CRITERIA CONSIDERATION G OF THE NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES: HISTORY, ANALYSIS, AND APPLICATION

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

November 2013 will mark the fiftieth anniversary of President John F. Kennedy's assassination in Dallas, Texas in November 1963. The National Park Service listed the location of the assassination in the National Register of Historic Places in 1993, only thirty years after the event. It was also listed as a National Landmark District in that same year. Of course, this district is considered nationally significant for its association with the Kennedy's assassination. Dealey Plaza was created in 1934 as a three-acre park, and acquired by the City of Dallas to "create a major gateway to the city from the west, and to relieve traffic congestion at the Union terminal railroad tracks." [1] This Triple Underpass was a New Deal construction in the Art Deco style and named for George Bonnerman Dealey, publisher of the *Dallas Morning News* and promoter of city planning in Dallas.[2] The West End Historic District was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1978, only fifteen years after the assassination of President Kennedy. Although the Plaza had already achieved significance due to its association to the President's assassination, it was originally listed in the National Register of Historic Places as a contributing resource in the West End Historic District, a larger warehouse district,

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[1] National Park Service, "National Register Nomination for the Dealey Plaza Historic District," *National Register of Historic Places Database*. Washington, D.C. : Department of the Interior (April 1993): 5. http://pdfhost.focus.nps.gov/docs/NHLS/Text/93001607.pdf (accessed 15 March 2011).
[2] Ibid.

probably more significant for its local historical associations than its national associations.[3] When the Plaza was listed in 1993 as a separate district from the West End Historic District, it indicated a shift and addition of significance.

The Dealey Plaza Historic District provides a great example of the implementation of Criteria Consideration G of the National Register of Historic Places. Also known as the "50 year Rule," Criteria Consideration G has been an integral part of how the National Park Service determines what properties acquire designation in the National Register of Historic Places. According to National Park Service *Bulletin 15: How To Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, "Ordinarily … properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years shall not be considered eligible for the National Register" unless "it is of exceptional importance."[4] This guideline exists in order to ensure that the National Register of Historic Places is an inventory of buildings, structures, sites, objects, and districts that illustrate historical trends in United States history. It would seem that the natural progression of the historic preservation movement in the United States would accept architectural resources from the last fifty years; however, unless the importance can be proven to be "exceptional," as with the Dealey Plaza Historic District, the preservation of Post-World War II architecture

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[3] National Park Service, "National Register Nomination for the Dealey Plaza Historic District," 29;The original National Register of Historic Places nomination paperwork for the West End Historic District has not yet been digitized by the National Park Service, and is therefore unavailable on the National Register of Historic Places Database. Although references to the West End Historic District are made throughout the nomination paperwork for the Dealey Plaza Historic District, the original level of significance for the West End Historic District remains unclear. However, the "History of Dealey Plaza" section of the website for the Sixth Floor Museum at Dealey Plaza states that, upon the Secretary of the Interior's designation of the plaza as a National Historic Landmark in 1993, that plaza undertook a "new historic status." We can only assume that the West End Historic District was listed in the National Register as locally significant. Since this original listing included Dealey Plaza, a construction of the 1930s, we can also assume that the plaza was non-contributing to the West End Historic District due to the fact that it was less than fifty years old.
[4] National Park Service. *Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*. (Washington D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1995): 2.

receives constant and consistent criticism from preservation professionals, as well as, the general public.

Purpose

This thesis explores how Criteria Consideration G of the National Register of Historic Places has affected architectural properties of the Modern Movement and the public's view of such properties. The majority of these properties from the Modern Movement fall under Criteria Consideration G because they are fifty years old or less. Many members of the public were alive when these properties were built and, therefore, do not consider them "historic." To make matters more complicated, many preservationists "seem conspicuously nervous, sometimes even hostile, regarding mid-20th –century modern architecture."[5] This thesis takes a comprehensive look at the national historic preservation movement of the 20th Century in order to establish the origins of a national preservation ethic as it relates to the development of the National Register of Historic Places and Criteria Consideration G. Following a history of the three major architectural styles that influenced Mid-Century Modernism in the United States, an analysis of the National Register Bulletins and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation and Guidelines for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings follows to see how official guidelines systematically limit Mid-Century Modernism in the National Register. In order to illustrate the points made in this research, a case study of Tulsa, Oklahoma's Mid-Century Modern Resources is provided, which includes residential and commercial examples of properties and an entire district of Mid-Century

[5] Richard Longstreth, "What to Save? Mid-Century Modernism at Risk," *Architectural Record* 188, no. 9 (Sept. 2000),: 60.

Modern government buildings. Finally, it examines why architecture of the Modern Movement must be incorporated into preservation plans in order to solidify these properties as viable resources worth preserving.

Approach and Methodology

The origins of this thesis started in the Fall of 2008 when a group of classmates and I tried to prepare a nomination to the National Register of Historic Places for a historic district on the campus of Oklahoma State University. We noticed that the language used for describing architecture after 1920 seemed extremely general, considering the plethora of styles that emerged since 1920.[6] It then became even more interesting that the "50 Year Rule" applied to a majority of the styles listed under the "Modern Movement" section of the architectural categories provided in *National Register Bulletin 16a: How To Complete the National Register Nomination Form*.[7] As I continued with my coursework, and started my internship with the Tulsa Preservation Commission, I realized how much of a role Criteria Consideration G plays in the designation of historic properties at the local, state, and national levels. As a result, the approach to this research was as straight-forward and simple as possible; it started with an analysis of *National Register Bulletins* and the language they use to describe properties of the "Modern Movement." It then explored how those properties were discussed in the *Bulletins* in relation to Criteria Consideration G.[8] My research then

[6] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 16a: How To Complete the National Register Nomination Form*, (Washington, D.C.: 1997): 26.
[7] Ibid.
[8] *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, (Washington, D.C: Department of the Interior, 1995); *National Register Bulletin 16a: How to Complete The National Register Nomination Form*, (Washington, D.C: Department of the Interior, 1997); *National Register*

progressed into a legislative history of the national historic preservation ethic in the 20th Century. Studying the history of Modern Architecture in the United States then commenced, and the Prairie Style, Art Deco, Bauhaus, and International Style were explored.[9] Throughout this research, there emerged two opinions of Modern architecture: genius or misunderstood. These two schools of thought seem to apply mainly to the pure, experimental forms of Modernism, such as Philip Johnson's Glass House in New Canaan, Connecticut or Mies van der Rohe's Farnsworth House in Plano, Illinois (Appendix A: Figures 1 and 2). More vernacular forms, on the other hand, or forms in which only a few of the experimental tenets were applied, appear more widely accepted in the preservation community, especially in terms of residential architecture. However, commercial vernacular examples of these forms, such as road-side diners, gas stations, banks, fast food restaurants, and large wholesale stores associated with the emergence of the automobile, the Interstate Highway System, and Urban Renewal Programs generally have been more disdained by the preservation community as well as the general public.

Review of the Literature

Bulletin 22: Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties That Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years, (Washington D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1998).

[9] Herbert Bayer, Walter Gropius, and Ise Gropius, eds, *Bauhaus: 1919-1928* (Boston: Charles T. Branford Co., 1959); Hin Bredendieck, "The Legacy of the Bauhaus," *Art Journal* 22, no. 1 (Autumn, 1962): 15-21. www.jstor.org/stable/774604. (accessed 15 March 2010); Walter Gropius, *The New Architecture and the Bauhaus*. Translated by P. Morton Shand. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1938); Gropius, "The Bauhaus: Crafts or Industry." *Journal of Architectural Education (1947-1974)*. 18, 2 (Sep., 1963): 31-32. www.jstor.org/stable/1423824 (accessed 15 March 2010); Walter Gropius and Howard Dearstyne. "The Bauhaus Contribution." *Journal of Architectural Education (1947-1974)*. 18, 1 (Jun., 1963): 14-16. www.jstor.org/stable/1423850. (accessed 15 March 2010); Klaus Herdeg, *The Decorated Diagram: Harvard Architecture and the Failure of the Bauhaus Legacy* (Boston: MIT Press, 1985); Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson, *International Style: Architecture Since 1922* (New York: Norton and Company, Inc, 1939); Margaret Kentgens-Craig, *The Bauhaus and America: First Contacts, 1919-1936* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999); Jill Pearlman, *Inventing American Modernism: Joseph Hudnut, Walter Gropius, and the Bauhaus Legacy at Harvard*. (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2007); Tulsa Foundation for Architecture, *Tulsa Art Deco: An Architectural Era, 1925-1942* (Tulsa, OK: Tulsa Foundation for Architecture, 2001); Frank Lloyd Wright, *The Essential Frank Lloyd Wright: Critical Writings on Architecture*, Edited by Bruce Brooks Pfeifer, Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008).

To obtain more insight into the application of Criteria Consideration G to these property types, I asked several preservation professionals in the government and non-profit sectors in Oklahoma to complete a questionnaire. I read extensively about the preservation and public perception of the recent past, modern architecture, and the post-World War II modern movement in the United States. I also reviewed several articles and essays about the public perception of post-World War II architectural types, and how their material and functional obsolescence also has an effect on how the public views such properties. I found that not all preservationists or members of the public view such architecture so derisively. Theodore Prudon and Richard Longstreth are two of major proponents of the preservation of modern architecture. Prudon has written a major work entitled *The Preservation of Modern Architecture*, published in 2008. This publication's first section provides an excellent overview of the preservation of modern architecture, including the beginnings of the movement; philosophical issues; evolving preservation philosophies and standards; issues with preserving materials and building systems; a guide to determining what, why, where, how to preserve modern architecture; and finally, how to investigate and assess modern buildings and structures. The second part of Prudon's book provides case studies of different modern building types from all over the world. This publication is comprehensive, intelligently written, and has guided me throughout my research.

Longstreth has written extensively about how individual taste needs to be removed from the professional evaluation of historic properties, insisting that assessment should be based on extensive historic research and not just on personal opinion. His articles can be found throughout *Historic Preservation Forum* and *Form Journal*, as well as *CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship*, *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, and *APT Bulletin*.[10] He has also written and edited several books concerning the preservation of the recent past.[11] He states that preservationists have a difficult time coming to terms with the recent past. History has become mere "theme," that "overly bureaucratized procedures combined with a tendency for preservation to be subsumed by fields such as urban revitalization and tourism, which can be of great benefit to, but should not drive preservation endeavors, have led to an increasingly formalistic view of the past."[12] Unfortunately, advocating for a "preservation for preservation's sake" type of attitude toward resources of the recent past does not resonate with some preservation professionals and members of the public.[13] Longstreth even acknowledges the public's reluctance to accept the preservation of the recent past: "the products . . . tend to be seen simply as no longer new and are still tainted by association with a world that people would like to improve."[14] Preservation, like any other product, must be marketed, and in this day and age that means selling the product to

[10] "Architectural History and the Practice of Historic Preservation in the United States," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 58, no. 3 (Sept., 1999): 326-333. https://www.jstor.org/stable/991525 (accessed 11 Nov 2010); "Critique: What To Save? Midcentury Modernism at Risk," *Architectural Record*, 188, no. 9 (September 2000): 59-61. *Humanities International Complete*, EBSCO*host* (accessed March 1, 2011); "I Can't See It; I Don't Understand It; It Doesn't Look Old To Me," *Historic Preservation Forum* 10, no. 1 (Fall 1995): 6-16; "Taste Versus History," *Historic Preservation Forum*, 8, no. 3 (May/June 1994): 40-45; "The Significance of the Recent Past." *APT Bulletin* 23, no. 2 (1991): 12-24. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1504380 (accessed 11 Nov 2010).

[11] Richard Longstreth, *City Center To Regional Mall: Architecture, the Automobile, and Retailing in Los Angeles, 1920-1950* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1997); Richard Longstreth, Editor, *Cultural Landscapes: Balancing Nature and Heritage Preservation Practice*, (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2008); Longstreth also contributed at chapter entitled "When the Present Becomes the Past," in *Past Meets Future: Saving America's Historic Environments*, Edited by Antoinette J. Lee, National Trust for Historic Preservation (Washington, D.C.: Preservation Press, 1992): 213-226.

[12] Richard Longstreth, "I Can't See It; I Don't Understand It; It Doesn't Look Old To Me," *Historic Preservation Forum* 10, no. 1 (Fall 1995): 13.

[13] Rypkema, Donovan, D. "Saving the Recent Past—A Philosophical and Practical Dissent." *Forum Journal* 20, no. 1 (Fall 2005): 14-22

[14] Richard Longstreth, "When the Present Becomes the Past," in *Past Meets Future: Saving America's Historic Environments*, Edited by Antoinette J. Lee, National Trust for Historic Preservation (Washington, D.C.: Preservation Press, 1992): 215.

the public in order for them to see the economic value as well as the cultural and environmental benefits. Thus, the federal government's tax credit program for eligible historic properties becomes such an important part tool for preservation advocacy. Properties of the recent past, however, seem to get neglected. In order to qualify for tax credits, the property must be listed in the National Register of Historic Places, and since the property and/or its significance must be at least fifty years old, this incentive is not available to many owners of "Modern Movement" properties.

The preservation of the recent past is an important and popular topic currently, because properties of the post-World War II era are reaching fifty years old, and, therefore, eligibility for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. Because of this topic's popularity, a large portion of information is available online. I have extensively used a number of websites, and several have been extremely helpful, including websites for the National Park Service, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, the Oklahoma State Historic Preservation Office, The Recent Past Preservation Network, The Tulsa Foundation for Architecture, and the Tulsa Preservation Commission. More and more publications are focusing on this topic in order to educate and guide the public and the preservation community about coming to terms with the fact that the preservation of the recent past is part of the natural progression of the national historic preservation ethic.[15] The influence of architectural magazines in the 1950s and 1960s cannot be stressed enough. Publications such as *Architectural Forum,*

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[15] The entire Summer 2010 issue of *Forum Journal* was dedicated to Modernism and the Recent Past. Interestingly enough, entire issues of preservation publications have been dedicated to this topic since the early 1990s, starting with *CRM: Cultural Resource Management's* 16, no. 6 (1993) that features articles about cultural resources from the Recent Past. Though Longstreth's article, "The Significance of the Recent Past" appeared in *APT Bulletin* in 1991 (23, no. 2), it was included in the 1993 *CRM: Cultural Resource Management* issue dedicated to the topic.

Architectural Digest, *House and Home*, *Better Homes and Gardens*, *Good Housekeeping Magazine*, and *McCall's Magazine* are just a few of the numerous magazines that featured and promoted modernism in architecture and in the home. These publications contain articles featuring state-of the art building designs, materials, and architects, as well as, advertisements for the newest convenience that would make life in modern American society more comfortable than ever before.

I also had the great fortune to attend two National Preservation Conferences, in Tulsa, Oklahoma (2008) and in Austin, Texas (2010). Both conferences included sessions and programming focusing explicitly on post-World War II themes or property types. Considering Route 66 runs through Oklahoma, and right through downtown Tulsa, there was a week-long program dedicated to Route 66 resources at Tulsa conference. Also, there were bike and bus tours dedicated to Tulsa's Art Deco resources. The conference itself was held in the Civic Assembly Center, the Edward Durrell Stone contribution to the Tulsa Civic Center Plaza, completed in 1969. Many of the sessions dedicated to Mid-Century Modern properties were dedicated to advocacy and education, and included the speakers for Houston Mod, the Lortondale Neighborhood Association, and the newest chapter of DOCOMOMO US: Western Washington in Seattle.[16] The conference in Austin had its own Art Deco tour, as well as sessions dedicated specifically to the recent past and Criteria Consideration G, mainly because the Summer 2010 issue of *Forum Journal* was focused on Modernism and the Recent Past. [17] It also featured its

[16] DOCOMOMO is the shortened title of the International Working Party for the **Do**cumentation and **Co**nservation of Buildings, Sites, and Neighborhoods of the **Mo**dern **Mo**vement (parts of title bolded by author).
[17] Elaine Stiles, session manager of "What Happens When Dates Don't Matter,"(educational session, annual meeting of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, Austin, Texas, 29 Oct 2010); this session

own mixer for preservationists thirty years-of-age or younger in order to meet each other and to discuss how to better include and encourage young people to become involved in the preservation conferences and preservation in general. There was also an informational meeting with the Recent Past Preservation Network, again, to bring together preservationists with an interest in post-World War II properties and their preservation. An Edward Durrell Stone building again became one of the stars of the conference. The Mid-Texas Chapter of DOCOMOMO US, Mid_Tex_Mod, helped the National Trust for Historic Preservation's own program dedicated to Modern resources, TrustModern, to organize an exclusive opportunity to tour Stone's Westgate Tower.

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also featured Brian Goeken, Deputy Commissioner, City of Chicago/Department of Zoning and Land Use Planning, and Amy Guthrie, Historic Preservation Office for the City of Aspen, Colorado.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF A NATIONAL PRESERVATION ETHIC AND THE ORIGINS OF CRITERIA CONSIDERATION G OR THE "FIFTY YEAR RULE"

Legislative History of Preservation in the 20th Century

"So who builds the material world that surrounds us? We do. And when we build sublimely we endow that world with meaning. We live within these constructions and they acculturate us, and following generations acculturated thusly may build something new that expands the realm of human possibility," stated Anthony M. Tung during the Closing Plenary Session of the 2008 National Preservation Conference in Tulsa, Oklahoma. Tung refers to how the built environment displays history and provides a means to transmit that history so it can enrich the future generations of a culture.[1] He also refers to the dilemma that cultures face in protecting and preserving their built environments. The citizens of the United States encountered that dilemma for the first half of the twentieth century, and lost many historically significant resources of

[1] Architectural historians and historic preservationists define architectural styles and features when describing a building's role in the built environment, the typically man-made surroundings in which human activity takes place. A college campus' built environment would include all buildings, structures, sites, and objects that make up the settings in which student and university employees engage in their educational activities. Not only would the dormitories and the classrooms be considered part of this environment, but also included would be the memorials, landscaping, and statues. In terms of a campus district nomination to the National Register of Historic Places, these buildings, structures, sites, and objects, would be considered contributing or non-contributing resources, depending on how the nominator defined the historical significance and integrity and the boundary justification of the said district. However, all aspects of the district's built environment would be included in the nomination.

the built environment to urban renewal, especially during the post-World War II period when the country experienced unprecedented economic growth. The historic preservation movement gained popularity in the 1960s, and the citizens demanded government involvement as the built environment of their past began to diminish. On 15 October 1966, the 89th Congress passed into law the *National Historic Preservation Act*, illustrating the federal government's recognition that the built environment of the United States maintains historic significance. An analysis of the words used in the five major preservation laws in the twentieth century illustrates the development of a national preservation ethic in the United States. The legislation redirected the focus from those buildings, structures, sites, and objects with national historical significance to include those of state and local historical significance, thus illustrating the government's growing concern for social justice in the United States.

The language used in preservation legislation between 1900 and 1966 only pertains to those buildings, structures, objects, and sites on federally-owned lands, emphasizing national historical significance. The *Antiquities Act of 1906* is the first preservation law of the twentieth century. Congress wrote the *Antiquities Act of 1906* to deter "anyone who shall appropriate, excavate, injure, or destroy any historic or prehistoric ruin or monument, or any object of antiquity, situated on lands owned or controlled by the Government of the United States," with a fine, imprisonment, or both "upon conviction."[1] Section 2 of the *Antiquities Act* allows the President of the United States to declare "by public proclamation historic landmarks, historic and prehistoric structures, and other objects of historic or prehistoric or scientific interest," as national monuments, but only if located on government-owned or controlled lands. Under Section

[1]*Antiquities Act of 1906*, (34 Stat. L. 225, Public-No. 209) 59th Cong., 2nd Sess., (8 June 1906): Section 1.

3 of the *Antiquities Act*, the public can gain access to these resources, but only through a museum, college, university, "or other recognized scientific or educational institutions, with a view of increasing the knowledge of such objects," because Section 3 grants a permit to these institutions for the examination, excavation, and gathering of these ruins, sites, and objects under their respective jurisdictions.[2]

The second piece of federal legislation pertaining to preservation is the *National Park Service Organic Act* of 1916. Created by the federal government to maintain and regulate the vast amounts of land it had acquired, the *National Park Service Organic Act* contains language similar to that of the *Antiquities Act* of 1906. Congress intended for the *National Park Service Organic Act* to "promote and regulate the use of the Federal areas known as national parks, monuments, and reservations hereinafter specified by such means . . . which purpose is to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wild life therein and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner and by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations,"[3] The *National Park Service Organic Act* also mandates the supervision, management, and control of cultural and natural resources to include national monuments and landmarks and national forests. Under Section 3 of the *National Park Service Organic Act*, the Secretary of the Interior may grant "privileges, leases, and permits for the use of land for the accommodation of visitors in the various parks, monuments, or other reservations" and will accommodate these visitors by installing, enlarging, or improving plant and

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[2]*Antiquities Act of 1906*, Section 3.

[3] *Antiquities Act of 1906*, Section 1.

equipment and extending facilities.[4] Obviously the federal government became more interested in its owned and controlled lands enough to want to maintain them as much as possible; however, to grant the public access to the extent of taking out leases and permits for the regulated use of the land meant that the federal government wanted to share the land with the nation's people. Although both the *Antiquities Act of 1906* and the *National Park Service Organic Act* of 1916 use language such as *maintain*, *regulate*, *promote*, *reserve, provide*, *conserve,* and even *preserve,* it still only pertains to government-owned or controlled land.

