THE PRESERVATION OF HISTORIC SCHOOLS & COMMUNITY IDENTITY IN

SUBURBAN TEXAS

by

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(Under the Direction of Cari Goetcheus)

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the role of the preservation of historic schools that continue to be used as public spaces in maintaining a sense of community in three places that have undergone or are undergoing rapid population growth as part of widespread metropolitan growth in Texas. This thesis looks at case studies in Georgetown, Bartlett, and Bedford in the state of Texas in an attempt to assess the effects of successful preservation efforts upon the surrounding community. Results from the surveys of preserving organizations and community members indicates that these historic schools play important roles in the perception of community identity as cities undergo changes over time and that historic preservation more holistically is also important to the sense of identity and uniqueness of a community.

INDEX WORDS: historic preservation, historic schools, Texas, place attachment, community identity

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to everyone who works to preserve historic schools and thereby to help preserve the history of their community. It is my hope that the work will be both informative and useful in your efforts.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Every built community is itself an object, a creation of those who live or have

lived in that place. This object, large as it may be – and some are very large indeed – is

perceived by hundreds, thousands, or even millions of people from diverse backgrounds

and character on a daily basis. The city is constantly changing, the result of its residents'

and/or investors' persistent modifications of the structures that make up the community

each for reasons of their own.[1] Many communities are stable in boundary from one year

to the next, with changes relatively rare, but it is perpetually changing in detail. There is

no final result, only a continuous succession of phases, each generation and in many ways

each resident leaving its own mark upon the physical legacy of the community. Historic

preservation seeks to maintain the fabric of this legacy and in turn use that fabric to tell

the story of that place.

Each community is a unique product of its history and that of the people who

have lived there, but there are nonetheless broad similarities. Particularly since the

advent of city planning, relatively early in the life of most American cities especially as

one travels westward, communities are organized with relative amounts of care to

achieve various goals relating to efficiency and quality of life as well as accounting for

the natural setting. This organization allows communities to be legible – to have

pathways, districts, and landmarks that are easily identifiable and easily grouped into an

over-all pattern which allows residents and visitors alike to move about the city

[1] Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT & Harvard University Press, 1960), 2.

comfortably and with lessened fears of becoming lost.[2] Moreover, the ordered

environment of the community provides frames of reference such that one can acquire a

substantial number of facts or at least reasonable conclusions about the nature of a place

by the structure of it. According to Kevin Lynch, this "good environmental image gives

its possessor an important sense of emotional security."[3] Nonetheless, communities are

made up of individuals and too rigid a structure inhibits the new stories to be built next to

the old – and makes a place feel inhumane and institutional. Preservation must always

balance these various needs of the communities within which it is done, to leave enough

room for new stories to be experienced side-by-side with the old stories. The

accumulation of new and old gives each place that unique sense of community which

makes it not just distinctive but, for its residents, makes it home.

  This thesis intends to explore the role of the preservation of historic schools that

continue to be used as public spaces in maintaining a sense of community in places that

have undergone or are undergoing metropolitanization. Schools are among the most

public of places in most American towns. Schools are among the first structures built in

new communities, and most residents have some experience within the walls whether as a

student, a parent, a teacher, or as a guest at some school production or other event.

Schools are often some of the largest and most accessible public buildings, and as such

host a myriad of cultural events. They gather disparate people and bring the community

together in a shared space. In many communities, the school – especially secondary

school – is a place of identity & belonging, and its victories are community victories.

David Kyvig and Myron Marty define public places as "those that are generally

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[2] Lynch, 3.
[3] Lynch, 4.

accessible to residents and visitors as opposed to those that are private or somehow restricted," and they point out that it is in such spaces that "private lives intersect; the members of a community find common ground."[4] Schools, as host to so many events in a person's life, become home to not just the personal experiences which build memories and can make an ordinary place somewhat magical, but also are the place of communal memories which turn public places into sites of civic pageants. Many of these buildings have stood in place for several generations, part of a stage that people today have inherited from the past, and upon which the daily activities of life continue to be played out. Each generation uses the streets and buildings from the past, adapts them to their purposes, adds and subtracts as necessary, and passes the living fabric of the city on to the next generation. This fabric, like ancient tapestries, tells the story of the place. Without the public places, often the center of these communal memories, a sense of community can be lost, without the physical and visual cues informing us of who we are and where we have been: thereby, we also do not know where we are going. Thus, the community has lost that important sense of emotional security as well as its sense of a communal self. This sense of communal self, of community identity, is what this thesis intends to connect to the continued use of historic schools as public spaces. The ability for residents to continue to share the experience of these places is integral to the argument that the schools play an important role in community identity. This thesis presumes that the forces of metropolitanization inherently threaten this community identity by significantly altering the traditional measures by which one perceives identity,

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[4] In Gerald A. Danzer, *Public Places: Exploring Their History* (Nashville, TN: American Association for State and Local History, 1987), viii.

including the demographics, economy, and infrastructure of the community, by joining it to the larger metropolitan area.

Many communities have rallied in the past to preserve their schools, most often through adaptive reuse as the historic buildings become increasingly difficult to adapt to contemporary needs for secondary schools. The buildings are often too small for reasonable use as a high school, but also lack the needed space for expanded programs both curricular and extracurricular, including various labs, studio spaces, and athletic facilities. This thesis examines three case studies in the state of Texas in an attempt to assess the effects of successful preservation efforts upon the surrounding community. The study focuses on the responses of local residents to the preservation of the local secondary school as measured in an online survey, as well as the actions and motivations of the community organizations which have preserved these schools and kept them open to public use. All case studies have been confined to a single state in order to keep applicable laws varying to a lesser degree. States with county-wide school districts were avoided as much of the relationship between local community and school has been altered by such district organization, and in several other states, including California, many school districts do not reflect municipal boundaries and insert more variables into the equation. Also, it was decided that case studies should be from more than one metropolitan area in order to draw firmer conclusions less likely to be unique to one locale. Subsequently, Texas was selected for its broad range of geographic settings, including multiple large urban areas that provide impetus for rapid population growth, as well as its system of independent school districts that traditionally roughly reflected municipal boundaries. The three case studies represent communities at different points in

their cycle of growth, or possible future growth, in an attempt to illustrate a broad pattern to community identification with its historic school.

Bartlett Grammar/High School, opened in 1909, is located in the small town of Bartlett which boasts a population just under three thousand people and straddles the line between Bell and Williamson counties. It served all grades from its opening until 1917, subsequently serving as an elementary school until 1966 and then just the primary grades until 1988. It was closed in 1988 when a new school was completed, and has been a local museum and activities center since 1990. The upper floor has been preserved in its form as a historic school, while the lower floor is a museum of Bartlett's history as well as hosting a small space for social gatherings. The school was saved from demolition by a local grass-roots "Save Our School" organization. Bartlett appears poised at the very start of population growth resulting from its location about equidistant between the Temple-Killeen metropolitan area and the Austin metropolitan area, having increased its population by 70% in the last decade.

The former Georgetown High School was built in 1923 in Georgetown, Texas, which is now predominantly a suburb of Austin. Its location is the original site of Southwestern University, which claims to be the oldest tertiary educational institution in Texas, and is now used as Everette L. Williams Elementary School. The building served as the community's high school for over fifty years, then became the junior high school, was briefly the home of the "Safe Schools" project and other community groups, until it was renovated in 2002 and re-opened as an elementary school. Georgetown's population has soared in recent years, from nine thousand in 1980 to over sixty thousand in 2015, and Williams Elementary serves alongside many very new schools, including a third

Georgetown High School building as the one that had replaced this structure had also been outgrown. Georgetown is predicted to continue to grow over the next couple of decades and is thereby in the middle of its cycle of growth.

The "Old Bedford School" as it is known was built in 1915 as the only school building for the then-rural community of Bedford in Tarrant County, which is now firmly embedded as part of the Dallas-Fort Worth metroplex. It served all grades from its opening until 1958, and was in use as a school until 1969. In 1958, the Bedford school district consolidated with neighboring Hurst-Euless Independent School District and due to its small size the school was closed eleven years after consolidation. It subsequently served as a garage, storage, and warehouse facility for the City of Bedford until 1991 when it was severely damaged by fire. Subsequent renovations restored the school to its 1915 appearance, including the demolition of midcentury wings, removal of asbestos, and the inclusion of period-style blackboards and tin ceilings. An addition was put in to house elevators and accessible restrooms so the building is fully in compliance with the ADA. It currently houses a museum, visitor's center, meeting areas, and a 149-seat auditorium. It is used as an event space (including for weddings), various community meetings, as well as hosting cultural events like concert series and even "Murder Mystery Dinner and Show" nights. Bedford has been effectively built out as a suburb since the 1990s, and has experienced relatively little population growth in the last twenty years, signaling the likely end of its period of significant population flux.

A sense of community identity is integral to human attachment to the place and community, and such attachment is often an important indicator of a city's quality of life for its residents. The question of helping places preserve identity in the face of rapid

population growth is key as more and more Americans move to metropolitan areas and population density increases. This population shift towards the suburbs especially tends towards a certain homogeneity of cities and towns, and this potentially diminishes the national diversity of communities and ruins the qualities that native of the place value as special and which often brought the newcomers there in the first place: public spaces that confer a unique place identity, strong ties that form from overlapping social networks, rich social resources, and relationships that span generations.[5] Preserving the public spaces such as schools, even if they serve in different ways than their original purposes, may help to preserve the sense of diversity of communities even in the milieu of the metropolitan area.

Schools, in fact, may be especially important in community identity. Schools, established ostensibly to purvey an education, are also vehicles for the transmission of culture which foster the development of the individual student but also emphasize participation in the larger community as well.[6] This larger community is sometimes the entirety of the school body but at other times the school functions to represent and interact with the residents of the entire city. Cultural institutions like schools point to the roots and origins of the community, and the associations between the building and the people who experience daily life in and around the school can provide important reminders of the history of the community and its place in a broader context, helping shape its continued identity.[7] Preservation of such public buildings can help "bring out

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[5] Sonya Salamon, "From Hometown to Nontown: Rural Community Effects of Suburbanization," in *Rural Sociology* 68 (2003), 2.
[6] Danzer, 108.
[7] Ibid.

the soul of the community; it shows that the community has pride and self-awareness."[8]

Further, it may also work to attract more visitors as well as more potential residents as

well as contributing to the contentment of the current resident as people "will be attracted

to a community that seems to respect itself and to have character and individuality."[9]

This study encompasses only three of the extant historic schools within

metropolitan areas in Texas. Further, while within the constraints of breadth and time for

a thesis, participation was broad, a more thorough study could take the time to garner a

greater number of participants from all parts of the cities involved and could include a

greater number of schools. Similarly, it would be interesting to study urban and rural

historic schools to examine if similar relationships to community identity might be found

in those other types of communities. The primary limitations for this study consisted of

time to survey residents of the communities and the number of case studies manageable

within a thesis-length work. A comparative model including a study of a community

whose school is not accessible to the public and these communities which have kept their

historic schools generally publicly accessible might also yield interesting results and new

conclusions.

Communities undergoing or which had undergone intense population increases

within metropolitan areas were chosen for this study in order to examine the effect of

rapid growth upon community identity and what a community may do to offset some of

that effect. Spurred by a childhood and adolescence spent in the outer suburbs of

Chicago, watching large numbers of new residents arrive in neighboring communities

such that a resident of Plainfield, Illinois in 1990, when the population was less than

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[8] Arthur P. Ziegler, Jr. & Walter C. Kidney, *Historic Preservation in Small Towns: A Manual of Practice* (Nashville, TN: American Association for State and Local History, 1980), 5.
[9] Ziegler & Kidney, 4.

5,000 might not recognize it by 2010 when the population had reached nearly 40,000. The school district grew even more rapidly than did the village proper: it serves not only Plainfield but also parts of Joliet, Romeoville, Crest Hill, Lockport, Bolingbrook, and unincorporated areas in both Will County and Kendall County, whose populations grew notably in the 1990s and 2000s. A school district which had only five total schools in 1990 now has thirty.[10] Unfortunately, a study of historic schools in Plainfield was not feasible since the former buildings seem to be no longer extant. The current building of Plainfield Central High School sits on the original campus of Plainfield High School, but the building dates from 1992, as the former school was destroyed by an F5 tornado – the only such ever recorded to hit the Chicago area – on Tuesday, August 28, 1990 just after 3 p.m. For the long-time residents of the area, it is indelibly marked as a touchstone in history since "out of the rubble" rose the new rapidly-growing Plainfield, but also since it was the day before classes were to start so only the football & volleyball teams were in the building at the time it was struck.[11] The new high school, built to house a luxurious 2,000 students – a little less than double the number needed at the time – opened in 1992, and by 1998 was so full as to require a relief high school to be built in the district, and today there are four high schools within the district. Very little of what once made Plainfield remains today, and there is nothing to distinguish Plainfield proper from the surrounding cities served by the district.

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[10] Information from Plainfield Community Consolidated School District at http://www.psd202.org/pages/PlainfieldSD202, accessed 29 Sept 2016

[11] Although twenty-nine people died in that tornado, only three were at the high school but estimates of likely casualties had the tornado struck just one day later when school was in session and a thousand students were present along with faculty and staff, provided a 'narrow miss' that is also embedded in many long-time residents' minds.

Plainfield supplied one more limitation to the study, perhaps inadvertently: to study how schools and community identity interact, it seemed most helpful to study a city with a school district wholly unto itself at the time of the historic school's construction and use as a school. Further, it was decided to look at multiple metropolitan areas undergoing significant growth, but in order to keep the relevant laws as identical as possible to aid comparisons, those had to be within the same state. This limited which states might be used, and the institution of county-wide school districts in much of the Southeast during integration efforts interfered with the identification of a particular school to residents of a unique city. This left, essentially, California and Texas as the most accessible states to examine and California's districting system is far more complicated and rarely follows city boundaries, and thus Texas was selected for the study.

The thesis begins in Chapter Two with an introduction to the relevant theories regarding place attachment and community identity which the study looked to find in residents of the three cities, especially as it related to the preservation of the historic school. It explores the major components of these ideas, the importance of them within human communities, and how they may be affected by demographic changes in the population of a place. Chapter Three examines the history of metropolitan sprawl into surrounding areas and extant communities, what this thesis generally calls suburbanization, and the effects that can be seen on communities that undergo such – often rapid – population growth. Chapter Four provides a brief overview of the history of public education in Texas in order to provide a context for the history of the three schools and their uses as educational institutions as well as some of the reasons that changes

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occurred. Chapter Five is a brief history of school architecture, addressing the particular

hallmarks of certain eras and what one might expect to encounter in any attempt to

preserve or adaptively reuse a historic school building. Chapter Six specifically

examines the process of adaptive reuse of historic schools, including the various

problems and limitations in the ability to do so but also to provide examples of some of

the myriad new uses to which historic schools may be put while also maintaining the

historic integrity of the structure so as to be in compliance with the Secretary of the

Interior's *Standards*. Chapter Seven describes the cities and the schools for each case

study, and analyzes the results of the community surveys as well as the interviews with

the organizations responsible for the school's preservation and its new uses. Finally,

Chapter Eight concludes with final assessments of the importance of historic preservation

more broadly but also especially of these historic schools to the maintenance of a unique

community identity in these cities undergoing population growth and demographic

changes.

CHAPTER 2

PLACE ATTACHMENT & BONDING IN COMMUNITY IDENTITY

According to David Seamon, Professor of Architecture and environment-behavior researcher at Kansas State University, place can be defined as "any environmental locus in and through which individual or group actions, experiences, intentions, and meanings are drawn together spatially."[12] To the lay person, this definition may not be all that helpful, since it is quite broad. That broadness is intentional because place can have the scale of a single room to a large region, even a nation-state may be referred to as a single place. It is important to note, though, that in this definition of place the physical environment is not separated from the people who experience that environment. In fact, much of what constitutes "place" and human attachment thereto consists of the normally unnoticed phenomena of individuals and/or groups interacting with and within the environment.

The simple fact is that humans and their environment are integrally intertwined. Place, with all its meanings and attachments, are the result of human experience and as such shift over time. This shift may be significant, it may be minuscule, but nonetheless, experience and time alter understanding of place. The idea of place is powerful, however, because it offers a way to articulate the whole experience of the everyday world

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[12] David Seamon, "Place Attachment and Phenomenology: The Synergistic Dynamism of Place," in *Place Attachment; Advances in Theory, Methods, and Applications*, eds. Lynne C. Manzo and Patrick Devine-Wright (New York: Routledge, 2014), 11

of taken-for-granted bits of life which normally lay beneath notice.[13] Humans become

attached to places for many reasons. Some places are the scene of one or more major life

events, but most of the time, people become attached to their environment simply through

day to day interactions that are not themselves particularly noteworthy but acquire

through repetition and habit not only great value to a person but also may be involved in

a particular sense of identity.

Place attachment then is interdependent with other aspects of place, including

geographical and cultural qualities, relative rootedness in place, degree of personal and

social involvement, quality of life, environmental aesthetics, and individual and group

identity with place.[14] The environment and the people who inhabit it engage in a

reciprocal relationship in which they simultaneously impel and sustain each other. Some

places become important areas of interpersonal and communal exchange, meaning, and

attachment through the interaction of individual routines rooted in that particular

environment. These everyday habitual routines happening in a specific location are an

important foundation then for long-term involvement and identity with place, sustaining

feelings of attachment to that place.[15]

Many times, place attachment is a predominantly unnoticed part of one's life.

Most of the experiences which make up daily life quickly come to pass without one's

notice, after all. If one feels completely at home and immersed in a place, so much that

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[13] See Linda Finlay, *Phenomenology for Therapists: Researching the Lived World* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011); Carl Friedrick Graumann "The Phenomenological Approach to People-Environment Studies" in eds. Robert B. Bechtel and Arza Churchman, *Handbook of Environmental Psychology* (New York: Wiley, 2002); and David Seamon, *A Geography of the Lifeworld* (New York: St. Martin's, 1979)
[14] Seamon, "Place Attachment", 12.
[15] See Ray Oldenburg, *The Great Good Place: Cafes, Coffee Shops, Bookstores, Bars, Hair Salons and Other Hangouts at the Heart of a Community*, Second Edition (New York: Marlowe, 1999); David Seamon and Christina Nordin, "Marketplace as Place Ballet: A Swedish Example", in *Landscape*, 24 (1980): pp 35-41.

the importance of that place in the person's everyday life is taken for granted completely, it is only when the place is changed in some dramatic way that the sentiment attached becomes noticeable. Those changes, then, can cause a person to experience some degree of emotional distress. This emotional distress may express itself as sadness, regret, worry, depression, anger, fear, or grief.[16] Unfortunately for many people and many communities, because attachment is so commonly taken for granted, members of the community often realize the importance of a particular place to themselves and the community too late to preserve it.

Seamon lists six interconnected processes that contribute to either supporting or eroding the level of attachment to a place: place interaction, place identity, place release, place realization, place creation, and place intensification. The first, place interaction, involved the more or less regular actions, behaviors, situations, and events which occur in that particular place. These are the major engine through which users carry out their everyday lives in a place and by which the place gains activity and a sense of environmental experience. This interaction forms the foundation for a personal attachment to the place. If these interactions become fewer or destructive in some way, whether due to nuisance, conflict, inefficiency, etc., then the attachment to that place can be significantly, even completely, undermined.[17] The second process, place identity, occurs when people living in or associated with the place take it up as a significant part of their world. It becomes an integral part of their personal and community identity and

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[16] See Marc Fried, "Continuities and Discontinuities of Place" in *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 20, (2000), pp. 193-205; Mindy Thompson Fullilove, *Root Shock: How Tearing Up City Neighborhoods Hurts America and What We Can Do About It* (New York: Ballatine Books, 2005) *passim*; Eric Klinenberg, *Heat Wave: A Social Autopsy of Disaster in Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), *passim*; Eva-Maria Simms, "Children's Lived Spaces in the Inner City," in *Humanistic Psychologist*, 36 (2008): pp. 72-89.
[17] Seamon, "Place Attachment," 16; see Fullilove, Klinenberg, and Simms, *passim*.

even self-worth. These persons come to feel a part of the place and that the place is a part

of them. This process can subsequently be undermined in similar ways to the first

process, but perhaps most commonly by physical isolation from the place.[18] Place

release, the third process, involves the build-up of unexpected encounters and events

within the environment which "release people more deeply into themselves".[19] These

experiences, and the associated emotions, can be both negative and positive, and have a

resulting effect on attachment to the place. Place realization is a process whereby the

environmental ensemble comes together with the human activities and attached meanings

cumulatively evoke a distinctive character to the place. This character may seem as real

as the humans who inhabit a place, creating a "unique phenomenal presence as

substantive as its environmental and human parts."[20] A place, then, which one might

logically think inanimate and thereby incapable of personality or character, often acquires

such in the sentiment of those who know and appreciate the place. Place creation is a

conscious act undertaken by people who envision and make shifts in policy, planning,

and design to enhance the preceding four processes – it is a defined series of actions

intended to make, preserve, or enhance the sense of specificity of place.[21] Similarly,

place intensification utilizes the power of well-crafted policy, design, and fabrication to

revive and strengthen a unique sense of place. This can include physical and spatial

changes intended to reconfigure human actions and experiences to contribute to the

character and perception of the place.[22] Some decisions, such as an emphasis on auto-

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[18] Seamon, "Place Attachment," 17
[19] Phrase place release used from Seamon, "Place Attachment", 18. See Jane Jacobs, *The Life and Death of Great American Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961)
[20] Seamon, "Place Attachment", 18
[21] Christopher Alexander, *The Battle for the Life and Beauty of the Earth: A Struggle Between Two World-Systems* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012)
[22] Seamon, "Place Attachment", 18

dependent low-density suburban development which separates functions and inhibits a

pedestrian presence and interpersonal encounters can have the inverse effect of

decreasing attachment to and identifying with place.[23]

These six processes most often all work together; especially in recent decades as

city planning has become more prominent in the growth of communities. In well-utilized

and well-liked places, all six processes are typically present. They become involved in an

often unpredictable give-and-take over the course of many years. No one of the six

processes is more important than the others. All contribute to the modes and intensity of

an individual's and/or community's emotional bonds with a physical environment.

Seamon refers to this interaction of the processes as a "robust environmental synergy."[24]

The bonds thereby created in the people who experience that place develop into feelings

that may range from disinterest, a death knell for preservation, to a willingness to defend

the place, sometimes to go to great lengths to preserve it.[25] Most often, these lengths

involve financial and time commitments in the realm of historic preservation, but in the

larger scale of attachment to places, humans have even been willing to risk injury and

even death to protect a place to which they held particular attachment.

The process of bonding is central to the human experience, and these meaningful

connections can be formed with particular people, groups, objects, and places. These ties

secure and situate people in their broader social and physical environments. These

attachments also connect people to the past and can influence their future behaviors.

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[23] Bill Hillier, *Space is the Machine: A Configurational Theory of Architecture* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1996), *passim*.

[24] Seamon, "Place Attachment", 19

[25] See Edward Relph, *Place and Placelessness* (London: Pion, Ltd., 2008 reprint, originally published 1976); Edward Relph, "A Pragmatic Sense of Place" in *Environmental and Architectural Phenomenology*, 20 no. 3, (2009): pp. 24-31; and Shmuel Shamai, "Sense of Place: An Empirical Measurement" in *Geoforum,* 22 no. 3 (1990): pp. 347-358

Humans' love for particular places has long been accepted as a prevalent part of human history and culture. A love of one's homeland or nation-state has motivated people since at least the earliest periods of history, spurring wars as well as more peaceful rivalries that spawned the Olympics and in more recent times a variety of other international competitions. Many of those who went to war throughout history were spawned by attachments much closer to home. These important ties are also reflected in the many references to such devotions found throughout literature. Nonetheless, behavioral scientists only started studying person-place bonds systematically in the mid-twentieth century.[26] Thus, the relationship of people to places is a relatively new field of study, particularly the relationships between people and historic places.

Researchers have begun to map these attachment processes that link people to places. One of the hallmark interpersonal processes is known as "proximity seeking" which has been definitively linked to places. This is primarily expressed through repeated visits to a place or by electing specifically to live in that place.[27] Proximity may also be achieved symbolically however, for example by including familiar landscape elements, place names, building design and use, and even interior decoration schemes.[28] There are myriad examples of this throughout the United States, as immigrants from

[26] Leila Scannell and Robert Gifford, "Comparing the Theories of Interpersonal and Place Attachment," in *Place Attachment; Advances in Theory, Methods, and Applications*, eds. Lynne C. Manzo and Patrick Devine-Wright (New York: Routledge, 2014), 24.

[27] See Lars Aronsson,"Place Attachment of Vacation Residents: Between Tourists and Permanent Residents" in C. Michael Hall and Dieter K. Müller, eds., *Tourism, Mobility, and Second Homes: Between Elite Landscape and Common Ground* (Clevedon, Somerset, UK: Channel iew Publications, 2004), pp. 75-86; Sanjoy Mazumdar & Shampa Mazumdar, "Religion and Place Attachment: A Study of Sacred Places," in *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 24 (2004): pp. 385-97.

[28] See Jeffrey S. Smith & Benjamin N. White, "Detached From Their Homeland: The Latter-Day Saints of Chihuahua, Mexico" in *Journal of Cultural Geography*, 21 (2004): pp. 57-76; Tim Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2004), *passim*.

around the world – though predominantly Europe – have brought with them a variety of place names, building designs, and other reminders of their home places.

In most cases, these places to which one is attached provide a sort of safe haven where one can retreat from threats, problem-solve, and gain emotional relief from various stresses and strains. Thus, proximity-seeking can provide both safety and comfort, much as it serves in interpersonal relationships. These specific places, through this function, can significantly enhance the quality of life.[29] This safe-haven function may be especially important among marginalized groups and individuals who must cope with numerous stressors in their daily life.[30] When the person-place bounds are disrupted, separation stress occurs, again not dissimilar to interpersonal relationships. These disruptions can be caused by perceived threats to the place, potential separation from it, and/or actual separation.[31] Many examples have been studied, beginning prominently with displaced residents from Boston's West End in the mid-twentieth century. Most of the displaced persons expressed grief as their strongest emotional reaction to their forced move. Similarly, those displaced by Hurricane Katrina experienced acute stress disorder, anxiety, and depression.[32]

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[29] See S.A. Shumaker & R. B. Taylor, "Toward a Clarification of People-Place Relationships: a Model of Attachment to Place," in Nickolaus R. Feimer & E. Scott Geller, eds., *Environmental Psychology: Directions and Perspectives* (New York: Praeger, 1983): pp. 219-56.

[30] See Fried, "Continuities and Discontinuities,"

[31] See Patrick Devine-Wright, "Rethinking NIMBYism: the Role of Place Attachment and Place Identity in Explaining Place-Protective Action," in *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 19 (2009): pp. 426-441; Miriam Billig, "Is My Home My Castle? Place Attachment, Risk Perception, and Religious Faith," in *Environment and Behavior*, 38 (2006): pp. 248-65; Mindy Thompson Fullilove, "Psychiatric Implications of Displacement: Contributions From the Psychology of Place," in *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 153 (1996) pp. 1516-1523.

[32] See Marc Fried, "Grieving for a Lost Home" in Leonard J. Duhl, ed., *The Urban Condition: People and Policy in the Metropolis* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1963): pp. 124-52; David M. Abramson,T asha Stehling-Ariza, R. M. Garfield, & Irwin Redlener, "Prevalence and Predictors of Mental Health Distress Post-Katrina: Findings from the Gulf Coast Child and Family Health Study," in *Disaster Medicine and Public Health Preparedness*, 2 (2008): pp. 77-86.

Attachments have been observed for a variety of place types, ranging from continents and countries down to specific rooms in a building. Not all attachments are to places that one has personally experienced, and many times people can be attached to a place in which they have spent only a small amount of time. Many of these places are connected to an individual's sense of history or are considered spiritually significant: consider a Roman Catholic's possible, even likely, attachment to St. Peter's Basilica in the Vatican even if she/he has never journeyed to the place itself, or the numerous attachments of adherents of the Abrahamic religions to the city of Jerusalem, even if those individuals may never see that city in person. Similarly, one might expect significant upset if an important place in history was threatened, such as Independence Hall in Philadelphia or the Old North Church in Boston, even if many people thusly upset had no connection to those places outside of their American citizenship.[33] Attachment to imaginary places has even been observed in some studies, as well as attachments to a generic type or class of place rather than to a specific place.[34]

Attachments are usually strongest when the given place is of particular environmental quality, such as those with unusual natural elements, distinctive physical terrain, or unique urban design. If the physical features resemble those of places from childhood or one's native country that too can cause stronger bonds to develop.[35]

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[33] Just such a threat to Mount Vernon, home of George Washington, helped to spawn the earliest aspects of the historic preservation movement in the United States – a nation which at the time was not yet eight decades old, but had possessed from early days a sense of its own importance in regards to the 'great experiment' of its government.

[34] See Orestis Droseltis & Vivian L. Vignoles, "Towards an Integrative Model of Place Identification: Dimensionality and Predictors of Intrapersonal-level Place Preferences," in *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 30 (2010): pp. 23-34; Roberta M. Feldman, "Settlement Identity: Psychological Bonds with Home Places in a Mobile Society," in *Environment and Behavior*, 22 (1990): pp. 183-229

[35] See Igor Knez, "Attachment and Identity as Related to a Place and Its Perceived Climate," in *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 25 (2005): pp. 207-218; Maria M. Ryan & Madeleine Ogilvie, "Examining the

Prominent social 'features' also play an important role in place bonds: having numerous friends and participation in community activities are an important part of building and maintaining bonds with the place.[36] Thus, notable social meeting places often become places to which people are strongly attached, whether those are schools, churches, downtown business districts, or parks, etc. One possibly could argue that even attachment to one's home or former home may be strongly based on the social element of family life.

