 20 October, 5 November 1929, sect. 5, p. 3. The scale and scope of this company's operations set it quite apart from the stereotypical picture of residential development patterns in the United States during the early twentieth century and deserve further investigation.

The Bungalowcraft Company published a number of plan books for houses and multi-unit dwellings, including *Bungalowcraft* (9th ed., 1921), *New Spanish Bungalows* (1926), and *Homes of the Moment* (1929). Rex Weston, who headed the organization, advertised in these volumes that the company did "all kinds of drafting," listing stores and apartment buildings among the types.

38. Morgan, "Drive-Ins' Drive On," 15–16, 30–31; Morgan, "At Last," 59–61; Morgan, "Super Drive-In," 11; "Palm Market Is Largest of Type," *Beverly Hills Citizen*, 18 April 1929, 20-A; Cahalin, "Spanish Type Houses," 37; "Store Buildings," *Architectural Record* 65 (June 1929): 603; Frey, "Amerikanische Notizen," 314; Stein and Bauer, "Store Buildings," 185–86.

39. A few of the articles on Ralphs stores designed by Clements are cited in n. 8 above. See also J. Gordon Wright, "Food and Functionalism," *California Arts and Architecture* 54 (October 1938): 28, 36; Ben H. O'Connor, "Planning the Super-Market," *Architect and Engineer* 146 (September 1941): 14–19; and "Super Markets: The Office of Stiles Clements, Architect," *Architectural Record* 86 (October 1941): 72–73.

A R R I S

JOURNAL OF THE SOUTHEAST CHAPTER OF
THE SOCIETY OF ARCHITECTURAL HISTORIANS



VOLUME SEVEN

1996

Don't Get Out:

The Automobile's Impact on Five Building Types in Los Angeles, 1921-1941

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This paper traces the development of architectural types in response to automobile-oriented business activities during the inter-war years. As the drive-in became synonymous with American Modernism, so too was it linked to the popular idea of Los Angeles. The author argues that although Los Angeles was not the drive-in city some chroniclers might have wished it to be it was indeed a harbinger of the contemporary metropolis.

"Don't Get Out"—the title alone must have attracted the attention of *Collier's* magazine readers in 1933 to a journalistic "tour of the Drive-In palaces of Los Angeles," ostensibly written by the author "without leaving his car." The text provided ample fodder to elicit the curiosity, admiration, or scorn of people who knew about southern California principally through published accounts. The writer was not prone to understatement:

Now you can drive in to full course meals. Gourmets sit in their cars and are served eight-course dinners, topped off with a brandy at the auto bar. Picture fans sit back in auto seats and watch films in open-air theaters. Curb-service night clubs advertise fan dancers. Merchants drive into a curb-service bank and put on the brakes at the cashier's window....Hollywood does its shopping at a drive-in market, picks up its shirts at a curb-service laundry and, as an example of curb-service at its peak, places its bets with a drive-in bookie.¹

For more than a decade, Los Angeles had been depicted as a metropolis filled with unorthodox commercial architecture, a landscape of buildings shaped like sphinxes and windmills calculated to catch the eye of the passing motorist and enhance the perception of a world in which the fantastic and the real were one and the same.² By the late 1930s, novelty in function began to match novelty of image as a focus of journalists' probes. The stereotypical notion of Angelenos as a people addicted to driving, convenience, pleasurable pursuits, and overt breaks with convention assumed a new embodiment, one formed by methods of procuring basic goods and services. The drive-in became closely linked to the popular idea of Los Angeles.

Even then, people recognized that the phenomenon was not unique to Los Angeles. Buildings designed specifically to accommodate the needs of the motorist could be found in many parts of the country on the eve of World War II. Yet for over a decade southern California had provided a major proving ground for new forms of commercial architecture oriented to the motorist. New types originated in other regions in some instances; Los

Angeles's contribution lay in the further development and widespread use of a type. Sometimes local work had a decisive influence beyond the region; sometimes it remained anomalous, even in southern California. But collectively, the results were impressive. No other metropolitan area could boast of having so many innovative tendencies. The drive-in phenomenon in Los Angeles was not incidental, but part of a broad based trend to address conditions affected by the region's great size and low-density settlement patterns, its salubrious climate, and the infatuation with motoring shared by many of its inhabitants.

The significance of early work in Los Angeles is compounded by the degree to which it helped to establish patterns which became widespread in the United States, especially after World War II. Recent studies of the automobile's impact on architecture tend to depict the phenomenon as one occurring mostly in fringe areas or along the open road. But "drive-in" commercial buildings—those configured specifically to accommodate patrons' motor vehicles on the premises—were a child of the city at least as much as they were of rural areas during the inceptive phase of development between the world wars.³ Much like the freestanding "suburban" house, commercial buildings oriented to the motorist emerged as key defining features of metropolitan growth in the mid-twentieth century. What occurred in Los Angeles during the 1920s and 1930s provides one of the most informative case studies of this phenomenon at a formative stage. No other city contributed so much to establishing practices which became commonplace nationwide.

Los Angeles became a center for experiments with relating architecture to the automobile for several, related reasons. The city emerged from one of moderate size to a major metropolis during the first three decades of the twentieth century, well after comparable expansion of industrial cities in the East and Midwest. As a result, Los Angeles's spatial order was formed first by electric railways, then by motor vehicles. Ample space existed in which the city could grow. The region's economy expanded at a rate comparable to its population. Prosperity attracted newcomers of means who migrated by car and drove routinely once settled—a habit fostered year round by the mild, dry climate.

All these factors contributed to diffuse patterns of residential development, where the freestanding, single-family house and small-scale apartment complex dominated. The low population density, in turn, reduced the pressure for concentrated business

development along the miles of arteries that served these tracts. An abundance of available land along thoroughfares kept its value at relatively modest levels in many parts of the metropolitan area. Cheap commercial lots combined with spiraling demand for accommodating motorists proved ideal circumstances for stimulating experiments with the drive-in concept. Most such ventures not only catered to urban dwellers living nearby, they also were a part of that urban quarter. Purpose and location were thus basically the same as in a conventional neighborhood service center in cities such as Philadelphia or Chicago. Full analysis of Los Angeles's contribution to this new thrust in urban development falls well beyond the scope of this essay.⁴ The focus here is on five building types—the hostelry, theatre, restaurant, laundry, and bank—that experienced some of the most significant changes in response to a motorized clientele prior to World War II. Collectively, these examples suggest the range of commercial functions affected at an early date and also the varied nature of those responses. With banks, for example, drive-in facilities might entail no more than minor modifications to existing patterns, whereas widespread automobile use led to an entirely new form of hostelry, the motel.

Motels

Among building functions most dramatically affected by the automobile during the interwar years was that of overnight accommodation. By 1940 a decisive new tendency was established in the field, with the widespread acceptance of the motel.⁵ This process began soon after the car became a common conveyance, for while motor vehicles allowed large numbers of people to travel long distances for the first time, many of these sojourners either could not afford to stay in hotels or found them inconvenient. Initially the alternative was roadside camping, a practice which became formalized during the 1910s and early 1920s with the introduction of campgrounds coast to coast. Autocamping was believed to foster independence and the enjoyment of nature without forfeiting modern pleasures. Advocates repeatedly stressed that "you need not leave home behind. You may take its comforts with you."⁶ Given this frame of mind it is hardly surprising that cabins, or cottages as they were often called, became a standard option at autocamps by the mid-1920s, and that complexes comprised solely of such buildings, equipped with furniture and utilities, were numerous by the decade's end.

Ten years later, what were now often known as tourist courts or motels dominated the trade outside the city center. Guests did not have to worry about parking their cars, carrying luggage far, personal appearances, dress codes, tips, or downtown noises and traffic. Motels were generally less expensive, afforded greater privacy, allowed direct contact with the owner, were easier to check into and leave, and were considered safer in the event of fire. At the same time the new motels possessed at least as many, if not more, amenities than all but the fanciest hotels and

could indeed provide many of the comforts of the middle-class home. As one observer emphasized, the motel "represents more than a different mode of accommodation. It stands for a new way of life in tourism."⁷

California was widely acknowledged to be the nation's leader during the formative stage of the motel's development.⁸ The climate, together with a good highway system, stimulated tourism for most of the year instead of for just a few months. Residents were no less avid than out-of-state visitors in motoring distances to see an incomparable array of natural scenery and other sites. While the motel was, and remains, popularly associated with the open road, early examples were foremost concentrated in urban areas. Even autocamps, such as Denver's Overland Park, which set a widely held standard, were situated in or near sizable population centers.⁹ California afforded particularly fertile ground for such work since its three largest cities—Los Angeles, San Francisco, and San Diego—were major tourist destination points and a number of others lay along heavily traveled routes. Los Angeles also may have harbored a variety of precocious experiments during the inceptive phase of the motel's development—projects for which counterparts would be difficult to find elsewhere in the country—because the city's autocamp facilities were notoriously ill-equipped to meet market demand.¹⁰

While cabins were sometimes built at campgrounds in the West since at least 1913, the idea of a large compound comprised of "bungalows" was considered a great novelty when one opened in the Bay Area city of Oakland in 1921.¹¹ Two years later, a much more ambitious scheme was unveiled for an "automobile tourist colony camp" only a few miles from the Los Angeles city center along the San Fernando Road, then the principal approach route from the north and to a fast-growing network of residential tracts. Occupying four acres, the complex was to contain seventy-two units, each appearing more like a small house than the rudimentary shelters which characterized the Oakland project. The cottages would possess "every convenience of a home," each with its own sleeping quarters, kitchen, and lavatory; each was also supplied with electricity, gas, hot and cold running water, and an adjacent parking space. The extent of shared facilities was no less unusual. A grocery store, a lunch room, tailor shop, filling station, community house (with library, music room, and writing room), bath houses, laundry, children's playground, tennis and handball courts, and a swimming pool were planned. Heralded as the "largest and best equipped in America," the scheme stood in marked contrast to most competitors.¹² More typically, cottage camps developed according to no overall plan, but grew in increments responding to existing or anticipated market demands. The Lincoln Park Motor Cottage Camp, located on Valley Boulevard even closer to downtown than the San Fernando Road complex, began as a campground ca. 1919. Simple cabins began to be added in 1922 and to be replaced by more elaborate cottages in 1928.¹³

Los Angeles Sunday Times.

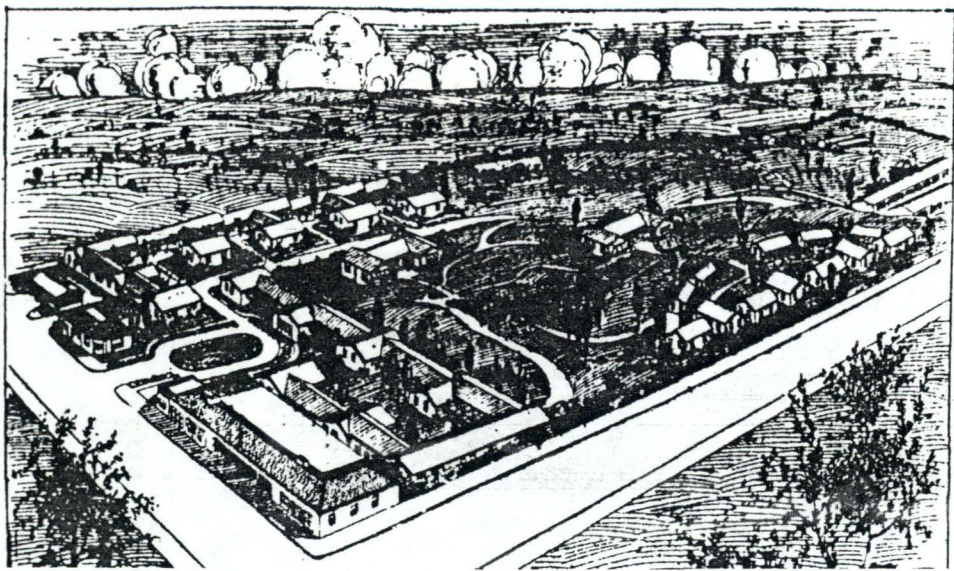


Figure 1. Motor Inn, 900-976 S. Soto Street, Los Angeles, 1921-1922; no longer standing. (Los Angeles Times, 31 July 1921, VI-2).

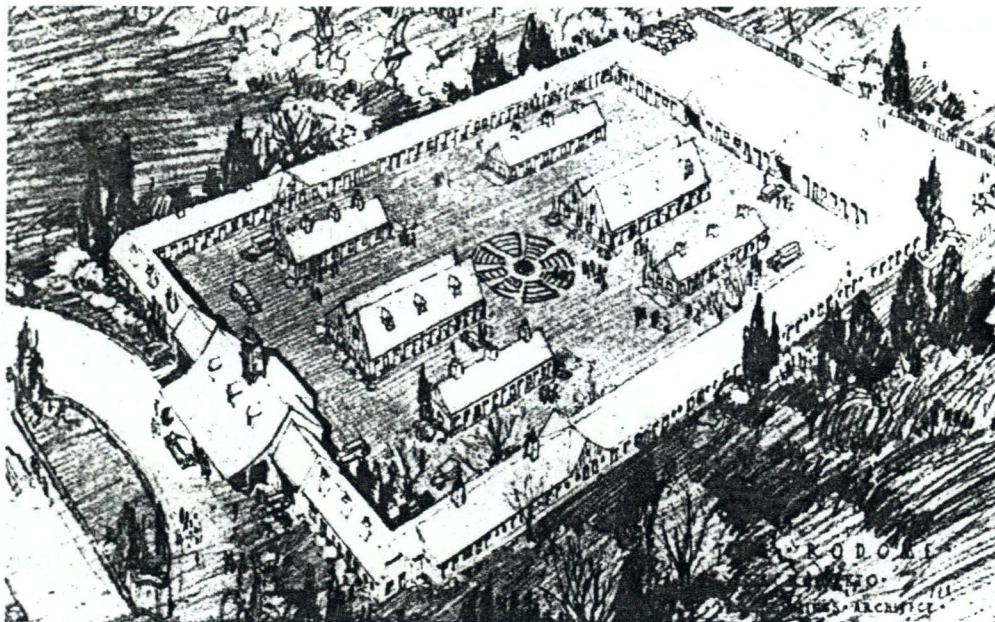


Figure 2. Prototypical design for Rodome, Sacramento, E.C. Hummings, architect, 1922; probably a project. (Motor Age, 6 July 1922, 23).

If the San Fernando Road complex represented a significant advance for the cottage camp, the Motor Inn, designed two years previous, came even closer to the motel of the next decade. Located on a five-acre tract along an eastern approach near downtown Los Angeles, the complex boasted of nearly 200 rooms and was described not as a "camp," but as a "hotel for autoists" (Figure 1). The owner was quite specific in drawing the analogy, emphasizing that the scheme resolved two major problems faced by motoring travellers at conventional hostleries: cost and parking. The solution was "distinctly Californian," with building of the "bungalow type... every one the middle of spacious parklike grounds, with each room an outside one," and "a separate locked stall in the garages for the machines of each

guest. There will be no need to hunt around a strange town for a garage to put up the car."¹⁴ The tightly organized configuration of units at the front of the property, large areas of open space beyond, and garages set to the rear had little in common with the cottage camp. Instead, the arrangement may have been inspired both by bungalow courts, by then ubiquitous in the region, and the luxurious cottages erected on the grounds of fashionable resort hotels in California and other parts of the country since the nineteenth century. Whatever the sources, the design was among the first in the United States to attempt a full integration of many hotel amenities at a low cost (\$1.00 to \$2.00 a night) with a layout tailored to the driving public. The degree to which the Motor Inn directly influenced subsequent work in the region is unclear;

however, the concept is close to that of the Milestone Mo-Tel at San Luis Obispo (1924-1925), designed by Pasadena architect Arthur Heineman and the first establishment to bear what would become the generic name for the type.¹⁵

An equally prophetic design was announced in 1922 for the "road home" or "rodome" which likewise entailed a wide range of conveniences for the motorist, but was arranged in an even more unconventional manner. Units formed a continuous range opening onto a large central court in which freestanding structures for automobile storage and service were located (Figure 2). One contemporary account noted that the configuration "suggests the night camp of the pioneer," and it was in fact not unlike that of the Spanish colonial presidios once found in the region. Yet despite such allusions, the setting was a pronounced departure from any hotel familiar to the twentieth-century motorist. The scheme also was unusual in being planned as a chain, with five complexes (Los Angeles, Sacramento, Oakland, Portland, and Seattle) containing some ninety units and the remaining fifteen about half that size, all designed on the same unit system. Buildings, management, and prices would be standardized for a network extending from San Diego to Vancouver.¹⁶ The Milestone Mo-Tel similarly was conceived as a prototype for seventeen others between San Diego and Seattle, and both the Motor Inn and the San Fernando Road cottage camp were planned as the first of similar complexes statewide. The idea of applying chain store methods to motorist oriented services gained considerable appeal during the 1920s; vacationers were seen as a strategic, yet largely untapped, audience.¹⁷

The concept of the motel chain proved far ahead of its time, however. None of the California ventures appears to have

materialized much beyond the initial facility, and it is doubtful whether any rodome was built. Cost was probably a factor. Construction of a rodome was estimated at \$100,000 at a time when most cottage camps cost less than one-tenth that amount. So large an outlay for an idea as yet unproven in the marketplace could cause potential investors or leading institutions to shy away. Many tourists may likewise have resisted charges of up to \$4.00 when accommodation at campgrounds was free or at the most averaged \$.50 to \$.75. Even a decade later a chain of roadside hostelries built by the Pierce Petroleum Company was a financial failure.¹⁸ The motel business remained localized, the province of independent owners, until after World War II.

Similarly, some early California motels were precocious in their projected size, while realized work was on a modest scale. Observers marveled at Venetian Square, built on the oceanfront at Long Beach during the mid-1920s, which cost some \$500,000 and contained more than 330 units renting at from \$1.00 to \$4.00 nightly. Yet such giantism was rare for any city. In 1932, most California roadside hostelries had fewer than twenty units and only a small fraction had more than thirty. Eight years later, the average was even lower, including that for the newest motels, out of which only eight had more than twenty-seven units.¹⁹ On the Pacific Coast and elsewhere in the country, owners tended to be people of moderate means with limited access to capital and their investments generally were channelled toward improving the quality of motel features rather than to creating large compounds. Furthermore, the close identification of a motel with its owner may have discouraged physical plants so extensive as to require operation by a staff. Like the chain idea, large motels remained the exception until the 1950s.

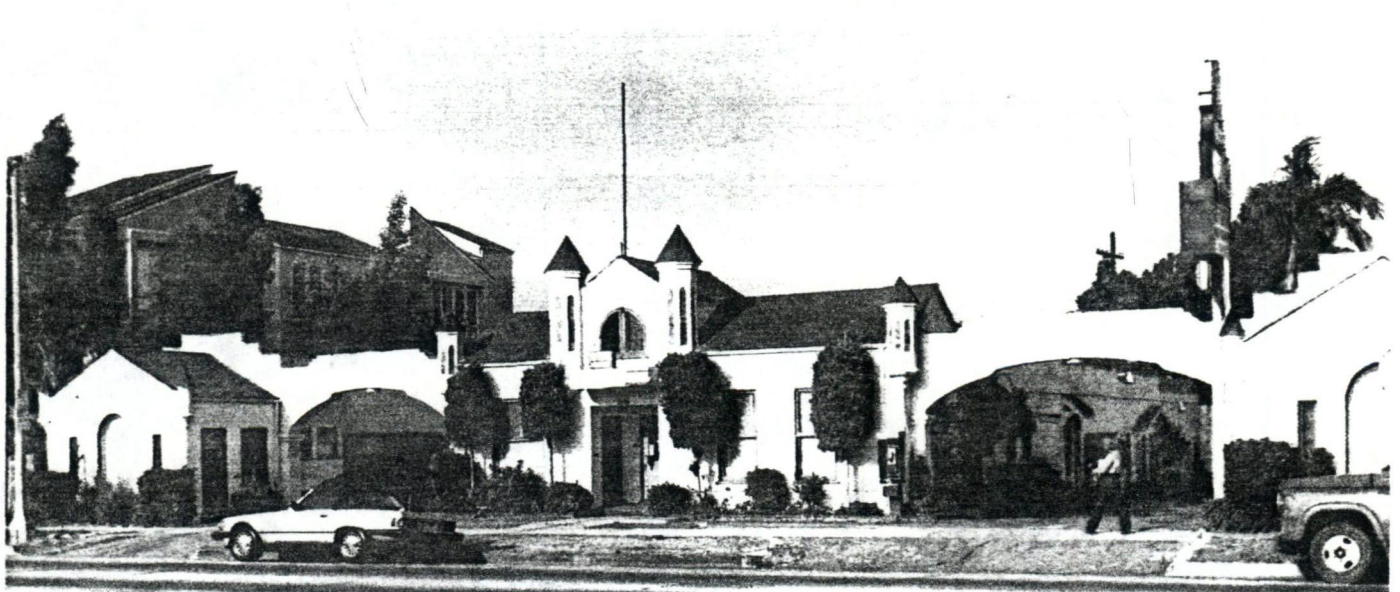


Figure 3. Chief Motel, 3932 Long Beach Boulevard, Long Beach, ca. 1931. (Photo author, 1987).