During the 1930s, the United States federal government initiated one program and passed one piece of legislation related to the twentieth-century historic preservation movement, further developing the motion toward a national preservation ethic. As part of the New Deal Program, the American Institute of Architects, the Library of Congress, and the National Park Service jointly signed an agreement in 1934 that created the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) to employ jobless architects in an effort to create an inventory of the buildings in the United States that maintained national historical significance.[5] By the time the United States declared war on Japan in 1941, more than 23, 765 sheets of measured drawings, 25, 375 photographic negatives, and

[4] *National Park Service Organic Act of 1916*, 64th Cong., 1st sess., 1916, Section 3; please note that the first part of this act was originally first passed by the U.S. Congress in 1916 as a statute (39 Stat. 535, U.S.C. 1), and then Section 8 added in1976 and passed into law (Public Law 91-458, 16 U.S.C. 1a-5).

[5] [5] Norman Tyler, *Historic Preservation: An Introduction to its History, Principles, and Practice*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company): 40-41; Since the creation of the Historic American Buildings Survey, the Historic American Engineering Record (HAER) and the Historic American Landscape Survey (HALS) were added, in 1969 and 2000, respectively. The majority of the inventories' photographs and drawings have been digitized and are available through the Library of Congress website at http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/habs_haer/.

6,389 structures were included in the Historic American Buildings Survey Inventory.[6] In 1935, Congress passed the *National Historic Sites and Buildings Act*, and declared it "national policy to preserve for public use historic sites, buildings, and objects of national significance for the inspiration and benefit of the people of the United States."[7] The language used in the *National Historic Sites and Buildings Act* of 1935 mandated the federal involvement in the efforts to preserve the built environment of the United States. It uses words such as *secure*, *collate*, *preserve*, *value*, *commemorating*, *researches*, *restore*, *reconstruct*, *rehabilitate*, *maintain*, *erect*, *manage*, *operate*, and *develop*. It also creates the Advisory Board of National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments" to advise on matters related to the national parks, to recommend policies pertaining to the restoration, reconstruction, conservation, and general administration of historic and archaeological sites, buildings, and properties.[8] The *National Historic Sites and Buildings Act* of 1935 advanced preservation in that it no longer pertains to those buildings, structures, sites, and objects on federally owned or controlled property; it places preservation into the public sector. However, this act only pertained to those buildings, structures, sites, and objects that maintain national historical significance, and still alienated those of state and local significance.

To further the policy enunciated in the *Historic Sites and Buildings Act of 1935,* Congress chartered the National Trust for Historic Preservation in 1949. A charitable, educational, and non-profit entity, the National Trust for Historic Preservation facilitates

[6] Helen Duprey Bullock. "Death Mask or Living Image?: the Role of the Archives of American Architecture," in *With Heritage So Rich*, Albert Rains, chairman of the Special Committee on Historic Preservation (New York: Random House, 1966): 139.
[7] *National Historic Sites and Buildings Act* , Public Law 74-292. 74th Cong., 1st sess., (21 August 1935), Section 1.
[8] *National Historic Sites and Buildings Act* , Section 3.

public participation in preservation through the donation of sites, buildings, and objects "significant in American history and culture" and through the preservation and administration of them for public benefit.[9] The National Trust for Historic Preservation also accepted, held, and administered gifts of money, securities, or "other property of whatsoever character for the purpose of carrying out the preservation program."[10] According to Walter Muir Whitehill, in his essay "The Right of Cities to be Beautiful," by 1965, the National Trust's usefulness lied in its "dissemination and exchange of information between organizations and individuals engaged in projects of historic preservation . . . [and] provided accurate and scholarly information, guidance, and encouragement."[11] Whitehill also explains that the National Trust only acted as a "link" between the National Park Service and private groups, because Congress never appropriated enough money for the National Trust to lend or give in support of individual projects. It only provided information on techniques and methods to assist local groups during a preservation crisis.[12] Although the National Trust for Historic Preservation provided another step in the preservation movement and helped to promote the development of a national preservation ethic, Congress once again ignored those buildings, structures, sites, and objects of state and local significance and focused on those of national significance.

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[9] *Charter of the National Trust for Historic Preservation* (49 Stat, 666) (H.R. 5170; Public No. 408), 81st Cong., 1st sess., (26 October 1949), Section 1.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Walter Muir Whitehill, "The Right of Cities to be Beautiful," in *With Heritage So Rich*, Albert Rains, chairman of the Special Committee on Historic Preservation, (New York: Random House, 1966): 49.
[12] Ibid, 49; See also the *Charter of the National Trust for Historic Preservation* (49 Stat. 666) (H.R. 5170; Public No. 408); The National Trust's role has expanded somewhat, but it still remains essentially the same. It is a non-profit organization that provides leadership, education, advocacy, and resources to efforts focused on saving the nation's historic built environment and revitalizing communities. www.nthp.org

In the twenty years following the end of World War II, America experienced unprecedented economic growth. As the family unit decreased and its material need increased, the family began to move out of the city centers and into the post-war subdivisions in the suburbs where growing material needs were more easily accommodated. As a result, Americans traveled more and the need for a more comprehensive interstate highway system surfaced. The United States government catered to this need when it initiated its interstate highway program. As citizens moved out, the bulldozers moved in, and the effects of urban renewal started to change the American inner-city landscape in irreversible ways, with contractors paying no heed to the cultural or historical significance of the buildings and structures they demolished. In his essay "'Promoted to Glory…'The Origin of Preservation in the United States," Walter Muir Whitehill describes America in the heyday of urban renewal as "restless and wasteful people by comparison to the rest of the world. We make a dirty mess in one place and move on to despoil another. When there were fewer of us, it was easier to ignore this national bad habit."[13] By the time of the advent of the preservation and conservation movements in the 1960s, almost half of the twelve thousand structures listed in the Historic American Buildings Survey Inventory had been destroyed. Then in 1963, New York City demolished White's Penn Station Terminal for the new Madison Square Garden. The outraged people of the United States demanded action.

The next piece of federal legislation that promoted a national preservation ethic came in October 1966 when Congress passed the *National Historic Preservation Act*. This was Congress' first endeavor into historic preservation since the beginning of World

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[13] Walter Muir Whitehill, "'Promoted to Glory…': The Origin of Preservation in the United States," in *With Heritage So Rich*, *With Heritage So Rich*, Albert Rains, chairman of the Special Committee on Historic Preservation, (New York: Random House, 1966): 36.

War II in 1941. In 1964, the Task Force on the Preservation of Natural Beauty submitted recommendations to the President of the United States, including a section on "Urban Design" which presented recommendations on historic preservation. President Lyndon B. Johnson stated, in a White House conference entitled "America the Beautiful," that the government must assist in "local efforts which have an important national purpose" and that he would "propose legislation to authorize supplementary grants to help local authorities acquire, develop, and manage private properties."[14] The National Park Service began immediately working on drafts for the proposed legislation, including a bill providing for matching grants-in-aid to the National Trust for Historic Preservation, and funding private historic preservation efforts (but assistance was not to exceed two million dollars for the first year). The National Park Service also formed a committee chaired by Albert Rains to research historic preservation both in the United States and abroad. The Rains Committee, eventually renamed the Special Committee on Historic Preservation, issued the report entitled *With Heritage So Rich*, published in early 1966. In addition to Whitehill's two contributions, *With Heritage So Rich* provided a full-scale assessment of historic preservation that included essays on the "varied nature of the physical heritage of America, and attractive photographic plates" of the built environment of the United States and the world.[15] The public loved it; government officials heeded it. After reading *With Heritage So Rich*, First Lady of the United States, Lady Bird Johnson, believed that "we must preserve and we must preserve wisely . . . it means retaining the

[14] *Legislative History of Historic Preservation Act of 1966*, prepared by James M. Lambe (Washington D. C.: National Park Service, 1967): 2.
[15] James A Glass, *The Beginnings of a New National Historic Preservation Program, 1957 to 1969*. (Washington D. C.: 1990): 11.

culturally valuable structures as useful objects."[16] By the time Lady Bird Johnson read the report, almost half of the twelve thousand buildings listed on the Historic American Buildings Survey of the National Park Service had been destroyed. It simultaneously met the public's need for action in the wake of the loss of Penn Station and satisfied the government's need for an assessment. Congress incorporated the Rains Committee's recommendations into the final piece of legislation passed into law in late 1966.

The *National Historic Preservation Act of 1966* finally recognized that buildings, structures, sites, and objects with historic significance at the state and local level warrant preservation just as much as those with national historic significance. It created the National Register of Historic Places, an official list of the Nation's historic and archaeological resources "worthy of preservation,"[17] and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, "an independent federal agency that promotes the preservation, enhancement, and productive use of our nation's historic resources, and advises the President and Congress on national historic preservation policy."[18] The *National Historic Preservation Act of 1966* also allowed the federal government to grant "funds to States for the purpose of preparing comprehensive statewide historic surveys and plans," to include matching grants-in-aid not to exceed 50% of the overall costs for a particular project.[19] The language reflected this change in recognition of state and local history. Congress eliminated phrases such as "national historic significance" and "on government-owned or controlled" lands, and included phrasing that recognized that "the

[16] Johnson, Lady Bird, Forward to*With Heritage So Rich*, Albert Rains, chairman of the Special Committee on Historic Preservation, (New York: Random House, 1966), vii.
[17] National Register of Historic Places website, http://www.nps.gov/history/nr/about.htm
[18]Advisory Council on Historic Preservation website, http://www.achp.gov/aboutachp.html
[19]*National Historic Preservation Act of 1966*. Public Law 89-665. 89th Cong., 2d sess., (15 October 1966), Section 101.

spirit and direction of the Nation are founded upon and reflected in its historic past."[20] The act contains language that promotes an all-encompassing preservation of the build environment. For example, "national historic significance" changed to "the Nation," and even "buildings, structures, and objects" changed to "historical and cultural foundations." The government finally enacted a piece of legislation that encompassed the whole of the built environment of the United States, for it saw it would preserve the "historical and cultural foundations of the Nation . . . as a living part of our community life and development in order to give a sense of orientation to the American people . . . to insure future generations a genuine opportunity to appreciate and enjoy the rich heritage of our Nation."[21] Most importantly the *National Historic Preservation Act of 1966* contained a provision known as Section 106, which concerned historic resources on federally-owned or controlled land, or those projects using federal funding, licenses, or permits. This provision mandated that those who wished to use to construct new property must first survey the historic resources already existing on the site and then determine whether or not rehabilitation or renovation of the resources would be more economical than demolition. The inception of this act also provides for the creation of tax incentives for preservation over demolition. A national preservation ethic developed among the American people and Congress mandated the ethic into law.

Historic Preservation advanced significantly in the 1970s when the government introduced tax incentives for historic preservation projects. This further advanced the preservation ethic that already developed. The *Tax Reform Act of 1976* encouraged preservation for future generations through the rehabilitation and reuse of historic

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[20] *National Historic Preservation Act of 1966*. Public Law 89-665. 89th Cong., 2d sess., (15 October 1966), Introduction.
[21] Ibid.

resources. An economic layer of preservation thus emerged. The *Tax Reform Act of 1976* addressed this layer and Congress increased the amount of money allotted to the National Trust for Historic Preservation for grants-in-aid to private preservation efforts that became "certified income-producing properties."[22] The number of private citizens applying for aid increased astronomically due to the new tax incentives and funds available to them for their preservation efforts. However, this phenomenon raised some questions: what is the best way to preserve a historic resource that is no longer inhabited or operating? Most urban centers found the most cost-effective strategies was through converting old factories and abandoned warehouses into modern public housing. These tax incentives also encouraged cities to devise design regulations for certain areas of their cities, prohibiting new construction, which turned architects, designers, and contractors into preservationists and created long-lasting partnerships between them. These partnerships helped to bring the preservation ethic into the 1980s.

Preservationists in the 1980s experienced improvements yet also faced problems. In 1980, Congress amended the *National Historic Preservation Act* significantly, first by decentralizing the National Register eligibility process from the National Park Service to the individual States' State Historic Preservation Offices. According to the *Secretary of the Interior's Twentieth Anniversary Report*, the *National Historic Preservation Act* originally called for a partnership between the federal government and the States to "identify, evaluate, and register historic properties" but the National Park Service retained the authority until "evaluative frameworks had been devised for determining state and local significance, and until Sates developed the professional capability to make

[22] *Tax Reform Act of 1976*. 94th Cong., 1st, sess., (4 October 1976); William J. Murtagh, *Keeping Time: The History and Theory of Preservation in America*. (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley and Sons, Inc, 2006): 58.

consistently sound decisions on State and locally significant properties."[23] The decentralization allowed for more efficient operations between the National Park Service and the States, for the States were better able to determine the historical significance of properties with state or local importance. The National Park Service primarily took a role of quality control; in the event of a debate or in the process of Section 106 review, it would act as a consultant for the States. This became beneficial to the States because it made applying for tax incentives easier. Once again, officials gained knowledge about the historic properties in their jurisdiction, as the State Historic Preservation Office had a more professionalized staff. Also, it created the National Register Information System, an automated inventory system that allowed states with listing authority to directly enter nominations. It also allowed federal agencies that plan preservation projects and states more accessibility to the information on historic properties.

With the election of Ronald Reagan as president in 1980, the National Trust for Historic Preservation faced a steady decrease in funding for preservation efforts as part of the larger trend of the decentralization of federal authority during the Reagan administration. The government held the perception that Americans placed no value on the past. Between 1977 and 1978, the funds appropriated to the National Trust doubled after the passage of the *Tax Reform Act* in 1976 and reached about five million in 1980. Then the government-supplied funds plateaued at just below five million dollars between 1980 and 1985. The revenue gained from other sources increased significantly between 1979 and 1981, from five million dollars to about thirteen million dollars, and then the National Trust struggled, between 1981 and 1985, to gain about fifteen million dollars

[23] *Secretary of the Interior's Twentieth Anniversary Report*, Prepared by Dale Lanzone and Stephen M. Sheffield, (Washington D. C.: U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1986): 6.

from other sources. Clearly, the government was satisfied with its appropriated five million dollars a year, but the fact that the National Trust had to look elsewhere to accommodate preservation projects throughout the country, proved that the government concerned itself with other matters. The number of properties listed on the National Register provides illustrates this point. The number of listings rose from less than one thousand in 1981 to almost five thousand in 1982, but then steadily declined every year between 1981 and 1986. By April 1986, the number of listings decreased to 3500, equaling that of 1985.[24] Considering the above data, one might think that Americans either no longer cared for the built environment or they experienced trouble with securing funding for their preservation efforts.

The Regan administration wanted to eliminate government funding to the National Preservation Fund, which provided appropriations to both the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the individual states. In the first twenty years after Congress passed the *National Historic Preservation Act* in 1966, the funding peaked in 1980 with over fifty million dollars appropriated from the Historic Preservation Fund. In 1981, the appropriations dropped to 30 million dollars, and then began to fluctuate between twenty eight and thirty million dollars between 1982 and 1985. A national preservation ethic, however, requires continued support from the government through the appropriation of sufficient funds. The allotted five million dollars to the National Trust forced it to look elsewhere for money to accommodate the historic preservation effort in America. This proves that the preservation ethic was in jeopardy of losing its momentum. The United States had "fallen back on a simple and desperate denial of memory and hence responsibility," for the preservation of the built environment through sufficient

[24] *Secretary of the Interior's Twentieth Anniversary Report*, 44; see also pages 38, 39, 41, and 43.

government funding preserves not only the property itself, but also the memories associated with it.[25] The fact that there were still a steady number of listings on the National Register throughout the 1980s proves that the public did possess a sense of the past; the government just chose to ignore it.

In the twenty-first century, the task of preservation has moved to help save the historically significant resources that do not qualify for listing on the National Register of Historic Places due to insufficient age. Post-World War II suburban tract housing that makes up many American neighborhoods are being demolished for “infill,” a term used by preservation planners to describe newer structures that break up the historic character of the original neighborhood. Too often people fail to realize that these post-war neighborhoods in themselves maintain historic significance. Many of them neighborhoods cannot be listed on the National Register of Historic Places as a historic district simply because of their youth. However, many residents of these neighborhoods have created binding laws to prevent the destruction of the neighborhood’s historic milieu.

The federal government became indispensible to developing a preservation ethic in the twentieth century through the passage of five major pieces of legislation that would help to perpetuate the existence of the built environment as a socially useful aspect of United States history. Historic Preservation though began to lose funding in the 1980s as certain government officials decided that the average United States citizen possessed no concept of history’s usefulness. The government in the 1980s failed to realize though that programs that develop a way for citizens to connect their own personal and family

[25] *Secretary of the Interior’s Twentieth Anniversary Report*, 39, 41; Michael H. Frisch, “The Memory of History,” in *Presenting the Past: Essays on History and the Public*. Eds. Susan Porter Benson, Stephen Brier, and Roy Rosenzweig (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986): 11.

history to a larger national context help them to better understand their place in the history of the United States. Historic preservation allows the average citizen not only connect with history but actually see how history can be used. Historic preservation allows interaction, conversation, and communication among a family, a neighborhood, a city, a state, or a nation as a whole. The members of society sees the usefulness of history and try to perpetuate it by creating city ordinances that restrict new construction in their area until it becomes eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. Preservation, therefore, will always be an effort by the private individual who cares enough to protect his past for the use of future generations. The future of maintaining a national preservation ethic lies with the continued efforts of individuals; with them, the ethic will continue to develop and thrive, regardless of whether or not the federal government chooses to pay attention.

The Historic Sites Act, the National Register of Historic Places, and the Origins of Criteria Consideration G

According to Barry Mackintosh, "The first recorded statement of a thematic approach to historic site selection appears in a 1929 report of the Committee on the Study of Educational Problems in the National Parks," and was further advocated in 1932.[26] The federal government then first initiated an inventory of historic buildings in the 1930s with the creation of the Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) in 1934.[27] As a "tripartite agreement between National Park Service, the Library of Congress, and the American Institute of Architects[,] . . . it can be seen as the first and only federal program to document historic structures and precursor of an increasing role for the federal

[26] Barry Mackintosh, *The Historic Sites Survey and National Historic Landmarks Program: A History*, National Park Service, (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1985): 7
[27] Norman Tyler, *Historic Preservation: An Introduction to its History, Principles, and Practice*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company): 40-41.

government in historic preservation."[28] The passage of the *National Historic Sites and Buildings Act of 1935* made it national policy to "preserve for public use historic sites, buildings, and objects of national significance for the inspiration and benefit of the people of the United States."[29] It also required the Secretary of the Interior to "make a survey of historic and archaeological sites, buildings, and objects for the purpose of determining which possesses exceptional value as commemorating or illustrating the history of the United States."[30] This started the use of the word *exceptional* to demarcate the level of importance in the historic preservation legislation of the United States. This task of surveying not only laid the groundwork for the Historic Sites Survey and the National Historic Landmarks Program, but also the National Register of Historic Places, and sets the precedent for properties to be of "exceptional importance" in order to be considered "historic."

The goal of the Historic Sites Survey was to "identify sties and buildings that were nationally significant, that deserved protection, and that might be considered as additions to the National Park System."[31] The National Park Service structured the survey thematically, establishing several different periods of American history that should be well represented throughout the survey, and that no period should be "slighted or neglected because of the special field of interest of the surveyor."[32] The creation of

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[28] Ibid.
[29] *National Historic Sites and Buildings Act* , Public Law 74-292. 74th Cong., 1st sess., (21 August 1935), Section 1.
[30] *National Historic Sites and Buildings Act* , Section 2(g).
[31] John H. Sprinkle, Jr, "'Of Exceptional Importance': The Origins of the 'Fifty-Year Rule' in Historic Preservation," *The Public Historian*, 29, no 2 (Spring 2007): 82; Please also see, Charles B Hosmer Jr., *Preservation Comes of Age: From Williamsburg to the National Trust, 1926-1949*, 2 vols. (Charlottesville, VA: Published for the Preservation Press, National Trust for Historic Preservation in the United States by the University Press of Virginia, 1981): 589-601.
[32] John H. Sprinkle, Jr, 83.

these periods of history, or themes, was intended to ensure a comprehensive list of representative buildings from American History. However, periods highlighting recent history were omitted from the thematic list, because it was considered too controversial, that the justification of historical significance was undeterminable at that time.[33] As a result, the National Park Service set an terminal age criteria for historic significance: 1870.[34] The National Park Service completely negated Western Expansion, Populism, and the twentieth century as too recent to determine historic significance. This marked the first instance of an official time requirement for determining the historical significance of buildings.

This time requirement evolved during World War II, even though the Historic Sites Survey ceased during the war years. In a number of meetings during World War II, the National Park Service created the "twenty-five-year rule," maintaining that a person's contribution to national history could not be determined significant or commemorated before that person was dead twenty five years or longer.[35] This standard was adopted to effectively ensure "that consideration of an individual's accomplishments would have a historical perspective that was at least one generation removed."[36] In one more attempt to systematically establish a timeframe for "inherently controversial history,"[37] the National Park Service in 1952 changed the cut-off date of 1870 to a more lenient fifty years, "employed to the present with minor rewording, that requires 50 years to have elapsed since a property achieved historical importance, 'unless associated with persons

[33] John H. Sprinkle, Jr, 83-84
[34] John H. Sprinkle, Jr, 84.
[35] John H. Sprinkle, Jr, 85.
[36]John H. Sprinkle, Jr, 86.
[37] Ibid.

or events of transcendent significance.'"[38] This time frame carried over to the 1958 *Handbook for the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings*; used by MISSION 66, a ten year program meant to improve and revitalize the National Park Service between 1956 and 1966. The *Handbook* established seven criteria for history and one criterion for integrity.[39] It also continued when MISSION 66 transformed the Historic Sites Survey into the National Historic Landmarks Program in 1960.[40]

During the National Park Service's preoccupation with historic sites of national importance to include in its survey, the public called for the preservation of buildings, structures, sites, and objects that were important to them, regardless of their significance on a national level. One example is Frank Lloyd Wright's Robie House in Oak Park, Illinois. In the late 1950s, the Robie House was threatened with demolition, so the community rallied around the historic monuments program and urged the Secretary of the Interior to designate it historically significant due to the fact that it was recognized as a significant contribution to modern American architecture.[41]A decade earlier, the National Park Service already established that buildings not associated with nationally important persons or events could be recognized for its architectural merits alone; however, for "the Park Service to support the [Robie House] as a National Historic Site would have been precedent-setting, given that there was little likelihood that the home would ever be established as a National Park."[42] Thus, by 1960, the National Park System Advisory

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[38] Minutes 26th Advisory Board Meetin, Apr. 21-22, 1952, quoted in Barry Mackintosh, *The Historic Sites Survey and National Historic Landmarks Program: A History*, National Park Service, (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1985): 69.
[39] John H. Sprinkle, Jr, 86
[40] John H. Sprinkle, Jr, 82; The first National Historic Landmark was designated in 1960 and was the Sergeant Floyd Grave and Monument in Souix City, IA.
[41] John H. Sprinkle, Jr, 88-89.
[42] John H. Sprinkle, Jr, 90.