Many people think that only long-term residents become attached to places and that among the highly mobile population places have less meaning. This is important for Americans, as in many ways Americans are a notably mobile population. According to a Pew Research study, 63% of Americans have moved to a new community at least once in their lives.[37] Still, the majority of Americans – 57% – have never lived outside of their native state, and only 15% are highly mobile, having lived in four or more states. Almost a quarter of Americans say that their current place of resident is not their "heart home" and nearly four-in-ten of those who have moved more than twice do not consider their current locale to be home. The most common reasons people identify another place as home is that it is where they were born and/or raised, where they lived the longest, or where their family is from. Notably, though, only 40% of those who cite someplace other than their current place of resident as being home would prefer to move back to their

Effects of Environmental Interchangeability with Overseas Students: A Cross Cultural Comparison," in *Journal of Marketing and Logistics*, 13 (2001): pp. 63-74
[36] See Fried, "Grieving for a Lost Home"; John D. Kasarda & Morris Janowitz, "Community Attachment in Mass Society," in *American Sociological Review*, 39 (1974): pp. 328-339
[37] D'Vera Cohn and Rich Morin, "Who Moves? Who Stays Put? Where's Home?" Pew Research Center, (17 December 2008): p. 1. Available online at http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/files/2010/10/Movers-and-Stayers.pdf Accessed 26 May 2016

home.[38] Clearly, many Americans feel a deep attachment for "home," but a growing

body of research suggests that places matter to people, even in highly mobile societies,

and that place attachment is associated with life satisfaction rather than necessarily with

long-term roots in that location.[39]

Those who have lived in multiple locales may perceive places as meaningful for

different reasons and develop different types of attachment, however. Per Gustafson

delineates the differences as being between "place as roots" and "place as routes."[40] In

this schema, roots are the traditional attachment to the home place, marked by long-term

residence and strong community bonds as well as significant local knowledge. Routes

suggest that a place may be meaningful as an expression of that person's identity and

trajectory, representing personal development, achievement, and/or personal choice.[41]

Consider the person who long dreamed of moving to a particular city and achieves that

dream – certainly one would expect that he/she would have great attachment to the place

without having lived there for a great number of years. This is what has been termed

"elective belonging," when people make deliberate choices about where to live, most

often reflecting a combination of his/her actual or aspirational lifestyle, identity, and

social class.[42] These people then develop a strong sense of attachment to the new place,

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[38] ibid

[39] Maria Vittoria Giuliani, F. Richard Ferrara, & S. Barabotti, "One Attachment or More?" in Gabriel Moser, Enric Pol, Yvonne Bernard, Mirilia Bonnes, Jose Antonio Corraliza, and Maria Vittoria Giuliani, eds., *People, Places, and Sustainability* (Seattle: Hogrefe and Huber, 2003): pp. 111-22; Per Gustafson, "Roots and Routes: Exploring the Relationship Between Place Attachment and Mobility" in *Environment and Behavior*, 33 (2001): pp. 667-86; Per Gustafson, "More Cosmopolitan, No Less Local: the Orientations of International Travellers" in *European Societies*, 11 (2009): pp. 25-47; Maria Lewicka, "On the Varieties of People's Relationships with Places: Hummon's Typology Revisited" in *Environment and Behavior*, 43 (2011): pp. 676-709; Gabriele Pollini, "Elements of a Theory of Place Attachment and Socio-territorial Belonging," in *International Review of Sociology* 15 (2005): pp. 497-515; Mike Savage, Gaynor Bagnall, & Brian J. Longhurst, *Globalization and Belonging* (London: Sage Publications, Ltd., 2005).

[40] Gustafson, "Roots and Routes"

[41] ibid

[42] Savage, et al, 54.

though they more often refer to aesthetic or quantifiable qualities of the place to explain

their attachments, while long-term residents depend more upon local social contexts.

Gustafson contrasts this with "dwelling," in which a person has spent all or most of one's

life in that place, making their residence there often an inactive choice and many take for

granted the qualities of the place, and also with "nostalgia" in which long-term residents

may be attached to the past of the place but no longer feel at home there because of the

arrival of newcomers, many times newcomers of different socio-economic status or

cultures, a resultant change in the place.[43]

    People who have significant place attachment may also be divided into three

general categories: those who are rooted in place, those tied to the place, and those who

are mobile but attached. Those rooted in place are highly integrated into the local

community, remain in their community by choice, and develop and maintain a strong

attachment. Those tied to a place express negative feelings about the place and have

weaker social bonds within the community, but lack the resources or opportunities to go

elsewhere. Those mobile but attached have left their home place but maintain strong

emotional bonds with the place despite no longer residing there.[44] People may also have

significant non-attachment, which Professor of Social Psychology at the University of

Warsaw Maria Lewicka further separates into those experiencing alienation from a place,

expressing explicitly negative attitudes towards one's current place, as well as

placelessness which involves a general indifference to place. Finally, many people,

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[43] Mike Savage, " The Politics of Affective Belonging" in *Housing, Theory and Society*, 27 (2010): pp. 115-61

[44] Holly R. Barcus and Stanley D. Brunn, "Towards a Typology of Mobility and Place Attachment in Rural America" in *Journal of Appalachian Studies*, 15 (2009): pp. 26-48

especially in transition, are ambivalent about a place and offer only provisional

acceptance of the place into their lives and identity, a situation called "place relativity".[45]

While people can be attached to places to which they have moved, residence

duration is one of the most consistent predictors of place attachment.[46] In the majority of

studies, however, its explanatory value is moderate at best, so varying levels of

attachment among residents of a locale must be explained by other factors. A sense of

continuity can also be achieved, in fact, in places where one has not lived very long. In

many cases, this is done by some symbolic or vicarious means involving an intentional

focus on the past. This past may be one's own, one's family's, or that of the place itself.

In this way, a newer arrival makes herself a part of the long history of the place. A

conscious focus on the past, then, can help restore a disrupted place continuity especially

among mobile individuals.[47] Perhaps this longing for a sense of history and of one's

place has also fueled an increasing interest in genealogy and other forms of what

historians call 'hobby history'. People are not looking for a broader truth, as a

professional historian often does, but instead looking for a way to situate themselves in

their community and their life.

Many of a person's memories are closely tied to the place in which the

remembered event occurred. Childhood memories, especially, form an important source

of personal identity as well as continuity.[48] This association of memory to place also

helps explain why the longer one lives in a place the stronger the bond is likely to be: a

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[45] Lewicka, "Varieties".
[46] Maria Lewicka,"In Search of Roots" *Place Attachment; Advances in Theory, Methods, and Applications*, eds. Lynne C. Manzo and Patrick Devine-Wright (New York: Routledge, 2014), 51
[47] Lewicka, "In Search of Roots," 51
[48] Clare Cooper Marcus "Environmental Memories" in Irwin Altman & Setha M. Low, eds., *Place Attachment* (New York: Plenum Press, 1992): pp. 87-112; Igor Knez, "Autobiographical Memories for Places" in *Memory*, 14 (2006): pp. 359-77

larger series of related memories combine with the time-space routines discussed earlier to create a sense of belonging within the place.[49] Nostalgia also plays an important part in identity, and can be aided or fueled by places. Nostalgia is a key psychological tool on which individuals often rely in order to restore a sense of self-continuity which has been disrupted by major life events.[50] In this way, nostalgia helps people adapt, to put together broken parts, building a bridge between the past and the present. It can also increase self-esteem and life satisfaction, and often reinforces social ties that are important to an individual's quality of life.[51]

These connections may be particularly important in a city undergoing major transitions, including rapid growth. French historian Pierre Nora in 1989 connected the upsurge in interest in memory to the "modernity which forgets," that mobility, homogenization of culture, and other features of modernity are presumed to destroy the natural environments of memory.[52] Nora also connects modern life and culture to increased interest in history, especially family history, as people feel disengaged from their traditional roots both geographic and cultural. Even for long-term residents of a town, if the town itself is changing rapidly, they may perceive not only a threat to the community but a threat to their identity as members of the community. Community members want to preserve and know the history of their places: people consider historical places more meaningful than places deprived of history and a declared interest

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[49] Graham David Rowles, "Place Attachment Among the Small Town Elderly" in *Journal of Rural Community Psychology*, 11 (1990): pp. 103-20
[50] Dan P. McAdams, " Personal Narratives and the Life Story" in Oliver P. John, Richard W. Robins, & Lawrence A. Pervin, eds., *Handbook of Personality: Theory and Research* (New York: Guildford Press, 2008): pp. 242-62; Constantine Sedikides, Tim Wildschut, Lowell Gaertner, Clay Routledge, & Jamie Arndt, "Nostalgia as Enabler of Self Continuity" in Fabio Sani, ed., *Self Continuity* (New York: Psychology Press, 2008): pp. 227-39
[51] Lewicka, "In Search of Roots," 53
[52] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire" in *Representations*, 26 (1989): 15

in place history is consistently and strongly correlated with place attachment.[53] Timothy

Beatley, a Professor in Urban and Environmental Planning at the University of Virginia,

specializing in sustainable communities, found that "the more we understand about the

beginnings and evolution of a place, the greater importance that place will assume in our

lives. These are connections we need for our sense of groundedness and are requisite

elements in building commitments to place."[54] This sense of groundedness coming from

history may be particularly useful for those most mobile in society, but certainly it is also

important to long-term and life-long residents as well.

Research from human geographers indicates that people's bonding with places

that are meaningful to them is universal and fulfills fundamental human needs.[55] These

attachments to one's town or one's neighborhood, or even to a particular place or places

within that larger community, provide important motivations to stay in that place and to

work actively to preserve, protect, and improve that neighborhood or town.[56] For those

who have experienced such bonds, it is obvious that community attachment is primarily

based on emotional ties to places and/or to people which provide the sense of shared

community so appealing to humans. The most successful communities are not just made

up of people, but of people and places together. Disruptions to the physical structures of

a city are likely inevitable over the passage of time, especially in a rapidly growing city.

Preserving prominent parts of the city's history can play a key role in helping new and

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[53] B.L. Nowell, S.L. Berkowitz, Z. Deacon, & P. Foster-Fishman, "Revealing the Cues Within Community Places: Stories of Identity, History, and Possibility," in *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 37 (2006): pp. 29-46; Maria Lewicka, *Psychologia Miejsca*, Warsaw: Wydawnictwo, 2012, as cited in Lewicka "In Search of Roots", 54
[54] Timothy Beatley, *Native to Nowhere: Sustaining Home and Community in a Global Age* (Washington, D.C.: Island Press, 2004), 53.
[55] Relph, *Place and Placelessness*
[56] Lynne C. Manzo & Douglas D. Perkins, "Finding Common Ground: the Importance of Place Attachment to Community Participation and Planning" in *Journal of Planning Literature*, 20 (2006): pp. 335-350

old residents maintain the identity of the community. These historic buildings may no longer be able to serve the same purposes they once did, often due to the pressures of expanding population, but they can be altered to serve pertinent functions for the community. Furthermore, these historic buildings can help define the place. Places are often defined by legal boundaries and little else, especially in suburban areas where one community directly abuts another and often is of similar age and character. Historic buildings can provide some of the distinctive features and attributes that help to define the community. These social constructs of its boundaries, what belongs and what makes it unique, create a singular identity for a city in the minds of residents.[57] Houses, buildings, and streets do not create the sense of place, but if they are distinctive then that perceptual quality helps inhabitants to develop the larger place consciousness.[58] Place consciousness and singular identity in turn helps to create the sense of engagement and attachment which is important to the quality of life of community members.

In the mid-twentieth century, renowned physicist Werner Heisenberg related a conversation he had with another visitor at Kronberg Castle. The story is particularly notable for those interested in place and history, as the men involved were great scientists, men of fact and proof. In the course of this conversation, Heisenberg's companion Niels Bohr – himself a Nobel-prize-winning physicist – remarked that "isn't it strange how this castle changes as soon as one imagines that Hamlet lived here? As scientists we believe that a castle consists only of stones….None of this should be changed by the fact that Hamlet lived here, and yet it is changed completely…. No one

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[57] Gerhard Schneider, "Psychological Identity of and Identification with Urban Neighborhoods" in Dieter Frick, ed., *The Quality of Urban Life* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1986): pp. 203-218
[58] Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 171

can prove that he really lived let alone that he lived here. But everyone knows the questions Shakespeare had him ask, the human depths he was made to reveal…and once we know that, Kronberg becomes quite a different castle for us."[59] This is one of the most notable examples, perhaps, of how association with a famous past event or person can alter the meaning of a historic place for the modern visitor, because the subject – Hamlet – is both well-known and almost completely unknown. The historical figure of Hamlet is a blip in history, a name in medieval Scandinavian legends who may never have actually lived, but the character and his eponymous play by William Shakespeare is among the most famous in the English language. The castle, thereby, is imbued with significance not just from what may actually have occurred there, but by the perception of visitors and locals alike that associate the place with the famous questions posed in the play and the persistent concerns of humanity contained therein.

Places and the people associated with them need not be quite so renowned to be influential to the perception of the place and its surrounds. For many people, daily life endows nearby places with great significance and memory, changing them from a structure of brick and mortar to something far more than the sum of its parts. What begins as an undifferentiated space, in fact, only really becomes a place as we get to know it better and endow it with value according to renowned geographer Yi-Fu Tuan.[60] Place, then, becomes a type of object, defining space and giving it a geometric personality. To a new resident, a neighborhood at first is a confusion of images, but one learns to know it by identifying significant loci such as street corners and architectural

[59] Werner Heisenberg, *Physics and Beyond: Encounters and Conversations* (New York: Harper Torchbook, 1972), 51.
[60] Tuan, 6

landmarks.[61] These loci in turn give shape to the confusion and come to define it. What becomes a landmark, however, varies and can depend greatly upon the values assigned to places by residents. One of the major characteristics of human intelligence and indeed of the symbol-making nature of the human species, is that people can become passionately attached to places and use those places to help define their own identity both personally and as part of a community. Humble events can build up strong sentiments about a place.[62] At the time of the events, many of these events merely aspects of daily life as discussed earlier, people may not even realize that they are becoming attached to the place. It is only in reflection, often reflection caused by significant threat to, demolition of, or long absence from the place, does one become aware of the depths of attachment. Lasting sentiment springs from small seeds, but can change the entire experience of the place, much like associating Kronberg Castle with Hamlet changes its nature for the visitor. That school is important because one's grandfather was a member of the first graduating class, because it is where one's great-grandmother pioneered female education in the family, or because it is the site of regular nightly sporting achievements and honor won for the community. The place is a part of the person and a part which may be shared in order to unify the multitude of persons living within the city.

This focus on a physical place in relation to helping form the incorporeal concept of community stems from the belief that the qualities of places matter in determining the health and well-being of those who live and work in that place. A basic principle accepted by many sociologists is that citizen participation in and identification with their

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[61] Tuan, 17-8
[62] Tuan, 143.

place of residence is essential to creating any sustainable sense of community.[63] The characteristics of both the proximal neighborhood and the larger place convey cues to residents – and those outside – about who lives there, what behaviors are socially accepted, and who they might become. These characteristics serve a variety of functions, including as markers of personal histories, but also as manifestations of connection to the community and other residents.[64] Community landmarks become highly meaningful because they hold an important place in the communal past and in turn, the communal past informs and shapes the communal present and future. Similarly, the landmarks – like a historic school – tell both residents and visitors that the community has value and consciously values their own community. Historic landmarks especially can restore a lost sense of pride by reconnecting residents with a proud community heritage or the accomplishments of the past.[65] A place rich with evidence of pride, belonging, and possibility supported by both visible examples of achievements of the past and of today provides the people who live there with an affirmation of their membership within a community that is distinctive, important, and valuable.[66] Over time, such feelings of belonging and membership can often become tied to the physical attributes of the place and thereby, and landscape itself comes to convey a very powerful identity. In fact, one's sense of self is often in direct relationship with the physical environment, such that questions of who we are become intimately intertwined with questions of where we are.[67] For this reason, the relationship between place attachment, community identity, and the

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[63] Brenda L. Nowell, Shelby L. Berkowitz, Zdermarie Deacon, and Pennie Foster-Fishman, "Revealing the Cues Within Community Places: Stories of Identity, History, and Possibility" in the *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 37 (Mar 2006), 30.

[64] Nowell, et al, 35.

[65] Nowell, et al, 35-6.

[66] Nowell, et al, 40.

[67] John Dixon and Kevin Durrheim, "Displacing Place-Identity: A Discursive Approach to Locating Self and Other" in the *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 39 (2000), 27.

preservation of important historic buildings – perhaps especially those shared wholly by the community such as schools and courthouses – is central to understanding how to keep the unique sense of belonging that may be threatened under pressures of rapid population growth and the expansion of a metropolis.

Thus, community identity is of particular importance to historic preservation. Many people may appreciate the aesthetics of the preservation movement, but aesthetics may not motivate and interest local residents sufficiently to provide impetus for preservation action, which is often a grass-roots movement. Helping people to understand the connection between saving their public spaces – not just the pretty old house down the street – and preserving the unique sense of their community should motivate greater action for preservation. In a similar vein, city planners and local governments which recognize this connection may preemptively choose to take action to preserve these public spaces for public use, seeking to provide the best lifestyle for their constituents. Community identity and place attachment are intrinsically linked to saving those places to which many citizens feel a significant connection. All that is left is to show that local residents feel such an attachment to public spaces like historic schools.

CHAPTER 3

SHIFTING POPULATIONS AND DECENTRALIZING THE CITY

That the United States is a suburban nation sometimes surprises people. In fact, since the 1990 census, demographic data for the United States has indicated that more Americans now live in the suburbs than in urban and rural areas. This is a result of many decades of population movement from rural areas to metropolitan areas, a demographic trend that began around the turn of the twentieth century and continues in the second decade of the twenty-first century. The process of decentralizing American cities, however, began to be seen as early as the decades leading up to the American Civil War and is a process that is still ongoing.

After the decennial census of 1890, the U.S. Census Bureau declared that the frontier was closed because there was no longer any significant portion of the contiguous United States which had a population density below 2 persons per square mile. There existed small pockets of unsettled lands, but there was no longer any 'frontier' line. This declamation by the Census Bureau set off a wave of concern among many Americans that the loss of the frontier would lead to political and social unrest as American society and culture rested upon the promise of the frontier, as well as the movement of people westward, as a sort of pressure valve for the problems that urbanization had caused in Europe over the course of the nineteenth century. Subsequently, as Americans have continued to move to metropolitan areas, many parts of the former frontier have

populations that have sunk beneath the number used in 1890 to declare them settled –

including, averaged over its entire landmass, the whole state of Alaska which has less

than 1 person per square mile, and large swathes of the Great Plains, especially the

northern Plains and northern Rocky Mountain states. Western Texas also boasts some of

the least-populated counties in the nation. In 1890, the American population was just less

than 63 million persons, but by 2010 the population had grown five-fold, approaching

309 million persons.[68] Nonetheless, in 1890, that population was disseminated much

more evenly throughout the landmass of the contiguous states and territories.[69] In the late

nineteenth century, the urban areas were growing rapidly. By the 1920 census, for the

first time, Americans in rural areas were outnumbered by those in urban and outer

metropolitan areas. Over the course of the twentieth century, the metropolitan middle

ground, not the city or the farm, became the typical and even idealized residence of

Americans.

Most people associate the large-scale growth of outlying metropolitan areas with

the decades that followed the end of World War II and the start of the 'Baby Boom'.

Certainly, postwar suburbanization and sprawl has reshaped the pattern of growth in

American metropolitan areas. This is the result of many factors coming together to

generate significant urban sprawl: population growth, individual housing preferences,

higher income levels, reductions in transportation costs, and significant improvements in

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[68] Census information is available via the Census Bureau's website. 1890 census overview may be accessed at https://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/fast_facts/1890_fast_facts.html; 2010 census overview may be accessed at
https://www.census.gov/history/www/through_the_decades/fast_facts/2010_fast_facts.html.
[69] At the time of the census enumeration, Idaho and Wyoming were just being admitted into the Union (both in July 1890), Utah would be admitted as a state in 1896, Oklahoma in 1907, and finally New Mexico and Arizona both in 1912.

road networks.[70] Roughly simultaneous to these changes, American government saw

increased political fragmentation, passed certain subsidy programs, altered public

investment policies and instituted various land-use regulations which contributed to the

growth of sprawl. These factors also worked along with the physical realities of

geography and environment in many metropolitan areas.[71] Rapid decentralization of the

population in many metropolitan areas has created and continues to create many of the

challenges that face American cities today, including traffic congestion, air pollution, and

the loss of amenity benefits from open space, as well as the weakening of agglomeration

economies and economies of scale in the production of local public services.[72] The

availability of outlying communities is also renowned for inducing the movement of

populations and employment from urban areas to the more outlying areas, contributing to

increased socio-economic segregation. Often termed "white flight," this movement of

[70] See Nathaniel Baum-Snow, "Did Highways Cause Suburbanization?," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 122 (2007), 775–805; Jan K. Brueckner and David Fansler "The Economics of Urban Sprawl: Theory and Evidence on the Spatial Sizes of Cities," *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 65 (1983), 479–482; Jan K. Brueckner "Urban Sprawl: Diagnosis and Remedies*," International Regional Science Review*, 23 (2000), 160–171; Jan K. Brueckner, "Urban Sprawl: Lessons from Urban Economics," in W.G. Gale and J.R. Pack, eds., *Brookings Wharton Papers on Urban Affairs*. (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2001), pp. 65–89. Peter Mieszkowski and Edwin S. Mills "The causes of Metropolitan Suburbanization," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 7(3) (1993), 135–147; & Robert W. Wassmer, "The Influence of Local Urban Containment Policies and Statewide Growth Management on the Size of United States Urban Areas," *Journal of Regional Science*, 46(1) (2006), 25–65.
[71] See Marcy Burchfield, Henry Overman, Diego Puga, and Matthew Turner, "Causes of Sprawl: A Portrait from the Space," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 121(2) (2006), 587–633; John I. Carruthers, "Growth at the Fringe: the Influence of Political Fragmentation in United States Metropolitan Areas," *Papers in Regional Science*, 82 (2003), 475–499; John I. Carruthers, and Gudmundur F. Ulfarsson, "Fragmentation and Sprawl: Evidence from Interregional Analysis," *Growth and Change*, 33 (2002), 312–340; Matthias Cinyabuguma and Virginia McConnell, "Urban Growth Externalities and Neighborhood Incentives: Another Cause of Urban Sprawl?" *Journal of Regional Science*, 53(2) (2013), 332–348; Edward L. Glaeser and Matthew E. Kahn, "Sprawl and Urban Growth," in J. Vernon Henderson and Jacques-Francois Thisse, eds., *Handbook of Urban and Regional Economics*, volume IV (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2004) pp. 2498–2527; Therese J. McGuire and David L. Sjoquist, "Urban Sprawl and the Finances of State and Local Governments," in David L. Sjoquist, ed., *State and Local Finances Under Pressure* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2002), pp. 299–326; Wouter Vermeulen and Jan Rouwendal, "On the Value of Foregone Open Space in Sprawling Cities," *Journal of Regional Science*, 54(1) (2014), 61–69; & Jun Jie Wu, "Environmental Amenities, Urban Sprawl and Community Characteristics," *Journal of Environmental Economics and Management*, 52 (2006), 527–547
[72] Miriam Hortas-Rico, "Sprawl, Blight, and the Role of Urban Containment Policies: Evidence from U.S. Cities" *Journal of Regional Science*, 55 (2) (2015): 298.

middle and upper income populations out of cities gives rise to increasing amounts of crime, poor-quality public services, shortages of financial resources, and the lack of maintenance and reinvestment in existing urban areas, a situation generally termed urban blight as the central city, or significant parts of it, decays. This decay in turn induces further migration away from the central city.[73]

Of course, in order to discuss the history of suburbanization and metropolitanization, one must first define the terms. The most direct and simplest definition of suburbanization states that it is "a process of decentralization, with all the functional and social diversity it encompassed."[74] Perhaps a fuller idea of the process, in many areas certainly, is to say that "an entire landscape is humanized…. The limits of a settlement are no longer clearly visible. They are no longer dramatized by the discernable edges of wilderness. Henceforth the integrity of place must be ritually maintained."[75] Metropolitanization differs slightly in that it primarily refers to the amalgamation of already extant cities and towns into a sprawling metropolitan area radiating out from a formerly distinct urban center, whereas suburbanization is most often used to refer to the erection of entirely new communities on formerly rural lands. In Europe, this sort of running together of formerly distinct settlements began centuries ago, and for many Americans, the distance between places that Europeans still consider quite distinct seems shockingly small. Consider that the city centers of Liverpool and Manchester, two large metropolises in England, are just over thirty-four miles apart. The

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[73] David F. Bradford and Harry H. Kelejian, "An Econometric Model of the Flight to the Suburbs," *Journal of Political Economy*, 81 (1973), 566–589; Peter Mieszkowski and Edwin S. Mills, "The causes of Metropolitan Suburbanization," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 7(3) (1993), 135–147; Edwin S. Mills and Richard Price, "Metropolitan Suburbanization and Central City Problems," *Journal of Urban Economics*, 15 (1984), 1–17.

[74] Becky M. Nicolaides and Andrew Wiese, *The Suburb Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 8.

[75] Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 166.

distance between Dallas and Fort Worth city centers is approximately one mile less. In Texas, this is one large metropolitan area that shares a cultural identity in many ways. In England, the two cities are heated rivals with distinct and proud differences in accent, traditions, professional sports; in as many ways as residents of Dallas-Fort Worth might consider themselves separate from residents of Houston. Notably, there remains a small area of relative greenspace between Liverpool and Manchester, unlike in greater Dallas-Fort Worth, which illustrates the distinct sort of sprawling metropolitanization common in the United States that has melded together the boundaries of many communities. Divisions between one municipality and the next are often utterly invisible, the only difference perhaps that of a city line which sometimes also designates such things as school districts but even that is far from uniform. Communities, from that point, must actively work to maintain in some way, an identity separate from the larger metropolitan mass surrounding.

Generally, this sprawl of settlements surrounding a central city is popularly considered to be a post-World War II phenomenon in the United States. In fact, this was a process already at work, in small ways, before the United States existed as a political entity. In the 17th century, the eponymous Wall Street divided the urban from the rural on Manhattan Island, but soon the settlement grew beyond this designated urban area. These suburban areas eventually became part of Manhattan, of course, now the most urbanized place in the entire United States and one of the most densely populated places in the world.[76] This example also illustrates the fact that suburban is not necessarily a

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[76] The borough of Manhattan has a population density exceeding 70,000 persons per square mile, putting it within the twenty most densely populated cities in the world, if it stood alone as a city. The outer boroughs, particularly Staten Island and parts of Queens, significantly lower the density of the entirety of New York City.

permanent designation as many formerly suburban places are now thoroughly urbanized while others retain a fundamentally suburban aesthetic despite being annexed into the larger city's legal boundaries.

In many instances, it is difficult to distinguish the trend of metropolitanization from simple sprawl, the "low-density, scattered, urban development without systematic large-scale or regional public land-use planning" that plagues some metropolitan areas.[77] Sprawl results from the pressures to find places for new development in densely-populated areas. It could be heterogeneous, as development often includes such diverse land-uses as quarries, dumps, scrapyards, factories, residential neighborhoods, poorhouses, and even large 'country villas' for the wealthy. These communities, serving the needs of or reliant upon the neighboring city, existed before mass transportation. These urban-dependent outlying areas enjoyed an economy that was more diverse and a population more varied than that of any rural area but generally avoided some of the problems that plagued city centers.[78] The communities on the edge of a city were larger, denser, more urbane and faster-growing than country towns, but smaller, more specialized, and less wealthy than the city proper.[79] The finest neighborhoods in the early decades of the nineteenth century were in the city, not the edge communities. By the mid-nineteenth century, new residential commuter suburbs would join these edge communities, and the industrial age would bring not only rapid growth in urban populations, but in wider metropolitan development throughout the United States.

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[77] Robert Bruegman, *Sprawl: A Compact History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 14.
[78] Henry C. Binford, *The First Suburbs: Residential Communities on Boston's Periphery, 1815-1860* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1985), 2.
[79] Binford, *First Suburbs*, 8-9.

The origins of the elite residential suburbs within the United States can be traced to the years following the War of 1812, which solidified American independence despite narrowly avoiding defeat thanks to Napoleon's machinations in Europe, though the war did little else besides make Andrew Jackson, perhaps regrettably, famous. These urban-dependent settlements were characterized by low population density, high levels of home ownership, the absence of low-income households, and long commutes to work. In New York, many of these early municipalities were in Kings County and required ferries across the East River into Manhattan. By the 1840s, though, commuter rail lines became the primary mode of transport that underpinned metropolitan development.[80] Glendale, Ohio, just outside Cincinnati which was then one of the largest and fastest-growing of American cities, is considered the first picturesque suburb in the United States. It was platted in 1851 and was also the first development to use the 'naturalistic' plan of curvilinear streets to follow the site's geography rather than enforcing a grid pattern.[81] In the last decades of the nineteenth century, Chicago was the fastest-growing city in the world, and in 1869, Olmsted, Vaux, and Company designed a picturesque suburb to its west, Riverside, which became highly emulated in its design well into the twentieth century.[82] These suburbs established a distinct lifestyle in some ways, as during this period American culture increasingly embraced the idea of separate spheres – that is, that the domestic sphere was the bastion of the feminine sex and the public sphere should be the realm of the masculine sex. Since these suburbs were highly residential, life revolved within and around the domestic sphere, and during the day, the adult population was

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[80] Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 6-11.
[81] National Register Bulletin, Suburbs, Introduction, available online at www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/suburbs/intro.htm Accessed 5 Jul 2016.
[82] Anne D. Keating, *Building Chicago* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 1988), 14.

disproportionately female. In many ways, the early suburbs were designed by men who wanted to escape the ills of urban life, but became dominated by women. In fact, as historian John Stilgoe argues, many of the residents – especially the women – "looked not up to the city, but down upon it."[83] In this, one can even see the origins of the current stereotypical suburban lifestyle, dominated by the infamous "soccer mom," and revolving around family life for those who can afford to live away from the moral and physical dangers of the city.

Not all communities near a major city were elite or residential, however, and their growth is perhaps better covered under the term metropolitanization. Particularly as the rail lines radiated from cities and made transport exponentially faster, city-dependent settlements came to include farming communities, industrial sites, even institutional and leisure centers for the metropolitan population. Daily trains brought fresh farm produce into the cities, supplying the needs of the residents, as well as bringing in the raw materials that built the city's infrastructure and buildings. Stockyards and other industries grew along the rail lines leading into the cities as well, many of them taking advantage of relatively rapid transport to the city center and the cheaper cost of land and development outside the urban center.[84] Industrial suburbs, like Pullman – now part of the City of Chicago – were developed by the latter nineteenth century to provide housing and communities for workers living within close proximity of their employment outside the city center. These developments were not unlike the company towns in more rural mining districts, with everything owned by the company and provided by the company.