The four early California projects no doubt did exert some immediate influence. A facility comprised of nothing but cottages, domestic in all their associations, as found at the San Fernando Road complex, and the fusion of hotel and cottage camp characteristics pioneered at the Motor Inn and Milestone Motel, became key aspects of that work in the region erected during the late 1920s and 1930s which was admired as some of the best of its type in the nation. Progress in this realm was fostered by California legislation and advanced by the hotel interests with the intent of setting construction and maintenance standards cottage camp owners could not afford to meet. Implementation had quite the opposite effect. Among other provisions, one that classified camp cottages in incorporated areas as dwellings rapidly raised the industry norm even during the depths of the depression.²⁰ The arrangement of clustered bungalow units placed in a parklike setting found at the Motor Inn and Milestone Motel and the row of units opening onto a central court, as at the prototypical rodome became two of the most common layouts in motel design for many parts of the country through the 1930s. Furthermore, the picturesque, historicizing imagery employed at the Milestone Motel became a repertoire closely associated with the type through countless examples in southern California and the Southwest (Figure 3).

Theatres

The drive-in theatre represented as pronounced a departure from established forms as did the motel. Yet the drive-in theatre had much less of an impact upon the film exhibition business than the motel had in its sphere. Beyond the provision of a nearby parking lot, experiments to accommodate theatre-goers arriving by car remained relatively few and none of them, including drive-in facilities, emerged as a strong thrust in theatre design locally.

The first efforts to relate car and theatre in Los Angeles lay not with motion picture houses, but rather with several anomalous designs for playhouses situated outside concentrated parts of the metropolitan area—places to which travel by automobile was more or less a foregone conclusion. The initial scheme (1921) for the Mission Playhouse, located next to the Mission San Gabriel Archangel (begun 1791) as a permanent staging ground for John Steven McGroarty's "Mission Play," included a ceremonious automobile entrance and large parking lot (Figure 4). Such extensive provisions were unusual at that time for buildings of any type and may have been prompted by the desire to screen cars from view so that they would intrude neither upon the historic,

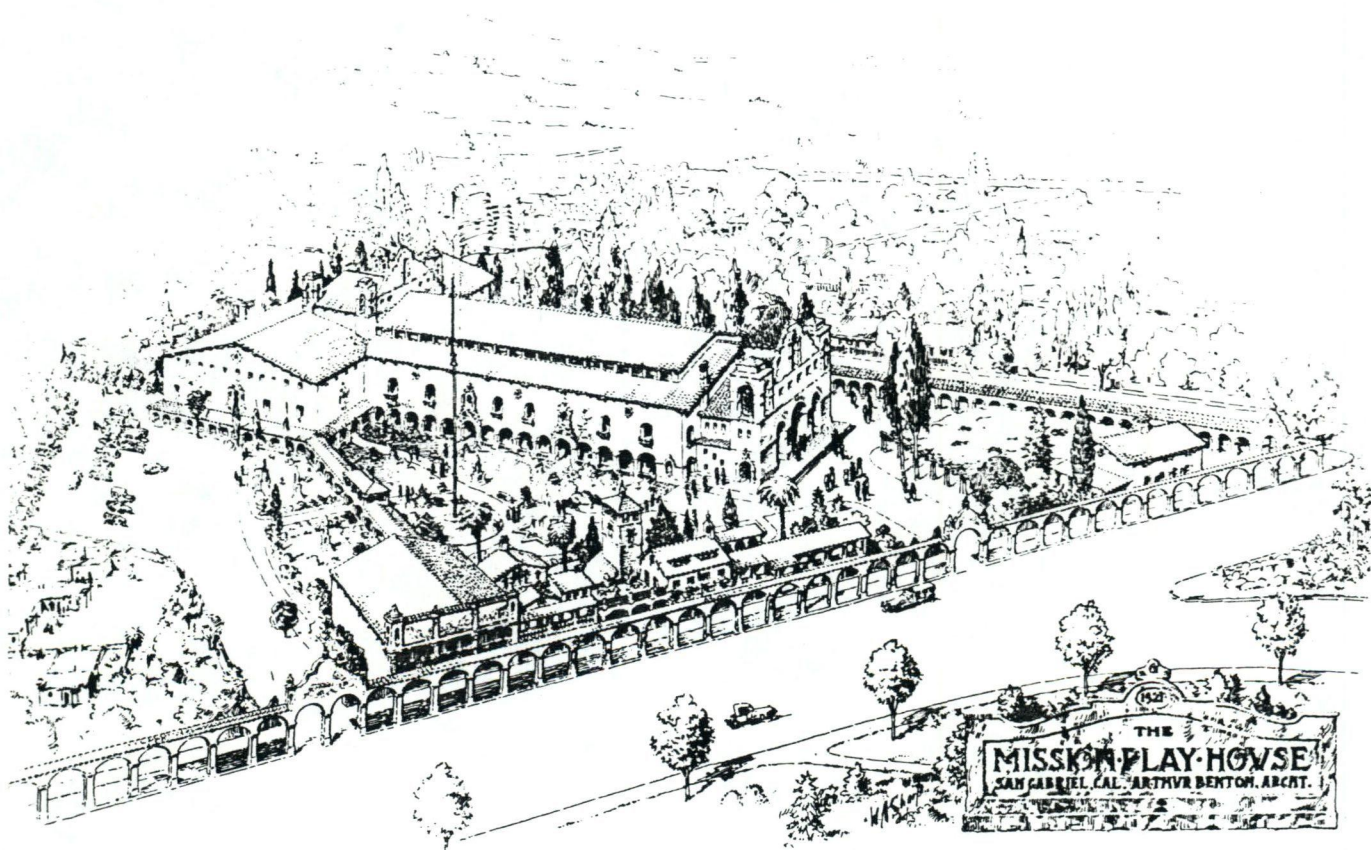


Figure 4. Mission Playhouse, Mission Drive, San Gabriel, Arthur Benton, architect, preliminary design, 1921. (B'hend Kaufmann Archives).

Boulevard Project Entailing Half-Million Expenditure

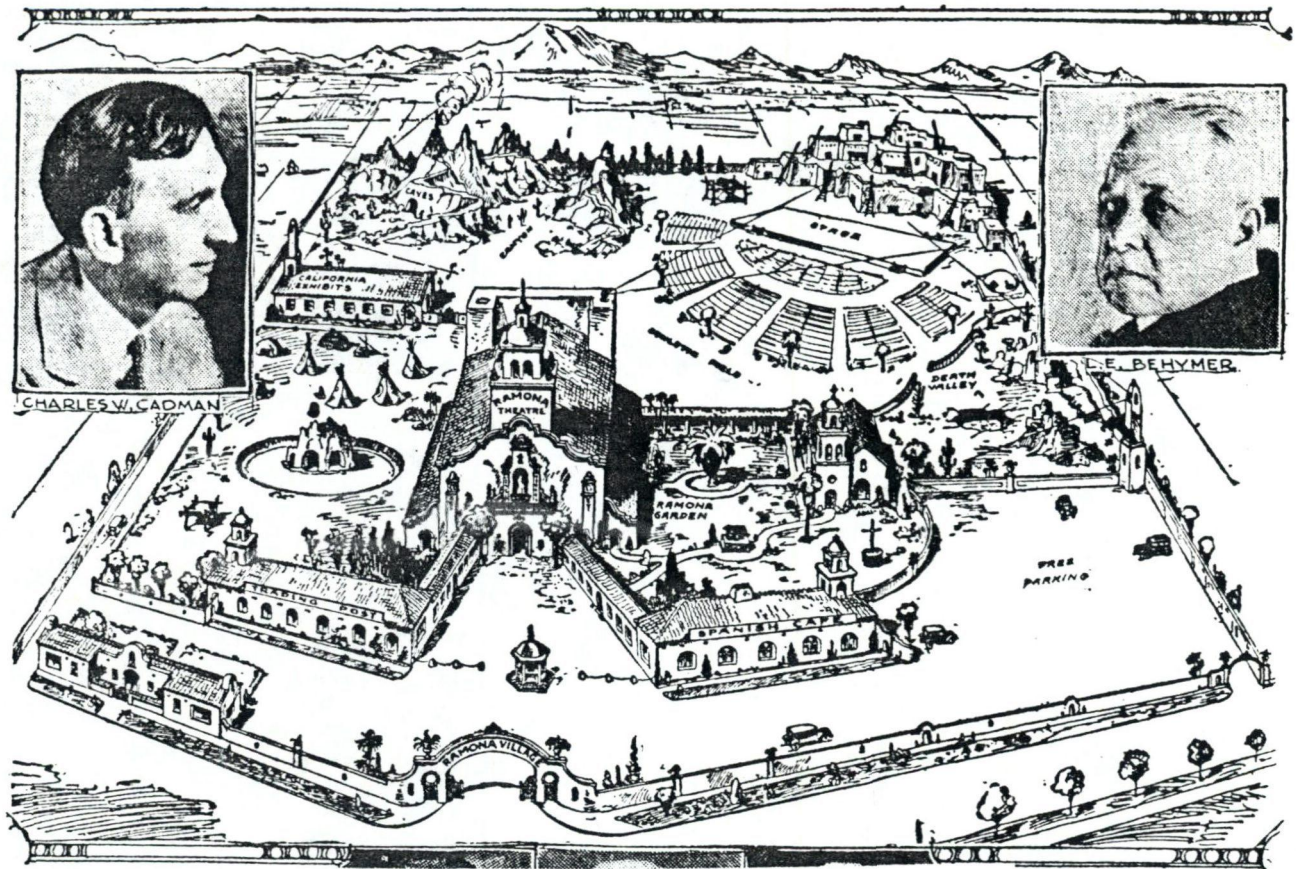


Figure 5. Ramona Village, 5675 W. Washington Boulevard, Los Angeles, unexecuted design, 1928. (Los Angeles Times, 10 June 1928, V-1).

quasi-rural setting nor upon the new compound with its romantic repertoire of Spanish-inspired elements. The design revealed a concern for integrating the lot so that once patrons left their cars, they would approach the main building along a path providing more visual interest than that which led directly from the street. This aspect of the plan went unrealized, however, perhaps the victim of cost-cutting.²¹

The car itself enjoyed a prominent place in the preliminary design (1928) for Ramona Village, situated along a major route to the coast in southwestern Los Angeles (Figure 5). Like the San Gabriel theatre, this complex was conceived for popular entertainment, capitalizing on the region's past. However, Ramona Village was more a roadside attraction, harboring curiosities, than a true cultural center. Plans called for an even bigger auditorium (2000 versus 1500 seats) as well as an outdoor amphitheatre, exhibit hall, "trading post," a "typical Indian village," and a "representation" of Death Valley.²² Prime frontage space was given over to parking, just as it was in less ambitious places of amusement which were cropping up along highways in California and many other parts of the country.²³ As realized some five years later, the program eliminated the theatres and other highbrow pretenses (Figure 6). Dubbed a "museum-inn,"

the rechristened Mission Village combined Indian exhibits with cabins and a campground.²⁴

The potential of relating the experience of arrival by car to that of the theatre was championed by one of the region's leading designers of movie houses, S. Charles Lee. At the Florence Theatre in South Gate (1931), Lee utilized a layout derived from the Egyptian Theatre in Hollywood (1921-1922) in which a patio separated the street-front retail spaces from the main part of the building, in effect functioning as an outdoor lobby. Here the arrangement was modified to include a driveway along one side where passengers could alight and pass through an arcade into the patio before their cars were taken to the parking lot at the rear (Figure 7).²⁵ About two years earlier, Lee had proposed an even more unorthodox idea for a theatre along Wilshire Boulevard where patrons could purchase tickets from their cars while descending to an underground garage, thence take an elevator to the lobby. Yet theatres as a type were not especially conducive to such arrangements, which could readily lead to traffic congestion.²⁶ In subsequent years Lee made a more pragmatic continuation: giving the movie house a bold, three-dimensional form and exuberant lighting calculated to attract the eye from

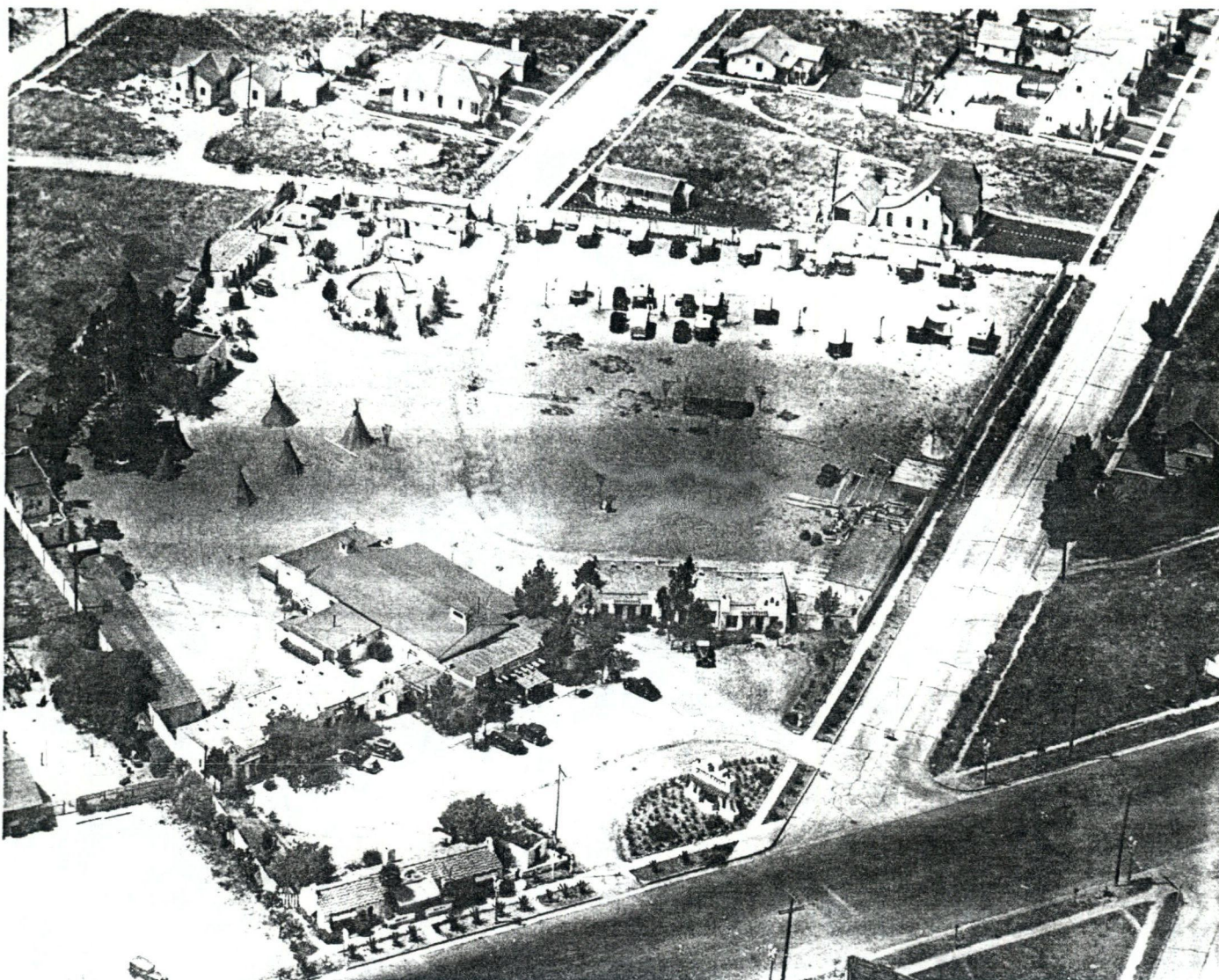


Figure 6. Mission Village, 5675 W. Washington Boulevard, 1932; no longer standing. Photo Spence. (Department of Geography, University of California, Los Angeles).

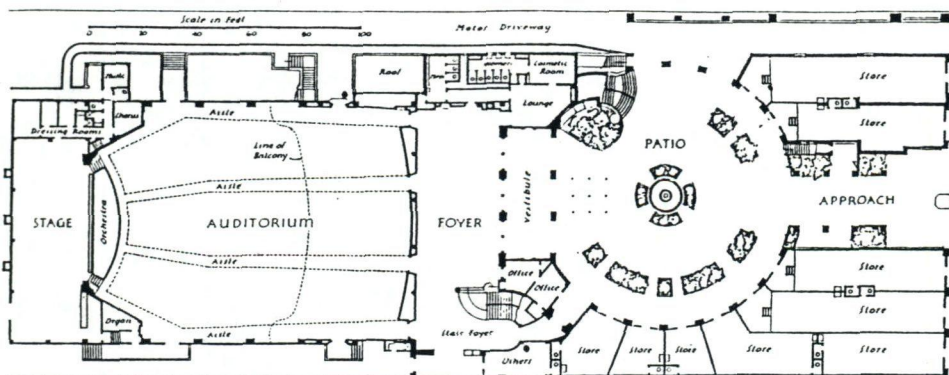


Figure 7. Florence Theatre, Florence Avenue near Compton Boulevard, Los Angeles County, S. Charles Lee, architect, 1931-1932; no longer standing. Floor plan. (Architectural Forum, September 1932, 218).