Board had applied "twin chronological standards:" a person must have been dead at least twenty five years.[43] Also, fifty years must have transpired before any event associated with a person could be significant.[44] Since the Robie House achieved National Historic Landmark status due to its architectural significance in 1963, only four years after Wright's death, the National Park Service's systematic timeframe of establishing historic significance seems contradictory. The difference was that the National Park Service never intended the Robie House to be designated a "national park," so they could justify the inclusion of the Robie House on the National Historic Landmarks Inventory.

By passage of the *National Historic Preservation Act of 1966*, the "50 Year Rule," and been well established and implemented by the National Park Service for about 15 years. The passage of the *National Historic Preservation Act of 1966* shifted the emphasis from the preservation of sites and buildings of national significance to that of establishing a program that included and incorporated buildings, structures, sites, and objects important to states, local governments, Indian Tribes, and private organizations and individuals.[45]It also established the National Register of Historic places, an inventory of "districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture."[46]The National Register of Historic Places then adopted the National Historic Landmarks Program's Criteria for Classification of Historic Sites, Buildings, and Objects, which was updated in 1965 and included the following criteria:

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[43] John H. Sprinkle, Jr, 93.
[44] Ibid.
[45] *National Historic Preservation Act of 1966*. Public Law 89-665. 89th Cong., 2d sess., (15 October 1966): Section 2.
[46] Section 101 (a)(I)(A) of Title I, Historic Preservation Programs, of the *National Historic Preservation Act of 1966*. Public Law 89-665. 89th Cong., 2d sess., (15 October 1966).

> Structures, sites and objects achieving historical importance within the past 50 years will not as a general rule be considered unless associated with persons or events of transcendent significance.[47]

John H. Sprinkle, Jr suggests that "establishing criteria like the fifty- and twenty-five year rules was another way that NPS planners and historians could limit the number of potential sites under consideration and maintain the objectivity of the national survey of historic sites," that they acted as buffers for the Park Service so it could "offer official recognition of national significance . . . without the implication of impending federal stewardship."[48]

The above criterion was then adopted into the guidelines of the National Register of Historic Places as Criteria Consideration G. The section for Criteria Considerations states that "ordinarily . . . properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years shall not be considered eligible for the National Register."[49] It also lists seven other exceptions or "considerations," that will limit listing in the National Register. Criteria Consideration G allows listing of a property achieving significance within the last 50 years if it is of "exceptional importance."[50] The National Register of Historic Places program carried over the language used thirty years earlier in the *National Historic Sites and Buildings Act of 1935*.

As seen with through the history of preservation legislation in the 20th Century, the historic preservation moment in the United States has steadily evolved and built upon

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[47] "Table 1: Criteria for Classification of Historic Sites, Buildings, and Objects" In John H. Sprinkle, Jr, 98
[48] John H. Sprinkle, Jr, 100.
[49] National Park Service. *Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*. (Washington D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1995): 2.
[50] Ibid.

its previous legislative counterparts. The 1930s and the New Deal mark a time when historic inventory programs in the United States reached an ultimate height in terms of development and initiation. The culmination of these conservation and survey efforts was the *National Historic Preservation Act of 1966*, as it established the federal government as the perpetuator of the preservation ethic in the United States. This Act established the National Register of Historic Places and mandated that all buildings, sites, structures, objects, and districts significant the local, state, and national history be give consideration as objects of culture worth saving for future generations. The National Register of Historic Places, like the National Landmarks Inventory Program, adopted a set of criteria used to assess the cultural and historical significance of the built environment. This set of criteria includes its own set of exceptions, or "Criteria Considerations, which are in place to guide the public and historic preservation professionals in their evaluations of historic properties. However, what was originally developed as a buffer between the National Park Service and the public to avoid historical themes that lacked historical distance, Criteria Consideration G has been enacted as a rule in most state and local preservation programs across the United States. As a result, this Criteria Consideration is also known as the "50 Year Rule" due to its exclusion of properties less than fifty years old unless they possess "exceptional importance." But how has this time limit or prescribed historical distance affected the preservation of the Modern Movement? Now that the very programs that the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 was established to prevent or curb, such as Urban Renewal, are reaching the fifty-year threshold, preservationists find themselves at a crossroads. The next chapter discusses the recent past and its relationship to the National Register of Historic Places in the 21st Century.

CHAPTER III

THE RECENT PAST AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

The natural progression for historic preservation in the United States would be to include and preserve the architecture of the Modern Movement. However, some people do not agree because: 1) it was built in their lifetime and so the architecture still maintains a quality of "newness;" 2) it replaced, as is the case with Urban Renewal projects, older, better examples of a certain style of architecture; or 3) the architecture is considered ugly or the viewer fails to understand the purpose of its existence. In reality, the construction of a building is the ultimate manifestation of some one's design idea, regardless of whether or not it has a functional purpose. This chapter discusses the origins of Mid-Century Modern Architecture and its aesthetic base in three previous styles: Prairie, Bauhaus, and International. It then examines the application of Criteria Consideration G in efforts to preserve buildings, structures, sites, and objects of this style. Finally, it discusses how the preservation of the Modern Movement as a whole is a contradiction and how certain American vernacular forms of Mid-Century Modern architecture defy this contradiction in terms of availability and use.

Mid-Century Modern: Origins and Characteristics

The term "Mid-century Modern" was first used in a 1984 book by Cara Greenberg entitled *Mid-Century Modern: Furniture of the 1950s*. In this book, Greenberg discusses the major designers who helped to develop this particular style of furniture. Like an extension of the buildings it furnished, the furniture of the mid-century incorporated "curves that were swoopy, parabolic, amoeboid; lines that were long and low; ornament that was absent; materials that, until recently, had been found only in aircraft factories."[1] These are the general characteristics of the Mid-Century Modern style of architecture, and they were modified depending on the design aesthetic of the architect. The Mid-Century Modern style in residential and commercial architecture was an amalgamation of the Prairie, Bauhaus, and International styles of the early twentieth century, and became the quintessential expression of post-World War II American wealth and prosperity.[2] It also represented the coming of age of a country where Modernism became accessible and acceptable to the consumer.[3]

Frank Lloyd Wright and the Chicago School

Wright was born in Wisconsin in 1867 and went to work for the firm, Adler and Sullivan, in 1888. Wright came from a group of architects known today as the Prairie School of Architecture. This "school" was a group of young architects who Wright, "began to know . . . and how welcome was Robert Spencer, and then Myron Hunt, and Dwight Perkins, Arthur Heun, George Dean, and Hugh Garden. Inspiring days they

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[1] Cara Greenberg, *Mid-Century Modern: Furniture of the 1950s* (New York: Harmony Books, 1984): 14.
[2] Greenberg, 14.
[3] Greenberg, 14.

were. I am sure, for us all."[4] This quotation is from an essay Wright entitled, "In the Cause of Architecture," which was first published in *The Architectural Record* in March 1908, and one of many subsequent articles entitled "In the Cause of Architecture" that Wright would write and publish in this publication until his death in the late 1950s.[5] In the original article, Wright defined Nature's role in architecture: "Nature furnished the materials for architectural motifs out of which the architectural forms as we know them today have developed."[6] In other words, nature dictates design; thus, "knowledge of the relations of form and function lies at the root of [the architect's] practice."[7] This fundamental theory, "form follows function," Wright learned from Louis Sullivan, and it permeated his work throughout his long, successful career.

Also in the 1908 publication, Wright provides six "'propositions'" that became the driving principles behind the architectural style known as the Prairie Style, which, executed by Wright and other proponents of this design, came to be known as the Prairie School.[8] The most important proposition, especially when tracing how Modernism developed in the Mid-western United States, is proposition IV. In it, Wright clearly states the characteristics for what is now known as the Prairie Style:

> We of the Middle West are living on the prairie. The prairie has a beauty of its own, and we should recognize and accentuate this natural beauty, its quiet level. Hence, gently sloping roofs, low proportions, quiet skylines, suppressed heavyset chimneys and

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[4] Frank Lloyd Wright, "In the Cause of Architecture," *Architectural Record*, (March 1908), published in *The Essential Frank Lloyd Wright: Critical Essays on Architecture*, edited by Bruce Brooks Pfeiffer, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008): 34.
[5] These essays for *Architectural Record* dealt with design, style, and other aspects of architecture, see *In The Cause of Architecture: Essays by Frank Lloyd Wright for* Architectural Record, *1908-1952, with a Symposium on Architecture With and Without Wright by Eight Who Knew Him,* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1987).
[6] Frank Lloyd Wright, "In the Cause of Architecture," *Architectural Record*, (March 1908): 34.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Frank Lloyd Wright, "In the Cause of Architecture," *Architectural Record*, (March 1908): 35.

> sheltering overhangs, low terraces and outreaching walls sequestering private gardens.[9]

Wright also believed that a building should harmonize with its natural surroundings, and be as organic as possible. This proposition introduces a concept of "Regionalism." According to Wright, residential and commercial architecture will be dictated by the wants and needs of the person or family who owns the property.[10] Taken into consideration with Wright's Proposition III, a building should "harmonize with its natural surroundings," then the architecture will also vary depending on the natural landscape upon which the property is built.[11] Thus, a house built on the prairie will take a cue from its flat terrain; a house built on a rock will incorporate the rock as much as possible. These propositions provide architectural historians, planners, historic preservationists, and architects with insight into the mind of Wright and what he strived for in his architecture. Therefore, it is safe to say that Mid-Century Modern residential architecture developed not only in the US, but also upon the wide, far-reaching terrain of the Plains States. One of the best examples of Frank Lloyd Wright's vision is the Robie House in Oak Park, Illinois, finished 1910 (Appendix A: Figure 3).

Wright's design aesthetic lacked historical reference and marked the beginning of an indigenous American architectural style, especially his concept of wanting to incorporate nature as an extension of one's living space. Because of this emphasis on integrating natural surroundings, buildings associated with Wright and other members of the Prairie School were site-specific; thus, the aesthetic is described as

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[9] Frank Lloyd Wright, "In the Cause of Architecture," *Architectural Record*, (March 1908): 36.
[10] Proposition II, presented by Frank Lloyd Wright, "In the Cause of Architecture," *Architectural Record*, (March 1908): 35.
[11] Frank Lloyd Wright, "In the Cause of Architecture," *Architectural Record*, (March 1908): 35.

"organic."[12]According to Carol Strickland, "Wright sought to discover the landscape's underlying geometry, then to enhance it with a building that echoed, shaped, or unified the setting. The low-slung roofs, deep eaves, and horizontal massing of Prairie Houses reflected the endless flow of the prairies."[13] This particular design also allowed for Prairie School architects to open-up the interior by eliminating doors or walls for a free-flowing space, the anchor of which was the home's hearth.[14] This open concept in the interior space allowed for a sense of liberation as well as a simultaneous sense of safety, as the "projecting roofs embrace the whole structure to provide security. . . [and the] huge chimneys imply rootedness."[15]

Wright's Robie House in Illinois was actually the result of experimentation, another tendency of architects in the twentieth century.[16] Experimentation was not only relevant for American architects, but also for European architects, especially in countries like Germany that were decimated economically, politically, and culturally as a result of World War I. Once such visionary architect was Walter Gropius of Germany, who "attacked the problem of reconciling art and industrialized society,"[17] and established a school in Weimar, Germany in 1919 that united fine and applied arts in order to "improve the human condition and foster an egalitarian society."[18] This school was the Bauhaus. According to Alexander Dorner,

> Gropius wanted to combine the [Weimar Art] Academy with the Weimar Arts and Crafts School to

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[12] Carol Strickland, *The Annotated Arch: A Crash Course in the History of Architecture* (Kansas City, MO: Andrews McMeel Publishing, 2001): 127.
[13] Srickland, 127.
[14] Strickland, 126-127
[15]Strickland, 127.
[16] Strickland, 126.
[17] Alexander Dorner, "Background of the Bauhaus," *Bauhaus: 1919-1928*, Edited by Herbert Bayer, Walter Gropius, and Ise Gropius (Boston: Charles T. Branford Co., 1959): 11
[18]Stirckland, 132.

> create a 'consulting art center for industry and trades.' By achieving this union in 1919 at the Bauhaus, he took a most important and decisive new step, for every student at the Bauhaus was trained by two teachers in each subject—by an artist and a master craftsman. This division of instruction was unavoidable at the beginning, for no teachers were to be found with sufficient mastery of both.[19]

Eventually, artists familiar in science and economics also became incorporated into the Bauhaus teaching system, and creative imagination united with a "practical knowledge of craftsmanship, and thus . . . [a] new sense of functional design" developed.[20]

The Bauhaus and the International Style: An Ocean Apart

The book *Bauhaus: 1919-1928*, edited by Herbert Bayer, Walter Gropius, and Ise Gropius outlines the theory and organization of the Bauhaus School, as translated by Gropius from the original German *Idee und Aufbau des Staadlichen Bauhaus Weimar*. According to Gropius, the goal of the Bauhaus curriculum is "a demand for a new and powerful working correlation of all the processes of creation . . . architecture unites in a collective work all creative workers, from the simple artisan to the supreme artist."[21] In order to achieve this goal, the architecture of the Bauhaus took on a particular look that incorporated standardized materials. Several of these characteristics include free-plan interiors, a design feature adopted from Wright and the Prairie School from earlier in the century. Otherwise, there was no other historical reference on the exterior of Bauhaus buildings. The incorporation of concrete, glass, and steel, unadorned surfaces, strip

[19] Dorner, 12.
[20] Dorner, 13.
[21] Walter Gropius, "The Theory and Organization of the Bauhaus," translated by Walter Gropius, in *Bauhaus: 1919-1928* Edited by Herbert Bayer, Walter Gropius, and Ise Gropius (Boston: Charles T. Branford Co., 1959): 28.

windows flush with the wall pane, and a flat roof characterize a Bauhaus structure.[22]The Bauhaus School building at Dessau, finished in 1925, was the ultimate representation of this particular style, which is also referred to as "white architecture" or factory/machine design (Appendix A: Figure 4).[23] Most importantly, the Bauhaus design was the result of collaboration and intended for the working class as a means to improve society. This particular design aesthetic sought order, regularity, and standardization because "'simplicity in multiplicity' [is] a guiding principle in the shaping of [architecture's] character. Form elements of typical shape should be repeated in series. All the building parts should be functional limbs of the comprehensive organism."[24] As a result of the Bauhaus style's lack of individuality, it was often commissioned by socialistic governments for various projects.[25]

The Bauhaus School in Germany was established in response to the destruction of World War I and set out to recreate the world by "liberating humankind from a class system through a machine-age environment."[26] The American version of this style, or the International Style, first appeared in the United States in 1932 in an exhibition of the same name at the Museum of Modern Art that showcased new architecture and displayed Modernist homes.[27] The International Style is also called "US Bauhaus," because the defining characteristics of its buildings are exactly the same as those of the Bauhaus. However, unlike the Bauhaus, the International Style did not propose a new way of

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[22] Strickland, 132.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Gropius, "Theory and Organization of the Bauhaus," 28.
[25] Tom Wolfe. *From Bauhaus To Our House*, (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1981): 16.
[26] Strickland, 133.
[27] Ibid; the Bauhaus was first introduced in Europe in Paris at the *Salon des Artistes Decorateurs* of 1930, and the Germany section was arranged under the direction of Gropius. This is somewhat ironic since the Bauhaus was "anti-bourgeois," yet they presented at one of the most bourgeois of European establishments, the Paris *Salon*; for more information, see Alfred H. Barr, Jr.'s "Preface" to *Bauhaus: 1919-1918*, 5-6.

living, and was “quickly co-opted into an aesthetic style stripped of utopian leanings.”[28] A typical International Style building incorporates steel, glass, and concrete, into an independent structural frame that has a flat roof and strip windows that wrap around corners at right angles, no applied ornamentation, no exterior colors, and flexible interior space.[29] The International Style’s eminent practitioner was Philip Johnson, and the quintessential International Style building is Johnson’s Glass House in New Canaan, Connecticut (Appendix A: Figure 1).

The International Style, however, does try to justify itself. According to Henry Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson, in their book, *The International Style: Architecture Since 1922*, architecture should incorporate the following design principles: 1) volume instead of mass; 2) regularity rather than axial symmetry to establish order; and, 3) proscribes arbitrary applied decoration.[30] The importance of these principles rests in that they allowed architects to focus on functionalism: “utility and nothing more.”[31] In fact, Alfred H. Barr, Jr states that “post-functionalism” is a more appropriate term for the style than “International” is.[32] Barr, thus, reiterates Hitchcock and Johnson’s sentiment that the idea of “‘style’” was destroyed by revival styles in the nineteenth century.[33] The goal of the International Style was to establish a dominant style that was unified and inclusive, not fragmentary and contradictory, structurally like the Gothic with design handling reminiscent of the Classical, and that handles function like both the

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[28] Strickland, 133.
[29] Strickland, 135.
[30] Henry Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson, *The International Style: Architecture Since 1922*, (New York: Norton and Company, Inc, 1939): 20.
[31] Alfred J. Barr, Jr., Preface to *The International Style: Architecture Since 1922*, 22; Alfred H. Barr, Jr. was the first director of the Museum of Modern Art.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Hitchcock and Johnson, *International Style*, 20.

Gothic and the Classical.[34] Regardless of the attempts to differentiate between the theory of the International Style architects and the Bauhaus architects, it becomes very difficult to differentiate between the final products of the two styles, because of the incorporation of similar, if not identical, materials, scale, and lack of decorative details.

America's first exposure to modern architecture may have been in 1932 with the Museum of Modern Art's exhibition; however, the United States became the home of many of the Bauhaus architects in the early 1930s, as the Nazis continued to oppress the German people. Massachusetts became the home of Walter Gropius and several other Bauhaus teachers, including Marcel Breuer, as Harvard accepted them into its Graduate School of Design.[35] Ludwig Mies van der Rohe became the president of the Bauhaus after it moved to Berlin, but not for very long. He immigrated to Chicago as the head of the Illinois Institute of Technology after the Bauhaus was finally forced to close in 1933.[36] This immigration of European modernists to the United States started American modernism. It was these people who taught the future American to reduce, minimalize, and standardize their design aesthetic. This style matured in its American form after World War II, when the economy stabilized with increased production. Modernism, which was available only to an elite class during the Great Depression of the 1930s and during the war years of the 1940s, was suddenly available and obtainable in the 1950s, and became the symbol of middle-class American wealth and prosperity.

The Application of Criteria Consideration G to Mid-Century Modern Resources

[34] Hitchcock and Johnson, *International Style*, 20.
[35] Strickland, 133.
[36] Ibid.

When evaluating any property for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, there are two major National Park Service documents that must be used and referenced: *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation, National Register Bulletin 16a: How to Complete the National Register Nomination Form*. If the property under evaluation is less than fifty years old, then a third document, *National Register Bulletin 22: Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties That Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years*, must also be used. Each *Bulletin* provides instruction and guidance to ensure the successful listing of a building, site, structure, object, or district in the National Register of Historic Places. In this section, each bulletin will be analyzed and discussed to establish how Mid-Century Modern resources fit into the National Register of Historic Places and whether or not Criteria Consideration G, or the "50 Year Rule," provides a fair threshold of time in order for historical perspective to be established.

The first step to listing a property in the National Register of Historic Places is determining its historic significance. This is important because the National Register is the official list of properties in the United States that "represent the major patterns of our shared local, State, and national experience."[37] A property can be listed in the National Register of Historic Places under one of four major Criteria for Evaluation that define the scope of the National Register, and "identify the range of resources and kinds of significance that will qualify properties for listing."[38] Buildings, sites, structures, objects, and districts must also possess "integrity of location, design, setting, materials,

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[37] National Park Service, Preface to *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (Washington D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1997): i.
[38] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (Washington D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1997): 1.

workmanship, feeling, and association," because the quality of significance is present in those properties

> A. That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or
> B. That are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or
>
> C. That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or
>
> D. That have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.[39]

These Criteria for Evaluation help the preparer of nominations determine historic context, which provides the "framework within which the National Register Criteria are applied to specific properties or property types."[40]

In addition to the four major Criteria of Evaluation, there are seven Criteria Considerations. This is a list of properties excluded from listing in the National Register unless they are "integral parts of districts that meet the criteria or if they fall within the following categories:

> a. A religious property deriving primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance; or
>
> b. A building or structure removed from its original location but which is significant primarily for

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[39] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (Washington D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1997): 2

[40] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation:* 1

architectural value, or which is the surviving structure most importantly associated with a historic person or event; or

c. A birthplace or grave of a historical figure of outstanding importance if there is no appropriate site of building directly associated with his or her productive life; or

d. A cemetery which derives its primary significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events; or

e. A reconstructed building when accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other building or structure with the same association has survived; or

f. A property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own exceptional significance; or

g. A property achieving significance within the past 50 years if it is of exceptional importance.[41]

As stated in the previous chapter, the origins of the Criteria for Evaluation and Criteria Considerations stem from the Historic Sites Act of 1935. In order to me one of the Criteria for Evaluation, a property must be "associated with an important historic context" and retain "historic integrity of those features necessary to convey its significance."[42]

Once the context has been established, then the property's historic significance can be argued because the property's importance must fall within the selected time frame of the context. This importance takes into account the seven aspects of integrity:

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[41] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (Washington D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1997): 2
[42] Ibid

location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.[43] In order to assess the integrity of a property, the researcher must define the "essential physical features," determine if the "essential physical features are visible enough to convey their significance," compare the property to other properties if necessary, and then decide if the "aspects of integrity [that] are particularly vital to the property" are present.[44] All buildings, structures, sites, objects, and districts under consideration for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places undergo this review. However, some bias does exist, as seen in the Criteria Considerations. For those properties that are less than fifty years old, and requiring the application of Criteria Consideration G, this bias is especially apparent.