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[83] John R. Stilgoe, *Borderland: Origins of the American Suburb, 1820-1939* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988), 26.
[84] These trends are discussed at great length in William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis* (New York. NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 1992)

Metropolitan areas were also shaped by the ease of city dwellers traveling on short trips out of the city, on Sundays and by the early twentieth century increasingly on Saturdays as well, to enjoy the more bucolic settings of the 'countryside' or to reach leisure spots developing outside the established center.[85] Rail line metropolitan development, notably, resulted in visible rural gaps between the towns, as the development clustered at train stops, in most parts of the country five to ten miles apart, with infill coming later when other forms of transport began to predominate.

While the number of municipalities and population within metropolitan areas continued to grow in the decades surrounding the turn of the twentieth century, urban infrastructure and organization became increasingly important. The development of large areas of land adjacent to urban areas has depended upon a dynamic set of factors since at least the later years of the nineteenth century, including technological innovation, changes in production and land-use conversion[86]. Over the period from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, Americans' homes became quite literally attached to the sites on which they were built. Gas lines, sewers, running water, electricity, and telephone lines all came to connect the house and its residents to the community. These luxuries, later necessities, spread through the United States gradually, starting in the urban centers and though still not entirely complete in the twenty-first century, by the period following World War II even most parts of rural America had access to these public services, as well as publicly-funded schools, professionalized police and fire departments and other emergency services. For many of the smaller

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[85] These sorts of "trips out" led to the rise of the successor to the "spa town" - leisure communities such as Coney Island flourished with regular trains out from the most urbanized areas. Similar trends were seen in cities in Europe, as with the growth of leisure spots such as Brighton and Blackpool in England.
[86] James R. Elliott, "Cycles Within the System: Metropolitanisation and Internal Migration in the US, 1965-90" in *Urban Studies*, Vol 34 No. 1 (Jan 1997), 23.

communities in the growing metropolitan areas, the costs of providing those services

made accepting annexation into the larger city an attractive or even necessary

compromise, with many cities in the period subsequently expanding their legal

boundaries significantly. These annexation campaigns, often fed by economies of scale

in regards to schools, fire, police, water, sewers, electricity, and other public services, led

to Chicago's boundaries increasing by 133 square miles in 1889 alone. New York City

and Brooklyn merged two of the largest cities in the United States in 1898 to end the era

of an "air-bridged harbor that twin cities frame, while in the period 1915-1925, the City

of Los Angeles nearly quadrupled in physical size.[87] In most places, the advantage of

central cities in regards to provision of public services was waning by the 1920s, and the

annexation movement resultantly slowed.[88] That the decentralized communities

surrounding the urban center increasingly could provide equal and sometimes better

public services than the central city was only one part of the collapse of the annexation

movement: the idea of community in the smaller municipalities also fed the desire of

local residents to remain distinct from the city.[89]

Surrounding settlements became tied to the central city by transportation lines as

well as by infrastructure and services. The first electric streetcar system opened in

Richmond, Virginia in 1887. The streetcar cut travel time across cities by up to two-

thirds along its routes. By the close of the first decade of the twentieth century, more

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[87] Quote from Emma Lazarus's poem "New Colossus" known for its association with the Statue of Liberty, where a plaque bearing the words has hung since 1903 though it was written twenty years earlier during fundraising efforts to construct the pedestal of Lady Liberty. Statistics from Robert M. Fogelson, *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850-1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 223.
[88] John C. Teaford, *City and Suburb: The Political Fragmentation of Metropolitan America, 1850-1970* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 5.
[89] Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), 160-61.

than 34,000 miles of streetcar line served American cities.[90] In many of the newer-

growth cities, the streetcar lines formed the skeleton of the new parts of the metropolis

and shaped the direction of growth in outlying development as well.[91] Most development

occurred within a short walk of streetcar stops, which were much closer together than

train stops thus eliminating the gaps in development seen earlier; these municipalities

often kept much of the grid pattern of the central city, especially along the route of the

streetcar. The main route of the streetcar often hosted commercial facilities for the

community as well as growing numbers of apartment buildings rather than single-family

homes. Separated from the noise and traffic of main streets, the single-family residences

spread along side streets which connected to the heavily traveled main routes.[92]

Although streetcar use decreased as automobiles became more common starting around

the second decade of the twentieth-century, they were an important step in forming the

mass-transit systems of many American cities, though many central cities soon opted for

subways – or in the case of Chicago, the famous "L", the elevated train.[93]

Taking it at the national scale, the cities and towns surrounding the urban core

city have always been diverse in American history, but at the local level, many have long

embraced homogeneity. Residents sorted themselves along ethnic, class, and racial lines,

among other divisions. In Northern cities, race was of lesser importance due to a relative

lack of racial diversity until after the Great Migration, but many metropolitan towns still

took on a certain internal sameness along religious lines and even views on temperance,

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[90] Jackson, *Crabgrass*, 39-42.
[91] Jackson, *Crabgrass*, 118-20.
[92] National Register*, Suburbs*, available online at www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/suburbs/part1.htm Accessed 5 July 2016
[93] The first subway in the US opened in Boston in 1901, and New York soon followed with its first subway routes opened in 1904. Chicago's elevated train first started service in 1892.

as well as economic lines which often dictated how far out one could travel and how much land one could afford to acquire. By the time of World War I, the metropolitan sprawl had become a segregated collection of diverse interests: industrial and residential, Protestant and Catholic, abstainers and drinkers, each to itself within a selected community. Each of these groups also had particular goals and views on issues such as taxation, public morality, and even city planning.[94]

While it began before the American Civil War, the social trend towards metropolitanization changed significantly after World War I. Changes in immigration policies that began in the 1920s, as well as the migration of many African Americans out of the South, altered the demographics of many American cities, but the growing importance of automobiles played probably the most significant role. Commuter rail service continued to grow in most metropolitan areas, but other forms of mass transit, like streetcars, either disappeared or were amalgamated into larger – usually automotive-based – mass transit districts under the authority of local government rather than continuing as profit-driven private businesses. During the 'Roaring Twenties' the urban fringe boomed, with the outlying adjacent population growing twice as fast as urban core cities in all of the ninety-six largest metropolitan areas at the time.[95] The prosperity many Americans enjoyed during this period led to higher rates of home ownership, as well as a rapid increase in the modernization of homes, as Americans wanted modern kitchens, bathrooms, & heating, among other conveniences of the era. Technological changes in industry also made such former luxuries more affordable to middle-class families just as Henry Ford, and other manufacturers, famously worked to make automobiles available to

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[94] Teaford, *City and Suburb*, 9.
[95] Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, 175

most American families. As the number of cars increased, so did the mileage of paved

roadways. The first major federal act to establish highways was the Federal Aid

Highway Act of 1916, which funded fifty-percent of state highway construction.[96] In

1940, Los Angeles opened the Arroyo Seco Freeway, inaugurating the era of limited-

access freeways connecting the city to the suburbs.[97] From that point, in most American

cities, the automobile became the predominant way to commute into work.

The interwar years also saw a rise in the number of entirely planned suburban

communities that utilized the newest ideas from the rising profession of city planners.

These communities experimented with new forms, such as Radburn, in Bergen County,

New Jersey which incorporated some of the first culs-de-sac in the United States, a

feature that would become virtually *de rigueur* within suburban subdivisions. The

increasing influence of professional planning can be seen not just in the layout of roads

and infrastructure within both new and old communities, but also in the rise of

comprehensive planning and zoning laws during the period which regulated land use

often with the intention of protecting residential areas from disruptive or unsightly

industries or developments. New York City instituted the first zoning laws in 1916, Los

Angeles passed the first comprehensive development plan in 1925, and by the middle of

the 1930s, well over a thousand American cities had zoning ordinances which embraced

the separation of land uses. In many ways, new or at least newer metropolitan

communities were at the forefront of experimentation with restrictive land-use planning,

from subdivision regulations to health and safety ordinances to building codes governing

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[96] Larry R. Ford, *Cities and Buildings* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 233.
[97] Christopher Tunnard and Boris Pushkarov, *Man-made America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1966), 165.

the cost of new construction.[98] Some local land-use restrictions, such as in the famous

Village of Euclid v. Amber Realty Co. case of 1926, aimed at preserving the community

from lower-class families by banning multiple-family dwellings[99]. Others included

racial, religious, and ethnic exclusions despite the Supreme Court's ruling in *Buchanan v.*

Warley that such segregation violated the Fourteenth Amendment.[100] Restrictive

covenants placed on deeds in many communities or subdivisions determined the cost,

size, location, and style of housing, whether it could be multiple or single family

occupancy, as well as the race and ethnicity of owners. Those groups most often

excluded were blacks, Jews, and Catholics.[101] In certain areas of the country, there were

other 'bogeyman' groups that were targeted, such as Asians or Hispanics.

The 1929 stock market crash and subsequent Great Depression halted this period

of metropolitan growth. Nonetheless, programs passed during the New Deal era would

come to play quite significant roles in the postwar metropolitan growth boom. The

National Housing Act of 1934 brought the federal government into home financing and

indirectly into housing development. The Federal Housing Authority (FHA), established

by said act, fostered minimum standards for subdivisions as well as developed templates

for assessing the value of existing and proposed housing which linked homogeneity and

value. This in turn shaped postwar metropolitan growth, along with the decline of

industrial work and the increasing number of cars and miles of highways in the United

States. The FHA only underwrote mortgages for homes bought in white neighborhoods,

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[98] Marc A. Weiss, *The Rise of the Community Builders: The American Real Estate Industry and Urban Land Planning* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 42.
[99] 272 U.S. 365 (1926)
[100] 245 U.S. 60 (1917)
[101] Andrew Wiese, *Places of the Their Own: African-American Suburbanization in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 42.

those with stable values due to the homogeneity of the neighborhood, which also helped exacerbate the process of urban decentralization that turned the United States into a rigidly segregated society with predominantly white edge communities and minority-dominated urban areas.

The lack of new construction during the Depression and the war years combined with the rapid increase in marriages after the war and the 'Baby Boom,' led to a sharp increase in housing need in the middle of the twentieth century. Changes in construction technology and materials made housing cheaper, often by sacrificing any sort of individuality in the name of efficiency and economy. This gave rise to the stereotypical postwar suburbs which became famed for their rows of nearly identical homes. Federal policies under Eisenhower furthered these earlier trends by expanding government-backed mortgages to make home-ownership affordable for thousands of working class families, expanding subsidies for public housing, increasing the minimum wage, and funding the interstate highway system. The interstate system provided a "great tidal wave of federal money breaking over every sector of the American economy and influencing every aspect of American life."[102] The Federal Highway Act of 1956 authorized $25 billion for over 40,000 miles of highways over a twelve-year period. It remains the largest public works project in American history, and was motivated in part by fears of a postwar recession thus acting as an economic stimulus package to steady the economy.[103] All of these programs under Eisenhower promoted a "demand side" economic impulse, designed to keep the middle-class able to buy durable goods such as houses, cars, & major appliances as a pillar of the economy. Government-backed

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[102] Tom Lewis, *Divided Highways: Building the Interstate Highways, Transforming American Life* (New York: Viking, 1997), 88.
[103] Stephen E. Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, Vol. 2, *The President* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1984), 159.

mortgages and easy credit played an important role in this system, as did the particular

benefits available under the G.I. Bill that also sent unprecedented Americans to colleges,

universities, and trade schools. Most of these programs benefitted whites primarily,

aimed at those who would leave the old urban ethnic neighborhoods in favor of the

suburbs and outlying communities. [104]

The end result of these programs, along with the rise of popular television shows

that celebrated suburban life, was an increasing attention on the more picturesque

communities just outside urban centers as the 'American Dream' lifestyle. For most

white families at least, it was cheaper to buy a home farther outside the city than to rent

in most decent neighborhoods in the city, and the outlying towns offered a life centered

on the nuclear family, presenting an image of a domestic utopia for raising children in a

safe environment with good schools, open spaces for play, and social networks that

revolved around the children. For many Americans, owning a home 'in the suburbs' was

a hallmark of entering responsible middle-class adulthood when one settled down,

married, and started a family. Even the hierarchy of the streets illustrated the singular

importance of the family home in the newly planned and developed suburbs: highways

led into the community, main roads were conduits to individual subdivisions, and highly

curvilinear streets within subdivisions led to the home, offering new levels of privacy and

isolation compared to the crowded gridded neighborhoods in the city. City streets had

often been built with equal consideration of pedestrian use, but increasingly streets in the

expanding metropolitan areas were built solely to carry cars. City streets, based upon a

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[104] See work by Ira Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action Was White: An Untold History of Racial Inequality in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2006); David M.P. Freund, *Colored Property: State Policy and White Racial Politics in Suburban America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010); and Robert O. Self, *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005).

grid, allowed even strangers to navigate with relative ease, but suburban streets were intended for use by locals who knew where they were going, so the curves and culs-de sac discouraged the intrusion of strangers into the neighborhood. The crowded, boisterous city neighborhood gave way to the idyllic quiet of suburban spaces. In communities that had been existent before the metropolitan area expanded to meet their borders, some of these hallmarks are lessened or even entirely absent, since they had been organized at least in part much earlier, though even in those places many parts of the modern municipality matches suburban trends.

Between 1950 and 1990, the aggregate population of central cities in the United States decreased by seventeen percent, despite a seventy-two percent growth in population of overall metropolitan areas. Several factors play a part in the rapid growth of population in urban-dependent areas since the end of World War II, including amenity value of single-family detached residences, racial preferences, increasing urban blight, and the desegregation of schools, but a new form of transportation revolution played the most important part.[105] Nonetheless, American central cities as a group were growing throughout the period, with the population growing by fourteen percent across the nation as a whole.[106] American cities did not stagnate in the second half of the twentieth century. Instead, the adjacent populations simply grew at an even greater rate, as the federal highway system expanded massively. Originally intended, under the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1944, to create a system of highways "…so located as to connect by routes as direct as practicable, the principal metropolitan areas, cities, and industrial centers, to serve the national defense, and to connect at suitable border points with routes

[105] Baum-Snow, "Highways", 775.
[106] Baum-Snow, "Highways", 776.

of continental importance in the Dominion of Canada and the Republic of Mexico…"
over time the system increasingly considered the needs of local commuters.[107] The plan
approved in 1947, after three years of negotiating the best routes with each state, included
37,000 miles of highway to be built to the most modern interstate standards, but the
number of miles increased over the next decade, and in 1956 when Congress finally
authorized significant spending for the highway system in the Federal Aid Highway Act,
the Interstate Highway Act, and the Highway Revenue Act, they committed the federal
government to pay ninety percent of the construction of 41,000 miles of highway. The
1947 plan did not include highways intended primarily for commuting, but the 1956 plan
did.[108]   By the end of the century, virtually the entire 1947 plan had been built, as had
significant numbers of highways not included in the plan as more and more highways
intended for use by commuters were constructed.

While the new highway system was not intended to facilitate metropolitan
growth, it nonetheless caused distinct patterns of such growth. Originally conceived of as
a network of limited access roads to be utilized for defense and to facilitate interstate
trade, the highways were open to virtually all traffic and soon became preferred high-
speed routes between two points. People could live farther out from the city center and
still commute in a relatively timely manner to work, leading to more distant settlements
developing and other, formerly distinct, municipalities being brought into the
metropolitan area via sprawl. A great example of this pattern of growth can be seen in
Austin, Texas. The vast majority of residential growth in Austin since 1950 has occurred
along the route of Interstate-35, which opened in the 1950s and runs North-South through

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[107] 58 Stat. 538
[108] Baum-Snow, "Highways", 779.

the city, roughly perpendicular to the route of the Colorado River. Only in the last two decades have cities to the east and west of Austin started to grow significantly, and even now at nowhere near the numbers seen in communities along the north-south axis of the interstate. Throughout the nation, the portions of metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs) near highways built between 1970 and 1990 grew faster than other areas, with population density decreasing by 1% for each additional mile from the nearest highway. Nathaniel Baum-Snow argues that this is clear evidence that limited-access highways influence residential location patterns.[109] The same highways also allowed businesses to move out of the city center to the suburbs, so that by the early twenty-first century, many suburban residents commute to other suburbs for work rather than heading into the central city. By the turn of the twenty-first century, the majority of all Americans lived in urban-adjacent communities, and many of those worked outside the urban core as well. After World War II, Americans embraced the concept that home ownership was a sign of socio-economic attainment: to be middle-class, one owned his own home. Home ownership was generally cheaper in the outlying cities and towns, and the safety and security of these settings was sold as the ideal American lifestyle. Thus, living "in the suburbs" became a symbol of achieving middle-class status, and Americans like to consider themselves middle-class.[110]

Suburban growth and metropolitanization started primarily in the Northeast quadrant of the United States, but especially following World War II it spread rapidly to other parts of the nation as the American population shifted westward and southward.

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[109] Baum-Snow, "Highways", 788-9.
[110] Particularly in times of economic largesse, but generally, the vast majority of Americans self-classify as middle-class even when another 'class' would better match their economic reality. Several studies examine this phenomenon, as described by *The Alantic* at http://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2013/08/why-americans-all-believe-they-are-middle-class/278240/

Reflecting this trend, while Texas' population historically grew every decade, the rate of growth has spiked in the last several decades. In fact, the population of Texas has increased by approximately 20% in every decade since 1950. In total, the population within the state has more than tripled in the last six decades, far surpassing the rate of growth for the nation as a whole. This growth, mirroring trends in the nation, has centered upon Texas' metropolitan areas. In 2010, Texas boasted twenty-three MSAs with a population greater than 100,000. Using the same MSA boundaries, in 1950 Texas had fourteen metropolitan areas that exceeded 100,000 persons. At that time, not one of the Texan metropolitan areas was in the national top ten for population, and only the largest two – Dallas-Fort Worth and Houston – ranked in the top twenty. By 2010, Dallas-Fort Worth and Houston are two of the top five MSAs by population nationally, and San Antonio-New Braunfels is twenty-fifth. Population growth estimates for the period between the last decennial census and 2015 rate several Texas metro areas among the fastest growing in the nation, with Midland-Odessa coming in second nationwide and just barely ahead of Austin-Round Rock at third. Houston is the tenth-fastest growing metropolitan area nationwide. Dallas-Fort Worth and San Antonio are also experiencing a rate of growth in the double-digits. Certainly, the central cities populations are growing (only Port Arthur, in the Beaumont-Port Arthur MSA, lost population in the first decade of the twenty-first century), but in most of the fourteen MSAs that had populations over 100,000 in 1950, the majority of the population now lives in adjacent metropolitan areas rather than the urban core. Many cities in Texas annexed land and increased their geographic size as well as their populations throughout the period, as well.

Texas' four largest metropolitan areas are Dallas-Fort Worth, Houston, San Antonio, and Austin. In Dallas-Fort Worth, 56.53% of the population of 1950 resided in one of the two central cities, but by 2010, less than a third – just 30.17% - of the population of the MSA lived in either Dallas or Fort Worth. Some of the suburbs within the MSA are large enough to be fairly labeled large cities on their own: Arlington boasts more than 370,000 residents, Plano more than 270,000, while Garland and Irving both are home to more than 200,000 people. Grand Prairie, Frisco, McKinney, Mesquite, and Carrollton – all closely adjacent to Dallas – in fact also exceed the size of other 'central cities' in Texas. Most of these places are now home to far more than just 'bedroom community' subdivisions: Plano, for example, is home to the headquarters of major companies such as Dr. Pepper Snapple Group, Inc., Frito-Lay, J.C. Penney, and Pizza Hut, and the number is growing as companies like Toyota Motors USA are currently completing moves. As such, despite being connected to and in part reliant upon the Dallas-Fort Worth metropolitan area, it seems somewhat a misnomer to term such cities merely suburbs today, even if some of them began municipal life as such. In Houston, 55.04% of the metropolitan population lived in Houston proper in 1950, while 35.47% of the region's population lived in the City of Houston in 2010. Even with the increasing geographic size of Houston proper as the city annexed surrounding land, the percent of the metropolitan population within the city has decreased markedly since 1980.[111] In Austin, currently one of the fastest-growing metropolitan areas in the nation and the nation's second-largest state capital, the last decade has seen – for the first time – a population that now lives outside Austin's city limits at a slightly higher rate than within

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[111] In fact, Texas law was changed in 2000 to make wholesale annexation of surrounding communities more difficult, at least in part due to the controversial annexation of Kingwood by the City of Houston.

those limits. Of these four metropolitan areas, only San Antonio has most of its population (61.96%) living within the central city's legal boundaries. The predominant story of growth in Texas' major metropolitan areas is a story of growth in urban-adjacent communities rather than growth confined to core cities.

Growth in Texas, as in much of the 'Sunbelt', accelerated in the postwar period, although population growth in Texas had never really stagnated. Even during the Great Depression, the population grew by a respectable 10% in Texas. In the immediate postwar years, a clear trend can be seen of surrounding rural population moving to the central cities – this population condensation of the 1950s can be seen in all but one of the fourteen MSAs with more than 100,000 people in 1950. Only in Beaumont did the population roughly hold steady, and Beaumont also is the only central city in Texas whose total population has remained virtually unchanged since 1960. Some of Texas' MSAs, especially those along the Rio Grande, are more the conglomeration of multiple medium-sized cities than a product of the suburbanization of one central city. Nonetheless, the rapid expansion of these communities provides many of the same community challenges that are seen in formerly rural fringe communities that are overtaken by a spreading metropolitan population.

Many people move to the suburbs seeking an escape, or at least some form of relief, from the supposed anonymity and lack of identity of the urban masses. Many, especially those with young families, are seeking what is known as a "community effect" in their lives. A community effect is the social behavioral outcomes shaped by a community of place, generally a result of the combination of shared norms, economic

opportunities, demography, culture, history, and/or social networks with a community.[112] Unfortunately, often by sheer numbers alone the newcomers can annihilate the very community identity which they sought. Many idealize the semi-rural small town lifestyle, but do not share the cultural identity of the long-time residents of the place. Many of the newcomers, either moving from central cities or from more heavily-developed inner suburbs, bring with them certain priorities and ways of life that do not match realities of small-town life. Sonya Salamon, a research professor at the University of Texas at Dallas specializing in agricultural communities and suburbanization, points out that while these new arrivals "do not set out to 'destroy' the agrarian community where they choose to settle…their suburban priorities and focus on regional centers for all theirs wants and activities means they tend to be less engaged than oldtimers who priorities involve working, socializing, and shopping locally."[113] The influx of new people homogenizes the formerly distinct community, both physically and socially, because the suburban ideal focuses on the general ambience, peace, safety, good schools and more open spaces than it does on the unique identity and qualities of a particular place that is so precious to long-time residents.[114] As population increases and long-term ties to the community decreases in importance, the social structure shifts away from awarding status along lines of community involvement and interpersonal ties, to deriving status from home, income, and consumption in the suburbanized context. Thus, the rapid

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[112] See Alan Booth and Ann C. Crouter, eds., *Does It Take a Village? Community Effects on Children, Adolescents, and Families* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc., 2001), ix.
[113] Sonya Salamon, "From Hometown to Nontown: Rural Community Effects of Suburbanization" *Rural Sociology*, 68(1), (2003), 11.
[114] See David M. Hummon, *Commonplaces: Community Ideology and Identity in American Culture* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 199), passim.

onslaught can cost a community its unique sense of identity, turning it into what Salamon calls a "nontown" which is indistinguishable from countless other suburbs.[115]

These post-agrarian newly metropolitan communities often result from a combination of pressures from neighboring suburbanized communities and a "growth machine" when community leaders buy into growth as inherently good.[116] Prime ingredients for homogenization into the metropolitan whole include good access to high-speed transport to an urban center, good schools, rural or semi-rural ambience, and the much-advertised "small town feel".[117] New arrivals often "feel entitled to a way of life that is safe, quiet, and family-focused without understanding the volunteerism and shared values that laboriously created these social goods and resources," and many fail to establish the sort of roots and interest in the community that develops naturally among life-long or even long-term residents.[118] Many residents in metropolitan communities are effectively sojourners, who plan to remain in a place long enough to enjoy the amenity for which they chose to alight in that place – such as good schools – but when it is no longer needed, they leave and find another place that suits their new needs or desires. Even those who reside in a community for several years, or more, are not as interconnected within the community as those who intend it to be, effectively, their 'forever' home. Salamon argues that the effects of suburbanization can be clearly seen in a community: "streets are empty, main street is gentrified, childrearing is privatized, and few public gathering spots exist."[119] For many long-term residents, and even those who

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[115] Salamon, "From Hometown to Nontown", 11.
[116] J.R. Logan and H.L. Molotoch, *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Places* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987), passim.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Salamon, "From Hometown to Nontown," 13.
[119] Salamon, "From Hometown to Nontown," 14.

move to a suburb looking for that 'small town feel', they are left facing the problem of preserving what they cherish about the community as it turns into just another sleeper-town. One way to preserve key aspects of community identity and this important sense of place may be historic preservation, concentrating especially on districts and buildings used by the entire community such as historic downtowns or historic schools which have been at the center of community life for generations.

Metropolitan growth in Texas then largely conforms to expected trends. In the systemic maturation view of urbanization, it is argued that individual metropolitan areas co-evolve as both cause and consequence of complex migratory processes that shape national settlement systems.[120] Metropolitan growth, in this understanding, occurs in three stages. The first stage concentrates economic activity and demographic growth in relatively few urban centers while social and economic ties to other places strengthen, so that as the urban center develops so do the ties to other places, especially surrounding places, working to foster the development of new centers at lower ranks within the emerging urban system. The second stage sees the urban center maturing into a territorially organized subsystem characterized by overlapping processes of local concentration and regional dispersion of population. By the third stage, the metropolis has reached differentiated urbanization, with concentrated dispersion of the population to smaller adjacent cities to which proportionately more people are moving than to the original urban center.[121] This is part of the common urban life cycle, beginning with centralization in the central city, proceeds to suburbanization, eventually reaching metropolitanization as the local population deconcentrates and spreads sufficiently to

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[120] Elliott, 23.
[121] Elliott, 23-4.

amalgamate formerly independent cities and towns into one general whole as well as to create vibrant and economically diverse small cities within the metropolis: places such as Plano or Arlington in Texas or Naperville and Aurora in Illinois. The twin processes of local territorial expansion and regional concentration, fed by population growth, technological innovation, economic opportunities, and relatively decreasing costs of transport, create a sprawling metropolitan area and the locus of demographic growth shifts from the central city to the surrounding area.[122]

As Americans continue to experience this population shift, larger parts of the nation and proportionately large segments of the American people will make their homes in metropolitan areas, and it is thereby increasingly important that communities look to ways by which to make the metropolis not only as efficient as possible but as humane as possible, which includes attention to the human need for identity and the connections, discussed in Chapter Two, between community, place, and identity. Examining the relationship between preserving portions of the historic built environment and a strong community identity, as will be seen in Bedford, Georgetown, and Bartlett, illustrates that under the forces of metropolitanization it is not only possible to maintain a unique sense of place for each city but highly desirable both for local residents as well as city planners and developers looking to make their city more marketable to new growth in business and population.

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[122] Elliott, 25.

CHAPTER 4

A BRIEF HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN TEXAS

The first well-documented legal American immigrants to what is today Texas famously arrived in 1822 with Stephen F. Austin to settle an *empresario* grant that had been given by the Spanish government.[123] There were likely at least a few squatter immigrants into Texas' territory in the period immediately prior to that under the newly liberal immigration laws under the Spanish.[124] The history of schools in Texas, of course, goes back quite a bit farther than the arrival of Americans, however. The first schools in Texas, as in all the parts of the Spanish empire, were mission and parish schools. Spanish imperialism was driven not just by pursuit of riches and power but also by desire to convert as many souls as possible to Catholicism – indeed, Spanish and Mexican immigration laws included the provision that immigrants learn Spanish and practice Catholicism. Most of these early schools explicitly aimed to civilize and Christianize the native peoples and the pupils were of all ages. Early education in Texas, then, was a system of essentially parochial and mission schools that aimed more at religious instruction of whole peoples than a broad education of local youth.

Under the Mexican government, which controlled Texas between 1821 and 1836, a municipal system of education was authorized in all the states of that republic,

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[123] An empresario was a person granted the right to settle on land, and exempt from limits on land claims, in exchange for recruiting and taking responsibility for new settlers in the region.

[124] Jesus de la Teja, "The Colonization and Independence of Texas: A Tejano Perspective" in Jaime E. Rodriguez Ordonez and Kathryn Vincent, eds., *Myths, Misdeeds, and Misunderstandings: The Roots of Conflict in U.S.-Mexican Relations* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 1997), 88.

including Coahuila y Tejas, which was inspired by new education movements spreading through Europe. The northern states of Mexico, however, were generally too poor to afford to apply these new ideas of a common education for all at the municipal expense and little was done in the parts of Mexico that would become the American Southwest. Further, in the areas most densely settled in Texas, many of the settlers were Americans, who brought with them very different ideas and traditions about education. At roughly the end of the Mexican period of Texas history, an 1834 school survey recorded five municipal schools in Texas: one each at San Antonio, Brazoria, Nacogdoches, San Augustine, and Jonesboro.[125] One of the complaints that American settlers in Texas levied at the Mexican government in their March 1836 Declaration of Independence from Mexico centered on the government's failure to establish any regular public system of education. The new Texans had imported the increasingly strongly-held belief among Americans that citizens must be educated in order to participate responsibly in republican government: an uneducated and unenlightened population threatened the civil liberties and rights of the people because it undermined the ability to maintain a people's capacity for self-government.

The decades preceding the American Civil War were a period of significant change in Americans' thinking about education. In fact, many of the developments began in Europe before migrating to the United States. There was an increasing emphasis on education for all (at least all males), reflecting a greater attention to democratizing social and economic classes in the United States as part of the Jacksonian

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[125] Frederick Eby, "The First Century of Public Education in Texas" in the *Texas Public Schools Sesquicentennial Handbook* (Austin, TX: Texas Education Agency, 2004), 36. Notably, each of these five schools was located in a community within the 'American' section of Texas or in the case of San Antonio, had significant numbers of American settlers.

Era. Some of this change also had roots in the widely-published philosophy of Immanuel

Kant which highlighted the dignity of the human personality, increasing calls for

abolition of slavery following its abolition throughout the British Empire. Further, the

work of Swiss educator Johann Pestalozzi advocated that universal elementary education

was the sole route to bettering human kind. These ideas came to Texas as part of the

migration of people who rushed into the territory in the first decades of American

settlement.