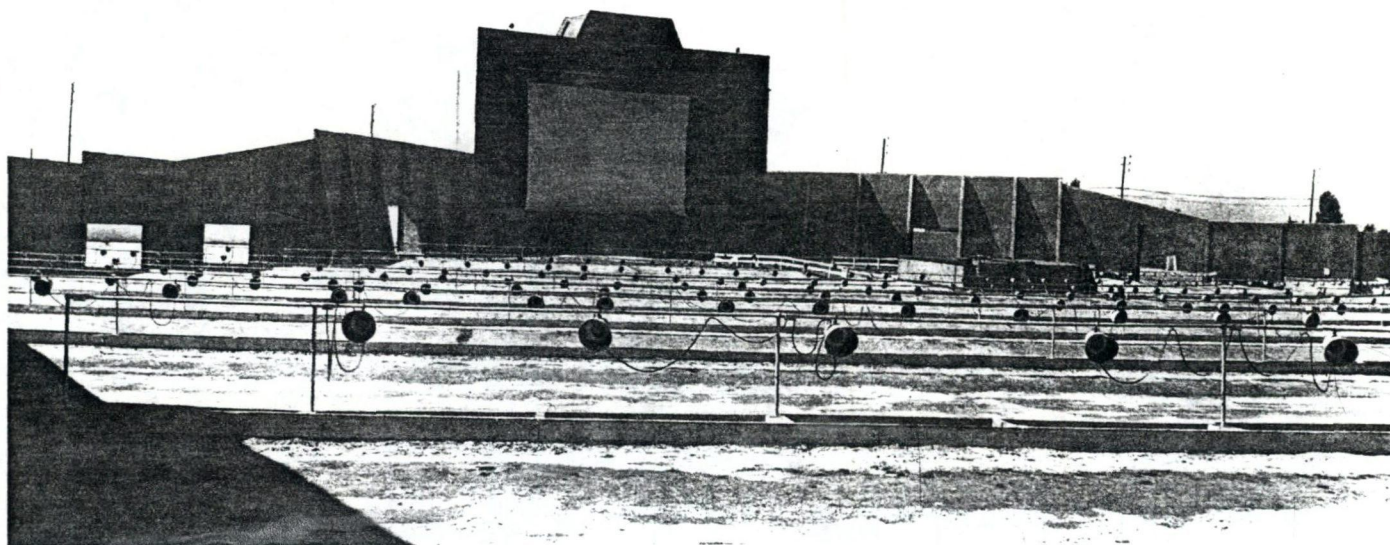


Figure 8. Drive-In Theatre, Pico Boulevard near Westwood Boulevard, Los Angeles, 1934, from a design patterned by R.M. Hollingshead; no longer standing. Photo "Dick" Whittington, 1935 (?). (Huntington Library).

blocks away and to make the tangent parking lot seem a part of the complex rather than residue space.²⁷

The only way in which the car and the theatre could become fully integrated was, of course, to make the parking lot and the auditorium one in the same, eliminating enclosed areas for all save a few service functions. A number of experiments showing movies outdoors occurred during the 1920s, ranging from the erection of a 132-by-165-foot screen for the Methodist Centenary in Columbus, Ohio (1920), to portable units taken to remote towns as part of a Fascist propaganda campaign in Italy toward the decade's end.²⁸ Not until 1933 did a commercial venture catering to motorists see realization with a facility called simply Drive-In Theatre at Camden, New Jersey. While only a partial success, the enterprise inspired others. The diffusion process was slow at first. Among the first sequels was in Los Angeles, where a compound with the "world's largest screen" was erected along Pico Boulevard near the nascent Westwood development in 1934 (Figure 8).²⁹ Circumstances seemed ideal for the drive-in theatre to flourish in a region where it could operate year-round, and soon the lore emerged elsewhere that the type originated in Hollywood. Yet by 1942 only three drive-in theatres were operating in the metropolitan area, indeed in all of California. Seven years later, that number had risen to twenty-eight; however, at a time when there was a boom in drive-in theatre construction across the country, Los Angeles stood well behind many smaller cities in accepting the type.³⁰

Why Los Angeles did not contribute more to the drive-in theatre's development remains unclear, but may have stemmed from patterns of land use. The large amount of space required for

such a facility relative to the revenue it generated meant that both the price of land and its tax rate had to be low. As a result, most examples were sited beyond municipal limits in locations deemed unlikely to experience much development in the foreseeable future. While large open tracts still abounded in the Los Angeles area, they were generally held for more profitable functions. The thrust of metropolitan development which became so pronounced locally during the 1920s—with a network of communities rapidly expanding, leaving ever less open space between them—gained renewed vigor during the second half of the 1930s and experienced a far greater surge following World War II. Land considered peripheral, sufficiently removed from growth areas, yet sufficiently close to population centers to attract a solid trade, was less extensive than geography alone might indicate.³¹ Perhaps, too, opposition from indoor theatre owners, common during the 1930s, was particularly strong in the region.

Restaurants

Among building types, the restaurant probably contributed the most to Los Angeles's reputation as a metropolis of drive-in establishments. On the eve of World War II, it is doubtful that any other urban area boasted so many restaurants catering to the motorist or so many people for whom eating in the car was routine.³² Although the drive-in restaurant did not originate in the region, Angelenos assumed a leading role nationwide in popularizing the idea, transforming it into a ritualistic experience.

A primary source for the drive-in restaurant was the open-air food stand, examples of which were found in eastern cities by



Figure 9. Plantation Cafe, 7600 W. Washington Boulevard, Culver City, H.J. Knauer, architect, 1922; no longer standing. Photo "Dick" Whittington, 1929. (Whittington Collection, Department of Special Collections, University of Southern California).

the mid-nineteenth century, many of them catering to workers in nearby factories. Such places began to acquire respectability among the middle class around 1900 as part of a general trend toward frequenting establishments where food could be obtained quickly and at moderate prices. But the major boom to the growth of fast food was the automobile. As swelling numbers of people traveled by car, legions of wayside eateries were constructed to secure their patronage. A proliferation of restaurants in outlying neighborhoods also appeared, appealing to drivers who did not wish to contend with downtown traffic and parking. By the late 1920s, this new genre of business began to make significant inroads on the volume of trade enjoyed by restaurants in central locations.³³

At the decade's end southern California harbored an array of well-known eateries both in outlying urban areas and along major excursion routes removed from concentrated settlement. The latter group gained widespread recognition, even notoriety, for an exotic ambience. Often, the buildings were fashioned like stage sets, calculated to foster a sense of escape from the everyday world. Angelenos drove considerable distances to patronize places such as the Marigold Gardens, Zulu Hut, Cliff Dweller's Inn, and Roscoe Arbuckle's Plantation Cafe, which provided experiences quite unlike those normally encountered in the city (Figure 9).³⁴ Conspicuousness from the road was, of course, a key objective in these escapist havens. The front portion of the grounds was generally consumed by a large parking lot, a convenient but incongruous element for a scene devoted to fantasy. Precisely because of that divergence, the building tended to make no acknowledgement of the car either in its exterior treatment or internal configuration.

The owners of Montgomery's Chanticleer Inn (1922), one of the region's earliest wayside restaurants oriented to the motorist, took a somewhat different approach. On one hand, no scheme was more suggestive of a storybook illustration. Designed by Henry Oliver, who created sets for Metro-Goldwyn-Meyer, and constructed by that studio's set technicians, the building may have been instrumental in establishing the evocative tone of other highway attractions of the period. Yet among the most popular dining areas was an outside area, situated not in a courtyard as was the norm in southern California, but rather like a motor-age sidewalk cafe, facing the highway (Figure 10). Equally popular was a service then almost unknown anywhere in the nation: food brought to customers in their cars. A board, which could be hinged to an automobile's two front doors was designed for the restaurant so that patrons would not have to eat off their laps. Thus poised, motorists observed others dining al fresco, with the fairytale building as a backdrop, while remaining in a semi-private realm of their own. The novelty of this experience did much to enhance the restaurant's regional fame.³⁵ In less than a decade, the popularity of car service led to the creation of a parking area that replaced a major portion of the building (Figure 11). Rechristened the Tam O'Shanter Inn, the facility was probably unique throughout the United States at that time in the way it combined car service with more established forms of dining. This integrative approach proved significant for the trade; for some years thereafter, however, the drive-in was primarily associated with one of the least prestigious types of eatery, the open-air stand.

The proliferation of open-air stands along streets and rural highways alike during the 1920s occurred because the type proved especially adaptable to meeting motorists' demands for

low prices and convenience. The buildings were cheap, small, and occupied little land; hence they were conducive to experimentation and could be moved without great cost if the site proved poor. Equally important, the configuration was no more than a freestanding box with a front counter which pedestrians could reach from the sidewalk. Altering the process to include attendants bringing food to customers in their cars necessitated no substantial change in arrangement.

As early as 1921, an open-air food establishment planned specifically for the motorist was erected in Texas as the first outlet of the Pig Stands Company. The building was no different from others of its type save for its location outside Dallas along a major route to Fort Worth, where patrons had ample space to pull by the side of the road and place their orders without leaving their cars. The introduction of offstreet parking occurred about the same time at the second outlet of the A&W Root Beer Company situated on a corner of a car lot in Sacramento, where provision was made for part of that space to be reserved for customers. Both ventures proved successful; by the mid-1920s Pig Stands was operating in six states, A&W in at least three.³⁶

The idea of an open-air stand sited for easy access by motorists may have been introduced to southern California by its originators. Pig Stands entered the local market in 1925; A&W soon thereafter.³⁷ Nevertheless, Los Angeles entrepreneurs were quick to begin experimenting with elaborations on that idea, perhaps in part spurred by the success of the Tam O'Shanter. Much of the credit for elevating the drive-in stand's stature was given to Harry Carpenter, a midwestern restaurateur who moved to Los Angeles in 1916. By the late 1920s he was erecting stands that were noticeably more ambitious than their shed-like progenitors, fusing aspects of the urban lunch counter with the drive-in concept. Carpenter reputedly believed the extensive amount of undeveloped arterial frontage in the metropolitan area, combined with the fact that so much of it lay adjacent to new, middle-class residential districts, gave a decisive advantage to such theretofore makeshift ventures, and sought to upgrade the type through changes in service and image. Patrons could sit at a counter as well as in their cars. The menu possessed some variety and the quality of food was touted as equalling that found in fine restaurants. Critics and the public alike tended to agree that "Carpenter's Good Things to Eat" was more than a slogan. By 1932 a large following had generated a thriving business, housed in four stands, "giving folks in a hurry, food in a hurry, with none of the earmarks of hurried food."³⁸ Carpenter anticipated crowds. From the first unit on Wilshire Boulevard and Western Avenue (ca. 1929), his outlets had a car lot considerably larger than the norm. The stand was placed in the center of the property and was polygonal rather than rectangular so as to address the entire area (Figures 12, 13). Open space, architecture, and the automobile itself were integral parts of the setting. Product and ambience seemed designed for, not adapted to, the motorist.

Showmanship in service was important to the drive-in restaurant's success as well, so that what may have at first seemed like no more than a novelty became a constant attraction. Carpenter was lauded for giving the drive-in "typical Hollywood glitter....[finding] a batch of would-be stars starving to death while waiting the big chance...[and dressing] them in bright uniforms...to work as carhops." Showmanship was affordable because the carhops, apparently, were paid little, tips providing much of their income. Furthermore, most of the items sold did not spoil easily so there was little waste in unused goods. Prices were a la carte, which netted a higher return than full-course meals.³⁹ Since these places could operate in all seasons, their trade diminished only when it rained. It is hardly surprising that the drive-in flourished.

Other restaurateurs soon began to emulate Carpenter's program. Lot size was recognized for its potential to attract customers. On occasion, the parking area was substantially greater than that needed for practical purposes, its big dimensions imparting a sense of freedom in maneuvering automobiles and suggesting that patronage overflowed at peak hours (Figure 14). The building became ever more conspicuous as a competitive instrument. Stands erected ca. 1930 by Melvin A. McDonnell, a former Carpenter associate, may have been the first of their kind in the nation to have a large pylon as a crowning element (Figure 15). The device became a hallmark of the drive-in restaurant locally and in some other regions as well toward the decade's end.⁴⁰

Carpenter also seems to have been key to popularizing the Tam O'Shanter's combination of car, counter, and dining-room service, with full-course meals available inside augmenting the more limited outdoor menu. His initial venture of this sort, erected in the mid-Wilshire district ca. 1934, struck a balance between the exotic character of roadhouse and the more basic tone of his stands (Figure 16). While the effect was sufficiently exotic for one trade chronicler to describe it as "a cross between the Taj Mahal and Mary Pickford's swimming pool bathhouse," the layout owed almost nothing to the Tam O'Shanter.⁴¹ The large, enveloping car lot as well as the building's orientation to it retained clear perceptual links to the stand.

The stand indeed became the primary source of inspiration for drive-in restaurants in southern California whether they housed no more than a counter or also included a large dining room and even a cocktail lounge. By the late 1930s, the two kinds were seen as variations on a single idea rather than as discrete entities. The architectural vocabulary was as unified as the underlying concept. A repertoire of sleek, streamlined forms was matched with costly veneers, a dazzling array of colors, and intricate illumination systems that made the drive-in stand out as a semi-transparent, sculptural beacon by night (Figure 17). Buildings erected by companies such as McDonnell's, Robert's, Simon's, and Herbert's ranked among the most spirited examples of any type found in the country in combining the modernist

pursuit of an abstract architecture, defined as much by space and light as by form, and of the concurrent aim in commercial design to have architecture a striking, memorable advertisement.⁴² For their clientele, these buildings succeeded, if in no other way, as settings that at once seemed elegant, with trappings faintly suggestive of a nightclub, and informal, where meals could be an impromptu venture. This combination at once bolstered the sense of convenience and spontaneity in the sit-down establishment while augmenting the sense of respectability associated with the drive-in. Orientation to the parking lot and to the automobiles there was no less prominent indoors than out (Figure 18). These large, costly, and conspicuous eateries in turn became the forerunners of the "coffee shop" which as much as the earlier drive-ins would emerge as a distinguishing feature of the metropolitan landscape after World War II.⁴³

The success of the drive-in had a direct impact upon conventional restaurant design as well. Within about three years of Carpenter's first combination facility, plans were announced for Carl's Viewpark in Baldwin Hills, which consisted principally of a large and rather formal dining room, but also a drive-in section to one side at a lower level. The overall design recalled the taste for fantasy so pronounced in roadhouses a decade earlier, with imagery here concocted to suggest "the beauty and chivalry of the old South." Yet the drive-in segment, spilling into the large car lot used by all patrons, was an equally visible feature. Much the same design was used several years later by McDonnell's for its Plantation restaurant, prominently sited along a major route to the southern beach communities (Figure 19).⁴⁴ The results here, and in similar examples of the period, were quite the opposite of those found at the drive-in proper, appearing as if the complex had been modified over time. Yet the fact that restaurateurs used this element with an otherwise traditionally inspired design indicates the degree to which the drive-in had become an icon.

By the eve of World War II, over one-hundred drive-in restaurants existed in the metropolitan area. The type had profoundly affected local eating habits and was recognized far afield no less than at home as a distinguishing feature of the region. But much like the motel, the drive-in restaurant business remained small-scale until the 1950s. Its impact was the collective result of modest-sized, independent businesses rather than of major chain companies. Dozens of operators worked in the field and no one of them approached a dominant position. Harry Carpenter continued to be recognized as a pioneer, but soon some competitors became equally successful. Carpenter had six drive-in units in 1941; McDonnell's and Simon's were the largest with eight; the great majority of firms had one.⁴⁵

Laundries

The drive-in laundry acquired none of the symbolic aura of the drive-in restaurant, but it likewise became an integral part of

Angelenos' routines. By the late 1930s at least half of all the laundry business done in the region entailed customers going to the premises rather than using delivery service, and in a great many instances establishments were modified or specifically designed for customers coming by car.⁴⁶ Within the trade, Los Angeles did not enjoy the prestige as a national leader in introducing the drive-in laundry idea; that distinction was generally given to southern cities. Nevertheless work in Los Angeles soon ranked among the most advanced of its kind, shaped primarily in response to local conditions rather than by outside example.

The drive-in laundry was an outgrowth of companies seeking to reduce operating costs. By encouraging customers to come to the plant, owners could pass on much of the savings (generally 20%) from having fewer delivery vans and drivers. This "cash-and-carry" system received a major boost during the depression as ever more people sought ways to reduce household expenditures. Cash-and-carry emerged as a significant trend in several parts of the country during the mid-1930s. Growth of the system became a self-advancing process as owners realized that curtailing deliveries no longer increased their profits so much as did the rise in patronage spurred by convenience. Competing under these circumstances led to a transformation of both physical facilities and business practices, emulating those in the retail field. A readily accessible location, attractive service area, and ample parking space became primary considerations for the first time in planning the laundry plant. The building remained foremost a utilitarian facility, but it now also assumed the credit characteristics of a store.⁴⁷

Although much of the credit for pioneering cash-and-carry practices was given to operations in Atlanta (begun 1930) and Nashville (1931), the Sterling Laundry in Houston instituted the system as early as 1926. In Houston, too, a complex was designed three years later which housed a laundry, market, and drug store in adjacent units, with a modest offstreet parking area in front.⁴⁸ Los Angeles, on the other hand, may have been the first city where the cash-and-carry and drive-in ideas were implemented together on a large scale. In 1930 the Moderncraft Laundry opened a decorous plant on La Brea Avenue as the centerpiece of its new network. Unlike most counterparts in southern California and elsewhere, it was situated on a commercial corridor, between fast-growing residential tracts in Hollywood and Beverly Hills, rather than isolated in an industrial or blue-collar neighborhood. Its elaborate Art Deco front suggested a fancy showroom, standing in marked contrast to the workaday character of most such places (Figure 20). A customer parking lot separated entrance from sidewalk. Both siting and appearance embodied the objective of cash-and-carry as a signature of the business.⁴⁹

Equally innovative was Moderncraft's concurrent opening of twelve branch outlets. These "call stations" contained no cleaning equipment; they provided convenient places for

California's Quaintest Highway Eating Place



**Formal opening tomorrow
of new dining rooms—**

QUAIN'T new dining-rooms, more than trebling the Inn's original capacity, will be formally opened Sunday, Feb. 4. The popular \$2.00 country-style fried chicken and Virginia-baked ham dinners, which have earned a reputation for the Inn throughout the West, will be served. A new feature of the week-day service, will be a special baked ham plate dinner for \$1.00, besides full course baked ham and chicken dinners for \$1.50. Afternoon teas will be served, and one of the dining-rooms may be reserved afternoons for card parties.

How to reach the Inn—
The Inn is at 2980 Los Feliz Boulevard, a half mile east of Griffith Park, near the city limits between Los Angeles and Glendale. A pleasant 20 minutes' ride from downtown Los Angeles. If in doubt about the location, phone Lincoln 3050.

Montgomery's CHANTICLEER INN

RALPH FRANK, V. P. and Treas. LAWRENCE L. FRANK, Pres. WALTER VAN DE KAMP, Mgr.

TELEPHONE YOUR RESERVATIONS—LINCOLN 3050

Figure 10. Chanticleer Inn, 2930 Los Feliz Boulevard, Los Angeles, Henry Oliver, designer, 1922-1923, as originally built. (Los Angeles Times, 3 February 1923, II-2).



Figure 11. Tam O'Shanter (formerly Chanticleer) Inn, as remodelled by early 1930s. Photo "Dick" Whittington, 1931. (Whittington Collection, Department of Special Collections, University of Southern California).



Figure 12. Carpenter's Drive-In Sandwich Stand #2, 6290 Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles, ca. 1929; no longer standing. Photo Albert Frey, 1932. (courtesy Albert Frey).