According to *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, "[f]ifty years is a general estimate of the time needed to develop historical perspective and to evaluate significance. This consideration guards against the listing of properties of passing contemporary interest and ensures that the National Register is a list of truly historic places."[45] In fact, Criteria Consideration G not only requires the building to be at least fifty years old, unless it is of "exceptional importance," but also requires the resource's significance to be fifty years old. If the building is over fifty years old, and the significance is younger, the building is still ineligible for listing in the National Register.[46] The National Park Service does try to justify its bias by explaining how to apply each Criteria Consideration. *National Register Bulletin 15:*

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[43] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (Washington D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1997): 44
[44] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (Washington D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1997): 45.
[45] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (Washington D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1997): 41.
[46] Ibid.

How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation states that "'exceptional importance' may be applied to the extraordinary importance of an event or to an entire category of resources so fragile that survivors of any age are unusual," but that "properties that by their nature can last more than fifty years cannot be considered exceptionally important because of the fragility of the class of resources."[47]

In regards to post-World War II properties, they must be surveyed, just like any other property type being considered for nomination. A public housing complex "may be eligible as an outstanding expression of the nation's post-war urban policy" or a post-war suburban subdivision "may be the best reflection of contemporary siting and design tenets in a metropolitan area."[48] However, earlier on the same page of this section on Criteria Consideration G, it states:

> In many communities, properties such as apartment buildings built in the 1950s cannot be evaluated because there is no scholarly research available to provide an overview of the nature, role, and impact of that building type within the context of historical and architectural developments of the 1950s.[49]

The way this passage is worded blatantly contradicts the statement made under the post-World War II properties heading in the *Bulletin*. Even in 1997, when this *Bulletin* was written, research existed addressing the "historical and architectural developments" of 1950s residential architecture. Also, part of the process of listing in the National Register is to conduct scholarly research required to establish the building's nature, role, and impact as part of an historic context. Exceptional importance "is a measure of a

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[47] Ibid.
[48] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (Washington D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1997): 42.
[49] Ibid.

property's importance within the appropriate historic context, whether the scale of that context is local, State, or national."[50] In other words, if the researcher can prove that the 1950s apartment building is "exceptional" on a local level, because of "historical and architectural developments" in that community, that apartment building is eligible for listing. Although listing a property under fifty years old in the National Register is achievable, the way the *Bulletin* is worded makes listing seem impossible because of the year of construction. The real problem was not the age of the resource, but the lack of scholarly research on that community's post-World War II development.

Criteria Consideration G has been controversial since at least the late 1970s. In 1979, that the National Park Service published "How To" #2, which eventually morphed into *National Register Bulletin 22: Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties that Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years*.[51] The third and fourth editions of this *Bulletin* provide examples cited from the essay that Carol D. Shull, Keeper of the National Register of Historic Places, and Beth L. Savage, architectural historian for the National Register of Historic Places, prepared for the 1995 "Preserving the Recent Past" conference in Chicago. The essay outlines and summarizes recent listings of properties under Criteria Consideration G.[52] This essay, "Trends in Recognizing Places for Significance in the Recent Past," reads like a summary of the National Register program's recognition of properties listed in the National Register

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[50] Ibid.
[51] National Park Service, Acknowledgements to *National Register Bulletin 22: Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties that Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years*, (Washington D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1998): iii.
[52] Ibid.

since 1945 and the overall historical trends that they reflect.[53] This essay implicitly sets a precedent for researchers in that they will only survey properties if fit those overall trends. As a result, this practice eliminates objectivity from the survey process. The National Park Service states over and over again in their *National Register Bulletins* that Criteria Consideration G was "not designed to [be] mechanically applied on a year by year basis."[54] However, when the Keeper of the National Register publishes essays listing the types of historic contexts that will warrant "exceptional importance," it becomes difficult for preservation professionals to not systematically apply Criteria Consideration G. It also becomes difficult for preservation professionals to use Criteria Consideration G, as a guideline, when *National Register Bulletin 22: Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties that Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years* states, "as a general rule, properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years are not eligible for National Register listing because the National Register is intrinsically a compilation of the Nation's **historic** resources that are worthy of preservation."[55]

Another interesting aspect of the *National Register Bulletins* is that they fail to fully disclose the historical precedent for including certain information, and fail to explain the larger historical context for the National Register and National Historic Landmarks Programs. For example, the criteria for the National Historic Landmarks

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[53] Carol D. Shull and Beth L. Savage, "Trends in Recognizing Places for Significance in the Recent Past," *Preserving the Recent Past*, edited by Deborah Slaton and Rebecca A. Shiffer (Washington, D.C.: Historic Preservation Education Foundation, 1995): II 3-14.
[54] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 22: Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties that Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years*, (Washington D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1998): 6.
[55] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 22: Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties that Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years*: 1.

Program are included in *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*. The bulletin states that those properties designated as National Historic Landmarks are automatically listed in the National Register of Historic places, and even compares the National Landmarks Program to the National Register, although the process for the two properties are very different. It also fails to tell the reader that the criteria for listing in the National Register were adapted from the National Landmarks Program. Thus, they fail to establish the historical reference for the National Register program. Another example is in the Preface of *National Register Bulletin 22: Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties that Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years*. It discusses the 1995 "Preserving the Recent Past" conference in Chicago. It states that this conference is "an important indicator of popular and professional commitment to preserving significant historic properties," and that it "served as an important forum for discussing a wide range of issues associated with historic properties of the 20th century."[56] What the *Bulletin* fails to tell the reader is that 1995 was the fiftieth anniversary of the United States dropping the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, so post-World War II architectural resources, especially those related to the atomic age, are important historically, that these resources, including a family's nuclear bomb shelter, are reaching the fifty year threshold. It also fails to state that by 2000, an apartment building built in 1950 will become historic, and that by 2010, properties associated with Urban Renewal and the Federal Highway Administration will also be fifty years old and worthy of consideration. Even though the *Bulletin* acknowledges that this particular edition "moves on to the next major period of time: the post-World War II

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[56] National Park Service, Preface to *National Register Bulletin 22: Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties that Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years,* (Washington D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1998): ii.

era" and the end of that era could extend to the late 1980s with the end of the Cold War,[57] it fails to foster a continuous preservation ethic by not advising that these properties associated with this period will eventually become historic and worthy of consideration according to its own standards.

This *National Register Bulletin* and many others are obviously horribly out-of-date and need revisions. Another example of this obsolescence can be found in *National Register Bulletin 16a: How to Complete the National Register Nomination Form*. This bulletin consists of a step-by-step explanation of how to fill out the National Register nomination paperwork, starting with the name of the property and continuing through to the required maps, photographs, and continuation sheets. It includes all the codes for context, function, use, materials, architectural style, states and counties, and federal agencies. It also discusses multiple property nominations, nationally significant properties, and amending National Register forms. Like *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation, Bulletin 16a* was published in 1997.

The most disconcerting aspect of *Bulletin 16a* is the list of architectural classifications that the National Register program expects nomination preparers to use when describing properties from the Modern Movement. Architectural styles are divided into three data groups: "Category," Subcatecory," and "Other Stylistic Terminology."[58] For each data category for architectural classification, the guidelines say to "select one or more subcategory to describe the property's architectural styles or stylistic influences . . .

[57] Ibid.
[58] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 22: Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties that Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years*, (Washington D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1998): 25.

[and] enter one subcategory in each blank on the form, placing those most important to the property first."[59] The major category for the Modern Movement lists no subcategory However, New Formalism, Neo-Expressionism, Brutalism, California Style or Ranch Style, Post-Modern, and Wrightian, all of which are recognized as distinctive varieties of the Modern Movement, are all listed under "Other Stylistic Terminology."[60] Then under the subcategory for Moderne are listed Modernistic, Streamlined Moderne, and Art Moderne as "Other Stylistic Terminology."[61] Under the International Style subcategory, only Mesian is listed as "Other Stylistic Terminology." Finally, Art Deco is listed as a subcategory with no "Other Stylistic Terminology" to accompany it.[62] These categories need to be updated, as Virginia and Lee McAlester, in *A Field Guide to American Houses*, state:

> In most building types, both the horizontal streamlined Art Moderne and the vertical, zigzagged Art Deco influences occur in combination. In houses, however, the streamline influences predominate. Many examples resemble the contemporaneous International Style, in which decorative detailing was reduced to the barest minimum.[63]

In fact, the *National Register Bulletin* uses the nomenclature found in Virginia and Lee McAlester's Field Guide, which classifies Art Deco as a type of Modernistic style that occurred between 1920 and 1940.[64] William Morgan's *Abrams Guide to American House Styles* classifies Moderne as a "stripped down and streamlined later version" of

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[59] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 16a: How To Complete the National Register Registration Form*: 24.
[60] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 16a: How To Complete the National Register Registration Form*, (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1997): 26
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Virginia and Lee McAlester. *A Field Guide to American Houses*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984), 466.
[64] Virginia and Lee McAlester, 465.

Art Deco.[65] John C. Poppeliers, S. Allen Chambers, Jr. and Nancy B. Scwartz,, in *What Style Is It?: A Guide to American Houses*, state that Art Deco, or "Moderne or Modernistic . . . was the first widely popular style in the United States to break with revivalist tradition represented by Beaux-Arts and period houses."[66] Perhaps the categories should look like this:[67]

Modern Movement	Modernistic (1920-1945)	Art Deco (Zigzag, PWA/WPA, Streamline Moderne); Art Moderne; Bauhaus; International Style (Miesian); Wrightian
	Mid-Century Modern (1945-1965)	California Style; Contemporary; Minimal Traditional; Ranch Style; Shed; Split-level
	Post-Modern (1965-Present)	New Formalism; Neo-Expressionism; Brutalism;

Table 1: Revision of Architectural Styles for "Modern Movement" in the *National Register Bulletin 16a: How to Complete the National Register Registration Form*, pg. 26.

All of the sources used to adapt the list of categories, subcategories, and stylistic terminology used in *National Register Bulletin 16a: How to Complete the National Register Nomination Form* were published between 1980 and 1993.[68] Granted, all of these style guides contain very good information and different perspectives about the origins and development of architecture in the United States. However, since their

65 William Morgan, *The Abrams Guide to American House Styles*, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc, 2004), 342.

66 John C. Poppeliers, S. Allen Chambers, and Nancy B. Schwartz, *What Style Is It?: A Guide to American Architecture*, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc, 1983): 88

67 This chart is formatted from National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 16a: How To Complete the National Register Registration Form*, (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1997): 26, and using information from Virginia and Lee McAlester, 465-466, 469-473, and 479-485; William Morgan, 342-375; John C. Poppeliers, S. Allen Chambers, and Nancy B. Schwartz, 88-95.

68 See Marcus Whiffen, *American Architecture Since 1790: A Guide to Architectural Styles*, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1992); John J. G. Blumenson, *Identifying American Architecture*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1981); Virginia and Lee McAlester. *A Field Guide to American Houses*; John C. Poppeliers, S. Allen Chambers, and Nancy B. Schwartz, *What Style Is It?: A Guide to American Architecture*; Whiffen's *American Architecture Since 1790: A Guide to Architectural Styles* is in its fifth printing, as of 1999, though this was two years after the publishing of *National Register Bulletin 16a: How To Complete the National Register Registration Form*.

publication, new information has become available and updated, electronic versions of each, in color, would be very useful. Also, perspectives and perceptions have changed on some of these styles. A good example is the Post-Modern Era since 1970. Virginia and Lee McAlester's *Field Guide to American Houses* includes architecture after 1965, in their chapters on Neoeclectic and Contemporary Folk architecture; this is something that Popelliers and Blumenson do not do, which is probably why McAlester's *Field Guide* is still so widely used.[69]

Material and Functional Obsolescence and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation

As many of the above mentioned style guides will confirm, the materials used for architecture of the Modern Movement includes concrete, glass, and steel. However, some buildings of the Modern Movement may also include more experimental materials, such as structural glass and porcelain enamel, which are not as common anymore.[70] The use of these materials provides a good case for proving "exceptional importance" when justifying Criteria Consideration G in a National Register nomination. Many other examples of Modern Movement architecture that use the standard materials of glass, steel, and concrete only prove to be functionally obsolete due the use of these materials in a particular design. Material and functional obsolescence are two of the most common problems of Modern Movement architecture. As stated before, materials is one of the seven components of integrity that a building, site, structure, object, or district might need in order to prove its historic significance within its historic context. One of the

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[69] Virginia and Lee McAlester, 487-495, 497-499; these chapters include such house types as Mansard, Neocolonial, Neo-French, Neo-Tudor, Neo-Mediterranean, Neoclassical Revival, Neo-Victorian, mobile homes, Quonset huts, A-Frames, and geodesic domes.

[70] Kelly Little, "Main Street Modern: The Preservation of Recent Past Architecture on Main Street," (master's thesis, School of the Art Institute of Chicago, December 2008), 17

driving forces behind preservation in the United States is its economic incentives, including tax credits on the state and federal levels for following the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation and Guidelines for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings*. However, owners of Modern Movement architecture might have a difficult time obtaining these tax credits due to functional and material obsolescence.

The *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation and Guidelines for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings* cites ten standards, which "pertain to historic buildings of all materials, construction types, sizes, and occupancy and encompasses the exterior and the interior, related landscape features and the building's site and environment as well as attached, adjacent, or related new construction."[71] These standards are codified in 36 CFR 67 for use in the Federal Historic Preservation Tax Incentives program, and cites "***identifying, retaining, and preserving*** the form and detailing of those architectural materials and features that are important to defining the historic character," as the basic approach to all rehabilitation and maintenance of any historic building.[72] The two most important of the ten standards are numbers five and six. They pertain to the preservation, repair, and replacement of distinctive features, finishes and construction techniques:

> 5. Distinctive features, finishes, and construction techniques or examples of craftsmanship that characterize a property shall be preserved.
>
> 6. Deteriorated historic features shall be repaired rather than replaced. Where the severity of deterioration requires replacement of a distinctive feature, the new feature shall match the old in design, color, texture, and other visual qualities and, where

[71] National Park Service, *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation and Guidelines for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings*, (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1990): 3.
[72] National Park Service, *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation and Guidelines for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings*: 1, 6.

> possible, materials. Replacement of missing features shall be substantiated by documentary, physical, or pictorial evidence.[73]

In the rehabilitation process, the protection and maintenance of those materials and features that define a building's character are the first priorities. If those materials and features need further work, then repairing them "using the same kind of material is always the preferred option."[74] The Standards also state that repairing "includes the limited replacement in kind—or with compatible substitute material—of extensively deteriorated or missing parts of features when there are surviving prototypes," and that "substitute material is acceptable if the form and design as well as the substitute material itself convey the visual appearance of the remaining parts of the feature and finish."[75]

With regards to replacing an entire feature deemed character-defining, this should only be done if "the level of deterioration or damage of materials precludes repair."[76] In this case, the National Park Service prefers the use of the same material. This could prove difficult for those owners of properties using experimental materials as part of the original design aesthetic. Fortunately, the *Standards* do provide for the consideration of compatible substitute materials, but only if the original feature is damaged or deteriorated beyond repair. Although the *Standards* make it possible to replace porcelain enamel or structural glass when appropriate, they do not inform the reader of an acceptable "compatible" material. The *Standards* also fail to address glass as a possibility for building exteriors except as a commercial storefront, and primarily address glass as part

[73]National Park Service, *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation and Guidelines for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings*: 3.
[74] National Park Service, *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation and Guidelines for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings*: 6.
[75] Ibid.
[76]Ibid.

of the window element.[77] In either situation, repair or replacement, the original fabric of the property, revealed by photographs and drawings, should be used. Therefore, in some cases, the original design intent becomes key. Decisions pertaining to acceptable replacement options, and the best approaches to a particular project from the Modern Movement, would be made on a case-by-case basis and in conjunction with those executing the rehabilitation and the State Historic Preservation Office.

But what if an architect chose certain materials because of their transitory nature because his design intent was for an experimental, temporal structure? In this case, should the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation and Guidelines for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings* be applied? If they are applied, then the property's authenticity comes into question, even if a large portion of the property's character-defining features are replaced with an approved compatible material. Also, the functional obsolescence component as an experiment will be lost due to the inherent material obsolescence. As a result, the preservation of properties from the Modern Movement becomes inherently difficult, even counterproductive. The architect's design intent should be just as much a part of the preservation process as the building, site, structure, object, or district that reflects the intent.

Theodore H.M. Prudon, in the *Preservation of Modern Architecture,* suggests that preservation practices in the United States need to change, because

> it requires a broader definition of authenticity and a less literal approach to material preservation.

[77] National Park Service, *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation and Guidelines for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings*: 33-34; please note that the Standards do advocate for the use of compatible substitute materials for a storefront that is beyond repair as long as the physical evidence of the original is used as a model.

> Whereas in traditional preservation practice the most original material and its presence is considered the most authentic and thus what needs to be preserved, in the preservation of modern architecture there is likely to be a combination of both design intent and material authenticity with, probably, a somewhat greater priority on the design itself.[78]

Prudon states that economic viability is relevant to all preservation. However, modern buildings represent specific typologies whose adaptive reuse is "not as easily realized as those for traditional, less functionally determined building typologies."[79] In other words, the more narrowly defined the function of a building, the less adaptable it becomes to changing needs without drastically changing the building.[80]

According to Prudon, the design intent, functional obsolescence, and material obsolescence of modern buildings are all intimately intertwined in a way that makes applying the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation* difficult. As a result, three changes need to be made in order to shift in an emphasis from preserving original materials in a building as a testimony to its history and origin, "and thus to its authenticity as a cultural and historical artifact."[81] The first change Prudon cites in the *Preservation of Modern Architecture* is the prominence of the role of the designer as the primary creator.[82] The second change is the dominance of manufactured, standardized materials and components over handcrafted ones.[83] Finally, as a result of the first two,

[78] Theodore H.M. Prudon, *The Preservation of Modern Architecture*, (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2008), 35
[79] Theodore H.M. Prudon, 30.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Theodore H.M. Prudon, 35.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.

yhe third change involves ascendency of overall design intent over the work of individual artisans.[84]

Criteria Consideration G, Public Perception, and Taste

Prudon goes a step further and claims that the combination of the material and functional obsolescence of modern buildings helps to sway public opinion. Materials often become dated with the advent of new technologies, allowing for the production of more "appropriate, reliable, and better performing alternatives."[85] This "perceived temporality or the presumed functional inefficiency" of modern architecture, he states, "is too often used to justify its demolition."[86] It is the use of certain materials that has led to the public's perception that "Modernism seems antithetical to the idea of age," because these properties fail to acquire a patina during the aging process.[87]

Reiterating Prudon, Richard Longstreth states that the visual evidence of age shapes one's perception of a property, that "the older a remnant of the past, the more preservationists tend to venerate it . . . The rationale for such an outlook is seldom articulated, but is rooted in the belief that 'old' is inherently better than 'new'"[88] Kelly Little supports this claim. Criteria Consideration G, she claims, keeps people from seeing properties from the Modern Movement as historically valuable because it has created a mindset "among both the public and the preservation community that it is not old enough

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[84] Ibid.
[85] Theodore H.M. Prudon, 34.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Kelly Little, 18.
[88] Richard Longstreth, "Taste Versus History," *Historic Preservation Forum*, 8, no. 2 (May/June 1994): 43.

to be historic."[89] Little further states that seeing building materials "grow old adds to the perception of obsolescence of the buildings. Mid-century buildings are now arriving at an age where they are in need of maintenance, and little information is available on their conservation."[90] There is also a stigma among the public with materials used in buildings from the Modern Movement because some, such as plastics, are considered "cheap replacements for earlier materials."[91] Other materials from this era are composite or manufactured using large-scale patented or mechanized processes.[92] Longstreth states it best: "'New' is simply in bad taste."[93]

National Register Bulletin 22: Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties that Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years states that the fifty year period is an "arbitrary span of time, designed as a filter to ensure that enough time has passed to evaluate the property in a historic context"[94] How can one subjectively apply a guideline to guarantee something? *Bulletin 22* also states that the rule was not designed to be "mechanically applied."[95] Unfortunately, this is not the case. Preservation professionals constantly use Criteria Consideration G as a cut-off date to systematically limit the types of resources nominated to the National Register of Historic Places.[96] Richard Longstreth, in his essays "Architectural History and the Practice of Historic Preservation in the United States" and "I Don't See It; I Don't Understand It; It

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[89] Kelly Little, 16-17.
[90] Kelly Little, 18.
[91] Kelly Little, 17.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Richard Longstreth, "Taste Versus History," 43.
[94] National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 22: Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties that Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years*, (Washington D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1998): 6.
[95] Ibid.
[96] At the 2011 Missouri Valley History Conference in Omaha, NE, a presenter admitted that one of the preservation professionals in her office has stated that he would retire before he nominated a resource less than fifty years old to the National Register of Historic Places.