Many of the earliest settlers and leaders of Texas were important advocates for

universal elementary education in the vein of Horace Mann, known as the father of the

American common school movement: men like Stephen F. Austin, Mirabeau Lamar, and

Sam Houston, as well as lesser known but still influential men like George C. Childress

and A.J. Yates. Many of the early settlers were social and cultural reformers who set out

to build a better sort of American civilization in the vast lands of Texas. In the funding

of education, as with virtually all things, Texans were rich only in land. So they founded

a public school system based on an endowment of huge tracts of lands.[126] Unfortunately,

because of the vast supply, land remained too cheap per acre for the system to work and

schools generally could not subsist on the sale of acreage set aside for the purpose.[127]

Most of the feasible early schools in Texas were instead established and conducted by

various Protestant churches – these schools include the precursors to some modern

institutions in Texas, most notably Southwestern University in Georgetown. Sectarian

rivalries between and within the Protestant denominations led to their general

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[126] Eby, 38.
[127] Ibid.

abandonment in a relatively short period of time, however, and education continued to languish in Texas.

From the mid-1830s, there was a significant influx of Germans into central Texas, which quickly played a key role in provision for public education. Germans, accustomed to public schools in their native states, became influential supporters of the movement for such schools for their children in Texas as well. Nonetheless, these ideas inevitably clashed with those of many of the Anglo-Americans who considered education to be the prerogative of the family, especially in the elementary stages. Americans remained hostile to intervention by the state in such matters, both as a matter of political principle and as an affront to personal dignity: in most of American and British history, tuition-free schooling (or rather one where the tuition was paid by an entity other than the parents) was a matter of charity to orphans and indigents.[128] Many Americans still considered that the family ought to provide education, at their expense, and only if they were unable to do so should taxes for schools be utilized. Still, there was a growing movement in Texas as well as in the United States for genuine state schools providing a common elementary education.[129]

During the period of Texan independence, several educational institutions were chartered, and seventeen actually began operation.[130] Most of these were relatively short-lived either due to financial or organizational difficulties, but the era did illustrate a growing dedication to the idea of more universal education in Texas, and the last

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[128] In fact, the original nine great 'public schools' in England were variously originally established to educate poor boys and still claim charitable status under British law as they continue to provide scholarships to a number of underprivileged students though certainly now the vast majority of students' parents are paying the full $50,000+ per annum tuition.
[129] Eby, 39.
[130] Ibid.

Congress of the Republic of Texas chartered Baylor University in 1845, making it the oldest continuously-operating tertiary institution in Texas. Notably, however, Baylor fits the pattern of being affiliated with a religious denomination – in that case, Baptists – rather than being funded by public monies.

The United States annexed Texas that same year, and in December 1845 Texas formally became a state. The new state constitution firmly declared that "a general diffusion of knowledge being essential to the preservation of the rights and liberties of the people, it shall be the duty of the legislature of this State to make suitable provision for the support and maintenance of public schools."[131] Further, the constitution made specific dedications to fund such, stating that:

> The legislature shall, as early as practicable, establish free schools throughout the State, and shall furnish means for their support by taxation on property; and it shall be the duty of the legislature to set apart no less than one-tenth of the annual revenue of the State derivable from taxation as a perpetual fund, which fund shall be appropriated to the support of free public schools; and no law shall ever be made diverting said fund to any other use; and, until such time as the legislature shall provide for the establishment of such schools in the several districts of the State, the fund thus created shall remain as a charge against the State, passed to the credit of the free common school fund.[132]

Further, the lands set aside for the funding of public schools could not be alienated by the counties, except by lease, for at least twenty years to assure the firm establishment of the schools' funding.[133] The legislature also passed special acts to authorize cities to levy taxes for free schools, such as in Galveston in 1846.[134] Galveston, by 1850 the largest

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[131] Constitution of Texas (1845), Article X Sec. 1, available online at https://tarltonapps.law.utexas.edu/constitutions/texas1845/a10, accessed 20 Aug 2016
[132] Constitution of Texas (1845), Article X Sec. 2
[133] Constitution of Texas (1845), Article X Sec. 3
[134] *Laws Passed by the First Legislature of the State of Texas* (Austin, TX: Ford & Cronican, 1846), 30.

city in Texas, hosted the first municipal public school paid for by taxes, but the system lasted only a few years.

One of the biggest challenges facing the establishment of education in Texas was the overwhelmingly rural populace. The population of Texas in 1850 included over 154,000 whites and over 58,000 slaves, with just a relative handful of free blacks – just under 400. Nonetheless, Galveston was the largest city with just over 4,000 persons. Texans lived in scattered settlements and farms, usually near the navigable rivers such as the Red, Sabine, and Brazos, or along the Gulf Coast such as the bayou of Houston, in Corpus Christi or in Galveston. After the Mexican-American War, which ended in 1848, settled the issue of whether Texas was legitimately part of the United States and which river marked its southern boundary, settlers poured in and the population increased to over 600,000 by the dawn of the American Civil War. Still, the largest single municipality was San Antonio, which had just over 8,000 residents; only ten places had a population exceeding or even approaching 2,000 residents. The top ten accounted for about 40,000 Texans, or about 6.67% of the population, meaning that over 90% of Texans lived in places with less than 2,000 residents. Such small numbers of taxable residents made tax-supported schools tenuous – a problem that rural areas of Texas have continued to suffer even into the twenty-first century.

Another significant challenge was the changing origins of arrivals in Texas in the decade leading up to the Civil War. Many of the newer arrivals were Southerners, who brought with them distinctly Southern ideals of industry, farming, society, government, religion, and education. Many of the prominent earliest Texans had Northern roots or were educated in the North. In the case of Stephen Austin, for example, he was a native

of the Upper South but was educated in Connecticut before briefly attending

Transylvania University in Kentucky. This educational cultural conflict among the

American Texans coincided with the ethnographic culture clash with the native Tejanos

who had still another set of traditional practices and values reflecting the old traditions of

Tejas and northern Mexico with most schools religiously supported and associated with

the Catholic Church. Many well-to-do Texans continued to send their children to be

educated in more settled parts of the nation – a long-standing tradition among residents of

the American frontier states and territories – but the expense of such kept those of less

affluent means from being able to rely on that mode of providing a good education and

cultural values of the time generally kept daughters from being sent away from home

unless she was sent to reside with close family back East.

Among the influential early settlers in Texas were men like Andrew J. Yates and

Ashbel Smith. Yates advocated a highly centralized system of education for Texas, quite

similar to that of New York state. He was born in 1803 in Connecticut, graduated from

Union College in Schenectady, and worked as a college professor in New York before

moving to Texas in 1835.[135] He lived in Liberty until 1841, then in Galveston before

moving to California in 1851. Prior to his departure for California, he submitted to

Governor Lamar his plan for a new education system in Texas and helped shape the

municipal school in Galveston.[136] Smith, another native of Connecticut, was born in

1805, graduated from Yale, earned his medical doctorate in 1828 and studied medicine

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[135] Amelia W. Williams, "Andrew Janeway Yates" in *The Handbook of Texas Online*, published by the Texas State Historical Association, available at https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fya02 accessed 8 August 2016.
[136] Ibid.

further in Paris for a year, before returning to the United States.[137] He worked briefly in

North Carolina before settling in Texas in 1837. He helped to organize and found the

first hospital in Houston – among other important beneficent organizations – and later

helped found the Texas Medical Association in 1853. During the Republic, he acted as a

diplomat for Texas in Britain and France, and under the American government served in

the state legislature for various tenures from the 1850s to the 1870s. He was a major

advocate of state funding for the education of every child, including girls and blacks,

helping to established what is now Prairie View A & M University as well as the Stuart

Female Seminary in Austin.[138] He served on the University of Texas' Board of Regents

and was an early president of said board. He was particularly known as well for his

experiments and innovations in agriculture and ranching, having represented Texas at the

Crystal Palace exposition in London in 1851.[139] Sometimes known as the "father of

Texas medicine" and alternately as the "father of the University of Texas", Smith's

promotion of state-funded elite education in Texas has, over time, born ripe fruit indeed.

Other important figures in the early years of Texas's educational foundations included

Brown University alumnus the Reverend James Huckins, Dr. Anson Jones from

Massachusetts, and Governor Elisha M. Pease from New Jersey, who while governor of

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[137] Elizabeth Silverthorne, "Ashbel Smith" in *The Handbook of Texas Online*, published by the Texas State Historical Association, available at https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fsm04 accessed 8 August 2016.
[138] The former is a historically black university in Prairie View, Texas outside Houston, and the latter institution, informally aligned with the Presbyterian denomination, closed in 1899 after three decades educating Texan women.
[139] Silverthorne, "Smith".

Texas (1853-1857) led the state to its first system of universal publicly-funded schools in 1854.[140]

As the population of Texas grew and its general tenor changed, more Southern men rose to leadership positions in the state; men like Mirebeau Lamar and O.M. Roberts who held traditionally Southern/Jeffersonian ideals about the importance of local control, including over education. In 1854, Texas received $10 million from the United States government for giving up its claims to western lands. Texas retired its public debt, and used the remaining $2 million (over $52 million in 2016) to create the special fund for schools, the precursor to what is today known as the Texas Permanent School Fund.[141] Nonetheless, the Common School Law of 1854 left in place the first public school system in the state of Texas. It provided an annual per-capita distribution of interest on the school "special fund" with each county divided into school districts to set up and supervise a common school for the district. The district supplied the building and the law provided for the state to fund the entire tuition for orphans and children of paupers. Each district could opt to convert an existing primary department of a university, college, or academy, if such was to be found locally, into their common school regardless of the sponsorship of the school (i.e. if it was a religiously-oriented foundation).[142] There were notable problems with this new system, though it certainly marked a significant start on universal public education in Texas. The lack of a centralized control or supervision left too much to local control, with an ancillary lack of supervision or provision for teacher training, remaining a major concern for decades. The lack of good roads in much of the

[140] Roger A. Griggin, "Elisha Marshall Pease" in *The Handbook of Texas Online*, published by the Texas State Historical Association, available at https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fpe08 accessed 9 August 2016
[141] Texas Association of School Boards, *Journal of Texas Public Education*, Vol. 1 (Winter 1993): 42.
[142] Eby, 42.

rural counties made district organization difficult as well. Local control permitted many locals to refuse to cooperate with state officials. The state funded only the poorest children's education which left many schools on tenuous financial ground. Finally, the persistently different ideologies within the vastness of Texas stymied progress on unifying an education system statewide.[143] Despite these problems, there were signs of genuine life in the field of education in Texas during the antebellum decade. Several new universities, colleges, and academies were established, as well as a handful of institutes and private high schools.[144] The most prominent survivor of the period – many of the education institutions closed due to the war – is St. Mary's University in San Antonio, which is the first Catholic tertiary institution in Texas.

The Civil War disrupted virtually every aspect of life in the United States, but especially in the Confederate states. This included public education. Following the war, Texas and many of its citizens were nearly bankrupt. Much of the principal of the school special fund had been invested in Confederate arms and armaments, hence decimating its value and thereby its payments out to cover the education of Texas' children.[145] The first Reconstruction constitution, in 1866, followed the educational pattern of 1845 but took two important new steps for Texas: it legalized the appointment of a state superintendent of public instruction and it required public school teachers to be certified. This fits the general pattern of Reconstruction in the South, which eventually left the former Confederate states at the forefront of many political trends, including public provision for education – at least at the forefront on paper. This constitution also stated that taxes from

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[143] Eby, 43.
[144] Ibid.
[145] Michael E. McClellan, "Texas Permanent School Fund" in *The Handbook of Texas Online*, published by the Texas State Historical Association, available at https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/khp accessed 16 August 2016

African-Americans would go to schools for African-American children, which might

seem remarkably fair except that it included no provisions for buildings or a school

system for African-Americans beyond the clear implication that it should be separate

from that of the white children.[146] This constitution was effectively nullified by the

advent of Congressional Reconstruction, which required the former Confederate states to

write another, more 'republican' constitution in order to be readmitted to the Union.

Nonetheless, Texans were founding new colleges, academies, institutes, and seminaries,

along with public elementary schools throughout the period.[147] Fitting with the larger

themes in the United States in regards to female education, provision for young women in

Texas flourished in the postbellum years. This could be observed at Baylor which had a

separate women's department that had the same professors in the same buildings, just in

separated classes and with degrees that designated a "maid of arts" or "maid of

philosophy" which likely did not receive the same weight as a man's degree.[148] Texas

also successfully experimented with expanding school curriculum, as N. S. Hunsdon of

Washington University in St. Louis initiated the first regular manual training program in

Texas public schools. It was developed in Austin public schools, and was widely copied

through the South.[149]

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[146] Texas State Constitution (1866), Article X Sec. 7, available at
https://tarltonapps.law.utexas.edu/constitutions/texas1866/a10, accessed 17 August 2016. 'White' is used
cautiously in the American Southwest, including Texas, since racial categories can be shifting and it
various times some Hispanics are classified clearly as white while others are non-white, a division between
Spaniard and Mexican in the region that goes back well before American settlement in Texas. In Texas,
many Hispanic students were subject to segregation as thorough as that leveled at African-Americans.
[147] Eby, 44.
[148] Jeff Brown, "Baylor Women in Leadership" in Baylor Magazine, Spring 2011, available at
http://www.baylor.edu/alumni/magazine/0903/news.php?action=story&story=90117 accessed 6 August
2016
[149] G.E. Baker, "Industrial Arts Education" in in *The Handbook of Texas Online*, published by the Texas
State Historical Association, available at https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/kdi01 accessed 9
August 2016

Texas' 1869 Constitution included the now-expected provision for : "The Legislature, at its first session, (or as soon thereafter as may be possible,) shall pass such laws as will require the attendance on the Public Free Schools of the State of all the scholastic population thereof, for the period of at least four months of each and every year; provided, that when any of the scholastic inhabitants may be shown to have received regular instruction, for said period of time in each and every year, from any private teacher having a proper certificate of competency, this shall exempt them from the operation of the laws contemplated by this section" which was followed by the imposition of new system of free public schools by the northern Army officer then acting as the state superintendent. This properly Republican system required the delineation of school districts and taxation for school purposes; required the residents of each district to raise funds for a schoolhouse; imported teachers and texts from northern states; and strictly enforced the compulsory attendance of all "scholastic inhabitants" – measures that proved unpopular in rural Texas especially. Once Reconstruction had effectively ended in Texas, in 1875 a more moderate act of the legislature authorized any incorporated city to provide for the free education of the children of school age within its limits, giving birth to the modern formation of the Independent School District (ISD) so familiar in Texas. Rural districts continued to use the state-mandated form of the common school. This divided Texas' population into "city people" trusted to manage the educational institutions of their own children and the rural people not thusly trusted. In general, for the subsequent decades urban areas made much faster progress in education theory and practice, as well as educational attainment for youth than did rural areas.[150] Nonetheless, this fits the expected national pattern of greater emphasis upon education

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[150] Eby, 47.

and upon provision for more years of public education in urbanized areas than in traditional rural communities. The lack of central guidance and insufficient funding stymied much progress in large portions of Texas. Nonetheless, under the governorship of Oran M. Roberts (1879-1883), the sale of public lands was used to finance the remaining state debt and to pay for schools. Governor Roberts led the organizing efforts for the Texas State Teachers Association (1879) and the reorganization of the A&M College (1879), as well as seeing the establishment of Sam Houston Normal Institute (1879) – now Sam Houston State University – and the final establishment and opening of the University of Texas in Austin (1883). He also helped lead the movement that resulted in a constitutional amendment in 1883 which brought about the final establishment of school districting in Texas. After leaving office, Roberts – a jurist by trade – spent ten years as a professor of law at the University of Texas and still later in life helped form the Texas State Historical Association.[151]

The preponderance of Southerners in Texas, who continued to embrace an educational ideal that kept strict local control and minimized state funding and interference in all possible realms of life, combined with the relative poverty of the former Confederacy during the latter decades of the nineteenth century to retard the progress of public education in the state. By 1900, there were 526 independent school districts in the state, each with provision for secondary education as well as elementary.[152] The rest of the state still utilized the common school method. Texas, due to its peculiar situation geographically relative to the rest of the Confederacy and the vast

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[151] Ford Dixon, "Oran Milo Roberts" in *The Handbook of Texas Online*, published by the Texas State Historical Association, available at https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/fro18 accessed 10 August 2016
[152] Texas Education Agency, "History", at www.tea.state.tx.us/tea/history.html accessed 23 July 2016

wealth of much of its land, recovered economically faster than rest of the South; nonetheless education funding lagged and thereby educational results lagged relative to the rest of the nation. Texas' per capita expenditures on schools ranked 37 out of 45 states in 1904, 38 out of 45 in enrollment per capita, and 42 out of 45 in number of days of instruction.[153] Universities and colleges in Texas were adequate and expanding, in some cases also excelling, and urban schools registered notable improvements, but the rural schools continued to languish well below national averages. This was a common situation in much of the South, but Texas received less attention and financial assistance from Northern charitable and educational organizations because of its improved economic situation.

Nonetheless, concerns about Texas' school system based on the numbers reported led to several changes in educational policies in the early twentieth century. School districts were gradually separated from city administrations in urbanized places.[154] In 1903, the legislature created a state textbook selection board to approve state-adopted texts, and though parents might still finance the texts for several subsequent decades, school districts were permitted by law to spend state monies to provide texts after 1911.[155] In 1908, the state legislature approved an act increasing the maximum school district property tax rate by 150% and reducing from two-thirds to a simple majority the number of district voters required to approve a tax. In 1909, the legislature acted again, authorizing public school districts to embrace parts of multiple counties and authorizing school taxation in all parts of the district with the obvious goal of improving the practical

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[153] Eby, 51

[154] Eby, 52

[155] Texas Association of School Boards, *Journal of Texas Public Education*, Vol. 1 (Winter 1993): 49

aspects of districting.[156] In 1915, Texas finally passed a law in the vein of the regulations

initially put forth during Reconstruction making school attendance compulsory. Three

years later, the legislature raised the state property tax by 75% and granted the legislature

the power to use state funds to meet educational needs as well as a specific provision for

funding free textbooks in public schools.[157] In 1920, common and independent school

districts both were exempted from property tax limitations.[158] These changes attempted

to address one of the primary challenges facing public education in most states, then and

now, adequate funding.

The Depression and World War II saw significant numbers of schools built in

Texas, but little was done to alter the overall situation of education in the state. In many

ways, the situation in Texas after the war looked very much as it had a quarter-century

earlier, but the world was changing rapidly and the educational system needed to

modernize.[159] In 1947, the Texas Legislature formed the Gilmer-Aikin committee to

recommend major educational reforms which it did in a report issued the following year.

New laws in 1949 instituted key changes: the state Department of Education became the

Texas Education Agency (TEA) with more power to guide an effective educational

program statewide balanced with local district control, increased the state school board to

twenty-one popularly-elected persons from nine appointed by the governor, the elected

State Superintendent of Schools became an appointed (by the state school board) State

Commissioner of Education with a four-year term, the strict per capita distribution of

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[156] *Amendments to the Texas Constitution Since 1876: Current Through the November 3, 2015 Constitutional Amendment Election* (Austin, TX: Texas Legislative Council, 2016), 78.
[157] Ibid.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Marilyn Kuehlem, "Education Reforms from Gilmer-Aikin to Today" in the *Texas Public Schools Sesquicentennial Handbook* (Austin, TX: Texas Education Agency, 2004), 60.

state funds changed to a plan based on an "economic index" to aid low income areas, and provided for a minimum salary for teachers for the first time.[160] Further assisting with state funding of public schools was the 1954 grant by Congress to Texas of the title to submerged coastal lands up to 10.35 miles out (9 nautical miles): the proceeds from the sale, lease, and rental of these lands greatly increased the size of the Texas Permanent School Fund.[161] After 1955, a baccalaureate degree was required for teacher certification, in an attempt to assure greater competency among teachers.[162] Texas, of course, moved with the general times in many ways. Nationwide in the latter 1950s and 1960s, there was increased impetus to modernize curriculum, especially in science, mathematics, and modern foreign languages. The Cold War played an important part in this, as the fears of 'falling behind' the Soviets in technology after the launch of *Sputnik* led to increasing educational funding from the federal government as well as within individual states. The population in Texas and nationwide was also continuing its long shift from being primarily rural to being primarily urban/suburban which created new challenges for schools districts. Further, after 1954 and the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, school districts faced desegregation orders which in Texas were stymied by local resistance until the 1970 *United States v. Texas* decision in the U.S. District Court for Eastern District of Texas ordered the TEA to assume responsibility for overseeing desegregation action statewide.[163] In 1971, *Cisneros v. Corpus Christi* explicitly extended the desegregation orders to include Mexican-Americans.[164] In the subsequent

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[160] Oscar Mauzy, "Gilmer-Aikin Laws" in in *The Handbook of Texas Online*, published by the Texas State Historical Association, available at https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/mlg01 accessed 29 July 2016

[161] Texas Education Agency, *Self-Evaluation Report*, November 2003, p. II-1

[162] Kuehlem, 62.

[163] 321 F.Supp. 1043 (E.D.Tex.1970)

[164] 330 F. Supp. 1377 (S.D. Tex. 1971)

decade, new state requirements for students with handicaps and/or disabilities required their placement in the "least restrictive environment" also following general national trends. The state also mandated bilingual instruction in elementary schools with twenty or more students who qualified as English Language Learners (ELLs), reversing decades of restriction on any instruction in Spanish in Texas' schools. The state increased funding for education and attempts to equalize financial support for all students by offering more aid for poorer districts.[165] The era also saw growing emphasis on standardized testing to assure efficacy of education, and Texas established the first mandatory statewide testing in the Texas Assessment of Basic Skills (TABS) test during the 1970s.

The 1980s saw continued advancements in educational policies in Texas. In 1981, House Bill 246 resulted in the first statewide curriculum in twelve core subject areas through the twelfth grade and adherence to the curriculum was necessary for statewide school accreditation.[166] In 1984, House Bill 72 instituted statewide mandatory testing in mathematics and the language arts in third and sixth grade, as well as an exit-level test for a high school diploma. It provided a pay-raise for teachers and lowered the mandated student-teacher ratio, while funneling more money to property-poor districts and providing new accountability measures. However, it became better known for new restrictions on participation in extra-curricular activities most famously its "no pass, no play" rule.[167] Still, Texas' students enjoyed the shortest school year in the nation, but soon new policies were in place to change the by then longstanding position of Texas

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[165] Kuehlem, 64-5.
[166] Texas Education Agency, *Summary of House Bill 246* (1981) available at http://islandora-tx.lib.utexas.edu/clementstx/35180
[167] William P. Hobby, Jr. "Bill Hobby on the 1984 Education Reform Battle" in the *Texas Tribune*, 2 Sept 2010

schools in the bottom tier of American public school systems.[168] The year 1984 also

brought about a replacement to the TABS test with the Texas Educational Assessment of

Minimum Skills (TEAMS) tests, which remained the standard through 1990 and

measured the reading, writing, and mathematics skills of students in odd-numbered

grades.[169] In 1985, the TEA created the Department of Research and Information and

developed a plan to implement a new database for accountability, the Public Education

Information Management System (PEIMS) which is still in existence and is now believed

to be the world's largest repository of educational data.[170] The goal of these measures

was to better be able to assess the efficacy of school districts and individual schools so

that changes could be more responsive to local needs as well as statewide trends.

Furthering that goal, in 1990 a process was established to track performance indicators

for each school campus and an annual review of each district to determine that all

accreditation criteria are met. The same year, new statewide tests, the Texas Assessment

of Academic Skills (TAAS) tests were inaugurated which were more difficult and were

used to measure school performance for the next twelve years.[171] The reliance on

students' standardized testing to measure schools performance became a hallmark of

President George W. Bush's *No Child Left Behind* program at the federal level in the

following decade. One aspect of Texas' education funding, begun in 1993, that was not

carried over outside the state is the so-called 'Robin Hood law' of Senate Bill 7 which

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[168] Ibid.
[169] Kuehlem, 66
[170] Kuehlem, 67
[171] Kuehlem, 67

established a policy of "recapture" in which property tax revenue raised by one district (a wealthy district) is sent to other districts (poor districts) to achieve district equity.[172]

Over the course of the 1990s, the Texas Legislature continued to work to improve funding and performance in Texas' public schools. An omnibus bill passed in 1995 included new provisions which increased local control, authorized charter schools and for parents to transfer their children out of low-performing schools, established a State Board for Educator Certification, increased minimum teacher salaries, increased state funding for foundations school program – those in underserved, usually highly rural, areas – to about 85%, and set new standards for district funding, local tax administration, and equalization. It also notably required that all books, fees, and mandatory course costs be paid by the school districts, which changed the way textbooks were purchased.[173] Late in the decade, Governor Bush's campaign to end social promotion resulted in statewide policy changes as well as $82 million in funding to help schools establish reading academies to make sure all Texas students could meet grade-level reading standards.

The twenty-first century has seen continued innovation in Texas' educational policies. Senate Bill 218 in 2001 established the nation's first public school fiscal accountability system with the ratings accessible from the 2003-04 year.[174] In 2003, a new testing scheme known as the Texas Assessment of Knowledge and Skills (TAKS) began in grades three, five, eight, and eleven. Students were required to meet that skill

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[172]Michael Barba, Vance Ginn, Kent Grusendorf, and Talmadge Heflin, *Texas School Finance: Basics and Reform* (Austin, TX: Texas Public Policy Foundation, 2016), 18.

[173] Kuehlem, 68. This is notable because Texas has subsequently come to order statewide textbooks in all its core subjects and the sheer size of Texas' public school system has given the Texas State School Board significant bargaining power to alter the content to textbooks to suit their curriculum or viewpoints. In recent years, significant alterations and edits of American History texts done at the state board's request has come under heavy criticism by the American Historical Association and other professional organizations for eliminating discussion of problematic issues in American history and perpetuating the 'lies my teacher told me'.

[174] Kuehlem, 70

level before being promoted to the next grade, or to graduate in the case of the eleventh grade. By that time, Texas students scored among the highest in the nation on the National Association of Education Progress measures.[175] This was a sea change from just a quarter century earlier, when Texas students scored regularly towards the bottom on such measures.

The changes in curriculum and testing shaped the way instruction was provided at all grade levels in Texas, and the change in instructional style and philosophy affected the way schools have been built as well. From a state wherein most students languished in tiny rural schools with few facilities, Texas' increased provision of funding for education over the course of the twentieth century has brought its students to approaching the top of educational measures in the United States. In order to provide the increased services, however, many districts have opted to merge with neighboring districts to provide larger and more state of the art facilities and broader educational opportunities. This is especially true at the secondary level, when breadth of offerings becomes more important. These larger schools require larger campuses with special facilities for the various course offerings: most high schools today not only provide spacious athletic facilities for extracurricular activities but also significant numbers of various labs, shops, and other curricular facilities. These increased demands play an important part in the future of historic schools, many of which are no longer suitable due to space constraints – whether regarding student population or the availability of land for athletic fields – or due to a lack of provision for these modern needs. Understanding how a given historic school was built and the standards under which it was constructed is essential to addressing its possible future uses and how it can be preserved for the community.

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[175] Ibid.

It is important for local residents to understand that a school might be unsuitable for its original purpose but still be a viable structure. In many cases it seems the local community fails to see the various potentials for the vibrant and dynamic futures these buildings can have within the city. Some of these options are discussed further in Chapter Six, addressing specifically the adaptive reuse of historic schools and providing examples of not only what can be done but also how it should be done, including the specific opportunities and challenges facing such a renovation. A building that has stood in its place for decades, perhaps even more than a century, may no longer suit the educational needs of the city whether due to population growth or the changing demands of 21st century curriculum, but that hardly means that the structure is unsound or not feasible for new use and needs to be demolished to make way for "progress". A lack of athletic facilities or laboratory space or the adjacent land to expand to fit a burgeoning student body hardly deems a historic school unsalvageable. Nonetheless, for many school districts a historic building just is not feasible to keep open in its original purpose, as this overview of educational trends in Texas makes clear. Understanding that these trends may leave a school "antiquated" or unsuitable for its original purpose without meaning that the structure is not valuable in its own right as a landmark which can be adapted to continue to serve the community is one of the first steps in helping to preserve a community's historic school and that link to the community's identity.

CHAPTER 5

HISTORIC SCHOOL ARCHITECTURE

Provision for public education is a central task of any self-governing society. A government selected and directed by the public requires an educated populace to ensure stability and the continuation of a republican or democratic system. In the early decades of the nineteenth century there was increasing attention to the issue of educating the rising generation of citizens. Along with this was concurrent concern about the buildings that housed this key task. School buildings help shape the way teaching is done, and they act as icons and symbols for the values that society holds in common. In most cases, communities attempted to provide the finest structure possible for its schools and school architecture as well as the teaching provided inside the walls; these have been points of debate and innovation for the last two centuries of American history.

School architecture is influenced by a variety of factors, including political and social movements of the period, technological innovations and trends, as well as the available knowledge of educational psychology at the time. The prevalent concept of a great school building shifted and adapted over time. Nonetheless, many American schools are still extant from a century or more ago, and many thousands of schools nationwide meet the standard to be considered historic in the sense of being at least fifty years old and therefore eligible by age to be listed in the National Register of Historic

Places.[176] National trends in school architecture can be seen easily in these structures, as many bear strong resemblances to one another despite being located in disparate parts of the United States. As Alfred Hamlin wrote in 1910 "…data for the designing of public school buildings have been more completely standardized than for any other type of structure, except the American public library."[177] Although there are a few extant American school buildings that predate the turn of the twentieth century, many of the most historic schools in both the nation and in Texas began their life of public service around that time. Increasing attention to the importance of broadly accessible education for all children as well as growing emphasis on secondary schooling led to a proliferation of school buildings that were intended to be permanent, or at least long-lasting, icons of the community that erected them.[178]

Architect Wilbur Mills, responsible for the construction of many schools in Ohio in the early twentieth century, summarized the basic tenets underpinning this era of school architecture writing that "the school building should be simple, dignified and plain and should be built of the most enduring materials procurable: first because this contributes to safety, permanence and endurance, and second because the true character of the building will be best expressed through such materials."[179]   In the earliest iterations of most American schools, construction consisted of a one-room or two-room

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[176] The oldest public high school in the United States, Boston Latin School, is an impressive 381 years old. Unfortunately, only its current structural iteration is extant, opened in 1922. However, the oldest academic building in the United States is Wren Hall at the College of William & Mary in Virginia, opened in 1700.