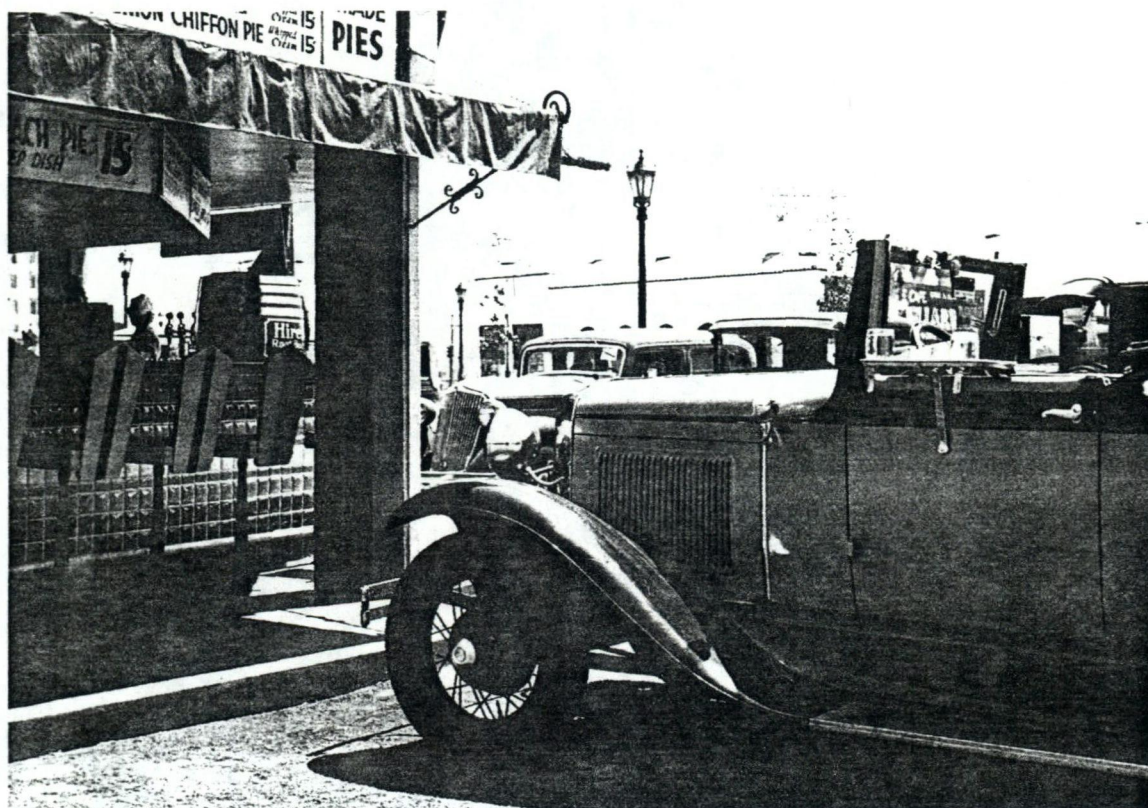


Figure 13. Carpenter's Stand #2, detail. Photo Albert Frey, 1932. (courtesy Albert Frey).

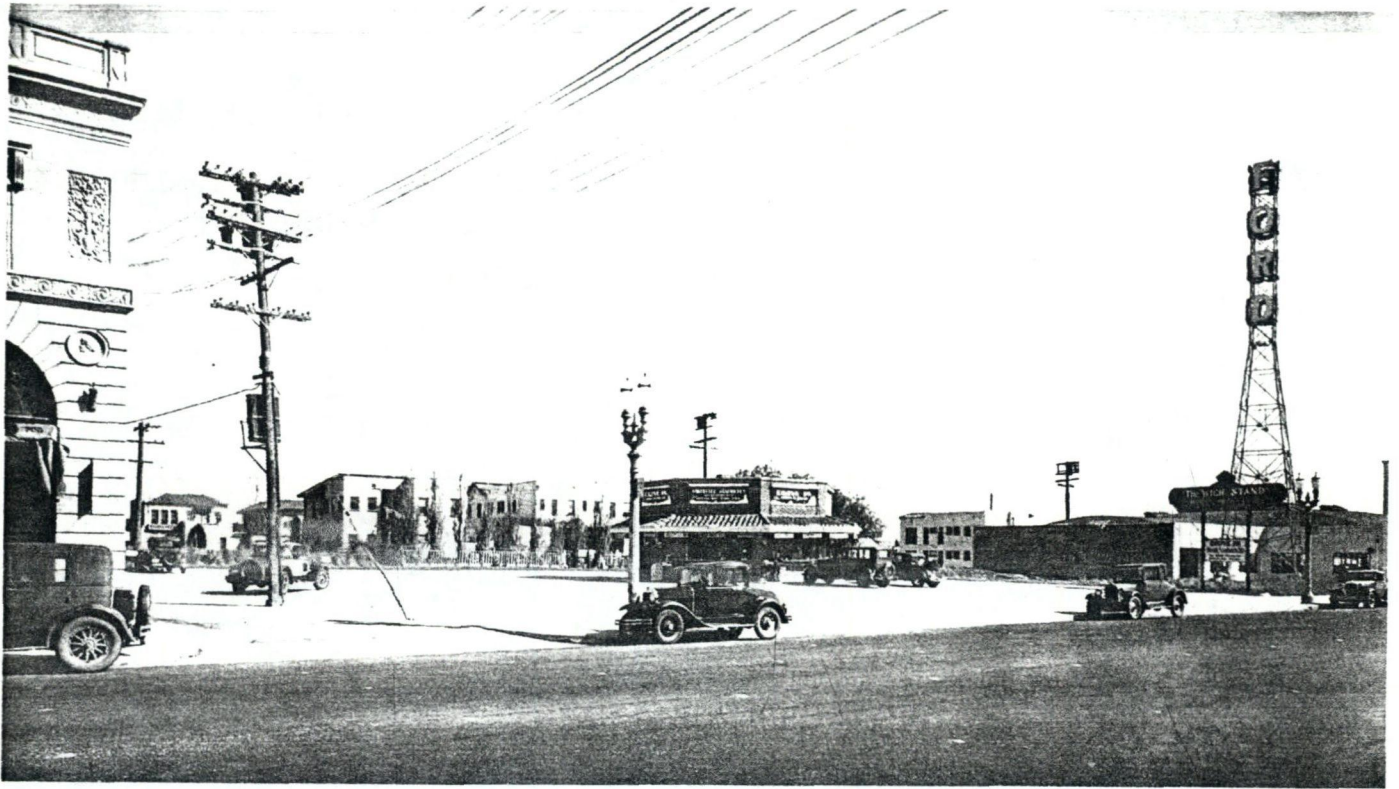


Figure 14. The Wich Stand #3, 724 S. La Brea Avenue, Los Angeles, ca. 1930; no longer standing. Photo "Dick" Whittington, 1932. (Huntington Library).

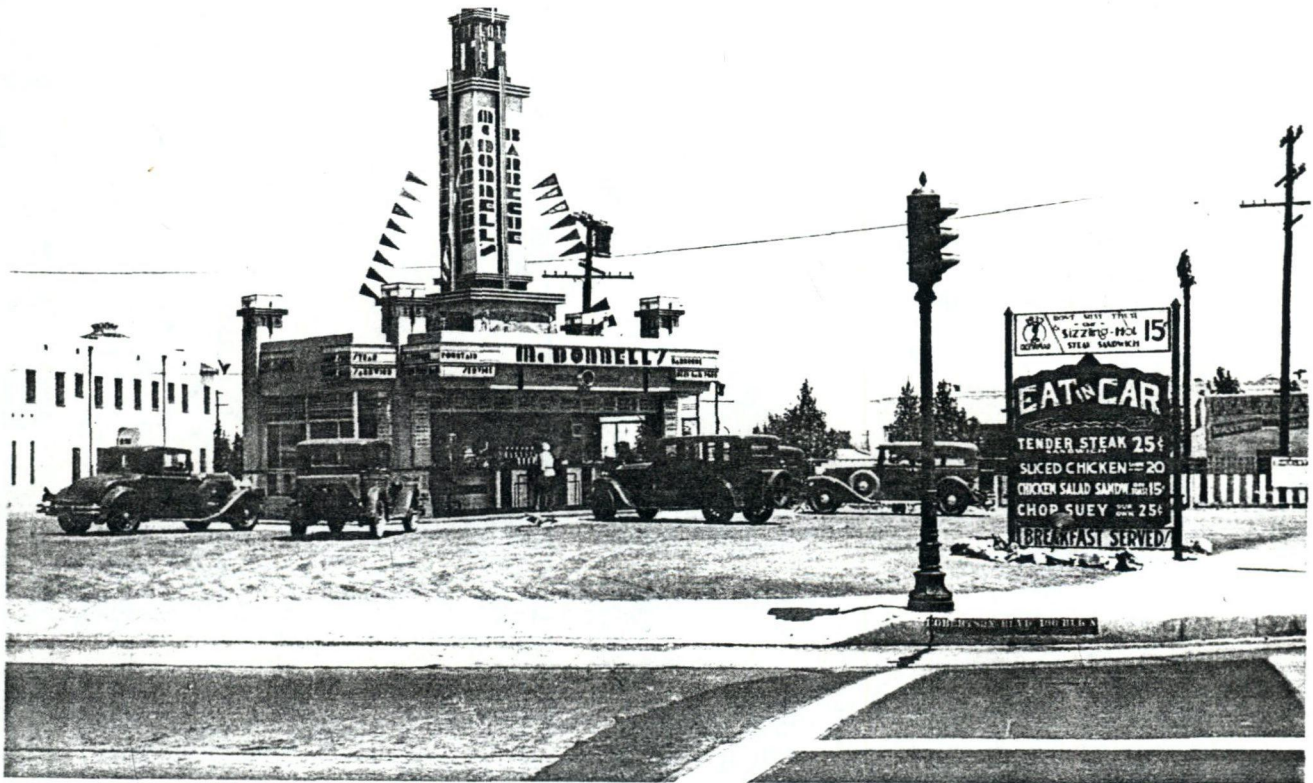


Figure 15. McDonnell's Drive-In Barbecue stand, 8767 Wilshire Boulevard, Beverly Hills, ca. 1930; no longer standing. Photo Albert Frey, 1932. (courtesy Albert Frey).

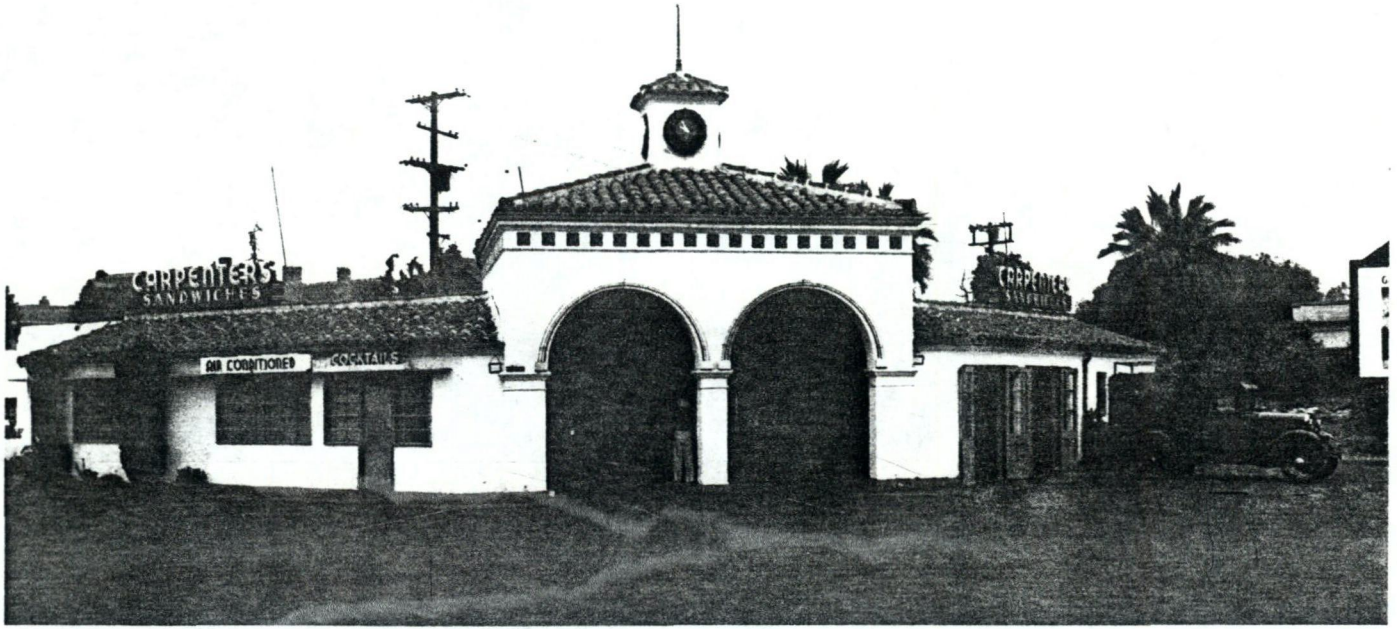


Figure 16. Carpenter's Drive-In Sandwich Stand #4, 1250 S. Vermont Avenue, Los Angeles, ca. 1934; no longer standing. Photo Putnam Studios. (Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History).

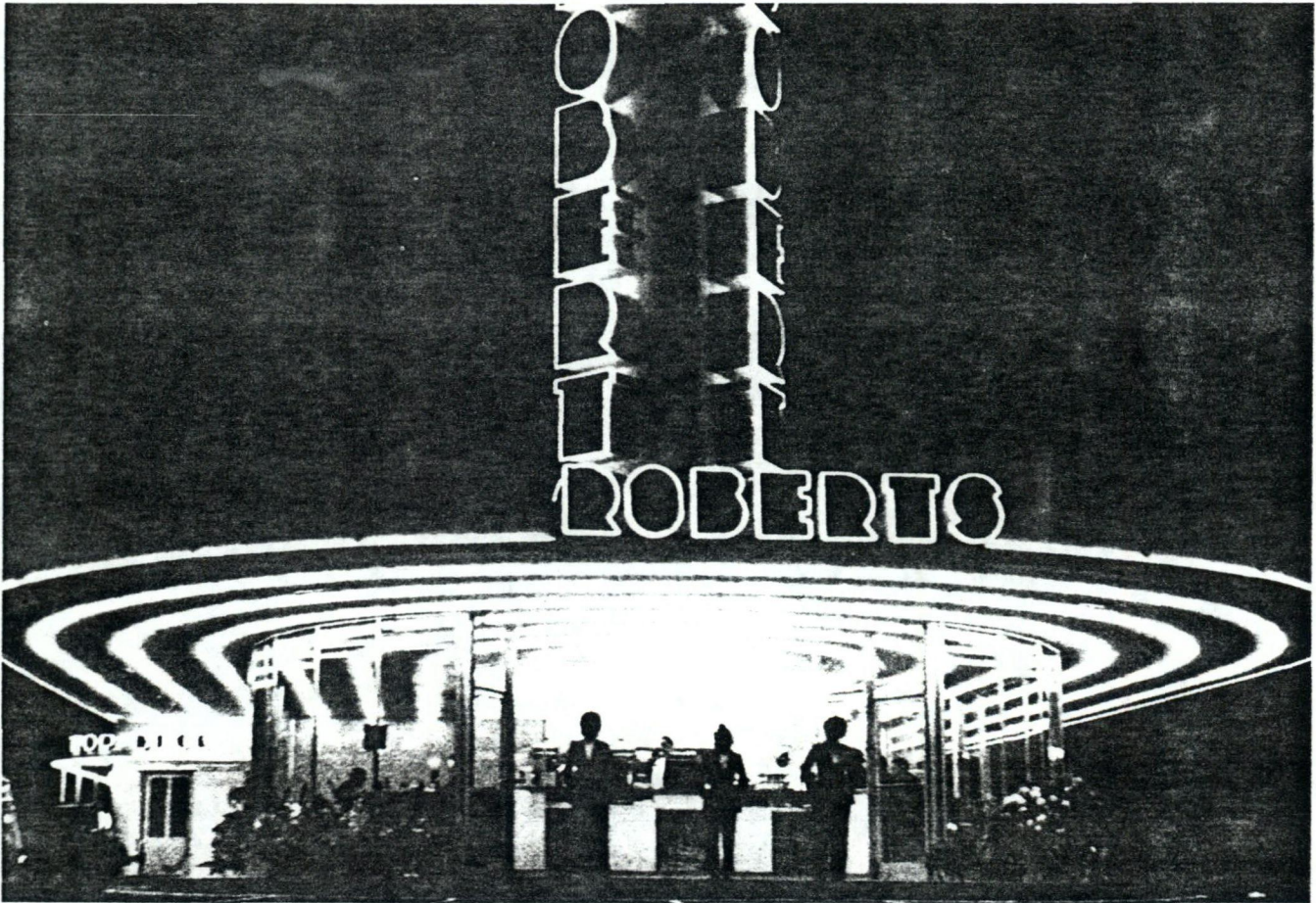


Figure 17. Robert's drive-in restaurant, 6395 Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles, Wayne D. McAllister, architect, ca. 1939; no longer standing. (Pacific Coast Record, June 1940, 14).



Figure 18. Van de Kamp's restaurant, 2690 Fletcher Drive, Los Angeles, Plummer & Feil, architects, 1938; no longer standing. Photo "Dick" Whittington, 1939. (Whittington Collection, Department of Special Collections, University of Southern California).

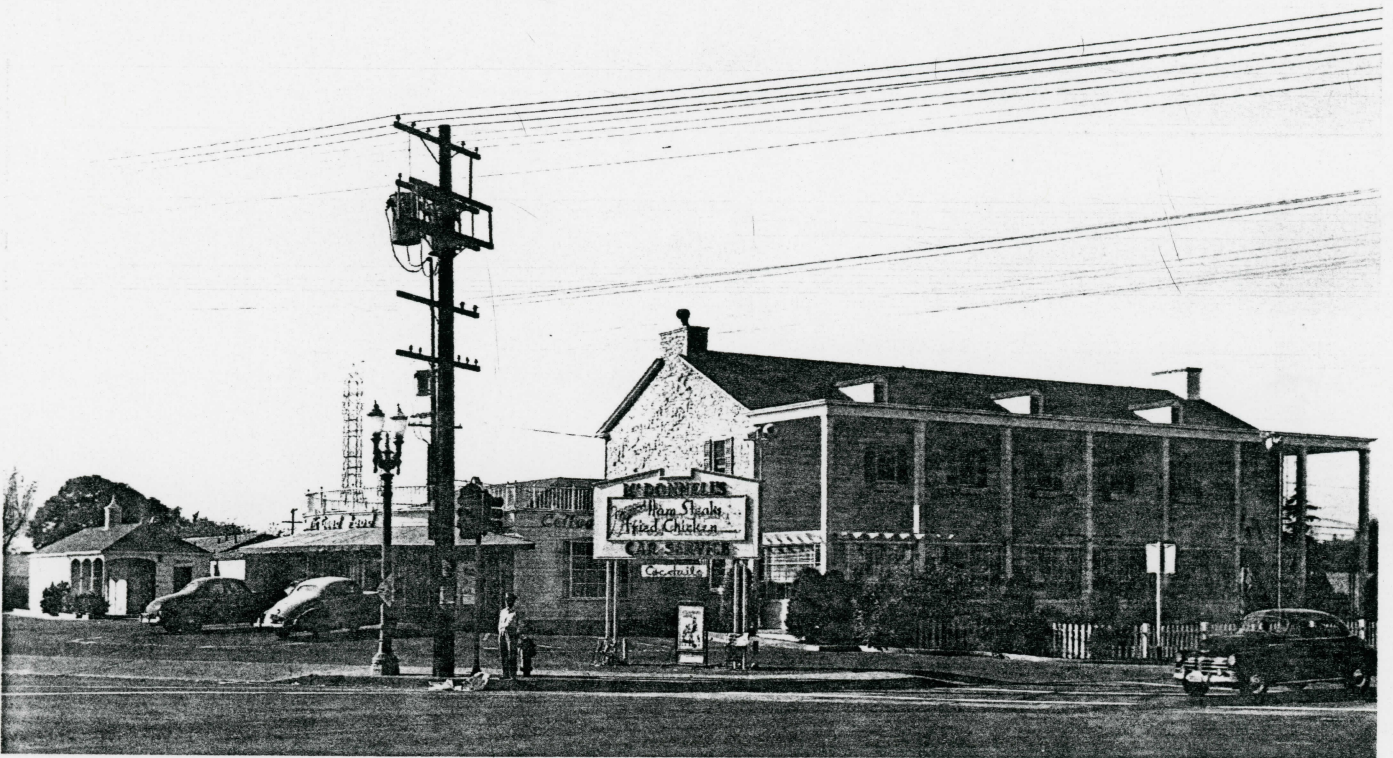


Figure 19. McDonnell's Plantation restaurant, 3061-3081 Firestone Boulevard, Southgate, 1941. Photo "Dick" Whittington, 1941. (Whittington Collection, Department of Special Collections, University of Southern California).

customers to deposit and retrieve goods. Much like a chain store, this network enabled the company to attract a much greater audience than a single facility. Moderncraft's president, C.P. Smith, believed that the popular drive-in market was essential to the scheme's success. By placing eleven of his branches in market complexes, he benefited from their patronage and provided offstreet parking with little capital outlay.⁵⁰

By the late 1930s a number of competitors in the region had adapted Moderncraft's strategy, erecting separate buildings for their branch offices rather than placing them in retail blocks. The drive-in call station became relatively common, yet its form and appearance varied considerably. Some examples were no more than basic shelter, their exteriors and the sides of the adjacent parking lot covered with signs. Others were more assuming, with streamlined motifs orchestrated to serve as an architectural beacon, much like the design of some of the latest drive-in restaurants (Figure 21). The branch system was not used extensively in other parts of the country due to the extra operating costs it entailed.⁵¹ However, the low density and extent of dispersal, combined with multitude of commuting routes to outlying business districts as well as to downtown, which characterized Los Angeles was conducive to branches for the large laundry companies that courted an area trade.