Doesn't Look Old To Me," suggests that the preservationists have fostered a "style fetish"[97] because of an "increasingly formulaic view of the past" through their strict adherence to certain descriptive terminology, or "rote categorization."[98] Longstreth also observes that many preservation professionals treat designation in the National Register of Historic Places "as being *the* indicator of historical significance."[99] This is disconcerting because "no systematic approach exists to determine what properties are nominated for listing," that nomination is

> instigated by individuals, businesses, and public- and private-sector organizations for many different reasons. Even in state and local surveys, where a more comprehensive approach is generally taken, the boundaries of the area examined and prejudices against certain periods or types of resources can create a major gap.[100]

Because preservation professionals have compartmentalized instead of integrated, they have separated architecture and history as "realms of inquiry."[101] The results of this practice are public record and affects on how the public has started to perceive and judge architecture from the Modern Movement.

This is where personal taste enters the dynamic. In his essay, "Taste Versus History," Longstreth states that surveyors overly rely more on "'style' guides, which

[97] Richard Longstreth, "Architectural History and the Practice of Historic Preservation in the United States," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 58, no. 3 (Sept 1999): 328. www.jstor.org/sable/991525 (Accessed 1 March 2011).
[98] Richard Longstreth, "I Can't See It; I Don't Understand It; It Doesn't Look Old to Me,"Historic Preservation Forum 10, no. 1 (Fall 1995): 13.
[99] Richard Longstreth, "Architectural History and the Practice of Historic Preservation in the United States," 329.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid.

reduce architectural interpretation to a formulaic sampling of motifs."[102] This causes problems because it "imitates the existence of 'pure' style," and causes architectural styles to be classified as natural species would be in Biology.[103] Thus, many properties "can be ignored or their significance degraded because they are not 'pure' examples" of a certain architectural style."[104] In "When the Present Becomes the Past," Longstreth advocates for "consistent, even-handed, and professionally valid evaluation," because this is what determines historical significance.[105] In this essay, Longstreth suggests taking more inclusive approach, and the quickest step is to eliminate "denoting a period of significance for protection purposes in historic districts" in order to "recognize the fact that significant work seldom ceased altogether in subsequent years. Thus proposals made for modifications to *all* properties would be evaluated on a consistent basis, irrespective of date."[106] Longstreth believes that this would be the best way to preserve the overall character of a historic district because it is less formulaic and allows those designs that do diverge from the dominant patters to enhance the area.[107] Basically, he advocates a more "integrative, holistic view of the past, one that looks with equal seriousness at all periods, phases, episodes, and phenomena that have ceased their currency."[108] This shift in assessing resources from the Modern Movement becomes the goal of those entering the preservation field today.

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[102] Richard Longstreth, "Taste Versus History," *Historic Preservation Forum*, 8, no. 2 (May/June 1994): 42
[103] Ibid.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Richard Longstreth, "When the Present Becomes the Past," *Past Meets Future: Saving America's Historic Environments*, ed. Antoinette J. Lee, National Trust for Historic Preservation, (Washington D.C.: Preservation Press, 1992), 215.
[106] Richard Longstreth, "When the Present Becomes the Past," 222.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Richard Longstreth, "When the Present Becomes the Past," 224.

CHAPTER IV

CASE STUDY: TULSA, OK AND ITS MID-CENTURY MODERN RESOURCES

Tulsa, Oklahoma provides an excellent case study for why preservationists and the public should reconsider the built environment of post-World War II society. This chapter examines the development of Mid-Century Modern commercial and residential architecture, starting with Leon B. Senter's clear transition from Art Deco to a more Modern style in his commercial architecture in downtown Tulsa. It then looks at the post-World War II suburban tract neighborhood, Lortondale, brainchild of volume home builder Howard C. Grubb and executed with the help of architect Donald H. Honn. Finally, the chapter discusses Tulsa's Civic Center Plaza, a complex of city government buildings that proved revolutionary for its time due to the collaboration of local architects and its use of the Mid-Century Modern style of architecture. A nomination to the National Register is currently underway for the Plaza and the entire district must justify its exceptional importance under Criteria Consideration G because its resources are all less than fifty years old.

Tulsa and the Mid-West

By 1890, Tulsa had already established itself as a viable location for the cattle industry, with the St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad moving into the city eight years earlier. Native Americans and non-tribal citizens, both black and white, lived in Tulsa area since the end of the Civil War.[1] After the railroad, "a stock yard, with cattle-loading pens and chutes, was built near the tracks, and cattle were driven from the Chickasaw Nation and Seminole country to Tulsa for shipment."[2] By the time Tulsa incorporated as a city in 1898, it was a major cow-town on the frontier, in that "Texas cattle were also shipped to the area and later shipped out to Northern and Eastern markets."[3] The discovery of oil southwest of Tulsa at Red Fork in 1901 forever changed Tulsa. Investors flooded the city, and many brought their families with them because Tulsa was considered one of the "few 'safe' frontier cities."[4] The establishment of the Glenn Pool oil field, the city's second oil discovery, cemented Tulsa as the "physical center of the growing petroleum industry."[5] The strike caused the city to create "storage tanks for the excess oil and gas, and later, pipe lines."[6] By 1930, a second surge of oil strikes occurred and many oil companies used Tulsa as their headquarters' location.[7] Thus, Tulsa gained the title of "'Oil Capital of the Nation.'"[8] During these oil-boom days of the 1910s and 1920s, Tulsa's built environment also boomed. Oil was a modern commercial resource, and Tulsa wanted its built environment to reflect that modernism. Therefore, many of its buildings in the downtown commercial district were built in the most modern, avant-garde style of the era—Art Deco.

Art Deco

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[1] *The 1997 Tulsa Historic Preservation Resource Document*, (Tulsa, OK: Tulsa Preservation Commission and the City of Tulsa's Urban Development Department, 1997), 9

[2] *The 1997 Tulsa Historic Preservation Resource Document*, (Tulsa, OK: Tulsa Preservation Commission and the City of Tulsa's Urban Development Department, 1997), 9.

[3] *The 1997 Tulsa Historic Preservation Resource Document*, 9.

[4] *The 1997 Tulsa Historic Preservation Resource Document*, 10.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

The term "Art Deco" first appeared in the late 1960s when English historian Bevis Hillier used it to describe popular commercial architecture of the 1920s and 1930s.[9] This style first emerged in at the 1925 Paris Exposition, *L'Exposition Internationale des Arts Decoratifs et Industriels Modernes*, and borrowed from Egyptian, Mexican, and South and North American Indian art.[10] *Tulsa Art Deco*, a book originally published in 1980 by the Junior League of Tulsa, and updated in 2001 by the Tulsa Foundation for Architecture, sites three major phases of Art Deco: Zig-Zag, PWA, and Streamline.[11] The architecture in the Zigzag phase, the earliest phase of the three, is also called the "Skyscraper Style."[12] It represents the days during the 1920s when Tulsa experienced extraordinary growth, doubling in population.[13] By the end of the decade, "downtown was enjoying a building boom of $1 million a month, every month."[14] The Zigzag used a geometric motif that emphasized a "soaring vertical line" where only the sky was the limit of the wealth, dreams, and flamboyance of the Roaring Twenties.[15] In fact, Tulsa had more skyscrapers, "buildings at least ten-stories high," of any other city of its size in the world.[16] Excellent representations of the height, color use, and ornamentation of the Zigzag style in Tulsa include the Boston Avenue Methodist Church, designed by Adah Robinson and Bruce Goff and completed in 1929, and Westhope, the Richard Lloyd

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[9] David Gebhard, Introduction to *Tulsa Art Deco*. (Tulsa, OK: Tulsa Foundation for Architecture, 2001), 15.
[10] *Tulsa Art Deco*, 32.
[11] *Tulsa Art Deco*, 29-183.
[12] *Tulsa Art Deco*, 31.
[13] *Tulsa Art Deco*, 31-32.
[14] Ibid.
[15] *Tulsa Art Deco*, 32.
[16] Ibid.

Jones residence designed by Frank Lloyd Wright, also completed in 1929 (Appendix A: Figures 5 and 6).[17]

The next phase, PWA, was named for the Public Works Administration, the New Deal program created in 1933 to aid in civic construction projects throughout the country. Due to the labor and material restrictions of building with PWA funding, the resulting buildings in Tulsa tended to be "massive, bulky, and unadorned."[18] *Tulsa Art Deco* states that PWA was a "transitional architecture," that combined elements of the Zigzag phase and the next phase, Streamline.[19] PWA architecture is more horizontal and relied less on ornamentation and color.[20] An excellent example of this style is the Tulsa Fire Alarm Building, finished in 1931, and designed by Frederick Vance Kershner.[21] This building is based on a Mayan Temple design and is unique for the PWA phase because it uses terracotta and is very elaborately decorated (Appendix A: Figure 7)[22]

In the 1930s, the architecture of Tulsa echoed an earlier Mid-western building trend. The architecture at that time reflected the landscape upon which the city was built, the Great Plains. The third phase of Art Deco, the Streamline, also incorporated this earlier trend as well as another trend, the obsession with speed and the automobile.[23] The Streamline phase is almost the exact opposite of its earlier Zigzag counterpart of the previous decade. In the same way that the Zigzag represented the wealth of the 1920s, the Streamline represented the Great Depression of the 1930s: "The depressed 1930s built horizontally and simply. Everything went flat—the economy, the buildings, and

[17] Richard Lloyd Jones was the editor of the *Tulsa Tribune* and also Frank Lloyd Wright's first cousin.
[18] *Tulsa Art Deco*, 101.
[19] *Tulsa Art Deco*, 102.
[20] *Tulsa Art Deco*, 111-112
[21] Ibid; *Tulsa Foundation for Architecture* website www.tulsaarechiteture.com (accessed 26 April 2010).
[22] *Tulsa Art Deco*, 112.
[23] *Tulsa Art Deco*, 137.

their surfaces . . . The new packaging form was the teardrop, sleek and uncomplicated; the look was horizontal; the line was the parabolic curve, the Streamline."[24] Materials were chosen because of their ease and adaptability. Thus, stucco, brick, cement, Vitrolite, Carrara, and porcelain were used due to their efficiency and malleability. Other characteristics of this style include the use of glass block, both inside and outside, curved corners, and the creation of the "ribbon window" that wrapped around buildings.[25] Because of the obsession with speed and travel, many gas stations and road-side cafes used this style. Excellent commercial and residential examples of the Streamline phase in Tulsa are the Tulsa Monument Company building at 1735 E 11th Street and the William Whenthoff residence at 1142 South College Avenue respectively (Appendix A: Figures 8 and 9).

A fourth, very transitional phase, of Art Deco is also sometimes cited. *Tulsa Art Deco* gives "Deco Moderne" or "Art Moderne" a brief nod in its afterward, and other sources, such as Virginia and Lee McAlester's *A Field Guide to American Houses*, refer to it as "Streamline Modernistic."[26] This style was prominent between 1945 and 1950, when Tulsa and the rest of the country were in a time of great transition. "Deco Moderne" can be considered the ultimate transitional phase between Art Deco and Mid-century Modern, and Leon B. Senter, employer of Tulsa Union Depot designer, Frederick V. Kershner, became the key architect for Tulsa's Mid-Century Modern commercial

[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid; steel-frame construction made this "ribbon window" and the curved corners possible. A ribbon window consists of several panes or glazing in a continuous line.
[26] *Tulsa Art Deco*, 183, described as a "later stage of Deco-influenced architecture;" Virginia and Lee McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 464-466;

development, with three buildings in the downtown Inner Dispersal Loop that clearly illustrate this transition.[27]

Leon B. Senter: The Transition from Art Deco to Mid-Century Modern

With the on-set of World War II, the aeronautical industry came to Tulsa. Douglas Aircraft Company and Spartan Aircraft Company produced bombers and trainer aircraft.[28] By 1945, for the first time in the city's history, "large numbers of workers were employed in non-oil related manufacturing."[29] Tulsa experienced no new commercial building during the war, but building resumed in downtown Tulsa shortly after the war's end. By the end of World War II, Leon B. Senter was a well-established architect in Tulsa. He came to Tulsa from Kansas City via Scranton, Pennsylvania, where he earned his degree in architectural engineering in 1910. He received his license to practice in Oklahoma in 1925 and headed the Okmulgee office of the Kansas City-based firm, Smith and Senter.[30] His first commission was the Philcade, an office building finished in 1931 for oil giant, Waite Phillips, who met Senter in Okmulgee.[31] They were both beginning their careers in their respective fields and next-door neighbors.[32] Phillips then specifically asked Senter to design the Philcade, and allowed him to set-up office in the Philtower Office Building across the street from the construction site. Senter remained in that Tulsa office for forty years.[33] By the end of his long career in 1965, Senter's designs represented every phase of Art Deco and helped to usher-in the new Modernism of the 1950s and 1960s.

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[27] *Tulsa Art Deco*, 183
[28] Cathy Ambler, "Historic Context," *Downtown Tulsa Intensive-Level Historic Resources Survey*, (Tulsa, OK: City of Tulsa, 2009), 51.
[29] Cathy Ambler, "Historic Context," 51.
[30] *Tulsa Foundation for Architecture* website www.tulsaarchitecture.com; *Tulsa Art Deco*, 57.
[31] Ibid
[32] *Tulsa Art Deco*, 57.
[33] Ibid.

One of Senter's commissioned buildings after World War II was the Service Pipeline Building, located at 119 East 6th Street, on the corner of Cincinnati. Tulsa at the time was still building in the Art Deco style, and this is an excellent example of the Streamline phase. Construction for the Service Pipeline Building began in 1948 and was designed to house the headquarters for a crude oil pipeline system that employed 2600 people in ten states.[34] Service Pipeline Company gathered "crude oil in the Midwest, Southwest, and Rocky Mountain production areas and [pumped] it to refining centers in metropolitan regions . . . SPL [served] 37 refineries either directly or through connecting pipe lines. The largest [were] in Chicago, St. Louis, and Kansas City."[35] The land it stood on was donated by Waite Phillips to the University of Tulsa in 1935and then leased by the University of Tulsa to the Service Pipeline Company with a twenty year option.[36] The Service Pipeline building stands six stories tall and contains multiple storefronts.[37] It is rectangular at the base, but the upper stories are u-shaped for maximum light allowance (Appendix A: Figures 10 and 10a).[38] It is clad in green glazed terra cotta, and Art Deco motifs in wrought iron ornamentation provide a visual focal point for the south façade and entry way on 6th Street. Art Deco motifs in glazed terracotta can also be found inlaid in the spandrels, while "slightly coursed terra cotta at the roofline," chevrons and rosette banding a top the mezzanine level, "stylized vine metal work at the entryway on the south

[34] *Tulsa Daily World*, 22 Oct 1950; the building was delayed because the contractors could not obtain finishing materials due to postwar material shortages; see "Service Pipeline Building," *Historic Preservation Identification Form*, (Tulsa, OK: City of Tulsa, 2009).
[35] *Tulsa Daily World*, 22 Oct 1950.
[36] Plaque located on the shorter addition on the north side of the building, facing Cincinnati Ave, commemorating the land upon which the building was built; *Tulsa Daily World*, 22 Oct 1950.
[37]Service Pipeline Buildng," *Historic Preservation Resource Identification Form*, (Tulsa, OK: City of Tulsa, 2009), 2
[38]Ibid.

elevation," and a geometric pattern cut from terra cotta surrounds the entryway (Appendix A: Figures 11, 12, 13, and 14).[39]

The Service Pipeline building changed both ownership and names several times before the University of Tulsa obtained full control of the building in 1998. According to the *Tulsa Daily World*, the building was leased to ARCO Oil in 1974, after AMCO acquired and absorbed Service Pipeline Company. It was renamed the "520 Building" due to its address at 520 Cincinnati Avenue, but has also been known as the "ARCO Building."[40] In 1980, ARCO Oil and Gas Company purchased fifty percent interest in the building, and a $2 million renovation allowed for AMCO, ARCO, and the drilling division of ARCO to occupy the building. In 1996, it was sold, but then reverted back to the financial backer, United of Omaha. In1998, Texan Andrew Segal of Boxer Properties bought the building from the University of Tulsa, and with this purchase owned four million square feet of rentable office space in Tulsa, Dallas, Houston, and Victoria, Texas, 327,000 of which was in Tulsa.[41] By this time, the building was known as the Williams Brothers-Fluor Daniels Building, due to the merger of pipeline engineering company, Williams Brothers, and chemical engineering firm, Fluor Daniel, who occupied the building.[42] An interesting aspect of this building's history is that it was almost always owned almost exclusively by businesses related to the oil industry. Today, the current owner, ARCO Building, LLC has followed a current trend with older office buildings in downtown Tulsa. It has turned it into *119 Downtown*, an apartment building that offers residents ground and sublevel parking, a common garden/social area on the second floor,

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[39]Ibid.
[40] *Tulsa Daily World*, 1 May 1974; G. Alan Petzet, "$2 million Renovation of Arco Building Set," *Tulsa Daily World*, 29 Oct 1980; the smaller addition on the north side is addressed 520 S. Cincinnati Ave.
[41] *Tulsa Daily World*, 25 April 1998.
[42] Ibid.

modern living residences on floors three through six, and penthouse apartments, workout facility, and ballroom on floor seven.[43] Plans also include a restaurant and retail spaces on the ground floor in the building's secure lobby.[44]

The second building to bridge the gap between Art Deco and Mid-century Modern is the Mayo Motor Inn at 412 South Cheyenne Avenue, designed by Senter in 1950 and finished in 1952 (Appendix A: Figure 15). This parking garage is an excellent example of "Streamline Moderne," or "Deco Moderne." The Mayo Family commissioned Senter to design the building to allow for the "expansion of the Hotel Mayo and [to address] the demand for off-street parking in downtown Tulsa, a need identified by the Chamber of Commerce beginning in the late 1940s."[45] The building consists of poured concrete, is two-stories high, with a basement, and has a total of four parking levels, one of which serves as the flat roof of the building.[46] In 1952, it could hold an estimated four hundred cars on its two main floors and roof.[47] The entrances are wrought iron and very decorative, while the "large, fixed, metal windows" decorates of the façade at the ground level. The façade on the second floor uses ribbon windows in sets of five; they are described as "metal, four-paned, awning above two-pane, fixed, metal windows."[48] On the back of the building, the windows are symmetrical, four-pane awning "with a metal,

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[43] www.119downtown.com; This trend is reflected in the newly renovated Mayo Hotel on 5th street, and the soon-to-be-open Atlas Life Building on Boston Ave, both of which have been turned into luxury loft apartments. The Enterprise Building was also recently bought and the owner plans to turn this building into affordable loft apartments. For more information on the Enterprise Building on Boston Ave, see Chris Wright's article "New Plans Announced for Downtown Tulsa's Enterprise Building," *The News On 6*, (newson6.com, 2 March 2010.) (accessed 4 April 2010).
[44] www.119downtown.com
[45] Cynthia Savage, "Mayo Motor Inn," *National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*, (Department of the Interior, September 2007), Section 7, 1.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid; *Tulsa Tribune*, 8 August 1952.
[48] Cynthia Savage, "Mayo Motor Inn," Section 7, 1.

eight-pane, fixed surround."[49] Other decorative features that make this the transitional "Deco Moderne" include the triple banding on the cornice, the rounded corners on the projecting parapet at the center, and the "overlapping curved inner walls of the flanking sections" (Appendix A: Figure 16).[50] The sets of ribbon windows on the second floor are broken into sections, but they appear continuous due the four incised bands that connect them (Appendix A: Figure 17). The only motor vehicle entrances and exits are at the front, with a pedestrian door at the far north corner at the rear of the building.[51]

Like the Streamline phase of Art Deco, Deco Moderne was simple, heavy, very horizontal, and uses curved lines, corners, and ribbon windows. Also like its Streamline counterpart, it reflected the landscape of the plains and society's obsession with transportation. However, this building is associated with postwar urban renewal, when many Art Deco buildings, especially those from the Streamline phase, were being demolished. This postwar era did share the fascination with mobility and transportation because it was new. Iinstead, it marked the beginning of an era when families found themselves able to afford trips across the country in their new automobiles. Instead of a parking lot, the Mayo Family built a parking garage that matched the grandeur of the hotel associated with it. The Mayo Hotel was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 2007.

Along with affordable cars and the four-person family unit, the people of the 1950s found themselves with more leisure time to do recreational activities, some decided to take trips in their automobiles or in airplanes. If they stayed home, however, they wanted to go to a place where the whole family could participate. For Tulsans in the

[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid..
[51] Ibid.

downtown area, that place was the YMCA. Tulsa has maintained a YMCA since 1909, and a YMCA building has been at the corner of 4th Street and Cincinnati Avenue since 1914 (Appendix A: Figure 18). With an outdated building and a growing membership in the late 1940s, the organization decided to build a new facility at the corner of 6th Street and Denver Avenue.[52] This new building marks the beginning of Senter's works in the new, postwar, modern movement, a time when Tulsa experienced a second major period of growth that continued into the 1960s.