[177] Albert Dwight Foster Hamlin, *Modern School Houses: being a Series of Authoritative Articles on Planning, Sanitation, Heating, and Ventilation*, Volume 1 (New York: The Swetlund Publishing Company, 1910), 3.

[178] Lindsay Baker, *A History of School Design and Its Indoor Environmental Standards, 1900 to Today* (Washington D.C.: National Clearinghouse for Educational Facilities & National Institute of Building Sciences, 2012), 3.

[179] Wilbur T. Mills, *American School Building Standards* (Columbus, OH: Franklin Educational Publishing Co., 1915), 34.

wooden structure. In many rural areas – which constituted the vast majority of

geography of the United States and most of its population until the turn of the twentieth

century – schools operated around the seasonal schedule of farming life and the vagaries

of winter weather. Buildings were of simple construction, most of them wooden or

simple stone structures and only one or two rooms. A good example of a historic school

in this style which survives is the Elsah School, located in Elsah, Illinois, which was

originally built in 1857 and house the lowest grades in the lower floor and the older

students above that. It was built of stone from the quarry of mayor, founder, and

prominent citizen James Semple and was presented to the village residents as a gift. For

much of the nineteenth century, this was a very fine school building for a small village.

Figure 5.1: Elsah School, in the tiny town of Elsah, lying along the Mississippi just north of Alton. Just visible behind the stone school building is the brick of the mid-twentieth century addition. The school remained in active service until 1970, when it consolidated with the larger Jersey County school district. (Photo by author, 2016)

Nonetheless, over the long course of the nineteenth century, the importance of basic education for good republican citizens saw nearly all Americans, even those of the poor and working classes, literate and increasing numbers of young Americans reaching the end of elementary school with growing numbers of pupils in secondary and tertiary institutions as well. Schools, both their structure and their curriculum, became a new project for social reformers as cities and towns grew along with the country and attention focused on establishing a solid foundation for a growing free society. An early model for a standard adequate classroom was in fact drawn up by the most famous educational reformer in nineteenth-century America, Horace Mann, who included standardized rows of desks, and windows on two sides for both light and ventilation.[180] Mann, generally considered the "father" of the common school movement in the United States, and his ideas, which advocated for free schools for all children paid for by local property taxes, became increasingly prominent in antebellum America and remained known throughout the period following the Civil War, as well. Common schools provided elementary education, which Americans soon accepted as necessary to be provided for all children, but a high school education took longer to be accepted as a reasonable public expense. One of the major cases that helped lead to the growth of publicly-funded secondary schools was decided by the Supreme Court of Michigan in 1874: the *Stuart v. School District No. 1 of Kalamazoo* case established that public funding of education above the primary level (that of the common schools) was constitutional and portrayed it as important for the future economic prospects of all young Americans not just those whose

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[180] Baker, 4.

parents could afford tuition.[181] Although it was not a decision of the U.S. Supreme

Court, it was taken as precedent in other American states almost immediately after the

decision.

As enrollment increased in public schools across the United States, larger

buildings became necessary for many schools and communities. At the same time that

there was an increasing emphasis on educational attainment which increased enrollment,

Americans also increasingly relied on educated experts to decide what was 'best' to do

about problems. This, in turn, resulted in schools that were built in largely standardized

and utilitarian styles, designed often to house as many students as possible by

maximizing classroom space. Often, the exterior facades of schools, meant to be icons of

educational aspirations and cultural attainment of the community, were classical and

elegant, but interiors were often crowded and impersonal. Stylistically, the most

common architectural choices during the decades surrounding the turn of the twentieth

century included the Beaux Arts, Italianate, Colonial Revival, Neoclassical, and Gothic

styles.[182] A fine example of the Beaux Arts style can be seen in Wendell Phillips High

School in Chicago, Illinois, opened in 1935 (Figure 5.2). The second building to house

the high school named after the prominent abolitionist, architect William Bryce Mundie

provided a grand structure for what had become the city's first predominantly African-

American high school and a landmark for the Bronzeville neighborhood.

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[181] 30 Mich 69 (1874)
[182] Baker, 5.

Figure 5.2: Wendell Phillips High School c. 1940. The school still serves the residents of Bronzeville and the Near South Side of Chicago more than eighty years after its opening. (Photo courtesy of Bill Latoza via *Chicago Historic Schools*, https://chicagohistoricschools.wordpress.com/2013/09/18/wendell-phillips-academy-high-school/)

Henrietta M. King High School, in Kingsville, Texas, provides a beautiful example of the Italianate style (Figure 5.3). The school was named after the wife of prominent local rancher Richard King – of the mighty King Ranch – and built on land she donated for the purpose. Opened in 1909, the choice of Italianate architecture not only fits the warm & humid climate of the Gulf Coast region of Texas but also reflects the influence of local history in the importance of the Spanish missions and the ongoing use of Spanish architecture in Texas.
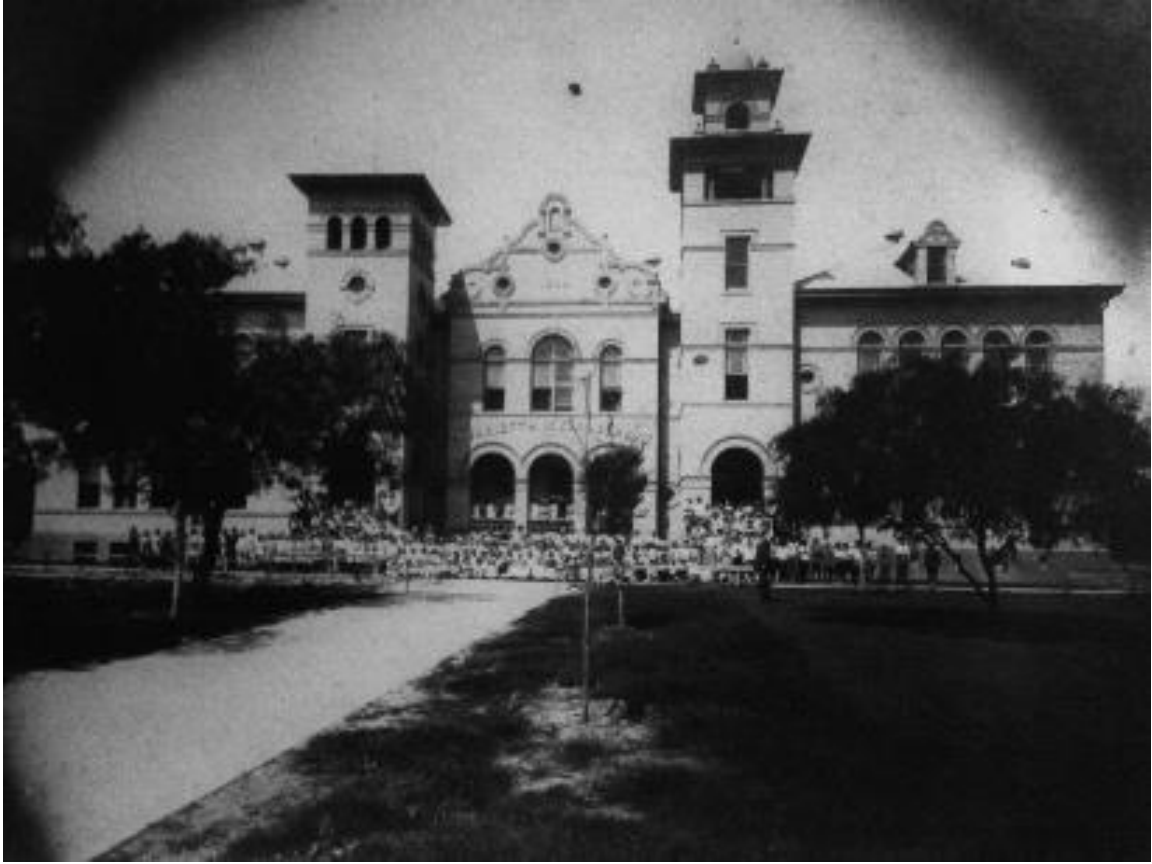
Figure 5.3: King High School, pictured in 1914, is a fine example of Italianate architecture, with main entrance and the towers purposefully reminiscent of the impressive fronts of the Spanish missions that were common to many parts of the American Southwest. The school was vacant from the late 1970s until it was rehabilitated and re-opened in summer 2016 as the new City Hall for Kingsville. (Photo from the Martha Rogers Ward Garbarino Photo Collection, via *Texas Escapes* at http://www.texasescapes.com/TexasGulfCoastTowns/KingsvilleTexas/Henrietta-King-High-School-Kingsville.htm)

Not all schools in Texas opted for an architectural style that fit with the history or the climate. Despite being located deep in the high desert of the American Southwest, El Paso High School – built in 1916 – provides a stunning example of a Neoclassical school campus. Architecture firm Trost & Trost delivered to the city of El Paso a landmark indeed, with classical styling inside and out, including Corinthian columns and an imposing pediment to mark the main entrance to the school and marble floors on the main corridor (Figure 5.4). Nicknamed "The Lady on the Hill", the school sits on a mountainside at the foot of the Franklin Mountains, and overlooks the central part of El

Paso. Its commanding view also includes Ciudad Juarez across the Rio Grande. Perhaps signaling the important extracurricular interests to come, it was built in an L-shape to overlook the football stadium, one of the first major concrete stadiums in the nation.[183]

Figure 5.4: The main façade of El Paso High School, overlooking the football stadium. The school is still in use as one of the high schools serving the citizens of El Paso and its exterior has been little-changed in the intervening century. (Photo from the Henry C. Trost Historical Organization at http://www.henrytrost.org/buildings/el-paso-high-school/)

Built in 1921, Roosevelt High School in Portland, Oregon, indicates that the local school board preferred the Colonial Revival style for its structure (Figure 5.5). Colonial Revival schools are more common in areas where historic colonial architecture is still extant, but can be found in almost all regions of the nation. The choice in Portland is perhaps appropriate to its namesake if not to any sense of local history or geography, considering it is named after President Theodore Roosevelt, who had died in 1919, and Americans still seem to associate the federal government with either Neoclassical or Colonial Revival structures. It has many aspects in kind with a neoclassical building, but the square tower and cupola clearly designate this as a Colonial Revival school.

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[183] Lloyd C. Engelbrecht and June F. Engelbrecht, "El Paso High School" for the El Paso Public Library, under a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, 1990. Published online by the Henry C. Trost Historical Organization at http://www.henrytrost.org/buildings/el-paso-high-school/. Accessed 6 Sept 2016.

Figure 5.5: Roosevelt High School in Portland. The exterior architecture is unchanged since it was opened nearly a century ago. The choice of windows, including the Palladian window above the main entrance, contributes prominently to its Colonial Revival style. (Photo from wikimedia: By Visitor7 - Own work, CC BY-SA 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=24584488)

Finally, like many high schools built to the 'Gothic' style, Benjamin Bosse High School in Evansville, Indiana actually appears much more Tudor in its style (Figure 5.6). Many college campuses preferred the High Gothic style reminiscent of the great English universities at Oxford and Cambridge, so perhaps it is also fitting that the secondary schools often more closely resemble the later Tudor-style architecture found at many famous English secondary schools such as Eton and Harrow. This style is generally simpler than the High Gothic style and more economically built, likely the reason that many school districts opted for it instead. Built in 1924, its windows and decorative stonework around the windows and the entrances, also marked by short towers above them, are significant features for its architectural style. Its plan, however, is too

symmetrical for true Gothic or Gothic Revival, indicating some influence of the Beaux Arts style as well.

Figure 5.6: Bosse High School boasts a late Gothic/Tudor-revival exterior, but also illustrates the important influence of the Beaux Arts school of architecture in the United States due to its overall symmetry of plan and structure. Many historic schools may be similarly hybrid styles. (Photo from *Historic Evansville* at http://historicevansville.com/site.php?id=bosse)

Architects paid particular attention to the plans and layouts of the school as well as to proper lighting and ventilation. They also designed schools with increasing attention to limiting the noise from significant numbers of persons traveling through the building in regards to such things as flooring choices.[184] The design of schools was much studied and communities took great pride in building the finest school that was financially feasible, including what were then cutting edge design decisions. Many states passed specific regulations regarding public school construction, such as Massachusetts' law requiring that the ventilation of all school buildings had to supply at least thirty cubic feet of fresh air per minute – a standard adopted virtually nationwide according to

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[184] Baker, 6.

Mills.[185] Hamlin confirms the standard for ventilation being thirty cubic feet per minute per pupil at the time, and continues that the school's heating plant was required to be capable of raising the temperature to seventy degrees Fahrenheit in zero degree weather.[186]

Despite the careful attention to the artificial means of maintaining the healthiness of schools, experts at the time noted that a good school building incorporated as much as possible natural lighting and access to fresh outdoor air. Hamlin clearly stated that "…no artificial heating and ventilation can ever take the place of fresh outdoor air and sunshine."[187] School buildings were designed to take advantage of the best natural lighting conditions, which had been carefully documented and were thoroughly understood by architects of the time, in fact Hamlin even directs that "[l]ight should come over the left shoulder of each pupil" and that windows ought to be sized and spaced to avoid shadows or dark spots that would create visual discomfort for pupils.[188] He even specified the preferred window areas and window to floor-area ratios for the size of each standard classroom, as well as suggesting a maximum sill height of three-and-one-half feet so students could "rest their eyes" by looking out at times.[189] Much of the emphasis on natural light came out of the reality that the only artificial electric lighting available at the time was incandescent bulbs which due to expense, logistics, and heat output could only be used feasibly in small amounts.[190] Natural lighting was clearly and simply superior to the artificial lighting that was available at the time. Standards for school

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[185] Mills, 98.
[186] Hamlin, 9.
[187] Hamlin, 9.
[188] Hamlin, 8.
[189] Ibid.
[190] Baker, 7.

lighting began to change from the late 1930s, when fluorescent lighting was introduced.[191]

Despite the Great Depression, a significant number of schools were built throughout the United States during the decade preceding World War II. In fact, some of these schools received funding directly because of federally-supported stimulus programs due to the Depression. About seventy percent of the schools built between July 1933 and March 1939 were funded by the Public Works Administration (PWA). Many others received funding from the Works Progress Administration (WPA). Several notable examples of New Deal-funded schools are still extant throughout Texas, including Archer City High School (Archer County), Arlington Heights Senior High in Fort Worth, Becker Elementary in Austin, Canadian Middle School in Canadian (Hemphill County), Collinsville Elementary School in Collinsville (Grayson County) Colorado Middle School in Colorado City (Mitchell County), the former Eagle Pass High School which is now an elementary school (Maverick County), East Bernard High School in East Bernard (Wharton County), Crosbyton Elementary in Crosbyton (Crosby County), Houston Elementary in Denison, Graham High School (Young County), Lometa School in Lometa (Lampasas County), Martin High School in Laredo, Wynn Seale Junior High in Corpus Christi, and Zavala Elementary in Austin.[192] Many of these are still in use as schools, with a few, such as the Benjamin School still serving in its full original capacity as a K-12 building.[193] Most schools at the time were still built using the

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[191] Werner K.E. Osterhaus, "Office Lighting: a Review of 80 Years of Standards and Recommendations", originally published in *the Proceedings of the 1993 Industry Applications Society Annual Meeting*, October 2-8, 1993 in Toronto, Ontario, and archived digitally at the Energy and Environment Division, Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory, at the University of California – Berkeley.
[192] Information on extant New Deal projects in Texas from *The Living New Deal* website at https://livingnewdeal.org/us/tx/?post_type=projects, accessed 12 August 2016
[193] Ibid.

metrics and designs of the earlier decades, despite increasing interest in new educational models being developed in the first decades of the twentieth century. A new generation of educational reformers became influential in the early twentieth century, including American John Dewey and Maria Montessori in Italy, whose ideas were well-known in the US by the time of the First World War but did not gain wide popularity here for almost four more decades. Increasing attention to child-centered educational theories during these years led to much of the basis for current educational thought into the twenty-first century.[194]

Despite the fact that most schools in the interwar period were built to more traditional standards, there were a few school designs that embraced the modern style and the new programs, coming to be known as the "open air school" movement and including work by architects like Alvar Aalto, Eliel Saarinen, and Richard Neutra which can still be seen prominently at the private Cranbrook Schools in Bloomfield Hills, Michigan by Saarinen. This "open air" movement emphasized air, light, outdoor learning, and easy circulation through the school buildings, relating to increased educational theory emphasis on fresh air, outdoor activity, and physical health as being fundamental to mental well-being (and thereby fundamental to learning). Broadening curriculum at many schools, reflecting increasing enrollment in secondary schools especially among the poor and working classes, gave increased attention to active methods of learning and an emphasis on doing/working with things not just studying books.[195] More and more American adolescents attended high school, and while many from the upper and middle

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[194] R. Thomas Hille, *Modern Schools: A Century of Design for Education* (New York, John Wiley & Sons, 2011) as cited in Baker, 8.
[195] T.C. Holy, "Needed Research in the Field of School Buildings and Equipment" in *Review of Educational Research* 5 (4), 1935: 406.

classes sought admission to colleges and universities as the culmination of secondary

schooling, most from the lower classes sought more practical applications for their

schooling. Nonetheless, despite the advent of the National Council on Schoolhouse

Construction during the 1930s – today the Council of Educational Facility Planners –

there were relatively few advances in standards of construction in the years preceding and

during World War II.[196] The postwar years, however, would see rapid changes in the

ways schools were built.

Americans had a great need to build new schools in the years after the war. The

American population had risen sharply in nearly every decade of the nation's existence,

yet the population growth in the years after the war reached a rate nearly matching the

growth at the turn of the twentieth century.[197] This was preceded by the 1930s, in which

the population increased only by 7.3%, a nadir of American population growth

throughout its history.[198] This nadir was followed by an explosion after the war,

popularly termed the 'Baby Boom'. Population growth in the 15 years following the war

nearly reached 20%, the highest rate since 1910 and not even nearly matched in any

decade since 1960. At the same time, Americans expectations about basic education

continued to expand, with the vast majority of American youths graduating high school

rather than leaving school after the elementary years.

The population was not just growing, however. Americans were also a people on

the move, as relative population also shifted with more and more Americans living in the

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[196] Baker, 9.

[197] Postwar population growth was primarily the result of natural increase, whereas in previous decades both natural increase and widespread immigration kept the American population growing at a phenomenal rate. The first widespread immigration restrictions that applied to people other than Asians occurred in the 1920s, most notably with the Johnson-Reed Act also known as the Immigration Act of 1924.

[198] All census data up to 1960 taken from the digitized archive at the University of Virginia, found at http://mapserver.lib.virginia.edu/ and accessed 27 July 2016. Census information after 1960 taken from *Social Explorer* at http://www.socialexplorer.com/explore/tables and accessed 12 August 2016.

West and the South. In 1900, California boasted a population roughly half that of Massachusetts, but the shifting population meant that by 1950, California's population was more than double that of Massachusetts – and Massachusetts' population had nonetheless grown by nearly 67% in the same half-century. Similarly, Texas' population grew by over 150% in the first half of the twentieth century. Such growth demanded significant construction of community infrastructure, including schools.

Of course, such widespread school construction did not come cheap. H.R. Luce reported in 1949 that "ten billion dollars, so the experts believe, must be spent for new school construction during the next 11 years…. Further complicating the problem is the fact that school building standards have risen steeply during the past decade, outmoding the 1940 classroom. This need bespeaks the spending of four times as much money as went into school buildings during the last 11 years."[199] In fact, in the twenty years that followed World War II, more than twenty billion dollars was spent on new educational facilities throughout the United States.[200] The rapidly increasing student population caused by the Baby Boom placed significant stress on local school boards to build quickly as existing schools were often quite overcrowded and the result was a proliferation of standard plans and facades.

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[199] H.R. Luce, "Schools" in *Architectural Forum* 91 (4), special issue, 1949: 81.
[200] National Council of Schoolhouse Construction, ed. *NCSC Guide for Planning School Plants*, 1964

Figure 5.7: Shabbona Middle School in Morris, Illinois illustrates many of the trends for mid-century schools, including its low-and-long plan, brick curtain walls and small windows as artificial lighting and air-conditioning made windows decorative not necessary. The school was shuttered in 2016, and the students moved into the over-built elementary school, opened in 2001, to save the district money on maintaining this building. (Photo courtesy of Melissa McCarthy, 2016)

New schools boasted modern styles, often composed of one-story flat-roofed structures enclosed with glass and metal window-wall systems or brick and concrete wall systems, with many taking advantage of the new air-conditioning technology as well.[201] The new schools were intended to be quite practical, with the lightweight construction resulting from modern technology making it easier and less expensive to build, but the trade-off came from a shortened life expectancy.[202] When many of the schools had been built around the first decades of the twentieth century, the physical structure of the school was intended to be iconic in the community but most mid-century schools paid more attention to cost effectiveness and efficient use than to architectural style or traditional concerns about creating an aesthetic pleasing or meaningful building.

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[201] C. Kenneth Tanner and Jeffrey A. Lackney, *Educational Facilities Planning: Leadership, Architecture, and Management* (Boston: Pearson, Allyn and Bacon, 2005), 12.
[202] Hille, 91.

Figure 5.8: The former Franklin School, in Morris Illinois shows the use of several aspects of mid-century modern architecture, including its large full-length window walls and low flat roof. The school closed in 2001 when a new 1,400 student capacity school was built, consolidating all elementary grades into one school. It is now used as office spaces, taking advantage of its location adjacent to downtown Morris. (Photo courtesy of Melissa McCarthy, 2016)

The standard facade was comprised of continuous full-height ribbon windows along the outer wall, with many schools structured around corridors that spread like fingers from a central area allowing classrooms natural light and often direct access outside.[203] In places where the climate made it feasible, the corridors themselves might be open-air with classrooms and other school facilities spread around courtyards. The use of fluorescent lighting increased, and became the most common institutional artificial lighting, and lighting standards have continued to change ever since as technical potential changes but also because lighting manufacturers have sought broad applications of their products.[204] Such improvements in ventilation and lighting systems permitted many changes in school architecture and often made the older pre-war schools seem hopelessly outdated even if the community had not entirely outgrown the old school's capacity.

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[203] Tanner and Lackney, 12.
[204] Osterhaus, "Office Lighting".

Among the changing standards, there were new codes for ventilation requirements as well as increased attention to the problem of heat-gain or heat-loss from glass depending upon the season as well as the advent of fluorescent lighting which allowed for more expansive and significantly brighter artificial lighting within classrooms and indoor hallways. Some designers even preferred artificial lighting to natural lighting, since the natural light from windows was uneven over the classroom, being best nearest the windows.[205] New classroom technology also created increased demand for the ability to darken the classroom to use video or overhead projectors. Architects also utilized new materials technology to improve acoustic performance in schools to exclude exterior noise and lower noise transmission between areas within the school, as well as assuring proper distribution of sound within a desired space. In the rush to build in the immediate postwar years, some of the developing standards were not actually implemented until the next generation of schools was built.[206]

By the latter decades of the twentieth century, different school districts faced varying challenges. In some parts of the country, enrollment continued to grow rapidly as the American population continued to shift away from the historically population-dense areas of the Northeast and Midwest. In those regions, especially, but also in depopulating city centers, other districts had to reconfigure existing schools to adjust for a shrinking student population. By the 1970s, the United States had also entered fully into the years of desegregation, which had a profound impact on the issue of equity in school facilities, especially in urban areas and the South. Questions about American society at large and the directions it might head led to experimental school buildings and

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[205] Baker, 13-4.
[206] Baker, 15-6.

new curriculums. This was most common in urban areas and/or those areas with significant minority populations, but there was a general increase in concern that public schools enforced widespread conformity thereby stifling creativity and self-expression as well as a love of learning.[207] Increased attention to and funding for experiments in educational theory and practice in school design resulted from this, and led to new "open plan" or "open space" school designs, which primarily consisted of large pod spaces that served as major classrooms with little definition of space between them and few if any windows. Instead of walls, these schools usually boasted variable-height and/or movable sound-absorbent partitions to temporarily define spaces depending upon the need at a given time. The School Construction Systems Development Program (SCSD) – a joint effort of researchers at Stanford University and the University of California, Berkeley – worked to bring modern prefabrication techniques to school design and construction in order to apply industrial techniques of standardization and systems analysis to build the most economic building possible.[208] Most of the schools using this system were located in California, but some of the over 1,300 schools which contained a system or subsystem developed by the SCSD were in other parts of the United States.[209]

After the energy crisis in 1973, there was another shift towards efficiency concentrating upon energy use. Codes and regulations began to radically change and the priorities of many school districts shifted to facility management emphasizing reducing energy consumption. New school construction or renovations often reduced or

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[207] Tanner and Lackney, 17. This concern, of course, presumes that one believes that students' conforming to shared standards is inherently bad and wholesale self-expression is inherently good – a controversial debate both in the 1970s and in the twenty-first century.

[208] J.R. Boice, *A History and Evaluation of the School Construction Systems Development Project, 1961-67* (Menlo Park, CA: Building Systems Information Clearinghouse, 1968) passim.

[209] C.W. Griffin, *Systems: an Approach to School Construction* (New York, NY: Educational Facilities Laboratory, 1971) passim.

eliminated windows, relying on mechanical systems to efficiently light schools and

control internal temperatures, which in renovations of schools built during earlier decades

especially disrupted the originally intended light, ventilation, and ambulatory patterns of

connectivity.[210] Windowless classrooms were more efficient and at the time it was

claimed that there was no negative impact on learning, as well as increased space for

storage, bulletin boards, and flexibility within using the space. Windowless schools also,

it was argued, decreased vandalism and increased overall security of the school.

Nonetheless, students and teachers regularly reported in studies that the conditions within

windowless schools were unpleasant.[211]

By the mid-1980s, overall fiscal conservatism resulted in less investment in

school facilities and most districts unless forced to build by exploding at the seams in the

existing structures, concentrated on keeping their aging facilities up to basic standards

and functioning. Renewed emphasis on traditional basic academic subjects resulted in

renewed preference for traditional educational venues.[212] By the 1990s, in many places a

significant investment was needed simply to keep the mid-century schools which many

districts had intended to have life-spans of around four decades, up to good and usable

condition.[213] Some of this money was needed to remove or mitigate problems with what

had been considered cutting-edge and preferred innovations at the time of construction

including asbestos material. Districts also faced renovations to comply with the

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[210] Hille, 163.

[211] B.L. Collins, *Windows and People: A Literature Survey. Psychological Reaction to Environments With and Without Windows* (Washington, D.C.: National Bureau of Standards, 1975), available in full text online at https://archive.org/stream/windowspeoplelit70coll/windowspeoplelit70coll_djvu.txt, accessed 21 July 2016, and C.S. Wienstein "The Physical Environment of the School: A Review of the Research" in *Review of Educational Research* 49 (4), 1979: 577-610.

[212] Hille, 203.

[213] GAO, ed. *School Facilities: Condition of America's Schools* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Accountability Office, 1995)

Americans with Disabilities Act and other updated safety, accessibility, and health regulations.

Such situations continue in many districts which, even when growing rapidly, wish to retain the use of extant school structures. Even if the building is not intended to be in continued use as a school, often due to an inability to feasibly make the structure compliant with accessibility codes or retrofit with sufficient wiring for twenty-first century technology demands, many communities face challenges with what to do with their historic schools. Many end up opting to demolish them, likely due to a lack of familiarity with preservation opportunities, including tax incentives, inability to conceive of new uses for the buildings, or due to the expense of renovations. The key point of this chapter is that due to the fact that most historic schools – especially those which predate the Second World War – were designed and built to be permanent landmarks in a community, even a monument to the community itself, both the structure and the architecture is of inherent value not just to the community as a landmark and a physical symbol of community identity, but also to potential developers of what are most often valuable and quite centrally located properties. There is very little reason why buildings of such quality as most historic schools cannot be preserved and adapted for twenty-first century uses.

CHAPTER 6

ADAPTIVE REUSE OF HISTORIC SCHOOLS

Since the middle of the twentieth century, there has been an increase in laws and

regulations that affect the decisions regarding the preservation of schools. Fifty years

after the federal government passed the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of

1966, it has been well established that historic preservation is a valid and justifiable use

of governmental power. Prior to 1966, many federal laws had been enacted that relate to

historic preservation, but the last fifty years has been of critical importance in the broad

field of preservation and especially in regards to the process of adaptive reuse of historic

buildings in order to preserve them without freezing them in time and running the risk of

making the buildings obsolete. Given the federal system of government in the United

States, much of the laws pertaining to adaptive reuse, and preservation more broadly,

exist at the local and state level, but much of the most significant legislation, regulation,

and case law exists at the federal level.

The federal government has made a clear statement in favor of the preservation

and reuse of historic buildings. Current federal code states that it "is the policy of the

Federal Government, in cooperation with other nations and in partnership with States,

local governments, Indian tribes, Native Hawaiian organizations and private

organizations and individuals to – 1) use measures, including financial and technical

assistance, to foster conditions under which our modern society and our historic property can exist in productive harmony and fulfill the social, economic, and other requirements of present and future generations, 2) provide leadership in the preservation of the historic property of the United States and of the international community of nations and in the administration of the national preservation program, 3) administer federally owned, administered, or controlled historic property in a spirit of stewardship for the inspiration and benefit of present and future generations, 4) contribute to the preservation of non-federally owned historic property and give maximum encouragement to organizations and individuals undertaking preservation by private means, 5) encourage the public and private preservation and utilization of all usable elements of the Nation's historic built environment; and 6) assist State and local governments, Indian tribes, and Native Hawaiian organizations, and the National Trust to expand and accelerate their historic preservation programs and activities."[214] The most important aspects of this in regards to adaptive reuse is in the first, fourth, and fifth stated goals. In an attempt to achieve those goals, the federal government maintains directives to federal agencies and administers several programs to regulate and/or incentivize the reuse of historic buildings. These actions, however, are taken across a variety of areas of the law. Thus, attorney Christopher Duerksen, who specializes in zoning and land-use law, describes historic preservation law as "a collage, cutting across and drawing from several other established areas of law: land use and zoning, real property, taxation, local government, constitutional, and administrative."[215] It also overlaps with federal efforts related to environmental law and the preservation of archaeological resources. Historic

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[214] 54 U.S.C. §300101
[215] Christopher J. Duerksen, ed. *A Handbook for Historic Preservation Law* (Washington D.C.: Conservation Foundation and National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1983), xxi

preservation law, then, is perhaps best summarized by stating its goals: it seeks to protect historically important public property under the auspices of local, state, and national governments and to regulate private property that is of unusual public interest and historic value.[216]

Behind all of these preservation laws lies various public policy considerations which attempt to balance the preservation of important historic resources with other governmental objectives including economic development, and which address the rights of individual property owners. Some of the laws are aimed at restricting changes to historic properties. Others seek to put preservation on an equal economic footing with alternate courses of actions for owners of historic properties, so that demolition and/or new construction do not enjoy favorable cost-reward ratios and thereby become more attractive to property owners. Both of these types of laws are important when considering an adaptive rehabilitation and new use of a historic school.