The cash-and-carry business did not generate sufficient revenue in most cases to induce a trend in the design of new plants or the remodelling of extant ones until the second half of the 1930s. Before then, customer-oriented facilities such as Moderncraft's main office were unusual in Los Angeles and elsewhere. When plant modernization increased, a drive-in component became a standard feature. Operators who pursued this course shared the objective of fashioning the premises in a manner akin to a store. Streamline design symbolized the transformation. Among the most ambitious of these schemes was that for the Royal Laundry & Cleaning Company in Pasadena (1933-1939) (Figure 22). Added to an already extensive plant, the building functioned as the new centerpiece, bold in its use of form and color. Ample space existed for customers to be served without leaving their cars; inside the service area was capacious.⁵²

Neither the Royal Laundry nor any other example in the country emerged as a paradigm in the modernization trend.⁵³ Instead, numerous types served as points of departure, including restaurants, service stations, stores, office buildings, and even houses. Differences in size, siting, and services offered may partially explain the panoply of results. Perhaps more important, the use of the building to attract customers remained adjunct to the plant's main function. Whatever the reasons, Los Angeles

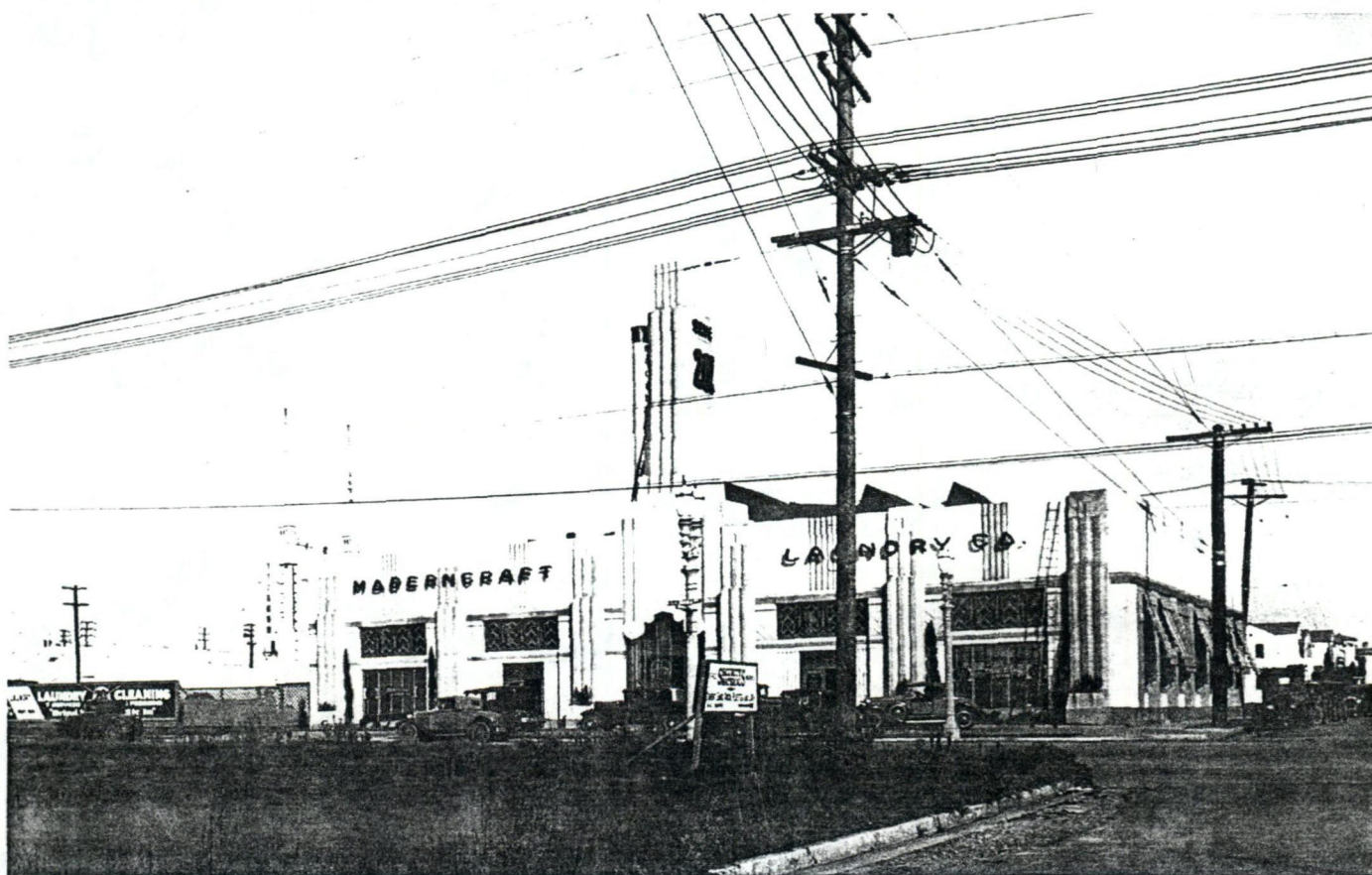


Figure 20. Moderncraft Laundry Company, 900 N. La Brea Avenue, Los Angeles, Morgan, Walls & Clements, architects, 1930; altered. Photo "Dick" Whittington, 1930. (Whittington Collection, Department of Special Collections, University of Southern California).



Figure 21. Peerless Laundry Services call station, 25 W. Valley Boulevard, Alhambra, ca. 1937. (Photo author, 1989).



Figure 22. Royal Laundry & Dry Cleaning Company call station, 477 S. Raymond Avenue, Pasadena, George H. Whyte, designer/builder, 1939. (Photo author 1989).

examples lay in the front ranks of the trend, despite their paucity of influence.

Banks

Los Angeles also gained nationwide recognition as a pioneer in the development of the drive-in bank. At first banks were slow to accommodate the motorist. Even the adjunct parking lot was a rare feature during the 1920s. One unusual departure, locally and nationally, was a branch of the California Bank (1929-1930) on Hollywood Boulevard. Stores formed a prominent part of the ensemble, which, capped by a soaring tower, looked more like an elegant specialty shop than a financial institution (Figure 23). The building further broke from the norm in standing two blocks beyond the major intersection around which a neighborhood business center had developed. Both form and location suggest that the scheme was consciously devised to attract the motorist at least as much as the pedestrian. Among its conspicuous features was the portal to a rear car lot, reserved for customers and tenants. Yet patrons had to return to the sidewalk to enter the premises. The unorthodox nature of the scheme, coupled with the onset of the depression, no doubt contributed to its remaining an anomaly.⁵⁴

Despite the considerable investment many financial institutions made in modernizing facilities and constructing new branches during the late 1930s and early 1940s, features tailored to the motorist remained the exception.⁵⁵ Bankers believed that demand did not justify the cost. Most of what was realized in this arena entailed modest adaptations to existing facilities. In 1930, the Bankers Trust Company in Indianapolis converted a window facing the rear alley of its downtown office so that customers could drive up and make deposits without leaving their cars. Several competitors followed suit. By 1941, the outside teller window could be found in perhaps several dozen places from Trenton, New Jersey, to Lubbock, Texas.⁵⁶ That same year, the American National Bank in Portsmouth, Virginia experimented with a curbside box in front of its main building where customers could make deposits with a teller situated in a basement room, communicating by a periscope and drop chute.⁵⁷

Two of the most important precedents for drive-in banks were constructed in the Los Angeles area shortly before World War II. The first facility anywhere designed from the outset to serve motorists was a new branch of the Security First National Bank which opened in 1937 several miles from downtown (Figure 24). The building did not have the usual location in a business center, but instead stood in isolation along the main north-south artery of Vernon, a satellite community comprised



Figure 23. California Bank, Hollywood-Grammercy Branch, 2642-2646 Hollywood Boulevard, Los Angeles, John and Donald B. Parkinson, architects, 1929-1930. (Photo by author, 1989).

of industrial plants. Pedestrian traffic was minimal; most customers drove to the bank from the workplace. Space was cheap. The new facility was remodeled from a warehouse fronted by stores, and thus ample room existed for cars without great cost. The bank proper was like an island with driveways on either side and a sizable indoor parking area occupying the former storage space at the rear. A drive-in teller window next to the entry for the first time became a principal rather than an adjunct feature (Figure 25). Curbside parking was far less at a premium than in most neighborhood commercial districts; yet "the opportunity to set new standards of speed and convenience" convinced bank officials to embark on the scheme.⁵⁸

With the exception of the Hillcrest State Bank in the Dallas suburb of University Park (1938), which had a teller window facing the rear alley, several years elapsed before new bank buildings began to incorporate aspects of the much publicized and praised Security design. A new branch of the Farmers and Merchants Bank at Long Beach (1940-1941) was among the most fully resolved prewar examples in the country. Situated along a major thoroughfare on the city's edge, away from established business centers and the congestion they generated, the branch was easily accessible to motorists. The building proper occupied less than half of its corner site, the remainder of which was given over to patrons' cars. The automobile entrance was an integral component of the design as were the teller

windows, sheltered by a canopy, and the prominent pedestrian entry leading from the parking area (Figure 26).⁵⁹ The bank's orientation was no longer just to the street; it was a freestanding object, which visually addressed the different paths taken by its mobile clientele. When a new wave of bank construction occurred during the postwar years, the Long Beach design afforded a significant model.⁶⁰

By the early 1940s, drive-in services were found at other Los Angeles establishments as well, ranging from a florist's shop to a shoe repair store.⁶¹ The scope of functions so affected locally was impressive. Yet the phenomenon of business development configured to suit the needs of the motorist remained at a nascent phase. Even in southern California, commercial districts continued to be built along traditional lines—with buildings that fronted the sidewalk and often abutted one another to form concentrated nodes—into the mid-twentieth century. Not until the late 1950s and 1960s did the visually less coherent use of space, arranged foremost for offstreet vehicular movement and parking, become the norm for new retail precincts in Los Angeles and other cities as well.

The initial, often tentative, ventures in the drive-in sphere were significant for the later widespread transformation in two ways. First, they demonstrated how some functions which had long been highly centralized could be advantageously diffused—placed on the periphery and also away from outlying business



Figure 24. Security-First National Bank, Vernon Branch, 2908 Santa Fe Avenue, Vernon, alterations to a 1920s building, 1937; altered. Photo "Dick" Whittington, 1937. (Whittington Collection, Department of Special Collections, University of Southern California).

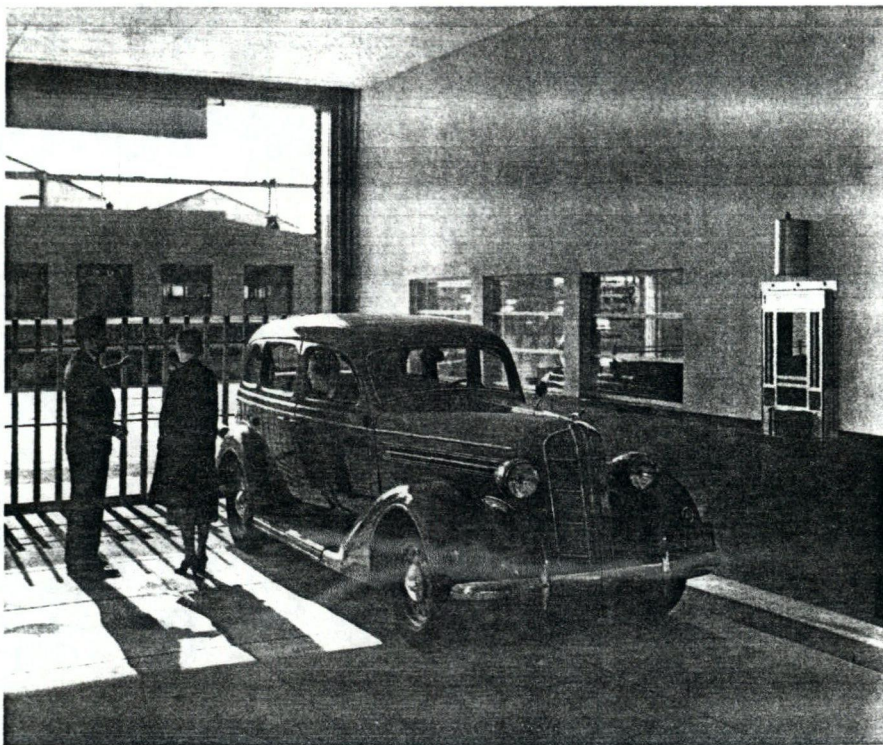


Figure 25. Security-First National Bank, Vernon Branch, drive-in teller windows. Photo "Dick" Whittington, 1937. (Whittington Collection, Department of Special Collections, University of Southern California).



Figure 26. Farmers & Merchants Bank, 14th & American Avenue Branch, 1401 Long Beach Boulevard, Long Beach, Raymond A. Sites, architect, 1940-1941; altered. Photo ca. 1941. (Security Pacific National Bank Photograph Collection, Los Angeles Public Library).

concentrations—when catering to a mobile clientele. The motel was perhaps the most dramatic illustration of this shift, but the concept of removal from congested outlying areas also proved beneficial to other types, including banks, laundries, and theatres. The second, equally significant contribution was providing models for the reconfiguration of space and building form to accommodate automobiles. The drive-in restaurant was a seminal force in this sphere. The type afforded a paradigm for site planning whereby the structure was a mid-space object oriented to the larger car lot that surrounded it—an approach used for many types over the past several decades.

On the eve of Pearl Harbor, Los Angeles was not the drive-in city some chroniclers might have wished it to be. The number of such facilities represented a very small fraction of the commercial fabric in the metropolitan area. Still, with both the extent and variety of new approaches to addressing the demands of an automobile-oriented society unsurpassed anywhere in the nation, Los Angeles was indeed a harbinger of the contemporary metropolis.

Endnotes:

¹Jack Pollexfen, "Don't Get Out," *Collier's*, 101 (19 Mar. 1938), 18.

²See, for example, "Architecture for the Autoist," *Country Life* [New York], 53 (Apr. 1928), 80-82; Louis Adamic, "Los Angeles! There She Blows!" *Outlook and Independent*, 155 (13 Aug. 1930), 562-65, 594, 596; Morrow Mayo, *Los Angeles* (New York: Knopf, 1933), facing 178-79. Similar portrayals appeared in trade journals: James H. Collins, "Monkey-Wrench Merchandising," *Printer's Ink Monthly*, 16 (Apr. 1928), 49-51; and "Palaces for Hot Dogs," *Architectural Forum* 63 (May 1935): 30-31. A good pictorial record is found in Jim Heimann and Rip Georges, *California Crazy: Roadside Vernacular Architecture* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1980). David Gebhard's introduction to that book (pp. 11-25); Chester Liebs, *Main Street to Miracle Mile: American Roadside Architecture* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1985), 48-49; and Barbara Rubin, "Aesthetic Ideology and Urban Design," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 69 (Sep. 1979): 345-353, address this genre from a scholarly perspective.

³Warren James Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel. 1910-1945* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1979), provides the most thorough account of the transformation process. For overviews of the type, see Liebs, *Main Street*, 169-191; and John A. Jakle, "Motel by the Roadside: America's Room for the Night," *Journal of Cultural Geography* 1 (Fall-Winter 1980): 34-49.

⁴Indeed, most studies focus on type to the exclusion of factors related to location; however, Liebs, *Main Street*, 3-37, does address the important matter of urban origins. Ironically, examination of the movement to rural locations of specialty stores not dealing in automotive products or catering to travellers is meager. Emporia trading in lines such as clothing, shoes, furniture, variety goods, and hardware nevertheless played a pivotal role in changing patterns of where people shop over the past half century. The tendency began in the East before World War II, as can be gleaned from "Retailing in a Cornfield," *Printers' Ink*, 198 (2 Jan. 1942), 21-23, 57, 60, 62, 64, 67-68, 71.

⁵The earliest and most widespread applications of the drive-in concept were with filling stations and other facilities devoted to automobile service. Los Angeles significantly contributed to these developments. The metropolitan area provided the staging ground for the creation of the

drive-in market, which, while it remained a California phenomenon, ranked as the most extensive use of the drive-in concept outside the automotive sphere during the interwar decades. On the other hand, supermarkets of the period retained a strong streetfront orientation even though many examples supported offstreet parking space on adjacent lots. A few department and apparel stores similarly provided for customers' cars without significant impact on building configuration. For background, see Richard Longstreth, "The Perils of a Parkless Town," in Martin Wachs and Margaret Crawford, eds., *The Car and the City: The Automobile, the Built Environment and Daily Urban Life* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 141-53, 310-13. The subject is more broadly discussed in idem, *City Center to Regional Mall: Architecture, the Automobile, and Retailing in Los Angeles. 1920-1950* (Cambridge: MIT Press 1997).

⁶Belasco, *Americans on the Road*, provides the most thorough account of the transformation process. For overviews of the type, see Liebs, *Main Street*, 169-191; and John A. Jakle, "Motel by the Roadside".

⁷F. E. Brimmer, "My Three Years of Motor Camping," *Popular Science Monthly*, 100 (June 1922), 19; Belasco, *Americans on the Road*, 79-86.

⁸"I'll Answer Your Questions on Tourist Camps," *Hotel Management*, 30 (July 1936), 18; Ruel McDaniel, "Tourist-Camps 'De Luxe' in the Southwest," *Forbes* 22 (1 Aug. 1928), 26; "America Takes to the Motor Court," *Business Week*, 15 June 1940, 22.

⁹Myron M. Stearns, "That Bungalow Camp," *Saturday Evening Post*, 200 (27 Aug. 1927), 145; "Vagabonds—de Luxe and Plain—of the Tourist Trails," *Literary Digest*, 109 (27 June 1931), 36-37; A.E. Holden, "State Legislation Helps Cottage Establishments," *Tourist Trade*, 2 (Mar. 1933), 6; John J. McCarthy and Robert Littell, "Three Hundred Thousand Shacks," *Harper's*, 167 (July 1933), 184-185; "The Great American Roadside," *Fortune*, 10 (Sep. 1934), 60; "I'll Answer Your Questions," 18.

¹⁰E.C. MacMechan, "Motor Tourists' Camp Has all Conveniences," *Popular Mechanics*, 34 (Oct. 1920), 513-517; Belasco, *Americans on the Road*, 116-117. See also Jesse A. Jackson, "Seattle's Auto Camp...," *Concrete Highway Magazine* 7 (June 1923), 123-125.

¹¹"Camp-Ground Problems," *Los Angeles Times*, 19 Oct. 1919, VI-1, 7; "New Auto Camp Needed," *Los Angeles Times*, 7 Oct. 1923, VI-1, 3.

¹²Accounts of the period cite the first autocamp with cottages as being in Douglas, Arizona; see "I'll Answer Your Questions," 18. Concerning the Oakland complex, see John Anson Ford, "Bungalette' Camp for Motor Tourists," *Popular Mechanics*, 37 (Mar. 1922), 416-17; and Melville F. Ferguson, *Motor Camping on Western Trails* (New York: Century Co., 1925), 164-65.