The new YMCA, first proposed in 1949, was to have "plain lines and simple, practical construction."[53] Plans called for a centrally located building "containing complete facilities for physical health and recreational programs including gymnasium, swimming pool, exercise and health rooms, courts and game rooms. Club rooms, library, craft shops, and other space for social and cultural activities [would also] be provided."[54] The construction company was headed by L. Francis Rooney, who offered his services for free, as he considered it a "civic duty," that could be done "with non-critical materials."[55] YMCA leaders broke ground for the building in December of 1951, and by March 1952 the building was forty percent complete, with concrete foundations completed and the frames erected for the remaining concrete to be poured.[56] A year later, in June 1953, the *Tulsa Tribune* reported that the entire building was to be completed in September of that year, with the top floors to be finished by July, and an official opening in October.[57] The indoor swimming pool was the largest in the city and tiled in pale

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[52] The membership grew from 500 in 1914 to 6500 in 1951; see *Tulsa Daily World*, 4 February 1951.
[53] *Tulsa Daily World*, 4 February 1951.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid.
[56] *Tulsa Daily World*, 1 January 1952, 20 March 1952.
[57] *Tulsa Tribune*, 25 July 1953.

chartreuse.[58] The gymnasium incorporated maple hard-wood floors, acoustical walls, and a ceiling with seventy-foot beams incorporating five loads of concrete in each. In addition to the pool and the gymnasium, there was a cafeteria, a health department, social rooms for boys and girls, a sundeck, an all-purpose room, and a game room.[59] Dorms were located on floors four through seven.[60]

The new YMCA was dedicated on 4 October 1953. The final product stood seven stories high, with buff brick, red terra cotta panels at the base, and red terra cotta framing around the windows on the west elevation (Appendix A: Figure 19).[61] Located on Denver Ave, this served as its entrance.[62] The windows at the outer corners of the west elevation are single, while the remaining windows on this elevation are "bands of four windows" (Appendix A: Figure 20).[63] Also located on the west elevation is a v-shaped, cantilevered concrete canopy that guides its members though "a recessed metal and glass entrance" (Appendix A: Figure 21).[64] The auditorium is located on the south elevation and incorporates full-height brick louvers with a vertical band of terra cotta panels between the louvers.[65] The building cost $2,418, 570, and was believed to be one of the "finest [YMCAs] in the country."[66] This new, modern building proved to be evidence of a growing Tulsa, a growing Mid-west.[67] Unfortunately, by 1958, the activities of the downtown YMCA outgrew the location, even though "planners made careful studies to

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[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid
[60] Ibid.
[61]YMCA," *Historic Preservation Resource Identification Form*, (Tulsa, OK: City of Tulsa, 2009).
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid
[64] Ibid
[65] Ibid
[66] Ibid
[67] Joanne Gordon, "YMCA Prepares for Move to Modern Quarters Today," *Tulsa Daily World*, 18 August 1953.

insure effective use for the next 20 years."[68] This situation resulted from the downtown building being used too much and the YMCAs in the other parts of Tulsa being underutilized.[69] In the dedication ceremony, William J. Grede, President of the National Council of Young Men's Christian Associations, described the United States as a "'frontier of freedom'" and stated that the new YMCA should be dedicated "'for Tulsa, for America, for the freedom of people around the world' and 'for the service of God, so that all men may be free.'"[70] By this time, the frontier associated with Tulsa was no longer that of cattle, crude oil, and Art Deco skyscrapers. Rather, it was a frontier that all Americans strived to settle—the fight for capitalism over communism. Mid-century Modern architecture has come to represent this "modern," progressive America of the 1950s and 1960s, an ideology that culminated in the phenomenon of suburbia.

Howard C. Grubb and Donald H. Honn: Lortondale

Tulsa was on the cutting-edge of architectural design not only with Art Deco architecture, but also with the development of modernism in residential architecture. In 1954, a little community called Lorntondale developed in Midtown Tulsa. Lortondale was the brain-child of large-volume home builder Howard C. Grubb, who built homes for financing under the Veterans' Association (VA) and Federal Housing Administration (FHA) loans.[71] Between 1950 and 1951, a typical Grubb house consisted of two-bedrooms, one bathroom, and a small attached garage on about 950 square feet.[72] Grubb

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[68] *Tulsa Tribune*, 25 December 1958.
[69] Ibid.
[70] *Tulsa Daily World*, 5 October 1953.
[71] "Tulsa Takes to Glass Walls, Rear Living Rooms, Gay Colors," *House and Home,* 5, 1 (January 1954): 108.
[72] "Lortondale: A Vision of the Future," in "History" section of the Lortondale Community Neighborhood Association Website. www.lortondale.com. (accessed 4 April 2010).

sold about 300 of these a year at $9000 each.[73] As a modern style of architecture became more popular, Grubb wanted to prove to the VA and the FHA that homes designed in this style would sell (Appendix A: Figures 22 and 23).[74] So, he hired architect Donald H. Honn to create a more affordable, modern residential design.[75] To do this, they built about six experimental houses, which received an "enthusiastic public reaction."[76] Grubb and Honn then planned for 540 houses to be "built on four 40-acre tracts between 26th Street and 31st Street, [and between] Yale and Hudson Avenues in Tulsa."[77] The asking prices for a Lortondale home ranged between $13,500 and $16,500, depending on the desired model and options, and Honn's plans allowed for great flexibility: "3 bedrooms, 1, 1 ½, or 2 full bathrooms, 1 or 2 car attached garages, bonus living areas or 4th bedrooms."[78] These houses also reflected the landscape of the Prairie upon which they were built, exhibiting flat roofs, exposed structural elements, and natural materials.

For $15,000 a family could buy a three-bedroom, 1 bath house, with living room, dining room, kitchen, and garage, located on a $2400 lot. This also included a three-ton air conditioning unit, a dishwasher, disposal, kitchen fan, and a washer in the garage (Appendix A: Figures 24 and 25).[79] The kitchen and living room were divided by a six-foot-tall storage wall, and pass-through counter, that was open at both ends.[80] Grubb and

[73] "Lortondale: A Vision of the Future."
[74] Tulsa Takes to Glass Walls, Rear Living Rooms, Gay Colors," *House and Home*, 108.
[75] Ibid.
[76] "Tulsa Takes to Glass Walls, Rear Living Rooms, Gay Colors," *House and Home*, 108-109.
[77] "Lortondale: A Vision of the Future."
[78] "Lortondale: A Vision of the Future," (accessed 4 April 2010).
[79] "Tulsa Takes to Glass Walls, Rear Living Rooms, Gay Colors," *House and Home*, 109-110; "Lortondale: A Vision of the Future;" Lortondale homes were the first in the country to offer centralized air conditioning with the Chrysler Airtemp Waterless Air Conditioning and Furnaces, for more information see Chrysler advertisements located in the January 1954 issue *House and Home* magazine.
[80] "Tulsa Takes to Glass Walls, Rear Living Rooms, Gay Colors," *House and Home*, 110.

Honn offered two basic floor plans that allowed for different facades[81]. So, although the people were buying a house with the same essential elements, they could also be distinct from their neighbors.[82] The down-payment was $500, the closing was $300, and then a monthly payment of $62-$66 could buy a family a new, modern home in an up-and-coming neighborhood.[83] These homes outsold those in other areas having no down-payment.[84] Also included was a community swimming pool for each forty-acre tract, and each Lortondale homeowner owned a share of the pool in his area.[85] Kermit P. Helgerson of Central Savings Bank of New York stated that "'Tulsa is progressive, and has a lot of people who represent the new life—who are not afraid of tomorrow.'" (Appendix A: Figures 26 and 26a).[86] Lortondale represents this fearlessness of Tulsans.

According to Edward A Sharrer, Jr's "Lortondale Neighborhood Intensive Level Survey," Lortondale developed in two phases, the first addition developed in 1954 and the second in 1956.[87] The first addition was platted along "gently curving streets;" whereas the second addition was platted in a "grid of right angles, with four parallel streets running perfectly east and west from Darlington Avenue to Hudson Avenue."[88] A third Lortondale addition was considered, then scrapped due to the crashing of sales.[89] There is some speculation as to why the demand for homes in the Lortondale area dwindled:

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[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid.
[83] "Tulsa Takes to Glass Walls, Rear Living Rooms, Gay Colors," *House and Home*, 111.
[84] Ibid.
[85] "Tulsa Takes to Glass Walls, Rear Living Rooms, Gay Colors," *House and Home*, 109; "Lortondale: A Vision of the Future."
[86] "Tulsa Takes to Glass Walls, Rear Living Rooms, Gay Colors," *House and Home*, 111.
[87] Edward A Sharrer, Jr. "Lortondale Neighborhood Intensive Level Survey," (master's thesis, University of Oklahoma Urban Design Studio, 2007): 17.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Ibid.

> Perhaps Grubb simply overestimated the demand for homes built in such a contemporary style and the market for the product in Tulsa reached its saturation point. It is known that in the early 1950s, the FHA would not guarantee loans on homes designed in a contemporary style for fear that 'faddish' design would fall out of favor and become a bad investment. Eventually, the agency changed this practice, but perhaps there was a stigma created that modern homes were risky investments.[90]

When the sales for homes in Lortondale began to drop, vacant lots comprised half of the Lortondale Second Addition. To rectify the problem, Honn and Grubb finished the Second Addition with Ranch Style homes because they were "a simple design that enjoyed great favor with the homebuying public."[91] However, because of the vast majority of Lortondale homes constructed in the American International Style, the Ranch Style homes are considered non-contributing to the neighborhood historic district.

The most important aspect of Lortondale's construction is that it was all completed within two years. Thus, the whole neighborhood's historic significance dates between 1954 and 1956, the year when sales started to slump.[92] All 211 homes and both community pools in the First Addition incorporated the American International style. Lortondale also had a great impact on community planning in Tulsa. It created what is called an "'inward-focused'" plan instead of a neighborhood focused plan, meaning the front door faced away from the street, no sidewalks existed, the large window wall faced the backyard instead of the front yard, and the living spaces were oriented at the rear of the house.[93] According to Sharrer, this plan limits the opportunities for "random

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[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Edward A Sharrer, Jr., 18.

interaction with neighbors."[94] Another key aspect of the Lortondale home that affected the interior layout was the inclusion of centralized air conditioning. Sharrer also attributes this new, "'inward-focused'" lifestyle to the inclusion of air conditioning, since "a climate-controlled interior alleviates the need to seek the relief of a shaded front porch on summer days."[95] The inclusion of a porch on a home, according to Virginia and Lee McAlester, was a trend that had completely been reversed in America by the mid-twentieth century, and the Lortondale home marks the beginning of "the development of air-conditioning for summer cooling" on a national scale.[96]

The American International Style characteristics, as displayed by a Lortondale home, are a low-pitched roof with decorative exposed rafter tails that, depending on the plan and direction of roof pitch, appear at various locations on the façade.[97] Most Lortondale homes featured an L-shaped plan with the majority of the living spaces on the main wing that projected closest to the street.[98] The secondary spaces, usually the attached garage and the laundry area, were in a wing that extended off the west side of the main wing.[99] All of the homes are one story tall and feature a mixture of exterior wall materials, including brick or stone masonry and weatherboard siding "installed with a vertical orientation."[100] Carports were often included in later Lortondale designs. Of the 141 total homes in the Lortondale Addition, 136 were built in the American International Style and 4 in the Ranch Style. Of the 148 total homes in the Lortondale Second Addition, 76 were built in the American International Style, with the remaining homes

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[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Virginia and Lee McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, 52.
[97] Edward A Sharrer, Jr., 19, 20.
[98] Edward A Sharrer, Jr., 19
[99] Ibid.
[100] Ibid.

illustrating the Ranch Style. Between the two Lortondale Additions, only one home displays the "Modern Movement: Contemporary," as described using the nomenclature from *National Register Bulletin 16a: How to Complete the National Register Nomination Form*.[101] This property was built in 2003 and is non-contributing to the overall district due to age.[102]

Between 1938 and 1943, *McCall's Magazine* conducted a survey of their customers to determine whether or not they preferred traditional home furnishings over sleeker, more modern furnishings. The surveys resulted in the publication of four reports regarding what women wanted in their living rooms, dining rooms, kitchens, and bedrooms of tomorrow. The results for all four of these surveys were roughly the same, with those participants, mostly women, voting for the more modern conveniences over the traditional ones.[103] These results allowed *McCall's Magazine, Good Housekeeping Magazine, Better Homes and Gardens,* and *Ladies Home Journal* to create future marketing plans. In the same way, Grubb and Honn used prototype homes for Lortondale, "constructed at 21st Place and Pittsburgh Avenue in Tulsa . . . to test public opinion, make design changes as they thought necessary, and gauge sales demand."[104] Families purchased Lortondale homes because they could design a home catering to their needs. At the heart of that family was the wife, so these builders, in a sense, catered to her needs. Another reason that these "modern" homes became popular is due to the vast

[101] Edward A Sharrer, Jr., 26.
[102] Edward A Sharrer, Jr., 25.
[103] Mary Davis Gillis, "What Women Want in their Bedrooms of Tomorrow: One of Four Reports by *McCall's Magazine*," *McCall's Magazine*, (1944).
[104] "Lortondale: A Vision of the Future." (Accessed 4 April 2010).

improvement in the income of the average family, which created "a tremendous urge for a better way of life."[105] The public was eager and able to buy "'quality, novelty:'"

> The old idea that novelty itself adds to risk has to be discarded and in its place must be established the principle that well-considered novelty—novelty that produces a real advance in comfort, convenience and eye-appeal—can diminish risk.[106]

Tulsans were not the only ones to take the risk on a new, modern housing development such as Lortondale. Housing developers in other places in the Mid- and South-West went to Grubb and Honn for assistance in designing housing developments.[107] Honn helped developers Walden and Jennings in Lubbock, Texas, and, by 1958, the Honn-Jennings team had adapted Honn's original design for Lortondale three times.[108]

Architectural League of Tulsa, Inc and Civic Center Plaza: the Realization of a Community's Vision

From a preservation standpoint, Civic Center Plaza is a unique aspect of Tulsa's downtown built environment. Seven of the eight buildings that comprise the Plaza have achieved significance in the last fifty years, and are currently in the process of being nominated to the National Register as the Tulsa Civic Center Historic District. Begun in the mid-1920s and postponed until after the Korean Conflict, the completion of the Plaza in 1969 fulfilled a forty-year-old vision of a centrally located area of government operations and public space.[109] It is also interesting from a preservation standpoint because it represents a paradigm shift in public perception, from monumental government

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[105] "The Big Change In Builders' Houses," *House and Home* 5, 1 (January 1954): 93.
[106] Miles Colean, quoted in "The Big Change In Builders' Houses," *House and Home*: 93.
[107] "Architect helps small builders grow big with prize-winning designs," *House and Home* (March 1955): 149.
[108] "How would you improve this plan for a low-cost house?" *House and Home* (April 1958): 126.
[109] Frosty Troy, "What Happened To Civic Center Dream?", *Tulsa Tribune*, 12 Dec 1958; Cathy Ambler, "Tulsa Civic Center Historic District," *National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*, (Tulsa, OK: Cathy Ambler, 2011): 15.

buildings as a symbol of civic pride to a contemporary perception of out-dated, ugly buildings.[110] This more contemporary view was solidified in the public's mind when city government vacated the City Hall Tower and Francis Campbell Council Room in 2007.[111]

In order to undertake the design of the Civic Center Plaza, a group of Tulsa Architects "formed a non-profit organization to design a civic center for the city."[112] This group was the Architectural League of Tulsa, Inc, and it finished a proposed design in 1955, that won national and international acclaim. (Appendix A: Figure 27).[113] According to Robert Lawton Jones, the League consisted of architects, engineers, landscape designers, and parking and traffic consultants to "'develop what was needed in the center and where it should be located . . . What was produced was a forward-looking concept in community development'" that received international attention.[114] Siegfried Giedion, an internationally known architect from Switzerland, noted in his book, *Architektur und Gemeinschaft: Tagebuch einer Entwicklung*, the League's collaboration effort as one of the "22 significant examples of architecture in community planning in the world in the last century."[115]

The design of Civic Center Plaza, with its original proposed location between Denver and Guthrie Avenues and Fourth and Sixth Streets, was initially published in the *Tulsa Daily World* and the *Tulsa Tribune* as early as 1952. The courthouse model went

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[110] Ibid.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Tom Birmingham, "After 15 Years, Two Designs, Tulsans Sold on Civic Center," *Tulsa Tribune*, 27 July 1965
[113] Ibid; Cathy Ambler, "Tulsa Civic Center Historic District," 3.
[114] Robert Lawton Jones, quoted in Tom Birmingham, "After 15 Years, Two Designs, Tulsans Sold on Civic Center."
[115] Tom Birmingham, "After 15 Years, Two Designs, Tulsans Sold on Civic Center," *Tulsa Tribune*, 27 July 1965.

on display in the lobby of the Mayo Hotel in December of that year.[116] The courthouse was the first of the buildings to be constructed and all subsequent Plaza designs incorporated it into their models. Anticipating the newly completed courthouse building that would be dedicated in March 1955, a sub-committee of the Mayor's Civic Center Site Committee sponsored a public hearing on 16 December 1954 for input as to what buildings and building types should be included in the remaining Civic Center Plaza (Appendix A: Figure 28).[117] After several space studies, the Civic Center Site Committee concluded that "a good solution would be possible with between six and ten buildings in the Civic Center."[118] On 13 January 1955, ten buildings were approved for inclusion: City Hall, Courts, and Police; an auditorium, exhibition hall, small assembly and meeting rooms, theatre, the Gilcrease Museum, art library, national oil museum, federal offices and courts, and state offices.[119] Also included were five possible parking schemes that would "provide for rapid, safe movement," since it was "necessary to limit walking distances which require the crossing of many streets before the driver reaches his parked automobile."[120] They concluded that the natural topography would allow for the "elevation of county court house (709 feet above sea level) westward so that the plaza bridges 5th Street," allowing parking to be available at two levels below the plaza, and accessible from the four surrounding streets. [121] Executing this design would require the tunneling of 5th Street under the Plaza.

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[116] *Tulsa Tribune*, 4 December 1952.
[117] Architectural League of Tulsa, Inc, *Civic Center Project*. Final Report. (Tulsa, OK: City of Tulsa, 1955): 6; *Tulsa Tribune*, "Courthouse Dedication Is a Far Cry from One in 1911," 26 March 1955.
[118] Architectural League of Tulsa, Inc, *Civic Center Project*. Final Report. (Tulsa, OK: City of Tulsa, 1955): 7.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Architectural League of Tulsa, Inc, *Civic Center Project*, 20.
[121] Architectural League of Tulsa, Inc, *Civic Center Project*, 53.

A revision of the Tulsa Civic Center Plan was later issued. In conjunction with the Architectural League of Tulsa, the firm Murray-Jones-Murray was retained by the Planning Commission to "consult with the staff in preparing a proposed revision of the Civic Center Plan. This revised plan outlined three major reasons for a revision. The first was that the plans for the Inner Dispersal Loop (IDL) surrounding downtown would "radically alter traffic flow in the Central Business District."[122] Secondly, the Metropolitan Library System's central facility was going to be established in the Civic Center area and replace the proposed State Building and Oil Museum.[123] Because the "site is larger than any of the other alternative sites considered and thus provides more design possibilities," it would be more accessible to the increased pedestrian traffic that would be created by the Plaza upon completion. [124] Finally its location in the Civic Center Plaza would require less land acquisition by the City of Tulsa.[125] Lastly, the Gilcrease Museum decided that "it would be the height of impracticality to use any other location" than its location at Thomas Gilcrease's home in Osage County.[126] This revision also included the elimination of the proposed Arts Library as a result of the Gilcrease Museum's decision to remain in Osage County. The proposed State Building and Oil Museum sites would be determined after the site of the proposed Assembly Center was established.[127]

As of 1 March 1959, according to the *Tulsa Daily World*, the Assembly Center was to cover an additional four city blocks, extending the Plaza's western boundary to

[122] Architectural League of Tulsa, Inc., "Special Report on Revision of the Tulsa Civic Center Plan," (Tulsa, OK: City of Tulsa, 1959): 1
[123] Ibid.
[124] Architectural League of Tulsa, Inc., "Special Report on Revision of the Tulsa Civic Center Plan," 4.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Architectural League of Tulsa, Inc., "Special Report on Revision of the Tulsa Civic Center Plan," 1.
[127] Architectural League of Tulsa, Inc., "Special Report on Revision of the Tulsa Civic Center Plan," 4

Houston Avenue.[128] Described in the *Tulsa Tribune* as "'Tulsa's Diadem,'" the proposed Civic Assembly Center was to be a circular arena that would be about 320 feet in diameter and "more than 100 feet from the floor to the top of the domed ceiling."[129] It would seat fourteen thousand people, in addition to a large exhibition hall and recital hall that would seat five hundred people. [130]With all the proposed buildings, the total cost of the Plaza would be approximately $30 million, house approximately four thousand workers, and "be equal or better than the civic center in any city of the U.S., regardless of size."[131]

By the time Bob Foresman's article appeared in the *Tulsa Tribune* in November 1959, the architectural firm Murray-Jones-Murray, and already famous New York architect, Edward Durrell Stone, were "retained to handle the complex. Stone will do all the design and detailed plans will then be made by the Tulsa firm."[132] The final design of the arena was contingent upon an agreement approving the designed plan to tunnel 5th Street, as approved in the 1955 revision.[133] But the plans for the Civic Assembly Center were once again changed by August of 1960. Budget limitations caused the architects and advisory committee to rethink the design for the Plaza, as "the chances for a full-fledged theatre are negligible . . . because of budget limitations."[134] When the architects and advisory committee were asked about where the theatrical productions would be held, Edward Durrell Stone suggested that "a large number of theatrical production [sic]"

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[128] *Tulsa Daily World*, 1 March 1959.
[129] Bob Foresman, "None Better in Nation: Civic Center City's Diadem," *Tulsa Tribune*, 25 November 1959.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Ibid.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Ken Neal, "Pro-Theatre Group Loses Center Tiff: Budget Limitations Apparently Doom Cultural Facility." *Tulsa Daily World*, 10 Aug 1960.

would be possible in the assembly hall, including opera."[135] Proponents of the inclusion of a theatre, however, replied with the sentiment that "the assembly hall is not a theater," and that the civic assembly center was becoming too expensive. As a result, they wanted the design team to "cut out the frills" on the assembly center and "devote the savings to the theater."[136] Stone then explained that the proposed roof type "(which has not [sic] exposed steelwork) is as cheap as steel," because it would be "the only one of its kind in the world . . . self-supporting, composed of numerous triangles cast of concrete."[137]

Not only did Stone's new design called for a rectangular Assembly Center building instead of the proposed circular structure from the 1955 collaborative plan, but the proposed new assembly center also included straddling 5th Street "with a two-square-block" structure.[138] According to Ken Neal's article in the 10 August 1960 issue of the *Tulsa Daily World*, Russell Hunt, the chairman of the Assembly Center for Tulsa committee, stated that "he didn't think the revised location of buildings in the Civic Center resulting from Stone's work would have to be reapproved by the planning commission."[139] However, the Architectural League of Tulsa "contended the plan was being changed and a study should be made to determine the effects of the change."[140] In another article in that the same issue of the *Tulsa Daily World*, Donald McCormick, chairman of the board of design for the Architectural League of Tulsa, reminded the *World* readers that the League "spent a year developing the plan and received international acclaim for it."[141] In McCormick's opinion, Stone's proposal to move the

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[135] Ibid.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Ibid.
[141] "Center Changes Flayed," *Tulsa Daily World*, 10 Aug 1960.

assembly center and to change its shape "changed the civic center master plan," and that Stone was hired to design the Assembly Center, not to plan the Civic Center.[142] Although Stone did not consult the Architectural League before proposing the changes, McCormick did not blame Stone for the City of Tulsa's decision to go ahead with the new changes to the Civic Center Plaza.[143] McCormick's sentiment that "'the master plan is being shoved aside to suit one person,'" suggests that the City of Tulsa was more interested in fulfilling the vision of a world-renowned architect than taking into consideration what the citizens of Tulsa wanted for their Civic Center.