One of the first considerations for owners of historic schools is a determination of whether their property is subject to federal, state, or local protection – or all three levels of government. Even being listed on the National Register of Historic Places does not necessarily affect what one can do with the school: national listing is largely honorific and the penalty for altering the property is simply being de-listed. The state level usually triggers stronger regulatory protection, and often also governs whether the owner qualifies for favorable tax treatment from both federal and state governments.[217] Local designations are the most likely to affect an owner's ability to alter the property in ways

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[216] Jacob H. Morrison, *Historic Preservation Law* (Washington D.C.: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1974), 3.
[217] Julia H. Miller, *A Layperson's Guide to Historic Preservation Law: A Survey of Federal, State, and Local Laws Governing Historic Resource Protection*, (Washington D.C.: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 2004), 2

that would harm its historic or architecturally significant character as well as deciding an owner's eligibility for tax benefits or flexible application of local land-use laws such as zoning.[218] Nonetheless, local and state laws usually have their basis in the major federal legislation regarding the preservation of historic resources, most of which are accomplished through specific historic preservation acts or applications of certain environmental protection laws. The federal laws generally provide procedures, with enforcement left to the more localized levels of government. Only a few afford historic resources any substantive protection, requiring federal agencies to avoid harming said resources unless there is no alternative and the harm is minimized to the greatest possible extent.[219]

Overview of Federal Programs

Undoubtedly the most famous federal law is the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. This act expresses a general national policy of supporting and encouraging the preservation of historic and prehistoric resources and directs federal agencies to consider such resources in their activities.[220] Despite some public perception to the contrary, the NHPA does not require preservation but instead requires federal agencies to consider the impact of their activities upon historic properties. The act authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to maintain the National Register of Historic Places which constitutes an inventory of districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that have significance on local, state, or national levels. This significance may be within American history – the most well-known area – or within architecture, archaeology, engineering, or

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[218] Ibid.
[219] Miller, 3
[220] 16 U.S.C. §§ 470, 470-1

culture. The Secretary of the Interior formally lists properties on the National Register, and determines eligibility for the Register via a published list of criteria and procedures.[221] Although the listing is largely honorific, property owners should be aware that listing – or eligibility for listing – qualifies a property for various economic incentives related to its maintenance, repair, or rehabilitation.[222] State and local governments are primarily responsible for supervising the nomination of properties for the National Register, usually through the State Historic Preservation Office which maintains each state's program for historic preservation. Native American tribes have separate tribal offices, since tribal lands generally fall outside the purview of state law. SHPOs also serve as the liaison for most citizens between the property owners and the federal agencies as well as providing information, education and technical assistance for owners of historic resources. In Texas, this entity is known as the Texas Historical Commission (THC).

Another well-known aspect of the NHPA provisions is the protective review process for listed or eligible historic properties. This is generally known as the Section 106 Review. This review calls for an identification of protected resources that might be affected by an agency's action, a determination of the adverse effects of said action, and a consultation with the THC – and in some cases, the national Advisory Council on Historic Preservation – about ways to avoid or reduce those adverse effects. In most cases, the end result of a Section 106 review that finds adverse effects results in a Memorandum of Agreement executed by the consulting parties.[223] This agreement puts

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[221] 36 C.F.R. pts. 60, 63

[222] 16 U.S.C. §§ 470a, 470b and 16 U.S.C. §470d

[223] The Advisory Council on Historic Preservation was also established under the NHPA, and is now an independent federal agency. It is composed of 20 members from both public and private sectors and

forth specific protective measures that must be taken in regards to the historic property.

If an agreement is not reached, the matter goes before the full Advisory Council which

then issues formal comments.[224] Those comments may be rejected or accepted by the

agency involved. It is important to note, then, that this process does not prevent agencies

from taking actions that will ultimately harm historic resources. It merely requires that

the agency explore alternative measures that mitigate or avoid the harm, it does not

require that the agency then undertake those alternative measures. However, if a

Memorandum of Agreement is reached and executed, it is analogous to a binding contract

and the actions it outlines must be undertaken.[225]

    If a renovation or rehabilitation project is undertaken by a federal agency, or

receives any federal financial benefits or assistance, it is subject to Section 106 review.

This also includes projects which require a federal permit, license, or approval, and those

subject to state or local regulation administered pursuant to approval by or delegation

from a federal agency.[226] Before beginning any renovations or rehabilitations of a

historic resource, one should be aware that the broad range of undertakings can include

such things as building leases, building demolitions, the addition of solar power/solar

panels, and even the construction of fences, as well as many other activities.[227] Even the

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employs a professional staff trained in various aspects of preservation. Council members include
secretaries of major federal departments and agencies – including Secretaries of the Interior and
Agriculture – the Architect of the Capitol, four members of the general public, one Native American or
Native Hawaiian, four preservation experts, one governor and one mayor, all appointed by the President of
the United States. The Chairman of the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the sitting president of
the National Conference of State Historic Preservation Officers serve in an *ex oficio* capacity as well. 16
U.S.C. §470i
[224] Miller, 5
[225] 16 U.S.C. § 470h-2(*l*); 36 C.F.R. § 800.6(c)(1)
[226] 16 U.S.C. § 470w(7)
[227] *Birmingham Realty Co. v General Services Administration*, 497 F Supp. 1377 (N.D. Ala. 1980);
Committee to Save the Fox Bldg. v Birmingham Branch of the Federal Reserve Bank, 497 F. Supp. 504
(N.D. Ala. 1980) & *Don't Tear It Down, Inc. v General Services Administration*, 401 F. Supp. 1194

approval of federal financial assistance for state, local, or private projects is itself an

undertaking. Federal loan guarantees have been held to be within the scope of Section

106, as have projects which included technical assistance.[228] In general, Section 106

review must be undertaken as early in the project as is feasible, but as long as there is still

an ability to influence the scope and work of the project, the review process applies.[229]

Consultation with the THC is considered an essential component of the identification

process, and a "reasonable and good faith effort" to identify historic properties must be

undertaken though surveys are often incomplete for various reasons.[230] Agencies must

seek information and input from local governments, organizations, and the public as well.

Even if there are no historic properties found in the concerned area, the agency is

required to make that determination known to the THC by supplying all necessary

documentation as well as notifying any interested persons of its finding.[231]

The National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) may also apply to buildings

being adapted for a new use.[232] This act, which went into effect on 1 January 1970,

requires the federal government and its agencies to carry out all plans and programs so as

to "preserve important historic, cultural, and natural aspects of our national heritage."[233]

It primarily regulates only major federal actions such as the adoption of federal policies

and programs or the approval of federally funded, licensed, or permitted projects which

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(D.D.C. 1975); *Ferris v Secretary of the United States Department of Transportation*, No. 89-C-779-C
(W.D. Wis. 1990); *Attakai v United States*, 746 F. Supp. 1395 (D. Ariz. 1990)
[228] *Carson v. Alvord*, 487 F. Supp. 1049 (N.D. Ga 1980); H.R. Rep. No. 1457, 96th Congress, 1st Session, at
45 (1980)
[229] *Vieux Carré Property Owners, Residents & Associates v Brown*, 948 F.2d 1436 (5th Circuit, 1991)
[230] *Attakai v United States*, 746 F. Supp. 1395 (D. Ariz. 1990); 36 C.F.R. § 800.4(b) & *Pueblo of Sandia v
United States*, 50 F. 3d 856 (10th Circuit, 1995)
[231] 36 C.F.R. §800.4(d)
[232] 42 U.S.C. § 4321-4347
[233] 42 U.S.C. § 4331(b)(4)

affect the quality of the human environment.[234] For this reason, while it often applies to projects that fall under the NHPA, it does not necessarily cover all undertakings. Courts throughout the country are not in agreement as to the amount of federal involvement necessary to trigger NEPA, including whether or not the demolition of a property listed on the National Register constitutes a major federal action.[235]

Economics

The NHPA also authorizes a grant program, supported by the National Preservation Fund, which provides funds to states for important preservation projects and to individual property owners for the preservation of listed properties. There are two categories of grants, one for surveying and planning purposes and the other for physical work for the maintenance or rehabilitation of eligible historic properties. Recipients must match the federal monies, which amount to millions each year for the support of historic preservation.[236] Access to these grants is an important reason for owners considering adapting a historic school to do the work necessary to have it listed or deemed eligible for listing on the National Register.

Federal tax law also includes some important provisions for owners of historic properties. The primary thrust of efforts to financially support preservation work lies in various tax incentive programs. These programs generally address three major objectives: first, they provide monetary support of the owners of historic resources that are subject to preservation laws; second, they counter both public and private land-use

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[234] Miller, 5
[235] Adina W. Kanefield, Federal Historic Preservation Case Law, 1966-1996: Thirty Years of the National Historic Preservation Act (Washington, D.C.: Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, 1996),, 41-3
[236] Kanefield, 6.

policies that would favor demolition and new construction; and third, they encourage the

rehabilitation of historic buildings for continued pertinent use in twenty-first century

society. Meaningful incentives are available at both the federal and the state level in

most jurisdictions, and in some places, municipal incentives also apply. Owners of an

historic property can combine these incentives to make the necessary renovations

economically viable. If adapting eligible buildings, or investing in these projects, a

taxpayer may recoup dollar for dollar expenditures via a credit against tax owed so long

as the stated criteria and standards are met. Taxpayers may also deduct a 'charitable tax

deduction' up to the value of donated, full, or partial interest in the historic property from

their taxable income. Probably the most well-known tax incentive for preservation work

is the historic rehabilitation tax credit, which gives property owners either a ten or twenty

percent credit on rehabilitation expenses. "Certified historic structures" are eligible for

the twenty percent credit while noncertified properties are eligible for the ten percent

credit.[237] To qualify for either level, the building must have been placed into service

prior to 1936, and qualified expenditures must exceed either the value of the building or

$5,000. Neither the cost of acquisition nor of enlargements may be claimed. If the

property has been listed in the National Register individually or is a contributing resource

to a designated historic district qualifies only if the rehabilitation has been certified by the

relevant municipal, state, or federal organizations up to and including the office of the

Secretary of the Interior.[238] In addition, the building must be income-producing and not

an owner-occupied residence.[239] Tax credits may in some instances be carried over to

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[237] 26 U.S.C. § 47
[238] 26 U.S.C. § 47
[239] 26 C.F.R. 1.46 *et seq.*

future tax years if the amount due exceeds limitations placed by the relevant taxing agency whether federal, state, or local.

In 2000, Congress established a new program under Section 121 of the Community Renewal Tax Relief Act which awards tax credit allocations to qualified Community Development Entities (CDE), a certified investment fund whose purpose is to provide investment capital for low-income areas, which in turn award these credits to taxpayers that invest money in historic business districts in these low-income communities. A taxpayer may receive up to nearly forty percent in such tax credits over a seven-year period. Through a CDE, a taxpayer invests in businesses serving these communities, and by creating such alliances, the CDE in turn has access to capital and business acumen to help low-income communities flourish. Taxpayers can participate directly in historic rehabilitation projects or invest in conduit funds that serve businesses along a historic Main Street district.[240]

At the state level, property tax relief is usually offered, with the size of the incentive proportionate to the size of the rehabilitation. These programs are most often administered by the SHPO and generally relief is provided in one of three ways: a property tax assessment freeze, a property tax abatement, or a property tax exemption. Most states also limit tax relief to jurisdictions that have opted to participate in the state's program.[241]

Effective from January 2015, there is a new Texas state historic tax credit worth 25% of the eligible rehabilitation costs on buildings listed in the National Register and/or

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[240] H.R. 5662 as enacted by section 1(a)(7) of Pub. L. 106-554, Dec. 21 2000, 114 Stat. 2763, 2763A-587
[241] Miller, 32. This can be important, since property tax is a major source of revenue for many communities and relief programs should not interfere with the possible funding that serves major local needs such as school districts.

the Recorded Texas Historic Landmarks and Texas State Antiquities Landmarks, or those deemed eligible for such listing.[242] This would include buildings deemed contributing to a historic district that is listed, even if the building is not separately listed. An eligible building may apply for the credit, but the property must be listed by the time the state credit is taken. Only buildings qualify for this state tax credit, and the building must be income-producing or non-profit. Owner-occupied and municipal offices are not eligible, for example. To qualify for the credit, the cost of work must exceed $5,000 and the owner can apply for successive years if the cost threshold is met. Most rehabilitation costs are eligible, including structural work, architectural and engineering fees, and legal expenses; however, property acquisition, new additions, furniture, parking, sidewalks, and landscaping are not eligible expenses. The building must be returned to use after the rehabilitation, and the tax credit is generally allowed in the tax year that the property is place in service or the project is completed. Unused franchise tax credit can be carried forward up to five years. All work undertaken must meet the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation to be eligible for Texas' tax credit including all interior and exterior work as well as any related demolition or new construction.

To receive this tax credit, the owner must apply before the work is completed, and should ideally submit all the required forms during the planning stages so that the Texas Historical Commission can ensure it meets the standards before work commences. After completion of the rehabilitation, THC staff verifies that the work was completed as proposed and in accordance with the Secretary of the Interior's Standards. The owner then receives a Certificate of Eligibility which must be presented to the Texas Office of the Comptroller to receive the tax credits. Most owners will find that the documentation

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[242] 13 TAC §2.13

necessary for both the federal and the state tax credit programs are quite similar so it is relatively simple to apply to both programs at the same time. The combination of state and federal credits constitutes a significant economic motivation in favor of adaptive reuse.

Accessibility

Other federal laws which may affect the renovation of a historic property include accessibility laws for buildings in public use. The most important federal accessibility regulations relate to the Americans with Disabilities Act, which passed in 1990.[243] In general, this calls for alterations to facilities that serve the public to be made in such a way as to make the facility or the altered portion thereof readily accessible to and usable by those with disabilities. If full compliance is structurally impractical, the alteration must comply with such a level as is structurally practical. Alterations to historic properties similarly are required to comply with the provisions inasmuch as is feasible without threatening or destroying the historic significance of the building. If it is not possible to make the building accessible, the program itself should be made accessible in some alternative method.[244] In general, if alterations to the historic building would threaten or destroy the historic significance of the building, fundamentally alter the program, or result in undue financial or administrative burdens, alternative means may be used to achieve program accessibility. Such exemptions for historic buildings require consultation with the SHPO and for the State Historic Preservation Officer to determine that the exemptions apply.

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[243] 42 U.S.C. 126
[244] 28 C.F.R. § 35.151

At the federal level, the Department of Justice enforces the requirements of the ADA, while in Texas, the Department of Licensing and Regulation (TDLR) enforces the ADA as it relates to building design. Texas adopted its own version, instead of using the federal design guidelines. These are known as the Texas Accessibility Standards (TAS), the most recent edition of which was enacted in 2012. The current standards may be found on the website of the TDLR.[245] These requirements apply to all newly constructed or substantially renovated buildings. Publicly owned or leased buildings, as well as those are privately owned but considered public accommodations, are covered by the standards. Buildings that qualify as public accommodations include but are not necessarily limited to restaurants and bars; inns, motels, hotels, and all places of lodging that let more than five rooms; theaters, concert hall, stadiums, and other venues of public entertainment or exhibition; retail stores; service establishments including offices; transportation facilities; recreational places such as amusement parks, zoos, and parks; all levels of educational facilities both public and private; social service centers; and venues for exercise. All construction and alteration projects with a budget of more than $50,000 must submit plans for review. Smaller projects need not submit plans, but are still required to follow the standards. Historic buildings are expected to comply as much as is possible without destroying the architectural or historic significance of the building. A letter from the Texas Historical Commission attesting to the damage to the buildings historic value must be submitted with the variance application in these cases.[246] Variances are also possible if the cost of compliance would be an undue burden, usually considered to be more than

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[245] The entire document can be downloaded at
https://www.tdlr.texas.gov/ab/2012TAS/2012tascomplete.pdf Accessed 15 Apr 2016. The TDLR in this instance operates under the authority granted it by the state in TGC §469
[246] Section 202.5 of the TAS Standards, p.21

20% of the total cost of the rehabilitation/construction, or if it is technically infeasible such as having structural members placed in such a way as to make following the standards impossible or significantly impractical.[247]

Safety

Historic properties are also often subject to federal laws regarding environmental hazards. Owners, developers, and owners of preservation easements can all be directly liable for problems related to these hazards. In certain circumstances, preservation organizations which lend money to rehabilitation and renovation efforts if the loan is secured by real property can also be liable. While the most sweeping laws in regards to hazardous substance liability is the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation and Liability Act (CERCLA or the "Superfund" Act), relatively few preservation projects are sufficiently hazardous to qualify at that level. [248] It is more likely that other federal laws managing hazards such as lead-based paint and asbestos, the removal and abatement of which are regulated by several acts and must follow the regulation from the Department of Housing and Urban Development regarding the process for abatements.[249] Liabilities can also apply to abandoned or improperly used or disposed of sources of toxic substances such as polychlorinated biphenyl (PCB) which were most commonly used as dielectric and cooling materials. The Clean Water Act, which governs unlawful discharges to surface or ground water, may also be applicable in the case of historic properties, many of which were built before environmental

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[247] Section 106.5.25 and 106.5.68 of the TAS Standards, p. 13 & 17
[248] 42 USC §§ 9601-9675
[249] 42 USC §§ 4851-4856; 42 USC § 4821 et seq.; 15 USC § 2601 et seq.; 42 USC § 6901 et seq.; 15 USC § 2641; 29 USCA § 651678; and 24 CFR Part 35

regulations were significant parts of the planning process for a structure.[250] Many states, including Texas, have also passed "brownfield" laws to assess and govern the rehabilitation of hazardous sites.

Governmental actions affecting historic resources generally are taken into account by state governments in two ways: the SHPO plays a formal role in helping identify resources, assess impacts, and develop alternatives to mitigate the effects, and most states have enacted laws that protect historic resources from the state's government action in ways similar to the federal processes already outlined.[251] In general, state involvement in preservation focuses on the administration of the federal laws though some states have developed other processes or stricter means of protecting resources within its jurisdiction. As with the federal laws, historic preservation at the state level provides for public participation and in most cases relies at least partly on the citizenry to maintain enforcement. Some state actions though are not aimed expressly at historic preservation but may affect adaptations and rehabilitations. A prominent example of this is building codes and standards.

The rehabilitation of historic buildings can be hindered by the application of modern building codes. These codes specify how buildings must be constructed and used in order to protect the health, safety, and welfare of the public. Most building codes are intended to set standards for new construction, so problems can arise if those standards are strictly applied to historic resources many of which were constructed with the technology which makes current codes possible. Introducing modern material can significantly alter the historic value and integrity of a resource. Code requirements may

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[250] 33 USC § 1251 et seq
[251] Miller, 6

necessitate the removal or alteration of original materials or alterations in fenestration, egress, or arrangement of spaces in order to meet safety standards. Most building codes are adopted at the state level, using international model codes as a basis, and are enforced at the local level. Modifications of the model codes are made as necessary to respond to the needs and circumstances of the state or of the local government. The International Building Code (IBC) has been adopted throughout most of the United States as the basis for states' codes. In order to compromise between the perfect preservation of a historic resource and the strict enforcement of twenty-first-century building codes so that the public safety is protected without ruining the integrity of the resource, special rehabilitation or historic building codes have been adopted that most often permit existing parts of a structure to be permitted so long as it is basically safe but that additions and alterations must meet new code requirements. These exceptions to certain aspects of building codes intend to remove some of the barriers to investment in extant building stock, offering flexibility while maintaining a minimum safety standard.

In Texas, there is no state building code but state regulations do govern some aspects of new construction or rehabilitations of extant buildings. Local governments officially adopt specific building codes, most often the International Building Code as in most parts of the nation. Owners of historic properties must contact the relevant local building authority to be certain of the codes which apply to the rehabilitation. Many historic buildings in Texas were constructed prior to the existence of building codes, and many of the others were built to codes that vary substantially from current standards. While this does not mean that the building in question is necessarily unsafe, the building

may be deemed out of compliance when permits are required for alterations or for occupancy.

Texas has several important areas of law that pertain to the adaptation or rehabilitation of historic resources. Many pertain to overall building standards in regards to safety or environmental concerns, including energy conservation. Effective in April 2011, the Texas State Energy Conservation Office adopted the 1009 International Energy Conservation Code (IECC) for commercial, industrial and residential buildings over three stories. In May 2015, to be effective in November 2016, Texas adopted the energy efficiency chapter of the International Energy Conservation Code Code in its 2015 form.[252] The State Fire Marshal's Office currently follows the standards of the National Fire Protection Association (NFPA) 101 Life Safety Code, 2012 edition, and NFPA 1. Deviations from the standard can be approved by the State Fire Marshal, but approval must be acquired during the planning stages, otherwise deviations from the standard will be considered deficiencies.[253]

The state of Texas has strict regulations regarding asbestos and other hazardous materials in demolitions, renovations, and rehabilitation of public & commercial buildings, including the adaptive reuse of what was formerly a single-family residence. The Department of State Health Services (TDSHS) enforces these and federal laws regarding protecting workers and the public exposure to dangerous materials. All permitted work must have an survey done to assess if any such material will be disturbed by the activities undertaken and that if so, the risk is abated.[254] As permits are issued at the municipal level, surveys are verified at the same, and some municipalities have

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[252] Tex. Administrative Code (TAC), §19.53
[253] Texas Government Code, § 417.008 and § 417.0081, and 28 TAC § 34.301 ff.
[254] 25 TAC §295.34 (l)

stricter requirements than the state, so building owners should contact their municipal

government to be sure that all work follows all the applicable regulations. Instead of a

survey, the owner/operator of a public or commercial building can submit certification

from a licensed engineer or architect, or a statement from an asbestos inspector licensed

by TDSHS stating that the material safety data sheets (MSDS) for the original

construction and all subsequent renovations or alterations have been reviewed and in

his/her professional opinion the affected areas of current work do not contain

asbestos/hazardous material. The form and copies of the original MSDS must be filed in

place of the verification of a survey.[255]

Associated Historic Resources

The Antiquities Code of Texas was enacted in 1969 to protect archaeological sites

and historic buildings on public land. It requires state agencies and political subdivisions

of the state, including counties, cities, municipal utility districts, river authorities, and

school districts, to notify the THC of any ground-disturbing activity on publicly-owned

land. It established as well the designation of a State Antiquities Landmark which may

be applied to historic buildings as well as archaeological sites.[256] Counties and other

local government agencies are required to notify the THC of any project on public land

that involves five or more acres of ground disturbance; five thousand or more cubic yards

of earth moving; occurs in a historic district or designated historic site; or will affect an

archaeological site. Regardless of the size of the project, if historic or archaeological

sites are encountered, the agency must stop work and notify the THC. State agencies are

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[255] Texas' rules and regulations regarding surveys and abatement can be found at
http://www.dshs.state.tx.us/asbestos/rules.shtm Accessed 30 Mar 2016
[256] 9 Texas Natural Resource Code §191 and 13 TAC §26, *passim*.

held to a stricter standard, and all projects – even those below the size thresholds previously listed – require THC notification. State agencies must also notify the THC at least sixty days prior to any modifications to or demolition of any building fifty or more years of age. The code defines all cultural resources on non-federal public lands in the state to be eligible for designation as a State Antiquities Landmark (SAL). Historic buildings must be listed on the National Register to be deemed an SAL but archaeological sites are not required to be listed. If a site is designated, it may still be altered or destroyed but only after consultation with the THC. Because of the intersections of state and federal funding for many projects, most sites are also subject to Section 106 review.

Adapting a Historic School

As the example of the tax credits most clearly shows, it is both necessary and economically wise to be familiar with all the local, state, and federal laws and regulations pertaining to the adaptive reuse of historic buildings. The renovation of buildings previously or currently owned by state agencies, including school districts, often have particular issues and concerns which must be addressed by someone looking to rehabilitate the building. Nonetheless, reusing an extant building is not only economically feasible even with the regulations but it is also one of the most reasonable and effective methods of 'going green' – essentially recycling much of an old building to keep it in service to a community even if it is serving in new ways.

Old schools can be and have been adapted to serve a wide variety of purposes. Many of these uses depend on the square footage of the school buildings involved, as

well as the relative ages of the portions of the building. Many school buildings acquired

additions over its years in service and it is not unusual for those additions to also meet the

fifty-year age requirement to be deemed historic. This is especially true as all of those

post-war additions resulting from the Baby Boom are reaching that benchmark: any

addition built prior to 1970 is in the window to be considered. One of the most common

uses for a large school building is as an apartment building. The old Waco High School

in Waco, Texas, has been successfully adapted into low-income housing that was much

needed in the central area of that city, including a playground for residents' children on

the former grounds – another feature that is often in short supply in and near downtown

areas.

Figure 6.1: One of the apartments inside the old Waco High School, which retains the
blackboard and the railing, as well as the ceiling height of the old building giving the
apartments unique architectural features and a sense of space. (Photo courtesy of Rehab
Builders at http://www.rehabbuilders.com/cmt/97.html)

There are several other possible uses for larger school buildings, however. These include use as a municipal building, such as in Killeen, Texas where the city has adapted the former school to be the current city hall. Many others are used as community centers and meeting an event spaces for community members and community organizations. Some, particularly in urban areas, are repurposed for use by charter schools or private schools. Other schools, such as Oakwood Elementary in North Knoxville, Tennessee, have been adapted into senior living centers – and with the American population aging, these could be an important service provided by these historic buildings.[257] Such a use, similar to the apartment building scheme and the community center option, permits the large gathering spaces of the school to be preserved: residents & community members can still enjoy entertainments put on in the auditorium, can use the gym for activities, and the lobbies as social spaces. In the case of the senior-living center, even the cafeteria was maintained to create a dining hall for residents.

These same options, of course, as well as others can be applied to smaller school buildings. In Eola, Texas, about thirty miles outside of San Angelo, the former school has been utilized in part as a restaurant – though this leaves a portion of the school unused, the entire building has been preserved and the unused portion is in the process of rehabilitation. The tiny rural schools in Gillespie County, Texas have been maintained as community centers for the rural population that remains in the area. Though such schools are no longer viable as educational institutions, due to the demise of all-grades-in-one-room instruction and economies of scale in larger schools, the buildings continue to

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[257] Natalie Patterson, "Getting Schooled: Creative Reuse of Historic School Buildings," published online by the Community and Economic Development Program at the University of North Carolina – Chapel Hill, at http://ced.sog.unc.edu/getting-schooled-historic-school-buildings-provide-opportunities-for-creative-reuse/ accessed 10 Sept 2016

provide a gathering place for these rural communities. In New York City, the Diocese of Brooklyn has seen some success in maintaining ownership of its closed elementary schools but renting the space for use as various sorts of studios – whether for dance or similar activities in former gyms or often as art studios in the former classrooms which offer large windows for natural light, high ceilings, open spaces, and hard-wearing flooring and walls which can stand up to the needs of the artists.

The primary concern in adapting a historic school for a new use, even if its new use is as a more modern school, is to maintain the historic integrity of the building. This not only preserves its eligibility for the National Register, but it is the basis of the various financial incentives offered to most rehabilitation and reuse projects. The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation call for the preservation of not just the exterior features of the school but also the retention of distinctive interior features and finishes that characterized the building in its original form. This includes saving as much as is possible of the historic material.

The first step in preserving these features is to identify what are the distinctive elements of the particular school's architecture and design. Exterior features are perhaps the easiest to determine: the overall shape of the building, roof line & related features, openings, projections, and setting are all part of the school's historic character, along with the materials and craftsmanship. Some of these may not be possible to preserve or may already be inexorably altered, such as the setting. Others, like the shape of the building, may be easier to preserve since it is always possible to stay within the original walls, even if it is not most desirable to do so. Entrances, exits, and fenestration should be maintained or returned to its original state if some have been boarded over or closed.

Trim work and even the type of roofing material should be maintained or replaced like-for-like in order to preserve these elements of the historic building.

Perceiving the distinctive features and characteristics of interior spaces can be somewhat more challenging, in part because exteriors are more easily seen holistically. Interiors are perceived as a sequence of spaces, and in fact, the very sequence of the space may be a distinctive feature of a particular school. One should first assess whether there are individual spaces important to the character of the school and avoid altering those spaces as much as possible. Dropping the ceiling in an entrance lobby, for example, may damage the shape and character of the space, often the first space one sees when one enters in the building. Enclosing or moving staircases can alter the paths one takes through the building, again altering the distinct character of the school. Spaces that are linked should, as much as possible, remain linked in order to preserve the sequence of space. The relationships between corridors and classrooms, as well as the high ceilings and often large windows are all key parts of the building's character. Ceilings may be lowered for modern duct work and other mechanical needs, but the maintenance of high ceilings should be retained – for example, lowering a twelve-foot ceiling to a ten-foot ceiling allows for improvements but as long as no important decorative features are destroyed or obscured, such a change maintains generous ceiling heights. Interior finishes and features also deserve attention: it is often easy to see the value in keeping ornamental features but even an "upgrade" from a modest handrail to something more ornate alters the original structure unnecessarily and should be avoided. The school may have distinctive interior finishes as well, such as parquet floors, marble floors, pressed metal ceilings, polychrome, and stenciling that should not be removed. In the example of

old Waco High School, the rehabilitation even preserved the blackboards on the walls of former classrooms: even though the building is now apartments, it is easy to see its original form and function as well.

Given all of the challenges involved in renovating historic schools, many organizations or cities choose to simply demolish the building and use the land – often centrally located – for new construction. As this chapter makes clear, however, there are many possible uses for a historic school while maintaining its architectural style and integrity. Further, there are a variety of programs and government entities in place to assist with the preservation of historic buildings. These guidelines are in place to encourage adaptive reuse programs, which are the greenest sort of construction activity, but also to assist in preserving the historic integrity of the building and its surrounding landscape. Tax credit programs may entirely offset any perceived extra cost of renovation relative to demolition and new construction. Further, as the three case studies in the next chapter will prove, historic preservation and especially that of schools plays an important part in maintaining a unique sense of identity within the community.