¹³"Tourist Camp Planned," *Los Angeles Times*, 26 Aug. 1923, V-6. If unusual, the complex was not unique in the extent of its amenities. See, for example, "Cozy Apartments Provided for Touring Motorists," *Popular Mechanics*, 37 (June 1922), 918, which notes work in Florida. Much additional research on localities needs to be done before adequate material can be gathered for a comparative analysis.

¹⁴A.E. Holden, "Cottage Pioneer Looks Ahead," *Tourist Trade*, 2 (May 1933), 20-21.

¹⁵"Hotel Chain for Autoists," *Los Angeles Times*, 31 July 1921, VI-2. See also *Los Angeles Times*, 21 May 1922, VI-4.

¹⁶The Milestone Mo-tel, later known as the Motel Inn, was, according to its architect, derived from the idea of the bungalow court; see Robert Winter, *The California Bungalow* (Los Angeles: Hennessey & Ingalls, 1980), 66-67. The bungalow court arrangement already was so adapted for the Grauman Court and Hotel at Hollywood, which did not have contiguous parking facilities; see: *Los Angeles Times*, Midwinter Number, 1 Jan. 1924, VI-35. For accounts of the Milestone Mo-tel, see: "Hostelry Chain for Motorists," *Los Angeles Times*, 13 Jan. 1925, II-7; "New System Aids Tourists," *Los Angeles Times*, 7 Feb. 1926, VI-6; Arthur S. Heineman, "New Mo-tel Has Plaster ...," *Southern California Plasterer*, 2 (Mar. 1926), 14-15, 38; "Roadside Inn for Motorists...," *Popular Mechanics*, 46 (Nov. 1926), 709; and Arthur Krim, "Motel Mystery Revealed," *Society for Commercial Archeology, News Journal*, 2 (May 1982), 3.

¹⁷"Tourist Hotel Project...," *Motor Age*, 42 (6 July 1922), 23; Lawrence Wm. Penrose, "Motorists' Caravansary Is New Industry," *Popular Mechanics*, 38 (Oct. 1922), 522-523; "Pacific Coast 'Road Houses' to Welcome

Tourists," *Popular Science Monthly*, 101 (Dec. 1922), 44.

¹⁷ Frank E. Brimmer, "Are You on Motor Main Street," *Chain Store Review* 1 (Aug. 1928), 7-9, 28-29; and idem, "Motor Main Street's Bumper Tourist Crop," *Chain Store Review*, 2 (July 1929), 7-9, 39, 57. For another local example, see *Glendale Evening News*, 17 Mar. 1927, 4.

¹⁸"Great American Roadside," 60. Concerning the business itself, see J.C. Chattfield, "Pierce Undertakes New Experiment...," *National Petroleum News*, 21 (13 Feb. 1929), 90, 92; "A Motor Inn Chain," *Pacific Coast Record*, 20 (Aug. 1929), 27-29; Carleton Whiting, "'Gas' Stations Grow to Motorist Hotels...," *National Petroleum News*, 22 (19 Mar. 1930), 153, 155, 157, 160-61; and "Catering to Motorists' Comfort," *Claude Neon News*, 3 (May 1930), 12. A similar Los Angeles based venture appears to have been curtailed by the depression after the initial unit opened in Barstow; see: "Highway Hotels Planned," *Los Angeles Times*, 20 Apr. 1930, VI-1, 6; M.M. Mattox, "Air and Auto Taverns," *Pacific Coast Record*, 21 (June 1930), 19-21; Mel Wharton, "Chain of Service Communities...," *Chain Store Review*, 3 (Aug. 1930), 37-40, 57; and M.M. Long, "Beacon Taverns Gleam," *Pacific Coast Record*, 21 (Aug. 1930), 6-7, 9-11. One chain using the still nascent motel concept, Alamo Plaza Courts, did operate successfully in the south-central states. The first unit was erected at Waco, Texas, in 1929. See "New Court in Memphis...," *Tourist Court Journal*, 3 (Jan. 1939), 6, 22.

¹⁹"Great American Roadside," 60; McCarthy and Littel, "Three Hundred Thousand Shacks," 185; *Official Directory of Tourist Courts and Camps* (Washington, D.C.: American Automobile Assoc., 1940). For examples, see: A.C. Hanson, "Building a De Luxe Motor Court," *Tourist Court Journal*, 1 (Jan. 1938), 5-7, 28; John N. Teets, "The Motor Court Moderne...," *Tourist Court Journal*, 1 (Mar. 1938), 11-12, 24; Harvey R Kuns, "Staying on Top," *Tourist Court Journal*, 4 (Jan. 1941), 6-8; Wayne Jarvis, "Portal Lodge," *Tourist Court Journal*, 4 (Sep. 1941), 5-7, 16; and Ulrich H. Huber, "A Front that Counts," *Tourist Court Journal*, 5 (Nov. 1941), 9, 18.

²⁰Holden, "State Legislation," 6-8.

²¹John Steven McGroarty, "New and Larger Theater...," *Los Angeles Times*, 20 Feb. 1921, V-1, 3; "Hail Start of Structure," *Los Angeles Times*, 8 Jan. 1923, II-1, 12. The original scheme, by Arthur Benton, was modified in execution by another firm, Dodd & Richards, minus many of the trappings; see: "New Mission Play Theater...," *Los Angeles Times*, 6 Mar. 1927, III-1; and "Tradition Preserved...," *Southwest Builder & Contractor*, 69 (24 June 1927), 36.

²²"Indian Village to Rise at Once," *Los Angeles Times*, 10 June 1928, V-1. Later that year the scheme was redesigned along more conventional lines by Meyer & Holler; see "Ramona Village Builders Chosen," *Los Angeles Times*, 26 Aug. 1928, V-3.

²³See, for example, the illustrations of Gay's Lion Farm at El Monte in Heiman and Georges, *California Crazy*, 92.

²⁴"Indian Village nears Completion," *Los Angeles Times*, 5 June 1932, I-19; "Originality, Enterprise, Good Taste...," *Tourist Court Journal*, 2 (Dec. 1938), 5-6, 26-28. See also Heimann and Georges, *California Crazy*, 104.

²⁵"Playhouse Design Unique," *Los Angeles Times*, 20 Sep. 1931, V-1; "Adapting Spanish Styles to Modern Theatre Needs," *Motion Picture Herald*, Better Theatres Sect., 4 June 1932, 10; *Architectural Forum* 57 (Sep. 1932): 218; "The Automobile," *Theatre Catalog*, 8 (1949-1950), 26-28.

²⁶Interview with the late S. Charles Lee, Beverly Hills, 26 June 1987. The project was executed according to a different design by other architects as the Western (Wilmet) Theatre.

²⁷David Gebhard and Harriette von Breton, *L.A. in the Thirties 1931-1941* (Santa Barbara and Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1975), 44; S. Charles Lee, "What the Future May Bring," *Theatre Catalog*, 2 (1941), 12. For general discussion of the architect's work, see Maggie Valentine, *The Show Starts on the Sidewalk: An Architectural History of the Movie Theatre*. Starring S. Charles Lee (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994).

²⁸"Picture Screen and Lantern...," *Popular Mechanics*, 33 (Feb. 1920), 209; "A Monster Movie Screen," *Popular Science Monthly*, 96 (Feb. 1920), 83; "Movie Theatres on Wheels...," *Popular Mechanics*, 48 (Dec. 1927), 905.

²⁹Kerry Segrave, *Drive-In Theaters: A History from Their Inception in 1933* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 1992); Liebs, *Main Street*, 153-55; Mary O'Hara, "The Drive-In Theatres...," *Theatre Catalog*, 3 (1942), 145; "New Outdoor Drive-In Movie Theatre," *National Real Estate Journal*, 34 (Nov.

1933), 33; *Westwood Hills News*, 7 Sep. 1934, 4.

³⁰"Drive-In Theatre Offers Novel Field...," *Detroit News*, 7 Aug. 1938, I-15; O'Hara, "Drive-In Theatres," 147; "Drive-ins," *Tide*, 22 (6 Aug. 1948), 35; Charles R. Waters, "Drive-ins," *Traffic Engineering*, 19 (Nov. 1948), 72-73; "Drive-In Theatres Open Great Field...," *Southwest Builder & Contractor*, 113 (28 Jan. 1949), 12-15; J.E. Johnston, "The Drive-In Theater Problem," Institute of Traffic Engineers annual meeting, *Proceedings*, 1949, 15-23. For other local examples, see: *Hollywood Citizen-News*, Valley ed., 16 June 1938, 5; and "Twin Drive-in Theater...," *Los Angeles Times*, 7 Aug. 1949, V-5.

³¹The Los Angeles film distribution territory, which encompassed a considerably larger area, including Arizona, experienced rapid growth in drive-in theatres during the early 1950s. By mid-decade, this territory ranked only fourteenth in the number of drive-in theatres, but second in average theatre size and third in the total number of cars accommodated. The capacity of drive-in theatres within the Los Angeles metropolitan area was similarly high. See "Drive-In Theatres of the...Season," *Theatre Catalog*, 9 (1950-1951), 137-38, 157-58; and 13 (1955-1956), 110-12, 135-37.

³²General discussion of Los Angeles establishments within a national context is given in Jim Heimann, *Car Hops and Curb Service: A History of American Drive-In Restaurants 1920-1960* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1996); Michael Karl Witzel, *The American Drive-In* (Osceola, Wis.: Motorbooks International, 1994); Philip Langdon, *Orange Roofs*. *Golden Arches: The Architecture of American Chain Restaurants* (New York: Knopf, 1986), chap. 3. See also: Gebhard and von Breton, *L.A.* 45, 52-55. Contemporary accounts include: Pollexfen, "Don't Get Out," 18, 52; S.A. Lewis, "Drive-In for Profits," *Restaurant Management*, 47 (July 1940), 19-20; "Dining Out with the Ebersoles," *Restaurant Management*, 40 (Jan. 1937), 27-30; and "Los Angeles Lowdown," *Diner*, 3 (Sep. 1946), 8-9.

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³⁴A good description of several such places is found in C.A. Patterson, "Glimpses of California Specialty Shops," *American Restaurant Magazine*, 12 (May 1929), 46-49, 100. The author suggests most such places were built within the previous two years. See also: *Los Angeles Times*, 11 June 1922, V-2; 26 Apr. 1930, I-5; and "Club Designed...," 13 July 1930, V-3. For additional illustrations, see Heimann and Georges, *California Crazy*, 55, 87, 108.

³⁵For background, see Heimann, *Car Hops*, 16-18; "Tam O'Shanter," *Pacific Coast Record*, 29 (Sep. 1938), 14-16; and "Scotch Influence in Hollywood," *Restaurant Management* 40 (Feb. 1941), 34-35. The operation was originally called the Chanticleer Inn, see *Los Angeles Times*, 2 Feb. 1923, II-2; and *Glendale News-Press*, 3 Feb. 1923, 7. Though the Tam O'Shanter remained unusual, at least one more modest version was built during the 1920s; see Sam F. Goddard, "From Footlights to Fireplace," *Pacific Coast Record*, 13 (Apr. 1927), 21-22.

³⁶W. Dwayne Jones, "In Search of the Vernacular Twentieth-Century Drive-in Restaurant," in Deborah Slaton and Rebecca Shiffer, eds., *Preserving the Recent Past* (Washington: Historic Preservation Education Foundation, 1995), II-31 to II-39; idem and Roni Morales, "Pig Stands: The Beginning of the Drive-in Restaurant," *Society for Commercial Archaeology, News Journal*, 12 (Winter 1991-1992), 2-5; Jakle, "Roadside Restaurants," 77; Liebs, *Main Street*, 208-09; Langdon, *Orange Roofs*, 58-59; *Beverly Hills Citizen*, 12 Nov. 1931, 4-B.

³⁷Heimann, *Car Hops*, 17-22.

³⁸Anna Belle Lee, "Carpenter's Sandwich Shop...," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, 19 May 1932, 45; Madeline O'Talk, "Carpenter's Catering Catches," *Pacific Coast Record*, 23 (Jan. 1933), 12-13; "Los Angeles Lowdown," 80; Heimann, *Car Hops*, 26-27.

³⁹"Los Angeles Lowdown," 8-9.

⁴⁰McDonnell is listed as Carpenter's partner in Los Angeles city directories from 1927 to 1929. For other examples, see: *Hollywood Daily Citizen*, 14 Aug. 1930, 15; "Fine Barbecue Stand...," *South Gate Tribune* 5

Sep. 1930, 1; and Beverly Hills Citizen, 14 Sep. 1933, 12.

⁴¹"Los Angeles Lowdown," 8.

⁴²For examples, see: "Roberts Bros. Entertain," *Pacific Coast Record*, 29 (Aug. 1938), 14-15; *Pacific Coast Record*, 29 (Sep. 1938), 3; "\$60,000 Wich Stand Opens Tomorrow," *Southwest Wave*, 11 Apr. 1939, 6; "Van De Kamp's Drive-In," *Pacific Coast Record*, 30 (Sep. 1939), 14-16; "Extensive New Cafe Project...," *Los Angeles Times*, 12 Nov. 1939, V-2; "Chain Enters New Field...," *Chain Store Age*, Admin. Ed., [15] (Dec. 1939), 16-17; *Pacific Coast Record*, 30 (Jan. 1940), 35; *Pacific Coast Record*, 31 (May 1940), 3; "From Stand to Standout," *Pacific Coast Record*, 31 (June 1940), 14-15; Lewis, "Drive-In," 19-23, 36, 38, 40, 42; "Compact and Compelling," *Pacific Coast Record*, 31 (Aug. 1940), 16-17; "New Robert's Drive-In at Burbank," *Pacific Coast Record*, 32 (Feb. 1942), 18; *Pacific Coast Record*, 32 (Mar. 1942), 25; Harry Hammond Beall, "Magnificent Melody," *Pacific Coast Record*, 33 (July 1942), 16-17. For recent discussion, see: Gebhard and Von Breton, L.A., 45; and Alan Hess, *Google: Fifties Coffee Shop Architecture* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1985), 20-29.

⁴³Hess, *Google*, 31-37, 61-95; Langdon, *Orange Roofs*, chap. 5.

⁴⁴"New Cafe Will Cost \$115,000," *Southwest Wave*, 28 May 1937, 23; "Business-Development Project...," *Los Angeles Times*, 30 May 1937, V-4; "Welcome to New Carl's Viewpark...," *Southwest Wave*, 22 Feb. 1938, 5; *Los Angeles Times*, 3 Mar. 1938, I-9; "Carl's Opening Reflects...," *Southwest Wave*, 25 Feb. 1938, 13; George S. Rollins, "Carl's Viewpark," *Pacific Coast Record*, 29 (Apr. 1938), 14-15; J.K. Novins, "World's Finest Drive-In Restaurant," *Restaurant Management*, 43 (July 1938), 30, 33, 50, 52; "The New Plantation," *Pacific Coast Record*, 32 (Jan. 1942), 18-19. For other examples, see: *Los Angeles Times*, 15 July 1936, I-4; *Los Angeles Times*, 30 June 1939, I-6; "New Arcadia Restaurant...," *Los Angeles Times*, 19 Nov. 1939, V-3; "Carl's-at-the-Beach," *Pacific Coast Record*, 30 (Dec. 1939), 11-13; Harry Hammond Beall, "Eaton Goes to the Races," *Pacific Coast Record*, 30 (Feb. 1940), 19-23.

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⁴⁶Elmer L. Marks, "Drive In and Save," *Laundry Age*, [19] (Feb. 1939), 7.

⁴⁷For background, see: Beulah A. Pennell, "Changed Shopping Habits Compel...," *Laundry Age*, 19 (May 1939), 40-42, 44; Gordon Behrens, "A Restaurant Chain Proves...," *Starchroom Laundry Journal*, 47 (15 Aug. 1940), 12-13; Noel Grady, "Details of Drive-In," *Starchroom Laundry Journal*, 47 (15 Sep. 1940), 35-38, 40, 42, 44; "Drive-In Service," *Laundry Age*, 20 (Dec. 1940), 143-52.

⁴⁸Grady, "Details of Drive-In," 36-38; Martin Frances, "A Laundry Built on an Idea," *Laundry Age*, 18 (June 1938), 26; "Branch Office of Cleaner...," *Houston Post*, 18 Jan. 1930, 8.

⁴⁹Beverly Hills Citizen, 6 Nov. 1930, 7; "Laundry Service. . .," *Westwood Hills News*, 7 Nov. 1930, 8; *Hollywood Daily Citizen*, 5 Dec. 1930, Moderncraft Laundry Sect.; "The West's Finest Laundry...," *Westwood Hills News*, 5 July 1935, 4; "Well Known Laundry...," *Westwood Hills News*, 10 Apr. 1936, 18; Marks, "Drive In and Save," 6-7; "Moderncraft to Mark...," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, 17 Oct. 1940, 18.

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⁵¹Ibid., 6-8. For other examples, see: *Laundry Age*, 17 (Nov. 1937), 76; *Laundry Age*, 18 (January 1938), 46; *Laundry Age*, 19 (May 1939), 18; *Pacific Laundry and Cleaning Journal*, 37 (Dec. 1941), 8; and Grady, "Details of

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⁵²"Drive-In Call Office Completed...," *Pasadena Star-News*, 16 June 1939, 9; J. Edward Tufft, "Drive-In Service DeLuxe," *Laundry Age*, 19 (Oct. 1939), 74-75; "Magic Service Given Drive-In Customers," *Pacific Laundry and Cleaning Journal*, 35 (Oct. 1939), 12, 36; "Laundries...," *Architectural Record* 96 (Oct. 1944): 93.

⁵³For other California examples, see: "New Whitehouse Laundry...," *Southwest Wave*, 5 Nov. 1937, 22; Marks, "Drive In and Save," 7; "Attractive Dyeing Plant Opened," *Pasadena Star-News*, 11 May 1939, 11; *Hollywood Citizen-News*, 19 Aug. 1940, 2; "Peerless Opens...," *Hollywood Citizen-News*, 20 Aug. 1940, 9; "Dodge Plant Has Many Improved Features," *Pacific Laundry and Cleaning Journal*, 36 (Dec. 1940), 10; *Beverly Hills Citizen* 7 Nov. 1941, 4; and *Beverly Hills Citizen*, 8 May 1942, 6. For examples elsewhere, see: "Cleveland Plant...," *Laundry Age*, 17 (Oct. 1937), 90; "Plant Symbolizes Cleanliness," *Laundry Age*, 18 (Apr. 1938), 10; "Buys Territory...," *Laundry Age*, 18 (Apr. 1938), 60; Howard Barman, "World's Fastest...," *Laundry Age*, 18 (Oct. 1938), 28; "Looking Over the Rainbow," *Starchroom Laundry Journal*, 47 (15 Mar. 1940), 36; S.V. Jackson, "Drive-In Solved Big Problems," *Starchroom Laundry Journal*, 47 (15 Apr. 1940), 8-9; "Kentucky 'Drive-In,'" *Starchroom Laundry Journal*, 47 (15 June 1940), 32; "A New Type of Drive-In," *Starchroom Laundry Journal*, 48 (15 Feb. 1941), 14; Noel Grady, "New Dallas Drive-In...," *Starchroom Laundry Journal*, 48 (15 Apr. 1941), 14-15; "Pioneer Plant...," *Pacific Laundry and Cleaning Journal*, 37 (Apr. 1941), 33; "Drive-In Laundries," *Architectural Record* 90 (July 1941): 95-96; Don Layman, "The Sales Manager Looks Ahead," *Starchroom Laundry Journal*, 48 (15 Aug. 1941), 7; and Bert Merrill, "Denver Drive-In," *Starchroom Laundry Journal*, 48 (15 Sep. 1941), 12.

⁵⁴"Bank Will Erect...," *Los Angeles Times*, 12 Jan. 1930, V-1; "California Bank's Hollywood-Grammercy Branch," *Saturday Night*, 10 (5 Apr. 1930), 7. Some six years earlier, one Hollywood branch bank offered customers free parking at a nearby auto service station, see *Hollywood Daily Citizen*, 21 Nov. 1924, 2. By the late 1920s, a few banks in the region were constructed with parking lots to one side; see: *Huntington Park Signal*, 12 Dec. 1929, 3; and "New Bank Branch...," *Hollywood Daily Citizen*, 7 Mar. 1930, 11.