The Architectural League of Tulsa won a victory. According to the *Tulsa Daily World*, "bond funds voted for the assembly center cannot be expended unless the site plot is in agreement with the Civic Center master plan."[144] As a result, a study "aimed at revising plans for location of buildings in the Civic Center was authorized by the Tulsa Metropolitan Planning commission," and the proposal for the study went to the City Commission for ratification.[145] However, on 31 August 1960, the City Commission approved Stone's $7 million proposed Civic Center design, and by June of 1961, four additional blocks were incorporated into the plan, making the final project a "12-block center of civic and cultural activity, extending from 3rd to 6th Sts. and from Denver to Houston Aves."[146] The original 1955 master plan was an eight-block center, and the City of Tulsa added these four extra blocks to include the "new $10.5 million Post Office, which will take up two blocks . . . and property in the added area would not be purchased

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[142] Ibid.
[143] Ibid.
[144] "Planners Okay New Civic Center Layout Study," *Tulsa Daily World*, 18 Aug 1960.
[145] Ibid.
[146] "Civic Center Design Gets OK From City," *Tulsa Daily World*, 31 Aug 1960; "4-Block Addition to Civic Center OK'd," *Tulsa Daily World*, 6 Jun 1961.

until the plan is finally adopted."[147] By 4 November 1961, site preparation for the Assembly Center was eighty percent complete and it was finished later that month (Appendix A: Figures 29 and 30).[148] The City Commission voted on and approved the four-block increase and revised plan in July 1964, with the new Post Office to be located between 3rd and 4th Streets and Denver and Guthrie Avenues.[149]

By the time the Assembly Center was finished in 1965, it cost $7.5 million, had a seating capacity of 4300 people, and was "expected to handle the city's needs for 50 or more years."[150] The finished product was a large rectangular building with access to the plaza level "by a walkway to ten pairs of glazed slab metal-frame doors" (Appendix A: Figure 31).[151] At the roofline are triangulated modules that also look like pyramids cut in half and then placed side-by-side extend down to divide large windows above the doors (Appendix A: Figure 32).[152] A large concrete band of these same half-pyramidal shapes extends around three of the building's elevations and are supported by "aluminus piers."[153] This band looks like a continuous, three-dimensional zig-zag along the roofline. (Appendix A: Figure 33). The concrete flat roof with extending eaves sits above these concrete half-pyramids. (Appendix A: Figure 34)[154] Windows are not present in three of the four elevations except at the entry doors, and the "concrete wall blocks are textured" (Appendix A: Figure 35).[155] A concrete pad separates the street and

[147] Civic Center Design Gets OK From City," *Tulsa Daily World*, 31 Aug 1960; "4-Block Addition to Civic Center OK'd," *Tulsa Daily World*, 6 Jun 1961.
[148] *Tulsa Tribune*, 4 Nov 1961.
[149] *Tulsa Daily World*, 22 July 64.
[150] Tom Wood, "Gleaming New Center to Stir Tulsans' Pride," *Tulsa Daily World*, 8Mar 1964.
[151] Cathy Ambler, "Tulsa Civic Center Historic District," *National Register of Historic Places Registration Form*, (Tulsa, OK: Cathy Ambler, 2011): 7.
[152] Ibid.
[153]Ibid.
[154] Ibid.
[155] Ibid.

plaza levels and allows entrance from the street to the second level on the south side (Appendix A: Figure 36).[156] The doors on the plaza and street levels sit directly above each other on the east.[157] The basement level consists of "glazed slab metal doors" that serve as the public entry; these doors sit directly below those entry doors at the street level. Both the street and basement levels are concrete structures.

The Civic Center was finished in 1969 with the completion of City Hall Tower, the Francis Campbell Council Room, and the Tulsa Police Courts building (Appendix A: Figures 37 and 38). The Tulsa City/County Library was finished in 1965, and the Page Belcher Federal Building and Post Office in 1967 (Appendix A: Figures 39 and 40).[158] All of the buildings reflect the Mid-Century Modern style of architecture, with the City Hall Tower reflecting a distinctively Miesian style and the Francis Campbell Council Room representing the New Formalism architecture of the 1960s. The Plaza itself is also known as Oakley Plaza and was completed in several stages between 1965 and 1969, with alterations in 1974 and 2009. Most of the buildings in the historic district are sited in this Plaza, though the Plaza itself is a non-contributing resource because "modifications on the east portion are outside the period of significance" that "separate the plaza's wholeness.[159] This proposed district to the National Register also includes the concrete West Plaza Fountain (1969), the oval-shaped East Plaza Reflecting Pool/Fountain (1965), and the reinforced concrete, two-level parking garage beneath the plaza (1969).[160]

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[156] Ibid.
[157] Ibid.
[158] Cathy Ambler, "Tulsa Civic Center Historic District," 3-8.
[159] Cathy Ambler, "Tulsa Civic Center Historic District," 8.
[160] Cathy Ambler, "Tulsa Civic Center Historic District," 9

According to the *National Register of Historic Places Registration Form* for the Tulsa Civic Center Historic District, "there was never a discussion about the selection of Modernist architecture in the planning for the Civic Center buildings."[161] The architecture represents "the visual essence of 'government' in Tulsa after World War II. Tulsa, like many cities after the end of the war wanted to look toward a bright future, and turned its view toward an architecture that could convey that the city was instep [sic] with a post-World War II modern world."[162] As is reflected by the newspaper clippings in the vertical files at the Tulsa City County Public Library, the controversies that arose during the fourteen-year construction were always about the layout of the Civic Center, and never its architectural style.[163] Thus, this collection of Mid-Century Modern civic buildings further illustrates that Tulsans always considered themselves to be modern and they wanted buildings to reflect that progressive spirit. Tulsa had been cutting-edge since the 1920s, with the construction of skyscrapers, the quintessential Mid-western regional architectural type, in the most popular architectural style, Art Deco. Then, with the construction of a great concentration of civic buildings in the most avant-garde style in the post-World War II era, they illustrated that they considered their government, their city, and themselves as modern and progressive. Richard Longstreth suggests that some have trouble coming to terms with resources from the mid-twentieth century because we do not "'see' the landmarks . . . they are not sited like their forebears. The landscape they help form is not centralized . . . Moreover, the cumulative result does not tend to read as a district. In traditional terms the strip lacks visual coherence."[164] This statement is not

[161] Cathy Ambler, "Tulsa Civic Center Historic District," 8
[162] Cathy Ambler, "Tulsa Civic Center Historic District," 12.
[163] Cathy Ambler, "Tulsa Civic Center Historic District," 14.
[164] Richard Longstreth, "I Can't See It; I don't Understand It; It Doesn't Look Old To Me," 8-9.

true for the Civic Center Historic District, and therefore lends to its "exceptional importance."

A great dichotomy, therefore, emerges in Tulsa considering the development of Mid-century Modern architecture: the same place that has such a great concentration of Art Deco shunned this style during the boom of Mid-Century Modernism, but yet both styles came into scholarly review simultaneously in the 1980s.[165] Unfortunately, many buildings erected in both the later styles of the Art Deco and in the Mid-Century Modern have been demolished. This occurred for several different reasons. One is that many modernist buildings were experiments in design and construction material, and consequently many in the 21st Century do not understand it without a historic context. Another reason is that no one knows exactly how to describe these buildings. The general description, "One-story, concrete slab with floor-to-ceiling double pane fenestration and a flat, concrete roof," describes a majority of residential buildings between 1945 and 1970. This description is vague at best, and if read without a visual to accompany it, seems boring and uninteresting. This general description provides another, more academic way of describing a heavy, ugly mass of concrete and glass that lacks ornament or detail. Although Art Deco resources are old enough to be eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, Mid-Century Modern resources are just reaching the fifty-year eligibility mark. It does not help that the National Park Service Bulletins 15 and 16a, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* and *How to Complete the National Register Form*, use "Modern" to categorize all architecture after 1930. This is a major discrepancy on the part of the National Park Service and needs to be rectified to consider fully all styles of Modern architecture after

[165] *Tulsa Art Deco*, 183.

1930. The latest of these publication is in 1995 and 1997, respectively does a disservice even to the last phases of the Art Deco Style.[166]

Unfortunately for the beautifully decorated skyscrapers and residences, bad architecture is bad architecture, regardless of the style in which it is built. Thus, to preserve good examples of a style, especially those of the increasingly threatened Mid-century Modern style, becomes imperative. This becomes especially true for Tulsa's Service Pipeline Building, the empty buildings of Civic Center Plaza, and the Downtown YMCA, which just opened a new location on South Main St. Senter's YMCA now lies empty and boarded-up, though there are several developers in the Tulsa area who are interested in its adaptive reuse. Unless the Service Pipeline Building and the YMCA receive the National Register recognition they deserve, demolition might be favored over rehabilitation.[167] Fortunately, the Lortondale community has also experienced a steady influx of residents since its creation in the 1950s. A community neighborhood association was created in 2004, and an intensive-level architectural survey of the community was completed in 2007.[168] Today, it is one of the most popular residential sub-divisions in Tulsa. It too is eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places. Edward A. Sharrer, Jr. completed the survey of Lortondale in 2007, but no nomination to the National Register has been initiated. Finally, there is a National Register Nomination for Civic Center Plaza currently under review at the Oklahoma State Historic Preservation Office. The City Hall Tower has been purchased by a prominent

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[166] National Park Service, *Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 14-17; National Park Service, *Bullentin16a: How to Complete the National Register Registration Form*, 24-34;
[167] Please note that National Register designation does not protect a building from demolition; it is an honorary designation only.
[168] Edward A Sharrer, Jr. "Lortondale Neighborhood Intensive Level Survey," (master's thesis, University of Oklahoma Urban Design Studio, 2007)

Tulsa family who plans to convert the tower into a luxury hotel through the Historic Preservation Tax Credit Program, utilizing the *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation*.

The ventures of architects and builders in Tulsa provide a fine repertoire that is representative of the innovations required of those settling and developing the Mid-western United States from 1890 to 1970. The architects of Tulsa showed the United States and the world that, not only were they capable of building commercial and residential buildings in the most avant-garde style, but also capable of transitioning from one style to another in order to satisfy the needs of an ever-developing, modern society. The best examples of this flexibility are Senter's transitional commercial properties and the collaborative design effort of those architects involved with the implementation of Civic Center Plaza. The ultimate example of popular regional modernism occurred with the culmination of Lortondale in Midtown Tulsa. In 1955, *Good Housekeeping Magazine* stated that "The millions of families who have embraced the suburban way of life have embarked upon a larger adventure than most of them dream of. In our national experience it can only be compared to that pioneering venture, the frontier itself."[169] The Mid-Century Modern suburban neighborhood became a new frontier in a post-World War II America.

[169] N. A. "What Makes a Good Suburb?" *Good Housekeeping Magazine*, (January 1955): 30.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Every generation struggles with justifying the historical value of its material culture. Before architecture of the Modern Movement was under such scrutiny, late-nineteenth century Victorian and the early twentieth century eclectic architectural styles were scrutinized and deemed invaluable. As a result, many of those examples were lost and replaced by the current examples of the mid-twentieth century. As noted in Chapter 2, the cut-off date in earlier national preservation programs was 1870. That too was eventually modified to the current “50 Year Rule.” However, if Criteria Consideration G has helped to foster a skewed view among preservationists and the public, then one question must be asked: should Criteria Consideration G be changed? Preservation professionals, through advocacy and education, should to include such architecture from the Modern Movement as the natural progression of preservation. We must come to terms with the fact that post-World War II, Mid-Century Modern suburban tract homes and monumental government complexes deserve consideration just as much as a district of well-intact Art Deco commercial storefronts. If citizens continue to ignore these types of properties, then it has been systematically determined that Art Deco is the cut-off point for valuable architecture worth preserving. We have defined the built environment of post-World War II America will remain a cultural wasteland.

In order to further avert the exclusion of Mid-Century Modernism from our appreciation of the built environment, preservation professionals need to go beyond nomination to the National Register of Historic Places, and incorporate Mid-Century Modern properties into preservation plans. This will help to solidify post-World War II architectural types as viable resources worth preserving, and, as a result, help to change its public and professional perception. This initiative must begin at the local level with a partnership between the city, planning department, and the public. Preservation is and always has been best done at the local level because it involves the personal relationship that people have with the buildings, sites, structures, objects, and districts in their own lives. Someone in Duluth, Minnesota will connect more to their local library than they will to Dealey Plaza in Dallas.

Local Protection: Historic Preservation Overlay Zoning

This preservation effort does not necessarily require National Register designation, considering listing in the National Register of Historic Places is honorary only and does not protect a property from demolition. In fact, the most effective way for ensuring the protection of resources from demolition is through local overlay zoning. Many cities, including Tulsa, have a large number of historic districts, all of which are National Register districts. However, not all of them districts have historic preservation overlay zoning. In Tulsa, only five have zoning laws, and all of them are residential neighborhoods. The residential or commercial district does not necessarily require National Register designation or a certain age. There are many cities across the country, such as Los Angeles, San Francisco, Aspen, and Raleigh, where properties do not need to be a certain age to receive local landmark status, and, as a result, receive protection from demolition.[1] Other cities, such as New York City and Seattle, have age guidelines less than thirty and twenty five years, respectively.[2] These local zoning laws illustrate the difference between real protection for a property and its honorific designation in a state, local, or national inventory. Preservation professionals and the public can use these local zoning laws to foster a preservation ethic in their communities, and, as a result, become an authority on local protection for historic resources. Zoning laws are created and adopted by community members for community members and then are regulated by the city, or in Tulsa's case, the Tulsa Preservation Commission. Although Tulsa requires a residential or commercial district for have National Register status before it can adopt a preservation zoning ordinance, this is not the case for all cities across the United States.

Unfortunately, the stigma towards Mid-Century Modernism and the recent past exists on the local level as "the number of recent past properties designated locally . . . is not significantly greater than at the national level, remaining between 2 and 4 percent of total designations."[3] According to Elaine Styles, in her essay "50 Years Reconsidered," the fact that the number of locally designated resources from the Modern Movement is very similar to those recognized at the national level means that the removal of an age requirement "does not necessarily lead to a flood of nominations and listings, or listings of questionable quality."[4] In this particular instance, Stiles' essay reiterates Longstreth's points in demonstrating that "solid scholarship and evaluation can reliably ensure that historic designations have lasting value."[5] However, "the relatively low number, and in some places the dearth of listings, may again testify to the undue influence of the 50-year

[1] Elaine Stiles, "50 Years Reconsidered," *Forum Journal* 24, no 4 (Summer 2010): 20.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Stiles,21.
[5] Ibid.

criterion on the conceptual framework of preservation."[6] In other words, a large influx of designations could equally mean that "survey, scholarship, advocacy, regulatory review" is lacking in a certain area.[7]

Should Criteria Consideration G Be Changed: A Survey of Professional Opinion

Considering Stiles' essay, should the Fifty Year Rule be changed or eliminated? To find answers to this question, several preservation professionals in governmental and non-profit sectors of preservation in Oklahoma were asked to complete a questionnaire that addressed Criteria Consideration G and other issues related to the preservation of architecture from the Modern Movement. The questionnaire was entitled "A Professional View of Criteria Consideration G of the National Register of Historic Places, and General Concerns Regarding the Preservation of Architecture from the Modern Movement," and it was sent to the these professionals and returned to the author via email.[8] All professionals were asked the same set of questions, and all of them had a different point of view on the subject and used examples accordingly. In response to the questionnaire, Lynda Schwan, Coordinator of the National Register program at the Oklahoma State Historic Preservation Office, replied: "50 years is a guidance tool; anything that has occurred in the past 50 years needs to be of exceptional significance and be evaluated as such to be considered eligible for the NRHP."[9] She also believes that Criteria Consideration G should not be modified, because "people have a difficult time understanding significance and the National Register with the 50 years old guidance;

[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.
[8] A copy of the recruitment email, the questionnaire, and the Oklahoma State Internal Review Board approval will be included after the Appendices.
[9] Lynda Schwann, answers to questionnaire "A Professional View of Criteria Consideration G of the National Register of Historic Places, and General Concerns Regarding the Preservation of Architecture from the Modern Movement," submitted to author via email on 8 April 2011.

making it less than 50 years would confuse the issue of significance further."[10] Whether 50 years or 1 year, a property could still be lost, considering the National Register of Historic Places is an "honorific designation."[11] Katie McLaughlin-Friddle, director of Preservation Oklahoma, Inc and Derek Lee, archivist and historian at the Tulsa Foundation for Architecture, both believe that Criteria Consideration G should be either changed or at the very least, allow "for more flexibility,"[12] because, since 1961 "there has been some incredible architecture that defines the culture of a generation but largely is seen as disposable."[13]

These professionals were also asked about having different age requirements depending on the level of significance. Ms. Schwan and Ms. McLaughlin-Friddle both state that it would cause inconsistencies. However, Ms. McLaughlin-Friddle also states that listing in the National Register with more lax age restrictions would "have to be done cautiously: "A key factor in any regulatory aspect of preservation is not to be perceived as arbitrary—there have to be concrete guidelines and precedents for how things are designated . . . it is a double-edged sword . . . it might make people more open-minded about what preservation is . . ., but might also be seen by some as expanding its reach too far and trying to freeze everything in time."[14] Mr. Lee, however, sees a more lax age restriction for the local level to be a very feasible possibility. He stated that changing the age limit to thirty years for local significance would help to change the public's

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[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Derek Lee, answers to questionnaire, "A Professional View of Criteria Consideration G of the National Register of Historic Places, and General Concerns Regarding the Preservation of Architecture from the Modern Movement," submitted to author via email on 15 April 2011.
[13] Katie McLaughlin-Friddle, answers to questionnaire "A Professional View of Criteria Consideration G of the National Register of Historic Places, and General Concerns Regarding the Preservation of Architecture from the Modern Movement," submitted to author via email on 7 April 2011.
[14] Ibid.

perception of what is “historic,” that it would cause them to instantly recognize a Modern Movement building’s importance. He uses Tulsa’s City Hall Tower from Civic Center Plaza as an example: “the public does not automatically assume that this buildings is historic or worthy of preservation simply because it was constructed in the recent past and is not easily identified as ‘traditional’ architecture, or because it is in Tulsa, art deco.”[15]

All three responders agreed that the design intent behind a building from the modern movement should be integral when nominating it to the National Register of Historic Places. Ms. Schwan put it very well:

> “When approaching any building from any time period, one must always consider why it was constructed and the style selected for the building for a National Register nomination. What were the influences of the architect? If an nomination does not address these issues, it should not be nominated for its architectural significance.”[16]

Ms. McLaughlin-Friddle agrees with Ms. Schwan: “Just as we document the history of a particular group or person or culture that gives significance to a not-so-architecturally-significant building, we should document the philosophical underpinnings of a modern building.”[17] Once again, this is where personal taste plays an important role. Both Ms. Schwan and Ms. McLaughlin-Friddle agree that a non-biased scholarly approach should be used in any National Register nomination. From Mr. Lee’s experience, he believes that not only does personal taste “play a much larger role in evaluating modern architecture than any other architectural style,” but also this taste level extends more into

[15] Lee, 15 April 2011.
[16] Schwann, 8 April 2011
[17] McLaughlin-Friddle, 7 April 2011.

the daily lives of people, and that residential and commercial examples of modern architecture are judged differently: "people don't seem to have a problem working in modern buildings, but when it comes to their homes, people tend to favor the traditional."[18]

One of the more interesting responses was the question about how the National Register Bulletins categorize the styles from the "Modern Movement." Ms. Schwan, Ms. McLaughlin-Friddle, and Mr. Lee all agree that "Modern Movement" is "way too general" and makes for difficulties. Ms. Schwan states that it makes "writing nominations for properties that post-date 1920 very cumbersome."[19] But she also provides clarification as to why they are categorized as such; the National Park Service asked the State Historic Preservation Offices to develop terminology for their respective states, and then to simply classify it as "'Other: Style Name.'"[20] Then, once the National Park Service receives enough nominations that use a certain type of classification, that classification will then be adopted as "acceptable" language for National Register nominations.[21] Ms. McLaughlin-Friddle sees the subcategories as "keeping with the broadness of the other categories" used to classify architectural styles, while Mr. Lee feels that the "general classification lessens the importance of each specific style."[22] Mr. Lee gives a very good example of this in Tulsa regarding its two airport buildings. One was built in 1931 and is Art Deco, while the other was built in 1962 and is "purposefully devoid of any ornamentation and contains no decoration inside or out."[23] They are both

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[18] Lee, 15 April 2011.
[19] Schwann, 8 April 2011.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22] McLaughlin-Friddle, 7 April 2011.
[23] Lee, 15 April 2011.

generally categorized as "Modern Movement," so further classification needs to be developed the further and further away from the beginning of the modern movement we get.