CHAPTER 7

CASE STUDIES

This research project utilized three distinct methodologies in order to examine the

effect of preserving historic schools upon maintaining community identity in places

undergoing significant population change as it is amalgamated into a larger metropolitan

area. The first methodology is the use of three case studies, discussed in this chapter. In

the next chapter, the other methodologies – involving a resident survey and preservation

group interview – will be presented along with the results of that portion of the study.

Case studies are a traditional manner of examining cause and effect on a living

human population, utilized in fields as varied as medicine, law, engineering, business,

and yes, even historic preservation, among many others. Case studies are not only used

in research, but also as a manner of education both in the classroom and in presenting

principles, practices, and procedures to the public. A case study is a systematic,

examination of the decisions, process, and outcomes of a single example within a specific

field of endeavor undertaken for the purpose of answering a set of questions regarding

practices within the field. Case studies can provide important practical information for

those seeking potential solutions to similar problems and can also serve as useful

educational tools for those working within the field. Case studies may also be used to

explain or even predict outcomes of situations and to develop strategies to achieve

desired results or to develop a theory regarding larger trends within the profession. For

this research, multiple case studies were undertaken in the hope of discovering

generalizable trends to be applied to the growing field of historic preservation and the adaptive reuse of historic public buildings such as schools.

In order to measure the link between a unique community identity and the preservation of historic schools as public spaces in communities that have experienced or are experiencing rapid population growth, three historic schools in Texas were selected as case studies. The Texas Historical Commission assisted in the selection process by providing a list of possible case studies – historic schools built before World War II which have been adapted to public use – and basic contact information for the organizations which currently own or operate the historic school. From that list, three case studies were chosen that reflect communities at a different point in their population growth: one which underwent most of its population growth in the middle of the twentieth century (Bedford), one which has undergone significant population growth for the last three decades and is predicted to continue growing (Georgetown), and one which has only just begun to experience a significant population growth (Bartlett). This differentiation permits responses from residents of communities at all points on the spectrum of population growth. The schools are roughly the same age, built between 1909 and 1923, and all are still publicly accessible: Bedford School is a mixed-use public facility owned by the City of Bedford, which hosts a variety of social and cultural events as well as having meeting spaces, and a small museum to the history of the school and Bedford; Bartlett Grammar School is used as a local museum and community meeting space; and the former Georgetown High School still sees active scholastic use as Williams Elementary.

The three case studies are discussed in the order in which they began to experience metropolitan area-influenced population growth, or what one might call the effects of suburban sprawl. For this reason, Bedford is presented first since its population growth began in the mid-twentieth century. The second case study, Georgetown, began its rapid population growth about thirty years later. Finally, Bartlett has only just seen its first significant population jump in the time since the last decennial census. In this way, the study moves from the community which is expected to be most affected by a loss of community identity in favor of belonging to the metropolitan sprawl of Dallas-Fort Worth to the community just beginning to experience an amalgamation into a larger metropolitan area.

Bedford

Bedford, Texas is a city of over 49,000 people located in the "Mid-cities" area between Dallas and Fort Worth.[258] With a total area of a little over ten square miles, it is relatively densely populated, with almost 5,000 persons per square mile. It is a suburb of Fort Worth, within the northeastern quadrant of Tarrant County, and divided by Texas state highway 121 which has been the Airport Expressway for access from Fort Worth to Dallas/Fort Worth International Airport for the last several decades. The highway began in 1928 as a direct route connecting Fort Worth with McKinney – now a far northern suburb of Dallas – and became a freeway in the 1960s as the Dallas-Fort Worth area began to grow rapidly from the mid-twentieth century.[259]

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[258] Population information from the Census Bureau, found at
http://www.census.gov/popest/data/cities/totals/2015/files/SUB-EST2015_48.csv
[259] George N. Green, "Bedford, Texas" in *The Handbook of Texas Online* at
https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/heb03, accessed 16 September 2016

Figure 7.1: Map of the City of Bedford within the Dallas-Fort Worth metropolitan area. It is surrounded on all sides by other communities, and its inter-city location combined with the freeway access makes it highly convenient to many parts of the region. (Google Maps)

The first settlers in the area of Bedford arrived in the 1840s, establishing a rural farming community strategically placed along one of the major roads into Fort Worth. The first school in the area was conducted in a log cabin and housed only a dozen or so students in 1861. In the 1870s, a town site was developed around the newly established general store and grist mill owned by Weldon Bobo, who along with several of his neighbors, named the community Bedford after the county in Tennessee from which many of them had come.[260] By the 1880s, Bedford was a thriving small town with a post office, the general store, mill, and several other businesses, and a population exceeding 1,000 persons. Yet, at the turn of the century, the Dallas-Fort Worth Interurban rail line was built south of the Trinity River, about six miles south of Bedford, and was soon followed by a close and parallel new U.S. Highway 80 which ran through Arlington and Grand Prairie, both also south of Bedford, and diverting traffic and business away from

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[260] Green, "Bedford"

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Bedford.[261] Thus, the major routes between the two major cities concentrated

development to the south. At the same time, the Rock Island Railroad also bypassed

Bedford, and it remained a small rural agricultural and unincorporated community for

decades. Nonetheless, a new brick schoolhouse was built in 1912 to house both the

elementary and secondary students, and the local economy was generally stable

throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Along with the new school, the

Bedford Boys Ranch was founded in the early part of the century and would leave a

lasting legacy to the community: the grounds of the former home for wayward (often

orphan or indigent) boys aged 10-14 is now one of the largest parks in the area and home

to many of the outdoor and athletic activities enjoyed by Bedford residents.[262] By the

time of the Second World War, out of Bedford's approximately 400 person population,

100 of them were residents of the Boys Ranch.[263]

Following World War II, the population of Bedford and its surrounds began to

increase as military bases and defense plants opened nearby. Ease of access to the

growing cities of Dallas and Fort Worth also encouraged new arrivals to the Bedford

area. The local post office, which had closed in 1909, reopened in 1950. As the

population grew, residents of Bedford chose to incorporate, and it became officially the

City of Bedford in 1953 with a total area of around two square miles. In 1958, Bedford's

citizens narrowly approved a merger with neighboring Euless's school district, and

although the cities of Hurst, Euless, and Bedford have never merged their political

administrations, they have merged such things as the local chamber of commerce and the

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[261] Ibid. U.S. Highway 80 was a coast-to-coast highway, as indicated by its number ending in zero, though the entire length west of Dallas has been decommissioned in favor of various interstates. Once it was fully opened, Highway 80 connected San Diego, California to its eastern terminus at Tybee Island, Georgia.
[262] Bedford Historic Foundation board members, interview, 3 August 2016.
[263] Green, "Bedford"

hospital district as well as the school districts.[264] Following the school district merger, high school students no longer attended the school in Bedford, though it remained in use as an elementary school. In 1960, the city annexed adjacent land and increased to its current geographic size of just over ten square miles and increased its population to 2,700 persons. By 1970, Bedford had a population of over 10,000. The Boys Ranch closed, and in the early 1970s the property became the city's largest park. Then, in 1974, Dallas/Fort Worth International Airport was finally completed which, along with the new expressway which travels straight through Bedford connecting the city to the expanding highway system throughout the metroplex, caused the population to continue to grow rapidly.[265] Landlocked in the midst of other suburbs, Bedford was essentially built out and population growth slowed after 1990, with only about 12% total growth in the subsequent twenty-five years. The Bedford School closed its doors as a school in the 1980s, and after several years use as a storage area for the city, the Bedford Historic Foundation, led by Gordon Doggett, restored and reopened in the school in 1996.[266] The school continues to be owned by the City of Bedford and is used for a variety of purposes, including meeting spaces, theatre performances, concerts, music lessons, and even weddings.

Since the beginning of its postwar growth, Bedford has primarily existed as a bedroom community for the larger Dallas-Fort Worth metropolitan area. The largest employers in the city are the hospital that serves the Hurst-Euless-Bedford triad and a local blood-bank. Most of the residents work in other parts of the metropolis, taking advantage of Bedford's central location and abundant access to highways. Having been

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[264] Ibid.
[265] Ibid.
[266] Bedford Historic Foundation board interview. 3 August 2016

built-out for the few last decades, there is little left of Bedford's former agricultural economy. It is largely middle-class, with a median household income of just over $60,000 per year, and predominantly white, with 73.5% of residents self-reporting as white, non-Hispanic. Most of the remaining population is Hispanic (12.5%), black (7%), and Asian (4.4%), although there are small numbers of Native Americans and Pacific Islanders, as well as people belonging to two or more races.

Georgetown

Georgetown, Texas is the county seat of Williamson County and is located on Interstate 35 and along the San Gabriel River. The interstate, put through in the 1960s, runs 407 miles the entire length of Texas, from the Rio Grande at Laredo to the Red River which is the boundary with Oklahoma. It generally followed the route of existing highways that already ran through Georgetown. The San Gabriel River is formed in Georgetown from the confluence of two forks, and flows southeast, joining the Little River near Cameron then the Brazos River just north of College Station which empties into the Gulf just south of Freeport – about forty-five miles southwest of Galveston. Today, it is a rapidly growing community of approximately 64,000 people and is part of the dynamic Austin metropolitan area.[267] Despite its large and growing population, due to its size – nearly 50 square miles – its population density remains relatively low at less than 1,300 persons per square mile.

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[267] Population data from the U.S. Census Bureau at
http://www.census.gov/popest/data/cities/totals/2015/files/SUB-EST2015_48.csv

Figure 7.2: Map of Georgetown within the Austin metropolitan area (Google Maps)

The city was founded in 1848 and named for George Washington Glasscock, who

had moved to Texas in 1834 and helped to organize Williamson County. Glasscock,

along with his business partner Thomas B. Huling, donated the land for the town site.

The new town attracted settlers by offering an abundance of timber and the healthy clear

water of the San Gabriel as well as plentiful fertile land.[268] It remained a small

agricultural town for much of the middle nineteenth century, laying along a major

tributary cattle trail that connected to several well-known trails including the famous

Chisholm Trail. In the 1870s, Southwestern University opened thereby making

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[268] Clara Stearns Scarbrough, "Georgetown, Texas (Williamson County)" in *The Handbook of Texas Online* at https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hfg03, accessed 16 Sept 2016

Georgetown a college town as well as a county seat, and the Katy Railroad put a spur line through the town. It was also home to other industries, including a newspaper, quarries, several mills, cotton gins, factories, and a bottling works as well as being home to a prominent lumber mill and yard for central Texas.[269] Cotton production was a dominant industry as well, until the 1920s when crop diversification necessarily increased.

The population remained relatively steady until Interstate 35 was completed through the Austin area, opening formally in 1962. The population began to increase significantly from the early 1980s, as suburban growth in Austin continued to expand the metropolitan area, and the number of residents has more than doubled since the turn of the twenty-first century. Some of this growth is directly attributed to the establishment of one of Del Webb's Sun City developments for senior citizens (55 and over), which when built out will include more than 7,000 residences, and a significant demographic in Georgetown which not all of the respondents to this study's survey found a positive influence on local politics.

The current Williams Elementary school was built in 1923-24 as Georgetown High School near the courthouse square in downtown Georgetown. It served as the high school for fifty years, until the population growth in the city meant the student population outgrew the available facilities and expansion of the site was not possible at this location, so a new high school was built elsewhere in Georgetown. The historic school then served as a junior high school and an elementary school until 1999. It then briefly housed a

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[269] Scarbrough, "Georgetown"

variety of other functions for Georgetown Independent School District (ISD), until it was

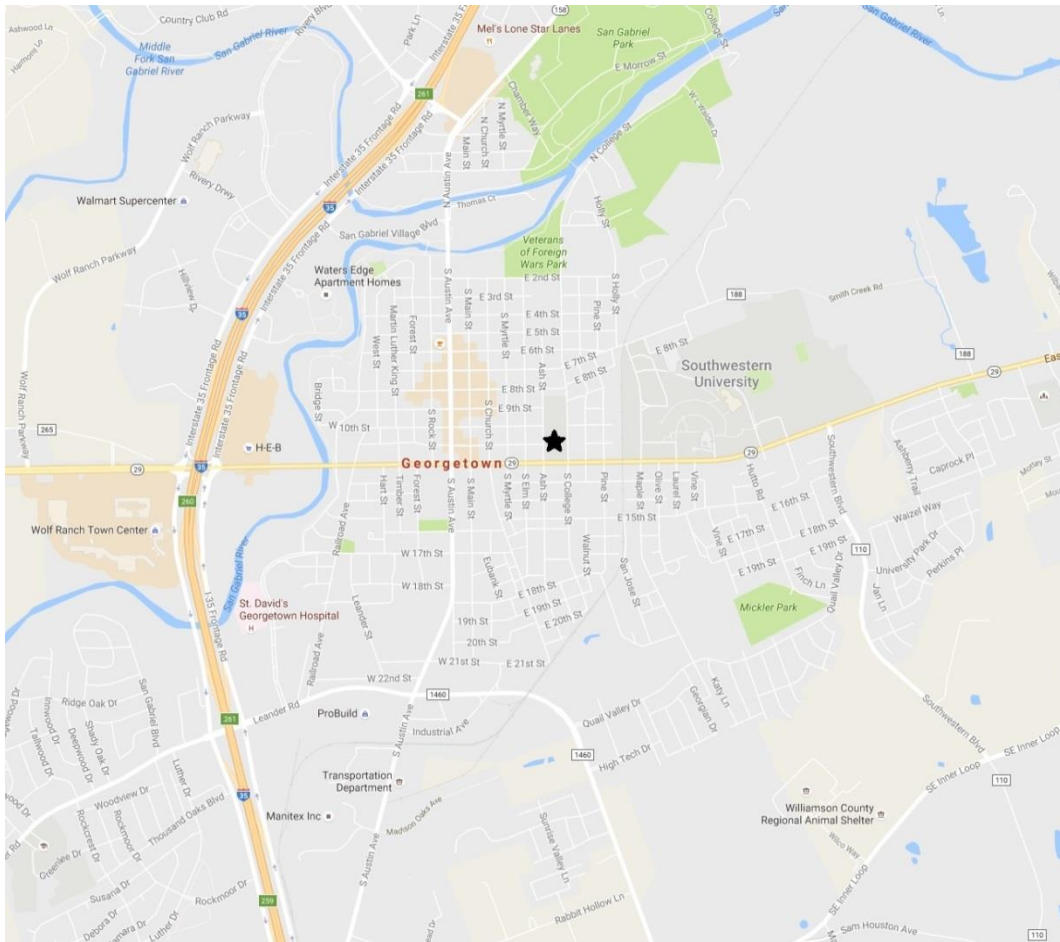renovated and returned to use as an elementary school in 2002.[270]

Figure 7.3: Map showing location of Williams Elementary/the former Georgetown High School within central Georgetown. (Base map from Google Maps, enhanced by author)

Georgetown, as a county seat, retains a significant local economy based upon

public services. The largest local employer is the county government, followed by

Georgetown ISD, St. David's Georgetown Hospital and the City of Georgetown.

Nonetheless, other economic areas are important as well, with industrial companies like

Airborn, Inc. employing more than five hundred people and Southwestern University

employing over four hundred people. Nonetheless, many newcomers commute to other

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[270] Information provided by Bob Brinkman of the Texas Historical Commission, as noted for the historical marker at Williams Elementary.

parts of the Austin metropolitan area for work. Like Bedford, Georgetown is largely

middle-class, with a median household income of just over $62,000 per year. Its

population is also predominantly white, with 72.1% of residents identifying as white non-

Hispanic. Most of the rest the population is Hispanic of any race (21.8%), with relatively

small numbers of blacks (4.4%), and Asians (1.5%), along with very few Native

Americans, Pacific Islanders, or people of two or more races.

Bartlett

        The small community of Bartlett, Texas, straddles the Williamson and Bell

County line, along state highway 95 approximately twenty-five miles south of Temple

and thirty-two miles north of Elgin, which itself lies roughly due east of Austin.

Highway 95 runs generally parallel to Interstate 35 between Temple and Austin, and

Bartlett is about twelve miles west of Jarrell which is located directly along the interstate.

The highway began in 1926 with a short distance between Taylor and Elgin, reaching its

full length of just over 122 miles from Temple to Yoakum in 1939. Bartlett is roughly

bisected by Farm to Market Road 487, known in the city as Clark Street, which runs to

Jarrell and thereby to the interstate. It has a current population of approximately 2,750

people, an increase of 70% over its 2010 population.[271]

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[271] According to U.S. Census Bureau estimates found at
http://www.census.gov/popest/data/cities/totals/2015/files/SUB-EST2015_48.csv
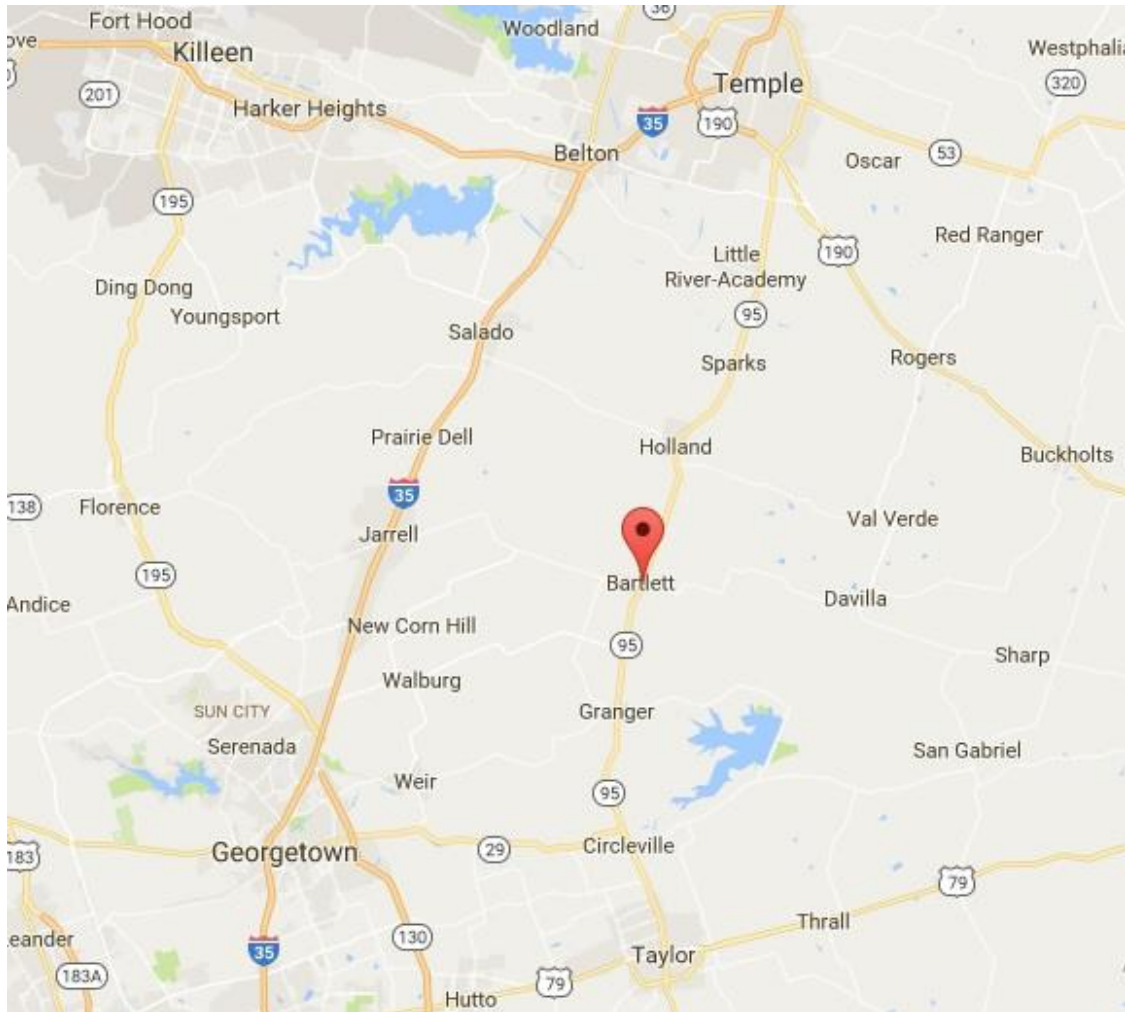
Figure 7.4: Map showing Bartlett in relation to both the northern edge of metropolitan Austin and the Temple-Killeen metropolitan area. (Google Maps)

Bartlett began its life as a railroad stop for the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas

Railroad in 1881. The railroad – better known early in its existence as the K-T and later

as the Katy Railroad – by 1901 had established routes to take goods and passengers from

Houston and Galveston west to San Antonio and northwards, through Bartlett, to Waco,

Dallas-Fort Worth, El Reno, Oklahoma (just outside Oklahoma City), from there either to

St. Louis or Kansas City depending upon the route.[272] There had been settlers in the area

of Bartlett since the decade before the American Civil War, but it was not incorporated

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[272] www.katyrailroad.org

until 1890. For many years, it served as a key shipping point for large amounts of agricultural goods including cotton, livestock, grains, and produce headed for the cities.[273] By the time it incorporated, the population had exceeded a couple hundred residents and the town boasted a cotton gin, a hotel, a grocer, a school, four churches, two weekly newspapers, a Masonic lodge, and a waterworks.[274] Its population had grown to over two thousand residents by 1910, but following the decline of the cotton industry beginning in the 1920s, the city's population began to gradually decline reaching just over 1,400 residents in 1990 before the trend began to reverse during the last years of the twentieth century, with a sharp increase after 2010.[275]

Figure 7.5: Bartlett Grammar School in 2016. (Photo courtesy of Kathy Jones)

Bartlett Independent School District was established in 1903 with a five-room schoolhouse. Within just a few years, that school proved to be too small for the growing

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[273]Williamson County Historical Commission, "Bartlett, Texas" http://www.williamson-county-historical-commission.org/Bartlett_Texas/bartlett_texas_est_1881.htm
[274] Mark Odintz, "Bartlett, Texas" in *The Handbook of Texas Online* at https://tshaonline.org/handbook/online/articles/hjb03, accessed 16 Sept 2016
[275] Odintz, "Bartlett"

student population of Bartlett, and a new school was commissioned. Bartlett Grammar

School was built in 1908-09, and designed by Austin architect Arthur Osborn "A.O."

Watson with multiple wings of an unusual style with a decorative central octagonal

tower: a design that is nearly identical to another of Watson's projects, a no-longer extant

high school that had been in Alpine, Texas.[276] This school briefly housed all of Bartlett's

students, but due to continued growth a new high school was built in 1917 while this

structure remained as the city's elementary school until 1988.[277] Almost immediately

upon its closure as a school local citizens successfully campaigned to preserve the school,

having organized as the Save Our School (S.O.S.) group which transitioned to the Bartlett

Activities Center, Inc. later. Restoration has been gradually carried out by volunteers for

the last three decades, and is only about halfway completed at this time. Nonetheless, the

school is used by the community as both a local museum and may be rented as meeting

spaces for local organizations, or such things as family and class reunions.[278]
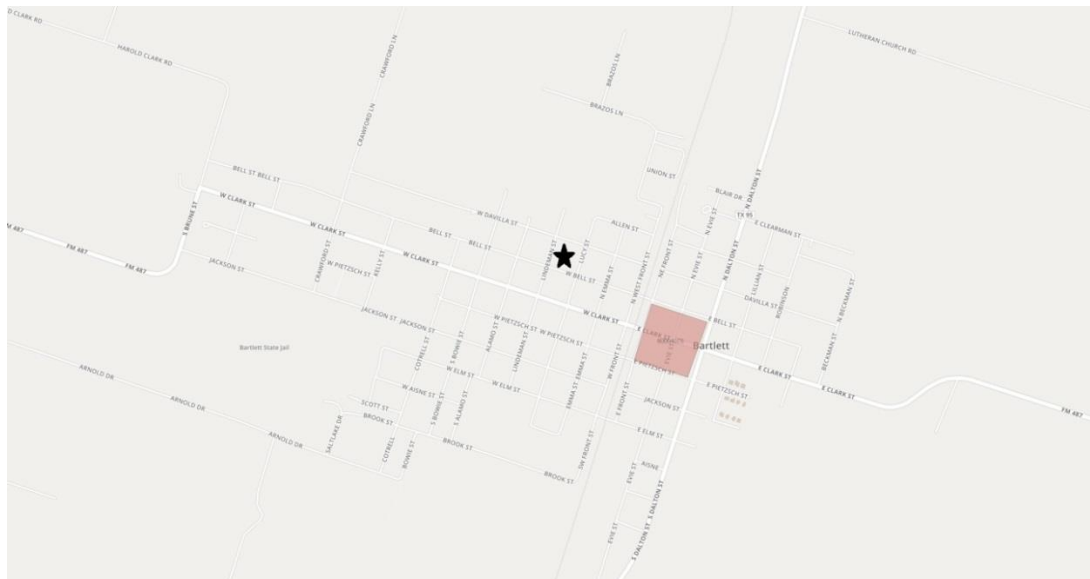
Figure 7.6: Map showing the location of Bartlett Grammar School in the city and relative to the historic downtown area. (Base map from Google Maps with addition by author)

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[276] Information from the Texas Historical Commission's historical marker at Bartlett Grammar School.
[277] Ibid.
[278] Kathy Jones from Bartlett Activities Center, Inc., in an interview from 31 August 2016.

Bartlett is the smallest city in this study both in population and in geographic size.

It's population is spread out over a city of just over 1.2 square miles, with a density of

about 2,200 per square mile. Bartlett, then, is actually more densely populated than is the

much larger city of Georgetown. As it is still predominantly rural community, many of

the residents commute into nearby cities to work with the majority in manufacturing or

management positions and its median household income is also notably less than that of

the communities amalgamated into the larger metropolitan areas, with the median in

Bartlett just exceeding $38,400 per year. This is significantly less than the median for the

state of Texas, which is over $55,600 per year, and also below the national median which

falls just short of $52,000. Bartlett's median income places it below the middle-income

bracket, so it – unlike the other two case studies – can be classified as a predominantly

working-class community. It is also the most racially diverse, if by diverse one intends

"least white": 48.9% of residents identify as Hispanic of any race, with most of the rest

of the population white non-Hispanic (34.9%) or black (12.9%) along with small

numbers of Native Americans, Asians, and Pacific Islanders, or people of two or more

races. Much of the recent population growth seems to be among the Hispanic residents

of Bartlett.

The three case study communities have some key differences that may affect local

conditions, as well as community identity and place attachment. Bartlett and Georgetown

may be located in the same metropolitan area, less than 25 miles apart, yet, in some ways

– perhaps not uncommonly especially in metropolitan areas – the two are in separate

worlds. Bedford is several hours' drive to the north. The median household in Bedford

and Georgetown makes approximately 60% more per year than does the same median in

Bartlett. Bartlett has a significantly larger minority population, with white non-Hispanics accounting for less than half the population. Perhaps surprisingly, Bartlett has a larger proportion of its households with children under eighteen (38%) than does Georgetown (27.3%) or Bedford (26.3%), while Georgetown – undoubtedly due to the Sun City development – has a large number of households with individuals over 65 (42%) compared to both Bedford (22%) and Bartlett (29%). One might expect that Georgetown's population would skew to young families with children since it is seeing so much growth, but this is not entirely true. The general balance to Bedford's population between both young and seniors may also reflect its lack of significant recent growth: its senior population may have aged in place, unlike the new residents of Sun City in Georgetown, while Bedford's location, relatively affordable housing, and good schools continues to make it attractive to younger families.

The three cities' populations also have some important aspects in common. In Bedford and Georgetown, the average resident is both white non-Hispanic and middle-class, and most households have at least one adult with a bachelor's degree or higher. There is a rather small difference in the median household income between the two communities as well, and given that the Austin metropolitan area actually has a higher cost-of-living index than does the Dallas-Fort Worth area, the difference relative to that may be truly negligible. In many ways, these similarities make the two communities rather ideal for a comparison – there are less variables that might otherwise account for the differences in respondents' views on both historic preservation and community identity and place attachment. Bartlett, because it is not yet amalgamated into a metropolitan area and remains quite small, has fewer similarities to the other case studies.

It does, however, share a similar population density as Georgetown and has a similar age demographic as Bedford since, like Bedford, it has had less population change in recent decades than has Georgetown.

CHAPTER 8

HISTORIC SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITY IDENTITY

Within each of the three selected case studies, two further methodological approaches were utilized in this study. Given the six interconnected processes related to place attachment, discussed in Chapter Two, it was necessary to utilize a mixed methodology approach because the last two processes (place creation and place intensification) require the ability to actively alter the place involved, in this case the historic school, so those managing the site needed to be asked specific questions regarding such actions or intentions. Conversely, the other four processes (place realization, place release, place identity, and place interaction) can only be adequately measured by the general citizen who experiences both the community and the historic school, so it was necessary to utilize the survey to measure their attachment to both their community and the school. Without both methods, significant parts of the processes that make up place attachment would have been absent from the study and giving – at best – a skewed view of the effects of such preservation on community identity and thereby rendered the entire effort more or less pointless.

Each local organization that operates the schools agreed to participate in a group interview concerning the organization's motivations for preserving the school as a public place and its decisions while undertaking the rehabilitations towards the school's new use. Further, they agreed to make available to local residents a questionnaire to discern

the strength of place attachment related to the school among the citizens and how the school is perceived as contributing to community identity. Questions in both the organization interviews and the residents' online survey looked to find any conscious connection between the preservation of the historic school and community identity, as well as the importance placed upon the history of the community as well as the history of the school in providing an identity for and attachment to the respective city.

The interviews with each of the three organizations – Bedford Historic Foundation, Bartlett Activities Center, Inc., and Georgetown Independent School District – were carried out either over telephone or in the latter case by written open-ended survey if it was not feasible to gather the necessary persons into one space during the timeline available for this study. The former Georgetown High School, now Williams Elementary School, is still controlled by Georgetown ISD and given that the timing for the interview was either mid-summer or the start of the school year, it was not possible to arrange a time for an hour-long phone interview. A blank copy of the questions answered by the organizations is available in Appendix A. The interview and questions for the organizations operating the schools focused on place creation and place intensification as well as the motivations for the preserving the school in order to assess what part, if any, community identity and place attachment played in the conscious decisions regarding the school being preserved as a public space. Place creation and place intensification are measures of conscious actions undertaken to increase place attachment, thus it is only feasible to ask organizations responsible for decisions about the historic school regarding those measures.