⁵⁵See, for example: Noble Foster Higginson, "Banking Quarters," *Burroughs Clearing House*, 21 (May 1937), 5-7, 33-35; Harry V. Odle, "Savings and Loan Modernization," *Burroughs Clearing House*, 24 (Feb. 1940), 20-24, 38, 41-45; idem, "Modern Trends in Bank Design," *Burroughs Clearing House*, 25 (Dec. 1940), 14-18, 32-37; Avery Beyer, "A Modern Building Increases Business," *Bankers Monthly*, 58 (Feb. 1941), 59, 85-87; and "The Bank's 'Sales' Room," *Banking*, 33 (May 1941), 46, 48.

⁵⁶John Farnham, "Speeding Deposits," *Burroughs Clearing House*, 22 (Dec. 1937), 7-9; *Banking*, 33 (July 1940), 59; *Burroughs Clearing House*, 24 (July 1940), 1; *Banking*, 34 (Aug. 1941), 70.

⁵⁷"Bank Teller Under Walk...," *Popular Mechanics*, 75 (May 1941), 647; *Burroughs Clearing House*, 25 (July 1941), 5; *Banking*, 34 (July 1941), 62.

⁵⁸"Auto into Bank...," *Los Angeles Times*, 14 Feb. 1937, V-3; "A New 'Drive In' Bank," *Rand McNally Bankers Monthly*, 54 (Apr. 1937), 234; "Increased Mobility...," *Architectural Record*, 82 (July 1937): 31; "Drive-In for Banks," *Tacoma News Tribune*, 24 July 1937, 14; *Burroughs Clearing House*, 21 (Aug. 1937), 22; "The Technique of Automobile Banking," *Rand McNally Bankers Monthly*, 54 (Sep. 1937), 562; "Banking by Automobile," *Scientific American*, 157 (Sep. 1937), 151; "Drive-In Bank...," *Nation's Business*, 25 (Nov. 1937), 28; Farnham, "Speeding Deposits," 8; "Drive-In Bank Opens New Field," *American Builder*, 60 (Feb. 1938), 52-53.

⁵⁹"New Bank to Open...," *Long Beach Press-Telegram*, 27 Apr. 1941, A9; *Long Beach Independent*, 27 April 1941, 12; *Long Beach Press-Telegram*, 4 May 1941, A9; "Drive-In Teller Service Expanding," *Burroughs Clearing House*, 26 (Feb. 1942), 4-5. Concerning the Hillcrest Bank, see: *Burroughs Clearing House*, 23 (Mar. 1939), 31; and "Drive-In Bank," *Freehold*, 7 (1 Sep. 1940), 154-55. For other prewar examples, see *Burroughs Clearing House*, 25 (Sep. 1941), 8; and 26 (July 1942), 8.

⁶⁰"Drive-Ins...," *Architectural Record* 108 (Aug. 1950): 132-39, suggests the trend was becoming widespread by that time. On the other hand, no mention of drive-in features is included in the chapter on current bank design by John A. Walquist in Talbot Hamlin, ed., *Forms and Functions of Twentieth-Century Architecture*, 4 vols., (New York: Columbia University

Press, 1952), IV: 7-35. Locally, incorporation of drive-in windows does not appear to have become common practice until the 1950s, as coverage in the *Los Angeles Times* suggests. See, for example: 3 Jan. 1950, Midwinter Number, 20; "Van Nuys Bank...," 2 July 1950, V-3; 13 May 1951, V-10; "New Branch Bank...," 16 Sep. 1951, V-12; "Motor Banking Ease Provided," 26 Oct. 1952, V-5; "New Ontario Bank Branch...," 26 Oct. 1952, V-9; "Pico Bank...," 22 Feb. 1953, V-4; "Santa Ana's First Drive-In...," 8 Mar. 1953, V-9; "Construction Under Way...," 26 Apr. 1953, V-8; "New Baldwin Hills Bank...," 28 June 1953, V-12; "Branch Bank Is Scheduled," 25 Oct. 1953, V-10; and "La Brea Avenue Branch Bank...," 13 Dec. 1953, V-3. About as many examples of the period did not have drive-in facilities.

⁶¹"Drive-In Floral Shops Planned," *Los Angeles Times*, 10 Nov 1940, V-2, *Los Angeles Times*, 10 Apr. 1941, I-8; "Drive-In Flower Shop," *Architectural Record* 90 (Oct. 1941): 71; "Setting Up Drive-In Operation," *Chain Store Age*, Admin. Ed., [21] (Feb. 1945), 39-40.

Acknowledgments:

Many people have contributed to the project. Among those particularly helpful were: Carson Anderson, Stephen Fox, Albert Frey, David Gebhard, Howard Gillette, Thomas Hines, Preston Kaufmann, Steven Levin, Chester Liebs, Bernard Mergen, Tom Owen, Reginald Stocking, Dace Taube, de Teel Patterson Tiller, Ed Whittington, and Robert Winter. A grant from George Washington University's Facilitating Fund enabled procurement of the illustrations. Randall Mackinson and Edward Bosley graciously allowed me to reside at the Gamble House while conducting the research.

Reprinted from:

JOURNAL OF URBAN HISTORY

"The Forgotten Arterial Landscape"
Photographic Documentation of Commercial Development
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THE FORGOTTEN ARTERIAL LANDSCAPE Photographic Documentation of Commercial Development Along Los Angeles Boulevards During the Interwar Years

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Ordinary commercial landscapes lying beyond the city center rank among the least studied and most readily forgotten urban environments. Anchored to the traffic arteries that traverse all metropolitan areas, these places are inherently impermanent. They are created primarily for utilitarian purposes and are so used by the populace. New development is spurred by short-term objectives far more than by long-term ones. Change is endemic to the process. The arterial landscape is fashioned to attract the eye and oftentimes to stimulate the senses, but, unlike the traditional role of downtown, it is almost never considered a symbol of the city. Indeed, these settings have frequently been cast as a blight to the landscape, with some implication, at least, that they are an antiurban phenomenon.¹

Yet the commercial strip has been a basic part of the urban experience since at least the mid-nineteenth century when rapid population growth, the dispersal of industry, and the development of horsecar lines, among other factors, generated large-scale lateral expansion of

AUTHOR'S NOTE: *I am grateful to Howard Gillette for suggesting I write this piece and for reviewing a draft, as well as to David Cameron, Tom Owen, Dace Taube, and Ed Whittington for supplying information used in the text. All photographs are by the "Dick" Whittington Studio and are part of the Whittington Collection, Department of Special Collections, University of Southern California Library.*

American cities. Although taken for granted, the strip is a part of the city with which many people are very familiar, whether the contact emanates from commuting or from using its establishments. Until the mid-twentieth century, such places were generally considered subordinate to the city center in terms of the choices of goods and services they afforded. During the last fifty years, however, outlying business centers have grown to become a principal locus of activity, eclipsing downtown in retail, entertainment, and some office functions.²

As ubiquitous as the arterial landscape is, the pictorial record is slim. Images of the city's fabric tend to fall into limited categories. Most photographs are of the core area. Parks and other public places are generally well documented. So are prime residential districts, and, as a result of reform drives, so are precincts that are held as the least desirable.³ Far less abundant are images of more everyday places outside the center: the middle-class residential district—of the 1850s or 1950s; the neighborhood store—at a trolley stop of the 1890s or in a shopping center of the 1960s. Photographs of these places were taken when they were new, usually for business purposes, but then and now we tend to have less regard for saving them than we do for subjects accorded more prestige. Like vintage neighborhood newspapers, these photographs are a low priority for rescue. Nevertheless, the images provide abundant insight on the city as people routinely experienced it—on the city as it was, not the city as boosters wished it to be or as reformers wished it were not. The neutrality of the evidence, together with the ever-changing world it chronicles, makes this material worth the search.

The more than 700,000 photographic negatives taken by the "Dick" Whittington studio provides an unusually rich array of such images. Now housed in the Special Collections Department of the University of Southern California Library System, this material gives an unparalleled view of the Los Angeles metropolitan area during the second and much of the third quarters of the twentieth century.⁴ The contents underscore the fact that major commercial studios, even when engaged in documentation for clients, can record elements of the city otherwise rarely seen in photographs. Los Angeles is a particularly important place to examine the complexion of commerce along the thoroughfare. The metropolis emerged as one of the largest in the nation during these

decades, and that growth was almost entirely dependent on motor vehicles. Southern California's arterial landscape was thus mostly new during the interwar decades, and it abounded in a variety of experimental as well as conventional patterns of development.

The photographs of commercial corridors, like any other subject, should not be interpreted in isolation. Contemporary newspapers, trade literature, directories, Sandborn fire insurance atlases and other maps, building contracts, and work in the field all contribute to a full understanding of the visual evidence.⁵ That evidence, in turn, gives a unique perspective to how general tendencies took particular form. The examples discussed here offer only a glimpse. Most of these photographs are not of primary or even secondary outlying business centers, which were the best known in their day, but rather of smaller, sometimes marginal, concentrations, which give a rare view of an everyday world whose fabric is mostly gone and largely forgotten.

Figures 1 through 3 reveal a shift that was common to American cities during the 1920s: the transformation of a boulevard of fine residences into a corridor of commerce. The primary cause of this shift, of course, was widespread automobile use, for which the broad thoroughfare became a magnet. Traffic reduced the desirability of such land for residential purposes, while it often raised the land's value for commercial use. The street documented here, Vermont Avenue, just north of Wilshire Boulevard, lay about two miles west of downtown, near the western edge of the city, when the commodious houses began to be erected there at the turn of the century. Rapid population growth combined with newfound mobility rendered what had begun as a secluded enclave into a well-traveled north-south artery.⁶

The neighborhood was still in the making when its orientation abruptly shifted. Vacant lots were sold or leased for the construction of streetfront commercial facilities. Other lots supported outdoor advertising, no doubt as a temporary measure until demand arose for more profitable uses. Some houses were converted to business establishments. Much of the new development suggested a fairly low rate of investment. Yet Figure 3 indicates there were some exceptions, where developers considered decorous exteriors an important means of attracting business. As with many other thoroughfares in Los Angeles, hopes ran high that Vermont Avenue would become a major



Figure 1: 300 Block of S. Vermont Avenue, Looking Northwest (photo 1931 for Loeb & Walker [attorneys])



Figure 2: 600 Block of S. Vermont Avenue, Looking Northwest (photo 1931 for Loeb & Walker)



Figure 3: 600 Block of S. Vermont Avenue, Looking Southwest (photo 1931 for Loeb & Walker)

business street, a destination for the western half of the city rather than just a service center for the immediate environs. Few such visions materialized. Far greater concentrations of commercial activity occurred along Western Avenue, a parallel street some fourteen blocks beyond, during the rapid expansion of the 1920s. Ample "unimproved" property still existed when the photographs were taken for a law firm in 1931. The purpose of this documentation is unclear, but may have stemmed from a property owners' initiative to spur new development at a time when the city had yet to feel the full ravages of the depression.

The supply of commercial space proved much larger than needed. When lateral growth was tied to streetcar lines, commercial functions tended to cluster where lines intersected and at strategically located intervening stops.⁷ As a result, land at these intersections became the most valuable for retail and related service functions. Development tended to concentrate because nodes were convenient for the pedestrian and because many commercial functions prospered when situated near to like or complementary ones. As a result, growth occurred as much through increased density as through lateral dispersion in

outlying business corridors. The mobility afforded by the automobile changed the equation somewhat. Land anywhere along an artery was potentially desirable for commercial use. Frontage that lay removed from major crossroads often was available at considerably lower prices. Sites away from congested nodes could in fact be a draw to a motorist clientele. Property owners and speculators knew their highest profits came from land sold for commercial uses. In Los Angeles and most other U.S. cities, nascent zoning practices of the 1920s codified the tendency to treat all arterial frontage as commercial space. The planner's focus was on segregating land uses; through zoning, commercial and industrial functions could be kept away from residential tracts. Little thought was given to the fact that far more space was being allocated to commerce than was necessary or even desirable.⁸

The Los Angeles metropolitan area had a particular abundance of arterial frontage by the 1920s due to the combined effects of rapid population and business growth, a heavy reliance on motor vehicles, and ample land on which to build. Prosperity, mobility, and seemingly limitless space also meant that the overall density of development was lower than in most cities of comparable size. The enormous supply of commercially zoned land that resulted fostered experiments in both the location of facilities and in their arrangement. At the same time, a strong persistence of tradition existed among the work of most developers. Figure 4 illustrates the melange that could emanate from this confluence. The Belmont Theatre (1925-1926) and adjacent commercial buildings at the left, all apparently components of a single project, represent an initiative to create a new locus of activity on Vermont Avenue apart from established business centers.⁹ The form of this complex was long a standard one along streetcar lines, but its functional relationships were new. The 1,600-seat movie house was more than a neighborhood facility. The huge, and very expensive, electric sign on its roof was devised to attract the attention of motorists from a considerable distance, rendering the ensemble an instant landmark. Next door were housed a bowling alley, restaurant, and ballroom—all contributing to the role of this node as a destination point for Angelenos living some distance afield. Undertaking this development was no doubt shaped by the existence one block to the east of Bimini Hot Springs, a popular, family-oriented bathing establishment in

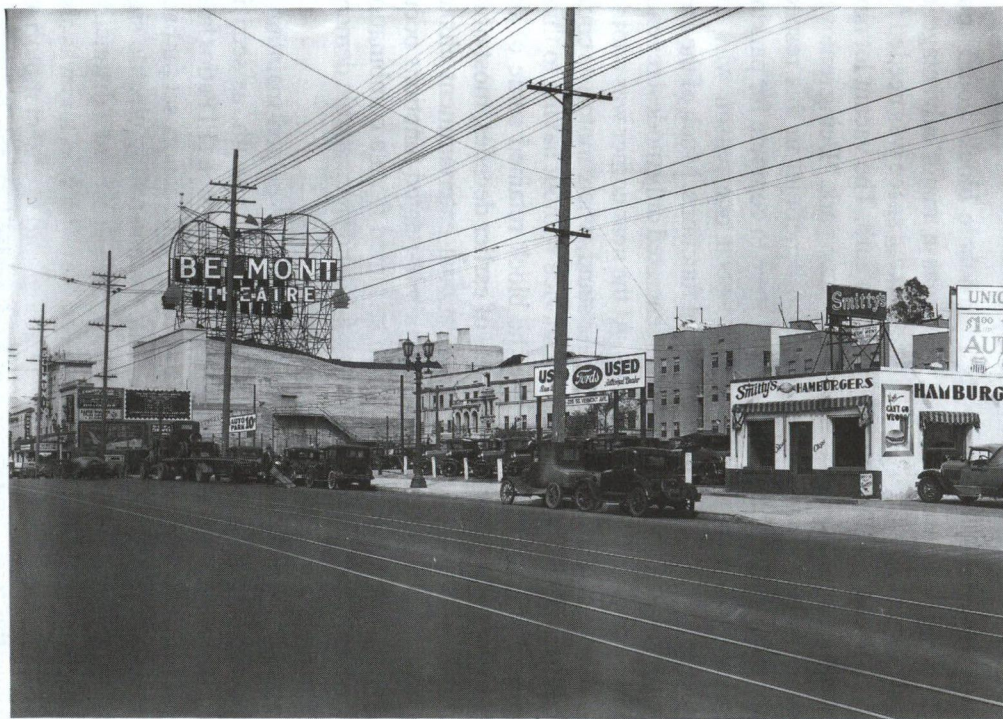


Figure 4: 100 Block of S. Vermont Avenue, Looking Northeast, Showing Belmont Theatre Block (1925-1926) at Left (photo 1931 for Loeb & Walker)

operation since the late nineteenth century, before urban growth reached the precinct. Still, the extent of new entertainment options required an increase in patronage only possible by easy automobile access for a radius of at least several miles.

Property owners may have hoped the whole block would soon develop at a similar density, yet there was a major advantage to keeping some of the parcels open. More parking space was needed for this recreation center than existed along the curb. The vacant lot next to the theatre played an essential role as an "auto park." Being removed from concentrated retail activity was also beneficial in this respect since shoppers and excursionists did not have to compete for parking space. Fear of overcrowding may have been one reason why the remainder of the block had more marginal functions. Much of the area was consumed by a used car lot, which generated only modest revenue and enjoyed comparatively low status. At the near corner was another bread-and-butter operation, a hamburger stand, where motorists could drive onto the premises and get quick service without having to think about where to park the car. While the block retained some of the density found in neighborhood centers of earlier decades, most of its characteristics were new, with a recreational entertainment cluster dependent on motorists and other automobile-related functions occupying "underdeveloped" space, which stemmed from a combination of insufficient demand for more intense uses and an insatiable demand for parking.

Significantly, additions to this recreation node helped maintain a dispersal of activity by locating one block to the south, as seen in Figure 5. Here the principal attraction was the enormous El Patio (later Rainbow Gardens) Ballroom (1926), whose main section, set far back from the street, sported loggias, towers, and an arching electric sign to create a memorable profile. The arrangement allowed a distinctive front directly opposite the Bimini baths on the north side, and was also used on the south side (shown in the photograph) to attract motorists. To achieve the latter, restrictions were exercised by the ballroom's owner on development for the rest of the block. The land was used less residually than the parcels adjoining the Belmont. The corner lot, at the right of the photograph, was kept open by creating another popular recreational outlet of the period, a miniature golf course.¹⁰ In



Figure 5: 200 Block of S. Vermont Avenue, Looking Northeast, Showing Rainbow Gardens (originally El Patio) Ballroom (1926), El Patio Auto Laundry (1927), and El Patio Miniature Golf Course (photo 1931 for Loeb & Walker)

between, barely visible in this view, lay an extensive structure built for washing cars, one of the largest of its kind then operating in the city. Placing the principal portion of the structure at the rear enabled most of the lot to be used as a vehicular staging area before and after cleaning, and also allowed the business to make use of the ballroom's distinctive side elevation for its own identity.¹¹ The whole arrangement was not only tied to the automobile, it would have been unthinkable prior to the car's routine use.

Arterial development was tailored to the motorist in many other ways as well. Figures 6-8 depict the emergence of an unorthodox scheme in 1927-1928 for a neighborhood retail and service center on a block of Western Avenue not far below Wilshire Boulevard. The basic plan was probably conceived by Henry de Roulet, a real estate developer who held much of the property in the environs, working with Morgan, Walls, & Clements, an architectural firm that was making a specialty of innovative approaches to the design of commer-



Figure 6: 900 Block of S. Western Avenue, Looking Northeast, Showing Western Auto Wash (1927) in Foreground and Ambassador Hotel in Far Background at Right (photo 1927 for Henry de Roulet [real estate developer])

cial property in outlying areas. De Roulet combined functions traditional to a neighborhood center—a grocery store, drugstore, and similar convenience outlets—with those catering to the motorist. The first component of the ensemble was a car wash, which, like that on Vermont Avenue, ranked among the most elaborate in the city.¹² Appearing like a machine-age agora and located in the center of the block, the facility had the visual prominence of a small civic building (Figure 7). At the same time, some of the open space was put to profitable use as a parking lot for the Uptown Theatre (1925), an 1,800-seat house lying one block to the south (at the far left of Figure 8).