The intent of the questionnaire was to see how different professionals in the governmental and non-profit fields of preservation feel about Criteria Consideration G and the preservation of Modern architecture. Ms. McLaughlin-Friddle and Mr. Lee, represent the non-profit sector at the state and local level, respectively. Ms. Schwan represents the state government level. It was surprising to discover how similar their answers were. This perhaps is a good indication of the changing perception of Modern architecture in preservation. The fact that two of these individuals are thirty years old or younger indicates that preservation is and will continue to progress naturally to include properties of the post-World War II era. For these two individuals, this past is simultaneously "distant, removed in time and often in space," as well as "built—or at least was still new—within living memory, the product of [their] parents' or grandparents' generations."[24] For these younger preservation professionals, "intrinsic worth lies in fostering a sense of continuity, in striking a balance with change, in gaining perspective on the present, in knowing that some of the things one creates have value over time."[25] As seen in Chapter 4, Tulsa provides an excellent illustration of what it takes to foster a sense of continuity between the living memories of the past and present, and Civic Center Plaza provides an excellent example of why Criteria Consideration G is "much less crucial to change because newer properties can be nominated when they possess exceptional significance at the *local level*," which can be broad and quite

[24]Richard Longstreth, "Taste Versus History," *Historic Preservation Forum*, 8, no. 3 (May/June 1994): 45.
[25] Ibid.

inclusive.[26] This point makes local preservation overlay zoning that much more critical to the preservation of the Modern Movement.

The answers to this questionnaire imply a similar meaning to that of Roy Rosenzweig's statements in his essay, "Everyone a Historian." In the book, *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life*," Rosenzweig and co-author, David Thelen conducted several surveys of different demographics of Americans in order to gain insight into how they understand the past in the midst of the Culture Wars of the 1990s. What Rosenzweig found was that "the most powerful meanings of the past come out of the dialogue between the past and the present, out of the ways the past can be used to answer pressing current –day questions about relationships, identity, immorality, and agency."[27] David Thelen came to the conclusion, in his essay, "A Participatory Historical Culture," that historians need to "recognize existing foundations for a more participatory historical culture."[28] Rosenzweig and Thelen asked their survey participants why things should be passed down to future generations. They observed, that "in order to approach the past on their own terms . . . respondents grounded historical inquiry in present circumstances, perceptions, and needs."[29] Their conclusions can be applied to the preservation of properties from the Modern Movement. Because National Register nominations can be initiated by any member of the public, the initiator's experiences and understanding of the present will determine how they interpret the events that give a property its historical significance.

[26] Richard Longstreth, "When the Present Becomes the Past," 222.
[27] Roy Rosenzweig, "Everyone a Historian," Afterthoughts in *The Presense of the Past: Popular Uses of History In American Life*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 178.
[28] David Thelen, "A Participatory Historical Culture," Afterthoughts in *The Presense of the Past: Popular Uses of History In American Life*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 192.
[29] Ibid.

Anthony M. Tung completed a project for *Random House* that resulted in a book published in 2001, entitled *Preserving the World's Great Cities: The Destruction and Renewal of the Historic Metropolis*. Random House entrusted him to travel to twenty-two of the world's greatest cities to study "how architectural preservation worked and failed in some of the most artistically and historically significant places around the globe."[30] Throughout his journey, he discovered that he needed to study each city differently and that the economics of each city needed to be studied, for "Economics is inextricably tied" to matters of preservation.[31] One of the questions he asked in each city pertained to the preservation laws and to what extent these cities enact, or not, the provisions outlined in the laws, as discussed at the 2008 National Preservation Conference:

> "Were binding laws protecting the singular historic milieu enacted in time to avoid the obliteration of its character? Stringent, binding laws, without loopholes where the demolition of protected historic properties could not be granted by any authority other than the official preservation body, because it is an inescapable reality that across the history of the world, it's only when binding laws are enacted that the loss of architectural patrimony comes to an end."[32]

New York City provided a prime example of an American city whose binding laws needed to be reevaluated, especially after the demolition of Penn Station in 1963. In 1965, city officials created the New York Landmarks Preservation Committee to prevent the unnecessary destruction of the city's "historic milieu." It will continue to be this sort

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[30] Anthony M. Tung, introduction to Preserving *the Worlds Greatest Cities: The Destruction and Renewal of the Historic Metropolis*, (New York: Clarkson and Potter Publishers, 2001): 1.
[31] Anthony M. Tung, introduction , 4.
[32] Tung, Closing Plenary Session, National Preservation Conference, Tulsa, OK National Trust for Historic Preservation, 25 October 2008. <http:// www.preservationnation.org.>.

of local overlay zoning law and continued education through workshops, conferences, and educational opportunities that will help to incorporate properties of the Modern Movement into the national preservation ethic. Lynda Schwan states, “All preservation is local,” and it is at this level, where every day people live know the significance of a building to their town’s legacy, that preservation makes its impact, regardless of age or architectural style.

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APPPENDIX A: FIGURES

Figure 1

Glass House
Philip Johnson
New Canaan, CT
1949
Photo by Philip Warchol
www.philipjohnsonglasshouse.org

Figure 2

Farnsworth House
Ludwig Mies van der Rohe
Plano, IL
1951
Photo by Jon Miller and Hedrich
Blessing
www.farnsworthhouse.org

Figure 3

Frederick C. Robie House
Frank Lloyd Wright
Oak Park, IL
1910
Photo from Frank LloydWright
Preservation Trust
www.gowright.org

Figure 4

Bauhaus Building
Walter Gropius
Dessau, Germany
1925
Photo from
www.weimar.facinghistory.org

Figure 5

Boston Avenue Methodist Church
Bruce Goff and Adah Robinson
Tulsa, OK
1929
Photo from Tulsa Preservation
Commission

Figure 6

Westhope
Frank Lloyd Wright
Tulsa, OK
1929
Photo from Tulsa
Preservation Commission

Figure 7

Fire Alarm Building
Frederick V. Kershner
Tulsa, OK
1931
Photo By David Stapleton
2007

Figure 8

Tulsa Monument Company
Harry H. Mahler
Tulsa, OK
1936
Photo from Tulsa
Preservation Commission

Figure 9

Joseph R. Koberling
William Whenthoff Residence
Tulsa, OK
1933
Photo from Tulsa Preservation
Commission

Figure 10

Service Pipeline Building
Leon B. Senter
Tulsa, OK
1949
Photo by Author

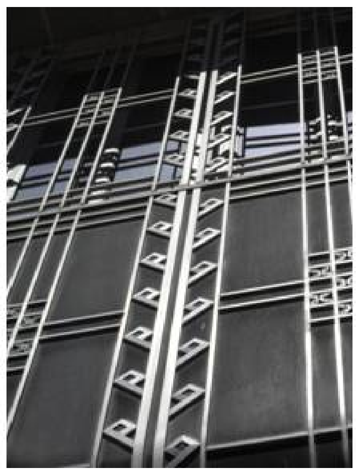
Figure 10a

Service Pipeline Building
Leon B. Senter
Tulsa, OK
1949
Photo by Author

Figure 11

Entryway Details
Service Pipeline Building
Leon B. Senter
Tulsa, OK
1949
Photo by Author

Figure 12



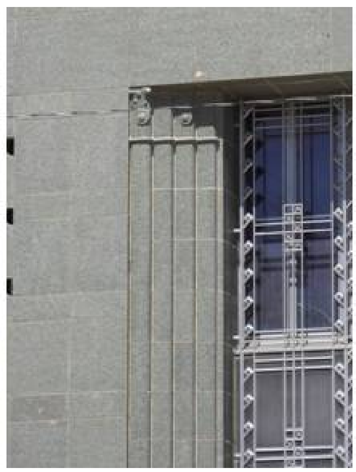
Entryway Details
Service Pipeline Building
Leon B. Senter
Tulsa, OK
1949
Photo by Author

Figure 13

Entryway Details
Service Pipeline Building
Leon B. Senter
Tulsa, OK
1949
Photo by Author

23

Figure 14



Entryway Details
Service Pipeline Building
Leon B. Senter
Tulsa, OK
1949
Photo by Author

Figure 15

Mayo Motor Inn
Leon B. Senter
Tulsa, OK
1950-1952
Photo by Author

Figure 16

Entryway Detail
Mayo Motor Inn
Leon B. Senter
Tulsa, OK
1950-1952
Photo by Author

Figure 17

Entryway Windows
Mayo Motor Inn
Leon B. Senter
Tulsa, OK
1950-1952
Photo by Author

Figure 18

Old YMCA
Tulsa, OK
1925
Beryl Ford Collection
#A0124

19

Figure 19

Downtown YMCA
Leon B. Senter
Tulsa, OK
1953
Photo by Author

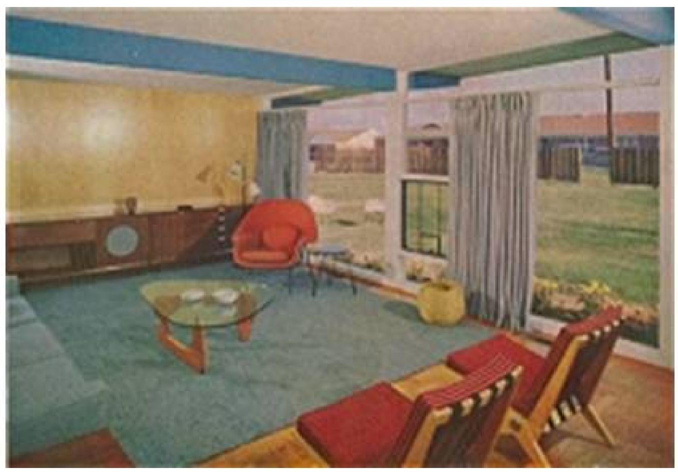
Figure 20

Window Detail
Downtown YMCA
Leon B. Senter
Tulsa, OK
1953
Photo by Author

Figure 21

Window and Entrance Detail
Downtown YMCA
Leon B. Senter
Tulsa, OK
1953
Photo by Author

Figure 22



Interior Illustration
Lortondale
Howard C. Grubb and Donald H. Honn
Tulsa, OK
1954
Photo from Tulsa Preservation Commission

Figure 23

Exterior Illustrations
Lortondale
Howard C. Grubb and Donald H. Honn
Tulsa, OK
1954
Photo from Lortondale Neighborhood Association
www.lortondale.com

Figure 24

Lortondale Home
Howard C. Grubb and Donald H. Honn
Tulsa, OK
1954
www.lortondale.com

Figure 25

Advertisement for Chrysler Airtemp Air-Cooled Air Conditioning featuring the Lortondale Home
House and Home
January 1954

Figure 26

Exterior
Lortondale Home
Howard C. Grubb and Donald H. Honn
Tulsa, OK
Photo from Tulsa Preservation Commission

Figure 26a

Interior
Lortondale Home
Howard C. Grubb and Donald H. Honn
Tulsa, OK
Present Day
Photo from Lortondale Neighborhood Association
www.lortondale.com

Figure 27

Civc Center Model
Tulsa
17 July 1958
Photo from Beryl Ford Collection
#G0624

Figure 28

Tulsa County Courthouse
Tulsa, OK
1955
Photo from Beryl Ford Collection
#C1693

Figure 29

Aerial View of Civic Center
Tulsa, OK
24 August 1962
Photo from Beryl Ford Collection
#C1252

Figure 30

Civic Center Construction
Tulsa, OK
1960s
Photo form Beryl Ford Collection
#C1981

Figure 31

Metal Doors
Civic Assembly Center
Civic Center Plaza
Tulsa, OK
Photo by Author

Figure 32

Half-pyramid shapes
Civic Assembly Center
Tulsa, OK
1960s
Photo from Beryl Ford Collection
#C1537

Figure 33

"Aluminus Piers"
Civic Assembly Center
Tulsa, OK
1960s
Photo from Beryl Ford Collection
#C1536

Figure 34

Flat Roof
Civic Assembly Center
Tulsa, OK
c. 1965
Photo from Beryl Ford Collection
#C1989

Figure 35

Concrete Wall Blocks
Civic Assembly Center
Tulsa, OK
Photo by Author

Figure 36

Concrete Pad Separating Parking Levels
Civic Center Plaza
Tulsa, OK
Photo by Author

Figure 37

City Hall Tower
Civic Center Plaza
Tulsa, OK
1969
Photo by Author

Figure 38

Francis F. Campbell Council Chambers
Civic Center Plaza
Tulsa, OK
1965
Photo by Author

Figure 39

Central Library
Civic Center Plaza
Tulsa, OK
1965
Photo by Author

Figure 40

Page Belcher Federal Building and Post Office
Civic Center Plaza
Tulsa, OK
1967
Photo by Author

Oklahoma State University Institutional Review Board

Date:	Monday, March 28, 2011
IRB Application No	AS1140
Proposal Title:	A Professional View of Criteria Consideration G of the National Register of Historic Places, and General Concerns Regarding the Preservation of Architecture From the Modern Movement
Reviewed and Processed as:	Exempt

Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): Approved Protocol Expires: 3/27/2012

Principal Investigator(s):

Jennifer K. Morrison	Bill Bryans
70 S. Univ. Place, Apt. 11	101 Murray
Stillwater, OK 74075	Stillwater, OK 74078

The IRB application referenced above has been approved. It is the judgment of the reviewers that the rights and welfare of individuals who may be asked to participate in this study will be respected, and that the research will be conducted in a manner consistent with the IRB requirements as outlined in section 45 CFR 46.

[X] The final versions of any printed recruitment, consent and assent documents bearing the IRB approval stamp are attached to this letter. These are the versions that must be used during the study.

As Principal Investigator, it is your responsibility to do the following:

1. Conduct this study exactly as it has been approved. Any modifications to the research protocol must be submitted with the appropriate signatures for IRB approval.
2. Submit a request for continuation if the study extends beyond the approval period of one calendar year. This continuation must receive IRB review and approval before the research can continue.
3. Report any adverse events to the IRB Chair promptly. Adverse events are those which are unanticipated and impact the subjects during the course of this research; and
4. Notify the IRB office in writing when your research project is complete.

Please note that approved protocols are subject to monitoring by the IRB and that the IRB office has the authority to inspect research records associated with this protocol at any time. If you have questions about the IRB procedures or need any assistance from the Board, please contact Beth McTernan in 219 Cordell North (phone: 405-744-5700, beth.mcternan@okstate.edu).

Sincerely,

Shelia M. Kennison

Shelia Kennison, Chair
Institutional Review Board

Jennifer K. Morrison
70 S University Pl, Apt 11
Stillwater, OK 74075
(540) 846-2276
jenniferkbailey@gmail.com

Dear Preservation Professional,

I am collecting information on my Master's thesis that researches Criteria Consideration G, or the "50 Year Rule," of the National Register of Historic Places and its relationship to architectural resources of the Recent Past.

You have been selected to answer a questionnaire due to your expertise in the government or non-profit sectors of the historic preservation field. The questionnaire will include specific questions about the "50 Year Rule," as well as questions regarding the general preservation of architecture from the Modern Movement. The purpose of this questionnaire is to acquire the professional opinions of experts in the government and non-profit sectors of historic preservation. You are being asked to participate because you are considered an expert in one of those two fields. I am seeking both professional opinion and examples to be used as part of the case study section of my master's thesis.

By participating in the study, I will gain a better understanding of how architecture from the mid-twentieth century fits into the field of Historic Preservation, and how this type of architecture should be considered and treated in the government and non-profit fields of historic preservation. This should benefit you, other preservation professionals, and the general public interested in historic preservation.

If you decide to participate in this study, you will need to fill-out an informed consent form, which will be sent to you in the mail along with the questionnaire and an addressed stamped envelope. After I receive your consent form, I will contact you via email with the questionnaire attached as a word document. You then type in your answers, and return the questionnaire as an email attachment to Jennifer K. Morrison at jenniferkbailey@gmail.com by **15 April 2011**.

If you have any questions about the research, please feel free to contact me at (540) 846-2276 or jenniferkbailey@gmail.com or Dr. William S. Bryans from Oklahoma State University at (405) 744-8179 or bill.bryans@okstate.edu. If you have questions about your rights as a research volunteer, you may contact Dr. Shelia Kennison, IRB Chair, 219 Cordell North, Stillwater, OK 74078, 405-744-3377 or irb@okstate.edu.

Thank you for your consideration. I hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

Jennifer K. Morrison
Graduate Teaching Assistant
History Department
Oklahoma State University

Okla. State Univ.
IRB
Approved 3/28/11
Expires 3/27/12
IRB# AS-11-40

A PROFESSIONAL VIEW OF CRITERIA CONSIDERATION G OF THE NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES, AND GENERAL CONCERNS REGARDING THE PRESERVATION OF ARCHITECTURE FROM THE MODERN MOVEMENT.

NAME:
TITLE:
PROFESISONAL ORGANIZATION:

PLEASE ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS THOROUGHLY AND TO THE BEST OF YOUR KNOWLEDGE.

Questions 1-5 pertain to Criteria Consideration G of the National Register of Historic Places:

1. In your professional opinion, do you think Criteria Consideration G of the National Register of Historic Places, also known as the "50 Year Rule," should be changed? Why or why not?
2. In the National Park Service Bulletins 15 and 16a, "modern movement" is the term used for most architecture after 1920. Is this too general? Would it be feasible to make the language more specific? Has the current terminology used to categorize architecture, from Art Deco to the Post-Modern, made the nominations for these architectural styles more cumbersome?
3. How feasible would it be for National Register designation of significance at the local level to change to 30 years, and leave the designation for national significance at 50 years?
4. Would relaxed age guidelines be useful in saving or preserving resources from the recent past, and how would National Register designation of these resources affect public opinions of preservation?
5. What kinds of obstacles would local historic preservation commissions and staff encounter from an administrative, historical, and public relations point of view if there is no recommended or mandatory waiting period for the examination of a resource?

Questions 6-11 pertain to the general methodologies and concerns regarding the preservation of resources from the Recent Past:

6. Modern buildings can only be described to a certain extent due their use of similar materials, massing, and design aesthetic. Theodore Prudon suggests that the ideas associated with modernism will be just as important as the building itself in order to establish the historic context of a building. When preparing a National Register nomination for a 20th Century building, especially from the Post World War II era, how much focus should be put on the ideas associated with the building as opposed to the actual building itself, such as materials, overall design, and construction methodology?
7. How important are the materials to the integrity of modern architecture? If the original materials are no longer available, how would you recommend maintaining the integrity of a modern property, especially for those using the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation?
8. How should preservation professionals advocate for the preservation of resources from the recent past?
9. How much of a role does personal taste play in the professional judgment of modern architecture, and are residential and commercial architecture judged differently?
10. How important is local zoning law to the preservation of modern architecture?
11. Should preservation incorporate pop culture, such as McDonalds or Wal-Mart? If it does not, then won't this set a precedent that will maintain the public view of preservation as an "elitist" movement?

PLEASE RETURN YOUR ANSWERS IN AN EMAIL ATTACHMENT **BY 15 APRIL 2011 TO JENNIFER K. MORRISON:** **jenniferkbailey@gmail.com** PLEASE TYPE **"NATIONAL REGISTER QUESTIONNAIRE"** IN THE SUBJECT LINE OF THE EMAIL.

VITA

Jennifer K. Morrison

Candidate for the Degree of

Master of Arts

Thesis: CRITERIA CONSIDERATION G OF THE NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES: HISTORY, ANALYSIS, AND APPLICATION

Major Field: History

Biographical:

Education:

Completed the requirements for the Master of Arts in Public History at Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma in May, 2011.

Completed the requirements for the Bachelor of Arts in English at Louisana Tech University, Ruson, LA in 2007.

Experience:

Internship, Tulsa Preservation Commission, 2009-2011
Internship, Preservation Oklahoma, Inc, 2010

Professional Memberships:

National Trust for Historic Preservation
Golden Key International Honor Society

Name: Jennifer K. Morrison Date of Degree: May 2011

Institution: Oklahoma State University Location: Stillwater, Oklahoma

Title of Study: CRITERIA CONSIDERATION G OF THE NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES: HISTORY, ANALYSIS, AND APPLICATION

Pages in Study: 160 Candidate for the Degree of Master of Arts

Major Field: History

Scope and Method of Study: The thesis provides a history, analysis, and application of the Criteria Consideration G, or the "50 Year Rule," of the National Register of Historic Places Program to architecture of the Modern Movement. It provides the historical precedent for age requirements in national preservation legislation and for the Mid-Century Modern architecture style. It analyzes National Register Bulletins and how their ambiguity has allowed for a guideline to become a rule that is constantly and systematically applied. It illustrates these points using Mid-Century Modern commercial and residential architecture in Tulsa, Oklahoma as case studies. Finally, the thesis discusses local overlay zoning as a preservation tool at the local level for preserving Modern Movement architecture and provides a professional opinion of Criteria Consideration G from the non-profit and governmental sectors.

Findings and Conclusions: Although Criteria Consideration G is intended to be a guideline, it has been applied in the preservation field as a rule that has helped create a professional and public bias towards architecture of the Modern Movement. Though it is unclear if Criteria Consideration G should be changed, it is apparent that the ambiguity found in the National Register Bulletins has shaped public and professional perceptions of Modern Movement architecture. Local overlay zoning is the best way to protect any property from demolition, regardless of age. Also, it is at this local level that the future of age limits in the inventories of historic properties will be determined.

ADVISER'S APPROVAL: Dr. William S. Bryans