Although the blocks of Western Avenue just north of Wilshire supported a sizable retail center, nearby residential tracts grew fast enough, especially with a group of midrise apartment blocks (Figure 8 was taken from the roof of one of them), to warrant construction of the store blocks the following year. The buildings were more decorous than the norm, but otherwise adhered to the conventional arrangement of a taxpayer block from earlier decades. What distinguished the configuration here was an offstreet parking area at the rear, between



Figure 7: 900 Block of S. Western Avenue, Looking Southeast, Showing New Retail Development (1928) Fronting Western Auto Wash (photo 1929 for Henry de Roulet)



Figure 8: 900 Block of S. Western Avenue, View From Rear Looking Southwest, Uptown Theatre at Left (photo 1929 for Henry de Roulet)



Figure 9: Maple Avenue at E. Washington Boulevard, Looking Southwest, Showing New Service Station in an Established Residential Area (photo 1929 for W. Ross Campbell [real estate broker/developer])

the stores and the car wash, providing an unusual amenity for patrons. Furthermore, the corner parcels at both ends of the block, traditionally seen as the most valuable, were left for auto-oriented functions—a filling station at one end, a service center at the other—each easily seen by approaching drivers and their yards easily entered from two sides. The rear of the lot was kept vacant, still in demand for theatre parking.

Oftentimes, commercial development along Los Angeles's arteries was less concentrated. In older areas where residential development along a thoroughfare was complete and the location was not considered prime for commerce, the houses remained, at least for another generation. Yet few such places were left completely undisturbed by the automobile. Figure 9 reveals a typical case, where a large gasoline station, probably just completed when the photograph was taken in 1929, stood amid a middle-class residential area developed before World War I about a mile south of downtown. Designed to offer a wide range of services and products for the car, such facilities proliferated



Figure 10: Unidentified Street, Probably Whittier Boulevard, in Belvedere District of Los Angeles (photo 1927 for Jonas Uhlehart [developer of Golden Square tract])

in southern California during the 1920s. The commonality of these big stations at the eve of the depression suggests that this one probably attracted little more than a localized trade. A site amid the population it served, and on land less expensive than along the crowded business corridors of Broadway and Main Street several blocks to the west, was advantageous under these conditions. While conspicuous in its physical contrast, the building's orientation was as much to the neighborhood as the corner store at the far right of the image.

Residential areas developed during the 1920s could look quite different. Houses were seldom built along the thoroughfares once strip zoning for commercial uses became a standard practice. Where demand was low, parcels remained open, as seen in Figure 10. The photograph was taken in the eastern end of the city, some six miles from downtown, which began fast-paced growth in the early 1920s as a haven for prosperous blue-collar families. Running parallel to a newly created industrial zone, the area was not well served by public transportation lines. Residents were perhaps even more dependent on the automobile for daily use than were more affluent west-side dwell-

ers. The thoroughfare shown is probably Whittier Boulevard, which became a major east-west route well beyond the limits of the streetcar line. The area was still emerging when the photograph was taken in 1927 to document a caravan of buses transporting prospective homeowners to inspect property nearby at the 435-acre Montebello Park tract.¹³ The newness of the area and the moderate amounts of disposable income of many residents, combined with the miles of open land along Whittier Boulevard, meant that long stretches of the artery remained vacant or supporting marginal functions. Here the two more permanent operations were a lumber yard (at the far right) and a service station, both equally important to sustaining neighborhood growth.

The arterial landscape of any period seldom appears completed. Figure 11 depicts the intersection of Figueroa Street and Santa Barbara (now Martin Luther King) Avenue, which typified many during the interwar decades. The site lay just south of Exposition Park, one of the largest developed municipal open spaces in the city, and in an area that experienced extensive residential development beginning in the late nineteenth century. But while Figueroa was a primary north-south thoroughfare, extending from the city center about two-and-a-half miles to the north, concentrated business development had occurred along parallel streets some blocks to the east and west instead. Figueroa remained a route of tertiary importance for commercial enterprises when this photograph was taken in 1930 to document the scene of an automobile accident for insurance purposes. A neighborhood movie house was built on the southwest corner in 1925, but remained an isolated attraction. Diagonally across the intersection rose the five-story Coliseum residential hotel, its marquee at the far right of the picture. Opposite lay an assemblage of less permanent buildings: an open-air market, a small (perhaps single-person) company specializing in automobile loans, and a filling station. Apartment houses of varying sizes and configurations fronted Santa Barbara to the left. Otherwise the environs were dominated by one- and two-family dwellings. More striking than any one physical feature was the extent of openness, even though no lot lay vacant. As would increasingly be the case, space more than buildings came to define the arterial

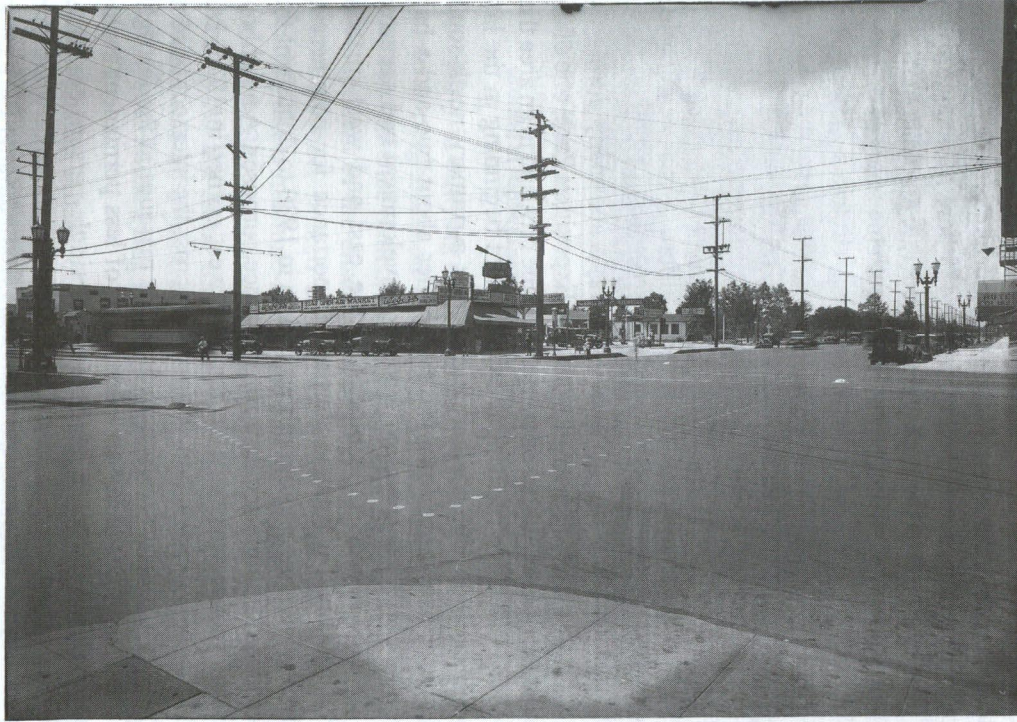


Figure 11: S. Figueroa Street at W. Santa Barbara (now Martin Luther King) Avenue, Looking Northwest (photo 1930 for Union Automobile Insurance Company)



Figure 12: Wilshire Boulevard at Hoover Street, Looking Southwest, Showing Stan's (originally Simon's) Drive-in Restaurant (ca. 1938), and Bullock's Wilshire Department Store (1928-1929) at Far Right (photo 1955 for Coldwell Banker [real estate brokers])

landscape. Sometimes corners such as this experienced denser development within a decade or two, but many did not.

Incompleteness marks many facets of arterial development. Figure 12 reveals a setting of promises unfulfilled. Taken in 1955, the scene encompasses a block of Wilshire Boulevard where little had changed over the previous quarter century save the construction of the drive-in restaurant in the late 1930s. A decade before that, this section of Wilshire was strenuously promoted as the future "Fifth Avenue of the West." The most celebrated manifestation of the campaign to create a new shopping mecca was Bullock's Wilshire department store (1928-1929), a corner of which can be seen on the far right. While the area never attracted the intense commercial development boosters envisioned, Wilshire did become a major regional destination for fashionable specialty goods and services. Furthermore, the boulevard itself functioned as a glamorous symbol of Los Angeles and of the new, lateral, decentralized metropolitan structure the city epitomized.¹⁴

Taken while Wilshire still possessed its almost mythical stature, the photograph underscores the uneven nature of the fabric. Nothing about the scene, save the light standards, suggests a street or a district of importance, or that the intersection is of two major routes. Two early twentieth-century houses, built when Wilshire was a prestigious residential street, remained in the shadow of billboards. To the left stood a walk-up apartment house, probably constructed shortly before or after World War I and never a place of status. While the intersection was only a block away from Bullock's, then arguably the most elegant of the region's major stores, the demand for new retail space was nonexistent. The fact that such a parcel could be occupied by a drive-in, with most of the space used for parking, indicates property values remained relatively low. The prominent real estate brokerage firm of Coldwell Banker commissioned the photograph, perhaps with the view of marketing the site's potential for more intense use. The drive-in nevertheless remained until the 1970s.

Views of the arterial landscape, and many other parts of the city, seldom convey much sense of the human experience. Photographers tend to wait until the scene is relatively unencumbered by activity. The problem is compounded by the nature of the place, where pedestrian

movement is limited at best. Shots taken of parades and similar special events by their very nature record unusual rather than everyday occurrences. Yet one such phenomenon became close to routine in Los Angeles during the interwar decades: the openings and other promotional extravaganzas thrown at food markets. An evening's drive in search of such an event, frequently heralded by Klieg lights (developed for antiaircraft warfare in World War I), was a common pastime for Angelenos. Inexpensive goods and prizes were among the lures, but free entertainment was the primary draw. Name performers sometimes participated. The bulk of the fare, however, was comprised of persons trying to earn a reputation and hence willing to display their talent at little or no cost. Hollywood talent scouts regularly attended, so ample inducement existed to participate. The crowd itself also was an attraction. Here was one of the few places in the vast dispersed residential tracts of the metropolitan area where sizable numbers of people could informally mingle in the open. Figure 13 shows one such occasion at Eastertime in the forecourt of Hattem's Market (1927) on Western Avenue, probably during a drawing for prizes. Hattem's was one of some two hundred drive-in markets built in southern California between the mid-1920s and early 1930s.¹⁵ Characterized by open-front buildings enframing a car lot at the corner of the property, these emporia were especially conducive to promotional gatherings, where for a few hours, parking space was transformed into a latter-day plaza.

The human dimension can be revealed in less direct ways as well. Figure 14 captures the ritual search for a parking place. This panoramic view of the Farmer's Market, an upscale specialty retail complex built in stages during the 1930s between Hollywood and Beverly Hills, depicts a peak shopping period, probably on a weekend.¹⁶ The offstreet parking facility, one of the largest in the region at that time, is nearly filled to capacity. While few people appear in the view, the expanse of parked cars and others circling for a free space, aptly conveys one of the many routines endemic to a mobile consumer society. Such images may seem far removed from the present, but they reveal conditions that are still common and important to understanding the contemporary metropolitan order. The particulars have changed more than have the basic patterns.



Figure 13: Easter Promotional Event at Hattem's Market, 4267-4277 S. Western Avenue (photo 1930 for I.M. Hattem [owner])



Figure 14: Farmer's Market, 140-166 S. Fairfax Avenue (begun 1934), Panoramic View Looking East (photo 1946 for Roger Dahlhjelm [owner])

NOTES

1. For a sampling of the vast array of literature debunking strip commercial development, see: Christopher Tunnard and Boris Pushkarev, *Man-Made America: Chaos or Control?* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), esp. Pt. 4; Peter Blake, *God's Own Junkyard: The Planned Deterioration of America's Landscape* (New York: Holt, Reinhart & Winston), 1964; Edmund K. Faltermayer, "How to Wage War on Ugliness," *Fortune* 73 (May 1966), 130-4, 250, 255-6; and Douglas E. Kneeland, "Garish Strips Stir Hostility, Coast to Coast," *The New York Times* November 28, 1971, 1, 52.

2. See, for example: Brian J. Berry, "The Impact of Expanding Metropolitan Communities on Central Place Hierarchy," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 50 (June 1960), 112-6; Gurney Breckenfeld, "'Downtown' Has Fled to the Suburbs," *Fortune* 86 (October 1972), 80-7, 156, 158, 162; Thomas J. Baerwald, "The Emergence of a New 'Downtown,'" *Geographical Review* 68 (June 1970), 308-18; Thomas Muller, "Regional Malls and Central City Retail Sales: An Overview," in George Sternlieb and James W. Hughes, eds., *Shopping Centers: U.S.A.* (Piscataway, N.J.: Center for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers University, 1981), 177-99; Trent A. Robertson, "Downtown Retail Activity in Large American Cities 1954-1977," *Geographical Review* 73 (June 1983), 314-23; Thomas J. Baerwald, "Changing Sales Patterns in Major American Metropolises, 1963-1982," *Urban Geography* 10 (July-August 1989), 355-74; Truman A. Hartshorn and Peter O. Muller, "Suburban Downtowns and the Transformation of Metropolitan Atlanta's Business Landscape," *Urban Geography* 10 (July-August 1989), 375-95; and Truman Asa Hartshorn, *Interpreting the City: An Urban Geography* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, rev. ed., 1992), Chap. 16.

3. For background, see Peter B. Hales, *Silver Cities: The Photography of American Urbanization, 1839-1915* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984).

4. A small percentage of the studio's negatives were donated in the 1970s to the Huntington Library and Art Gallery in San Marino, California. Bill Bradley, comp., *Commercial Los Angeles 1925-1947: Photographs from the "Dick" Whittington Studio* (Glendale, Calif.: Interurban Press, 1981) offers a sampling of that collection and some sense of the richness of the material as a whole. The main body of the collection has resided at USC since 1992.

5. The material presented in this article draws from research done for a study of retail decentralization using Southern California as a case study: *City Center to Regional Mall: Architecture, the Automobile, and Retailing in Los Angeles, 1920-1950* (Cambridge: MIT Press, forthcoming).

6. Wilshire Boulevard was a primary axis of elite residential development in Los Angeles during the late nineteenth century, and likewise experienced rapid change after World War I. For background, see Thomas Hines, "Wilshire Boulevard, Los Angeles, California," in Jan Cigliano and Sarah Bradford Landau, eds., *The Grand American Avenue 1850-1920* (San Francisco: Pomegranate Books, 1994), 306-37.

7. For case studies, see Homer Hoyt, *One Hundred Years of Land Values in Chicago* . . . (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933); and Michael P. Conzen and Kathleen Neils Conzen, "Geographical Structure in Nineteenth Century Urban Retailing: Milwaukee, 1836-1890," *Journal of Historical Geography* 5 (January 1979), 45-66.

8. Harland Bartholomew, "Business Zoning," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 155 (May 1931), 101-2; idem, *Urban Land Uses* . . . (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932), 71-2; Paul J. Fitzpatrick, "What Factors Make a Successful Store Location," *Journal of Retailing* 9 (October 1933), 90-1.

9. "Inaugural Ceremonies . . .," *Hollywood Daily Citizen* February 26, 1926, 5.

10. For background, see Chester H. Liebs, *Main Street to Miracle Mile: American Roadside Architecture* (Boston: Little Brown, 1985), 137-45.

11. "New Automobile Cleaning Firm . . .," *Hollywood Daily Citizen* June 15, 1927, 17; "El Patio Auto Laundry . . .," *Hollywood Daily Citizen* August 17, 1927, II-1; Ward K. Halbert, "Department Stores for Auto Servicing . . .," *National Petroleum News* 20 (October 3, 1928), 17-9.

12. "New Features Found . . .," *Los Angeles Times* November 6, 1927, VI-2. For additional views of the complex, see Donald E. Marquis, "The Spanish Stores of Morgan, Walls & Clements," *Architectural Forum* 50 (June 1929), 906-7.

13. Montebello Park was laid out by the J.B. Ransom Corporation and opened in 1925. The area shown in the photograph was likely in or near the Belvedere Gardens tract, whose lots were platted and sold, beginning in 1921, by the Janss Investment Company. Such large-scale undertakings of the period, catering to skilled factory workers and their families, have yet to receive careful study.

14. Longstreth, *City Center to Regional Mall*, chaps. 5-6.

15. For background on the type, see Richard Longstreth, "The Perils of a Parkless Town," in Martin Wachs and Margaret Crawford, eds., *The Car and the City: The Automobile, the Built Environment, and Daily Urban Life* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 141-53; and idem, "Innovation without Paradigm: The Many Creators of the Drive-In Market," in Thomas Carter, ed., *Images of an American Land: Vernacular Architecture Studies in the Western United States* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, forthcoming). Concerning Hattem's, see Maurice Hattem, "I.M. Hattem and His Los Angeles Supermarket," *Western States Jewish Historical Quarterly* 11 (April 1979), 243-51.

16. For background, see Longstreth, *City Center to Regional Mall*, Chapter 10.

PROPERTY NAME: Highland Park Shopping Village

OTHER NAME/ Highland Park Village
SITE No. :

MULTIPLE NAME: NOT APPLICABLE

ADDRESS/ Jct. of Preston Rd. and Mockingbird Ln.
BOUNDARY :

CITY: Highpark

COUNTY: Dallas

STATE: TEXAS

Restricted Location Information: Owner: PRIVATE Resource Type: BUILDING

	Contributing	Noncontributing
Buildings	6	1
Sites	0	0
Structures	0	0
Objects	0	0

Nomination/Determination Type: SINGLE RESOURCE

Nominator: STATE GOVERNMENT Nominator Name:
NOT APPLICABLE

Federal NOT APPLICABLE
Agency:

NPS Park Name: NOT APPLICABLE

Certification: DATE RECEIVED/PENDING NOMINATION Date: 10/10/97

Other NOT APPLICABLE
Certification:

Historic COMMERCE/TRADE
Functions:

Historic SPECIALTY STORE
Subfunctions: DEPARTMENT STORE

Current COMMERCE/TRADE
Functions:

Current SPECIALTY STORE
Subfunctions: DEPARTMENT STORE

Level of NATIONAL Applicable Criteria: EVENT
Significance: ARCHITECTURE/ENGINEERING

Significant Person's Name: NOT APPLICABLE

Criteria Considerations: NOT APPLICABLE

Area of Significance: COMMERCE
ARCHITECTURE
COMMUNITY PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

Periods of: 1925-1949 1950-1974 Circa: Specific Sig. Years:
Significance: 1931
1932
1939

Architect/Builder/Engineer/ Designer: Cultural Affiliation:
multiple NOT APPLICABLE

Other Documentation:

NOT APPLICABLE

HABS No. N/A HAER No. N/A

Architectural MISSION/SPANISH REVIVAL
Styles: COLONIAL REVIVAL

Describe Other Style: NOT APPLICABLE

Foundation Materials: CONCRETE
Wall Materials: STUCCO
Roof Materials: TERRA COTTA
Other Materials: GLASS CERAMIC TILE

Acreage: 10.0

UTM	Zone	Easting	Northing	Zone	Easting	Northing
Coordinates:	14/	7 05 320/	36 35 100	14/	7 05 320/	36 34 900
	14/	7 05 560/	36 35 100	14/	7 05 560/	36 34 900

Highland Park Shopping Village

(Resource Name)

97001393

(Reference Number[s])

06 / 13 / 2015

(Date form completed)

Dallas

(County)

Tx

(State)

WACC

(Completed by)

STATUS:

1. MISSING _____ 2. REMOVED/ _____ 3. NHL ☒ 4. TR _____ 5. MRA _____ 6. OVER- _____ 7. NPS - _____ 8. DOE - _____ 9. RESTRICTED _____
DEMOLISHED SIZED UNDOCUMENTED OWNER OBJECTION

EXPLANATION:

1. Missing Status: Entire Folder (); Nomination (); Map(s) (); Photos ()
Available on: Microfiche (); Optical Disk ()

2. _____
(Cause for removal)

(Date Removed)

3. _____
(NHL Name, if different than NRHP Name)

02 / 16 / 2000
(Date Designated)

4. _____
(If multi-state/county TR, state/county where filed and location)

(TR or MRA Name)

5. _____
(If multi-state/county MRA, state/county where filed and location)

6. _____
(Location of oversize file)

7. _____
(Current source of partial documentation)

(Target Date)

COMMENTS:

(Where found, or source of replacement)

(Date Found/Replaced)