Community residents undertook an online questionnaire which utilized the Qualtrics survey platform available through the University of Georgia. An online questionnaire made it simpler and quicker to survey residents of three separate communities in Texas while the researcher remained in Georgia. The questionnaire was accessible by both a traditional computer and mobile devices, and remained open from July 5, 2016 until September 9, 2016. In total, 17 persons participated in the online survey from Bedford, 32 persons participated in the online survey from Bartlett, and 141 persons from Georgetown participated in the online survey. Most of the responses occurred at the start of the period for Georgetown and Bedford and towards the end of the survey period in the case of Bartlett. The questionnaire consisted of approximately 35 questions, most of them set on a Likert scale, but also with some questions that were yes/no, open-ended, or allowed participants to select as many answers as applied. A blank copy of the community resident questionnaire is provided in Appendix B. Questions were designed to measure key points regarding place attachment theory as explained in Chapter Two of this thesis. The questionnaire concentrated upon place interaction, place identity, place release, and place realization: the aspects of place attachment that do not revolve around conscious actions of those with some control over the place. The questionnaire posed multiple questions about each of these four aspects which develop from the experience of users of the historic site or building and cumulatively create place attachment in the community. To measure place interaction, questions were posed regarding how often participants visited the site at present, how often they traveled by it, and whether or not they had attended or taught at the school at any point. Questions were crafted as well to address whether participants had come to

feel a part of the place and that the place was a part of them. Place release was measured by questions aimed at discovering participants' conscious attachment to the school and their willingness to participate in efforts to preserve it. The questionnaire also included questions regarding participants' perception of a unique character to both the school and to the city, measuring place realization.

For the case of Bedford and the Old Bedford School, it is clear from the survey results that study participants are generally quite proud of their community and would recommend living there to others: 78.57% recommend it, with the remaining 21.43% ambivalent and none of the participants stating that they would not recommend living in Bedford. The most commonly cited reasons for their recommendation were the "small town feel" of the community and the convenient location in the mid-city area of the Dallas-Fort Worth metroplex, each earning a spot in 35.71% of responses. Closely behind, with 28.57% of responses, is the friendly & cohesive community in Bedford, and the reasonable cost-of-living and good city services such as fire and police were both also cited by many participants (21.43% each) as important reasons they would recommend the City of Bedford. City services, including the public safety of the community and the availability of parks & recreation in fact rated as key points of pride for residents of Bedford, with three-quarters of respondents taking pride in the community's safety and good schools, and 68.75% being proud of the recreational opportunities and friendly community in Bedford.

Given that so very little of Bedford's historic built environment remains – the only known building extant from prior to the Great Depression seems in fact to be the Old Bedford School – it is perhaps surprising that 71.43% of respondents stated that they

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considered historic preservation to be important or very important within the city of

Bedford. More than half (56.25%) cited historic preservation as a significant point of

pride for Bedford. Over a third of participants in fact responded that the preservation of

the Old Bedford School is a key part of Bedford's unique identity in the area, the single

most common answer to the question regarding what, if anything, makes Bedford unique

from its neighboring or other nearby communities. Nonetheless, 21.43% of respondents

declared that Bedford is not actually unique from its neighbors. Perhaps commonly for

the suburbs, the top reasons cited for moving to Bedford were the good schools and

proximity to work (both cited by 75% of participants), followed by the safety of the

community and the cost of living (68.5% each), with a sense of historic preservation or

the history of the community factoring significantly into the decision to live in Bedford

for just over a third of those who answered.   This also matches the anecdotal evidence

provided in the interview with the organization which preserved the school that many

people move to Bedford for other reasons and become attached to the historic school and

come to associate it with the City of Bedford because it is still used prominently for a

variety of public cultural functions.

In general, residents of Bedford reported moderate levels of attachment to their city.

Most reported that they would rather live in Bedford that somewhere else in the area

(52.94%) while most of the remainder were neutral on the question (35.29%). Nearly

65% of participants agreed that the community of Bedford reflects the type of person they

are, and 68.75% consider themselves to be from Bedford and not just resident in the city.

More than 62% indicated that they did not think there were better places in the area to

live, with most of the rest (25% of answers) indicating that they considered Bedford to be

on par – neither better nor worse – than other communities in the area. Every one of the

survey respondents indicated that they took significant interest in events in Bedford, and

over 81% specifically chose to live in Bedford. Each of the respondents also claimed an

interest in the history of the city of Bedford. Only half the respondents, however, agreed

that there is no other place just like Bedford, indicating that Bedford's community

identity may be less strong than other places with greater amounts of historic preservation

to help maintain a distinct and unique character to a community within the larger sprawl

of a major metropolitan area.
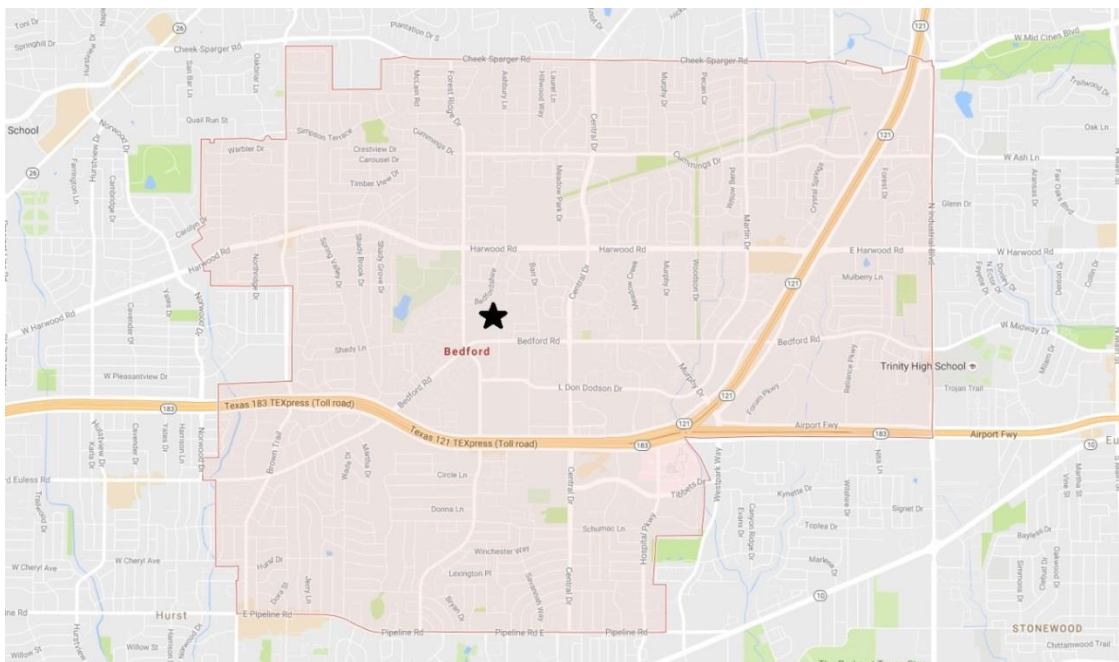
Figure 8.1: Map showing the location of the Old Bedford School within the limits of the City of Bedford. (Base map from Google Maps with addition by author)

These results do not speak to the specific importance of preserving the former

school, however. The survey asked several questions aimed at linking the preservation of

the Old Bedford School to the identity of the community and what importance this

particular school might have for local residents. A full 35.29% of participants reported

regularly visiting the school for various community activities, while only 5.88% stated

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that they had never visited the historic building. The remainder had either been to the school rarely (23.53%) or only occasionally (35.29%). The majority of respondents (70.59%) had neither attended nor taught at the school at any point, and most (64.71%) also had not had a member of their immediate family attend or teach there either. The school thereby has a relatively low level of place interaction for its original purpose: most participants had not had significant interaction with the Old Bedford School as part of their daily lives. Nonetheless, over 83% of responses expressed that they were very attached to the Old Bedford School and over 82% agreed that they would feel a personal sense of loss if the school were demolished. The vast majority, 88%, stated they would be willing to donate time or talents to help preserve the school and over 76% would be willing to donate funds to help assure the preservation of the school. If the participants had little interaction with the school, one might question why such a clear majority of people take significant interest in the fate of the Old Bedford School.

Figure 8.2: Old Bedford School in 2001 after the renovations. (Photo courtesy of George Campbell).

The key element at play seems to be a sense of the historic school as an important contributing factor to the unique identity of Bedford, even if they do not personally experience the school with great regularity. All of the respondents replied that they regularly drive or walk by the school, and all indicated that the school acts as a landmark in the community, though few use it as method of directing routes through the city since it is deeply set-back from the road. Likewise, each of those surveyed agreed that the former school plays an important role in the community, with the vast majority strongly agreeing with the statement.   Over 94% of participants agreed that the historic school helps to define the community, and all but one answered that they strongly associate the historic school building with the City of Bedford. All of the respondents agree that the demolition of the historic building would be a loss to the community, with over 87%

strongly agreeing with that statement. Also, every respondent indicated that they believe that the continued use of the historic school helps to make the City of Bedford unique in the area. Multiple respondents stated that the school is so associated with the identity of the city that new markers are being erected at the entrances to Bedford that reflect the brick arched entryway to the historic school. Another remarked that the Old Bedford School is the last extant such school in the area and it is "what makes Bedford unique from the communities immediately around us". One specifically states that this historic building "is the symbol of the city" and "the highlight of the history of this town". Unfortunately, respondents also indicated that the school's preservation seems to be "only important to a small group of people" and that the government entity of the City of Bedford "utilized the Old Bedford School but not always with history in mind". Still, one can argue that a particular use of a historic school seems to be less important to helping preserve the sense of community identity that maintaining the historic built environment encourages than is the fact that the school is still in public use: the general public can and does still visit the Old Bedford School for a wide variety of shared experiences, not unlike when it was still actively in use as an educational facility.

Figure 8.3: Old Bedford School after the 1992 fire at which time it was being used as a city storage facility. The fire helped bring attention to the school and the community members working to preserve and renovate the historic school. (Photo courtesy of George Campbell)

According to the interview with the Bedford Historic Foundation board, the organization responsible for the preservation of the school, the school is currently intended to be used for a variety of social and cultural events, as well as educational field trips for local school children. In third grade – the year that the Texas social studies curriculum has students learning about how cities and local communities function – all the students from the Hurst-Bedford-Euless ISD twenty elementary schools visit the Old Bedford School and its preserved classrooms on the upper floor to explore what life was like in the community in the past and even what schools were like over half a century ago. It also serves as a space for music lessons, recitals, community group meetings, mystery-themed dinner theatre and even weddings in the auditorium, as well as the grounds being used for concerts and other outdoor cultural events. It is truly a multi-

purpose public facility, which is owned and maintained by the city. Foundation board members indicated that they perceive an increased interest in preserving the school today than when it was first restored in the last decade of the twentieth century, since the continued public use of the historic school brings many people to the school and has increased awareness not just of the school's existence but also its importance as the oldest remaining public building in the City of Bedford. While there were no specific or conscious decisions made at any time in the preservation or restoration process intended to strengthen or enhance either the specific sense of place of the school proper or the City of Bedford, the simple use of the school seems to have accomplished an increasing sense of the uniqueness of the Old Bedford School within the area and its association with the broader city of Bedford.

In the case of Georgetown, it is clear from the survey results that participants are largely proud of their community and would recommend living there to other people. In fact, 87.5% of those who answered responded that they would recommend living in Georgetown. Not all of the respondents provided reasons for their decision, but nonetheless there is sufficient information to see trends in what are considered the most favorable aspects of living there. The sense of community and friendly neighbors was cited by just over a quarter of the survey participants as a key reason to recommend living in Georgetown while just over a fifth identified the "small town feel" and good schools as reasons. These are all quite typical reasons for residents to have positive reactions to a city. Many also cited the convenience of living near to the larger city of Austin, while Georgetown retains that "small town feel" – perhaps an interesting turn of phrase when referring to a community whose population now exceeds 60,000. That Georgetown has

preserved many historic buildings and especially its courthouse square figured

prominently in responses, with 10.58% of surveys citing such preservation as a reason to

recommend living in Georgetown.

Making a more compelling case for the importance of preservation to

Georgetown's identity are the responses to the questions regarding what people would

most like to change about Georgetown and what makes Georgetown unique. When asked

directly how important historic preservation is to the identity of Georgetown, nearly 95%

of participants rated it highly important or somewhat important. Most of the things people

expressed a desire to change about Georgetown revolved around problems naturally

caused by the community's rapid growth, most especially traffic which featured quite

prominently among the infrastructure issues that made up 41.49% of desired changes.

Only 14.89% of responses cited an identity problem as a central issue for Georgetown,

with most of those answers stating that the number of people living in the city now are

diluting the traditional "small town feel" of the community and that many do not

appreciate or understand the importance of the city's history, which would make

preservation important to helping such newcomers – and the many more expected to

come in subsequent years – adapt to the community culture. In fact, nearly half (48.39%)

of survey takers specifically mentioned historic preservation as one of the major factors

that make Georgetown unique in the area – the single most common answer. Also

prominently mentioned is abundant parks & outdoor activities, the sense of community,

and a "small town feel". Only 8.6% of participants stated that Georgetown is not unique.

A sense of history or historic preservation in the city was cited as a key reason for

choosing to live in Georgetown as well, with 42.22% of participants stating such, though

it trailed the most common reasons cited to live in the suburbs more generally including good schools, safety, the friendly community, proximity to work, and proximity to family. Even more respondents cited historic preservation as something that made them take pride in being from Georgetown, with 62.22% of people reporting pride in the amount of preservation within the city.

Most of the respondents show strong attachments to the community of Georgetown, with the vast majority (77.44%) rating what happens in the city as being very important to them and 21% rating events in Georgetown somewhat important to them. Also notable is the number of residents expressing interest in the history of the city (95.56%) as well as a feeling that the city reflects the type of person he/she is (82.49%). Quite a few (51.1%) replied that even if they perceived that there might be better places to live, they would not move. More than three-quarters of survey participants indicated that they did not think there was a better place in the area to live and only 6.62% expressed that they would rather live someplace other than Georgetown. Often a key measure of respondents sense of community identity is a sense of uniqueness – as discussed in Chapter Two – and in Georgetown, just over 86% of participants agreed that no other place is just like their city. In suburban areas where communities can often take on a great sense of feeling just like their neighboring towns and cities, this can be marked a great success for the City of Georgetown.

Figure 8.4: Williams Elementary in 2016. Much of the original architecture has been preserved, as has the traditional open green space at the front of the school. Just visible to the right of the entrance is the historical marker denoting the significance of the former Georgetown High School. (Photo courtesy of Georgetown ISD)

These results, however, do not speak to the importance of preserving the former high school specifically. The survey asked several questions aimed at linking the preservation of Williams Elementary to the identity of the community and what importance this particular school might have for local residents. Just over one-fifth of participants reported regularly visiting Williams Elementary, while nearly a quarter stated that they had never visited the historic building. The remainder had either been to the school rarely or only occasionally. The majority (73.72%) had neither attended nor taught at the school at any point, and most (52.55%) also had not had a member of their immediate family attend or teach there either. The school thereby has a relatively low level of place interaction: most participants had not had significant interaction with

Williams Elementary. Nonetheless, 60% of responses expressed that they were very

attached or somewhat attached to Williams Elementary, and nearly 75% agreed that they

would feel a personal sense of loss if the school were demolished. Nearly 62% stated

they would be willing to donate time or talents to help preserve the school and over 41%

would be willing to donate funds to help assure the preservation of the school – the latter

an unexpectedly high number given that Williams Elementary is still owned and operated

by Georgetown ISD and is thereby ostensibly tax-supported. If the participants had little

interaction with the school, one might question why such a clear majority of people took

significant interest in the fate of Williams Elementary.

 The key element at play seems to be a sense of the historic school as an important

contributing factor to the place identity of Georgetown, even if they do not personally

experience the school with any regularity. Approximately 83% of surveys agreed that the

former Georgetown High School plays an important role in the community, with the

majority (51.43%) strongly agreeing with the statement.   Almost 85% of participants

agreed that the historic school helps to define the community, and nearly 69% strongly

associate the Williams Elementary building with the City of Georgetown. Over 84%

agree that the demolition of the historic building would be a loss to the community, with

over 58% strongly agreeing with that statement. The clear majority, 83%, of all

respondents indicated that they believe that the continued use of the historic school helps

to make the City of Georgetown unique in the area. One survey respondent expressed

that without the combination of its historic courthouse square, historic districts, and

buildings like the former Georgetown High School, Georgetown would "just be another

suburban casualty to the city of Austin's urban sprawl" much like nearby communities of

Cedar Park, Round Rock, and Pflugerville. Others cite the aesthetics of historic public

buildings like the courthouse and the former high school as contributing significantly to

the overall character and "small town feel" of Georgetown that would be lost if the

buildings were replaced with more modern structures, and that the "history at Williams

Elementary builds a sense of community". One specifically states that Williams

Elementary and other historic buildings in Georgetown "have unique architectural

characteristics that are no longer produced in new buildings, so it's extremely important

to preserve these buildings for future generations…" and that the school specifically

"…should be preserved and used for community purposes." One of the shortest, but most

evocative comments stated that the preservation of historic community buildings is

important because "when the things I know start to disappear then I do" – a fascinating

and compelling remark reflecting the associations people can create between a historic

building and the residents of the community that the historic building served.

Figure 8.5: The approach to the historic school has the obvious addition of modern lighting and new pavement, but otherwise is preserved. The district plans to remove some of the trees and landscaping close to the building that obscures the historic architecture. (Photo courtesy of Georgetown ISD)

Such active interest in the preservation of the school resulted, in November 2015, in the success of a bond measure to renovate the building from an elementary school into a central administration facility that will also house the Professional Learning Center for Georgetown ISD as well as an area within the school which will display the history of Georgetown ISD, so that the former Georgetown High School will remain an important part of the school district's educational mission as well as preserving the presence of the building near the historic downtown areas of Georgetown. It will continue to serve the citizens of Georgetown as a public building well into its second century of life. The district has no plans to significantly alter the façade or grounds of the school, except to remove some trees that currently block views of many of the architectural details of the

historic school, though there will be some internal renovations to suit the new purpose of the building once the elementary school has moved into its new facility. The district, while responding to and respecting the attachment of Georgetown's citizens to the historic school, and the larger movement for historic preservation, has not seemingly undertaken any steps to intensify or create a sense of place specific to the elementary school, but prefers to let the sentiments that have naturally developed remain – a strategy that works well in a community so actively interested already in maintaining their historic school.

Unlike Georgetown and Bedford, the City of Bartlett cannot accurately be termed a suburban community. Nonetheless, it lies within an hour of both the Temple-Killeen metropolitan area and the Austin metropolitan area and has begun to see population growth in the last decade. The growth, however, has not come with any apparent corresponding growth in the local economy, which leaves the participants in this study somewhat less enthusiastic about their community. Only a third of them recommended living in Bartlett, with a further 19% uncertain about making such a recommendation. Nearly half would not recommend living in Bartlett, most commonly citing a lack of available services, industry, and local businesses as the reason for their conclusion that, as one put it, "the town is in decline" despite recent population growth. Those who did recommend living in Bartlett cited its small town identity, friendly people, and its prominent history, combined with relatively easy access to the bigger cities for shopping and industry.

The town's history and the preservation of its historic buildings is a prominent issue for participants. While nearly one-fifth of respondents think that Bartlett's most

pressing need is more businesses, and the same number think that an increase in civic pride or identity is the most necessary change, the most popular response to the question was to see more attention paid to maintaining and preserving the historic downtown buildings as well as Bartlett Grammar School with a third of respondents indicating it was the most important change they would make in Bartlett. One hundred percent of participants rated historic preservation and a sense of the city's history as important or very important to the identity of Bartlett. They might not universally take pride in the current state of the city, but it seems all are quite proud of its history. Nearly two-thirds (64%) cited its history as the major factor that makes Bartlett unique in the area, while nearly 23% cited the sense of community in the small town as the key part of Bartlett's identity, and just over 13% stated that they do not think Bartlett is unique – though rather than suffering the identity-bleed associated with suburban growth and adjacent communities, the issue seems to stem from Bartlett being in decline like so many other small towns. Notably, 43.48% of respondents included historic preservation or a sense of its own history as a reason for choosing to live in Bartlett, the single most common answer. It trailed behind only a sense of community connection, knowing their neighbors, for the top reason participants took pride in in the City of Bartlett with 55.56% of people selecting it as a point of pride.

Many of the respondents did not show a particularly strong attachment to Bartlett. Only 19.35% indicated that they would rather live in Bartlett than anywhere else, and the majority (77.42%) responding neutrally or disagreeing with the statement that there are few, if any, better places than Bartlett in the area. Less than half (just over 48%) agreed that the City of Bartlett reflects the type of person he/she is. Some participants, in fact,

reported that they had already left Bartlett, most commonly for one of the communities

surrounding Austin. Nonetheless, 83.87% of responses agreed that no other community

is just like Bartlett, and 93.55% indicated that what happens within Bartlett is important

to them – including those persons no longer resident in the city. Clearly, Bartlett still

inspires both interest and loyalty even among its former citizens. Often a key measure of

respondents sense of community identity is a sense of uniqueness – as discussed in

Chapter Two – and in Bartlett, high numbers of participants indicate by these metrics that

Bartlett retains a particular identity. This identity likely contributes to the number of

people who, despite the admitted drawbacks of living in the small town, still prefer to live

there rather than move to one of the nearby metropolitan areas. Also related to a sense of

community identity, most participants – even those not actually resident in Bartlett –

report an active interest in the future and current events within Bartlett, as well as the

history of their town. Over 96% of responses indicated an interest in the history of

Bartlett, and more than 87% agreed that historic preservation is important to the city.

The survey asked several questions aimed at linking the preservation of Bartlett

Grammar School to the identity of the community and what importance this particular

school might have for local residents. Just over 16% of participants reported regularly

visiting the former school, while only one participant stated that they had never visited

the historic building. The majority had either been to the school rarely or only

occasionally. Still, half of respondents indicated that even when they do not visit the

school, they regular travel past the school and many use it is a landmark. Only a

minority, 19.35%, had neither attended nor taught at the school at any point, and most

(83.87%) had either attended the school, taught there, or had an immediate family

member who attended or taught at the school. The school thereby has a relatively high level of place interaction: most participants had significant interaction with the historic school at some point in their lives, even if not currently, and for the clear majority (80.65%) they had spent a good number of their formative years attending the school. It is perhaps unsurprising then that the preservation of Bartlett Grammar School plays a particularly important role in the community, according to the vast majority of the participants (96%). Nearly all survey takers reported identifying strongly with the historic school, and deep levels of attachment to the school building. All of the survey answers agreed that the school acts as a key landmark in the community and that the school is strongly associated with the City of Bartlett. Just over 90% indicated that if the school were demolished, they would feel a strong sense of personal loss, and they all agreed that if the school were lost, it would be a significant loss to the community of Bartlett. Nearly three-quarters of participants indicated a willingness to donate time or talent to preserve the school, and an even larger number, just over 90%, indicated they would be willing to donate funds to preserve the school. Finally, all but one participant indicated that Bartlett Grammar School helps make Bartlett unique in the area and helps provide the city with a unique identity.

Figure 8.6: Bartlett Grammar School from the air, showing its general footprint.
(Photography by Derek Wolf; appears courtesy of Bartlett Activities Center, Inc.)

Based upon the responses of the interview with the organization which leases and

operates the Bartlett Grammar School – Bartlett Activities Center, Inc. – it is clear that

the school is actively used not only to preserve the history of Bartlett but also to enhance

a sense of community within the town. Despite the results of the survey, the organization

indicated that at the time of the school's repurposing, there were actually members of the

local community who objected to preserving the historic building, though nonetheless

Bartlett also had the largest actively involved membership in its initial community group

that saved the school – around forty local citizens. Despite having been leased to the

organization decades ago, the school is only about fifty percent restored because the work

is done by volunteers and must be paid for via fundraising. Perhaps cause for the most

concern, the organization's leaders indicate that interest in continuing to preserve the

school seems to have decreased in recent years, despite the close connections participants

in the survey reported between the preservation of the school and the community identity of Bartlett.

Comparing the results across all three case studies reveals important conclusions about the connection between historic preservation, both generally but also clearly in the specific case of the historic school, and community identity. Across all three municipalities, even those participants who had no direct connection to the school overwhelmingly reported associating the historic school with the identity of the community.
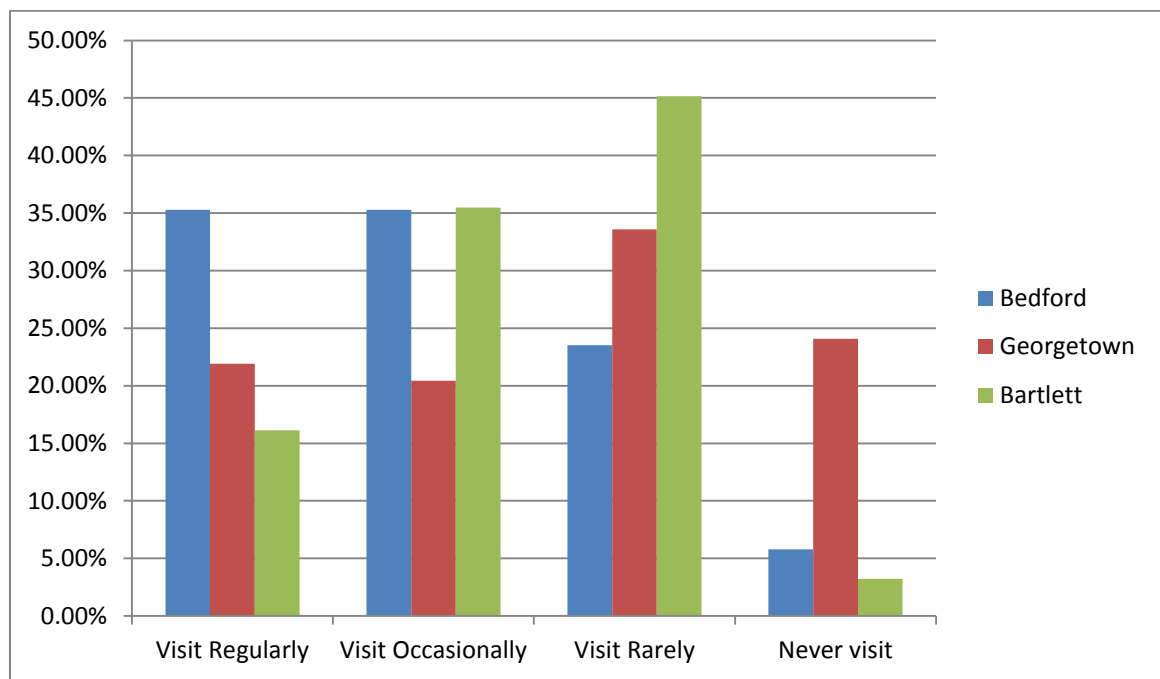
Figure 8.7: Participants' level of place interaction (chart by author)
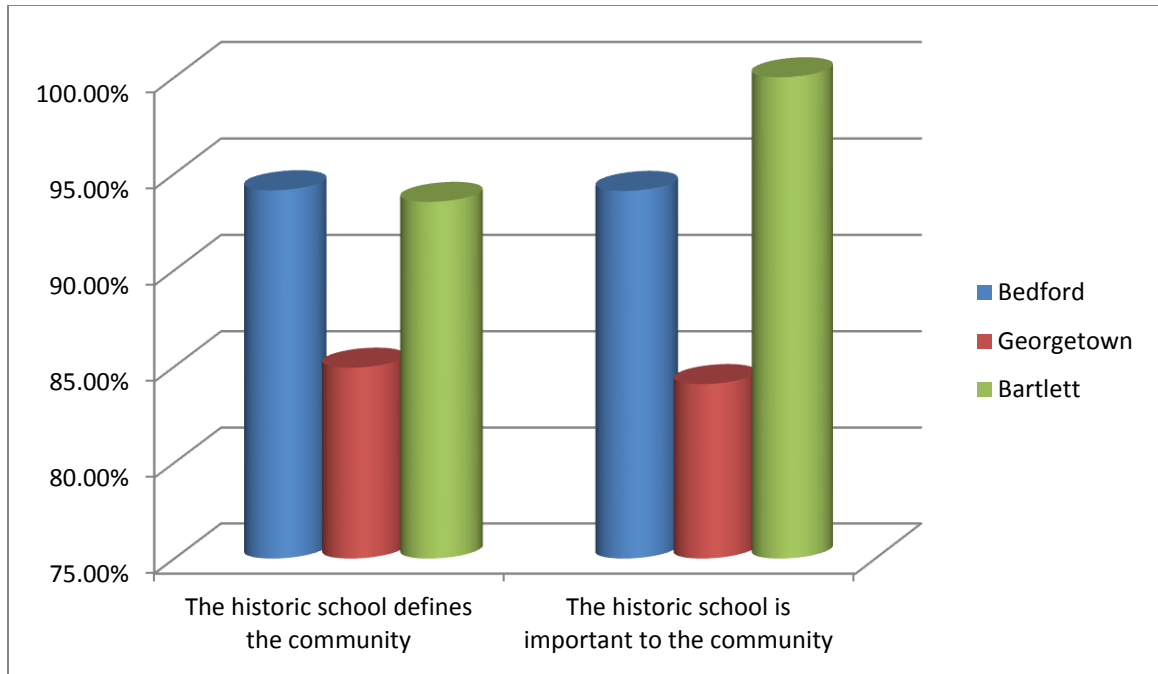
Figure 8.8: Participants' responses rate the historic school as important to the community (chart by author)

Clearly, in order for so many respondents to rate the school important to the community and to consider it as a key defining feature to the community, a large number of those who do not regularly visit the school must associate the school with the community identity. One might readily expect those who interact with the school most often to identify it as an important of their community and their communal experience, but if even those who have no ostensible reason to express such sentiments do so, it becomes clear that the school is symbolic of the local community to the larger body of residents as well. There must be more than just place interaction within local residents' experiences to explain the ties between the historic school and local community identity.

Members of all three community case studies considered historic preservation important to their community. This was true even in Bedford, which has preserved relatively little of its past both because its population growth began relatively early in the period of organized preservation efforts on a community-wide scale but also because

Bedford was a very small community – the smallest of the three in fact – when it began to experience rapid growth as the Dallas-Fort Worth metropolitan area expanded. Despite the fact that only the Old Bedford School remains in the community from that era of the past, nonetheless, more than half of participants declared preservation was important to Bedford.
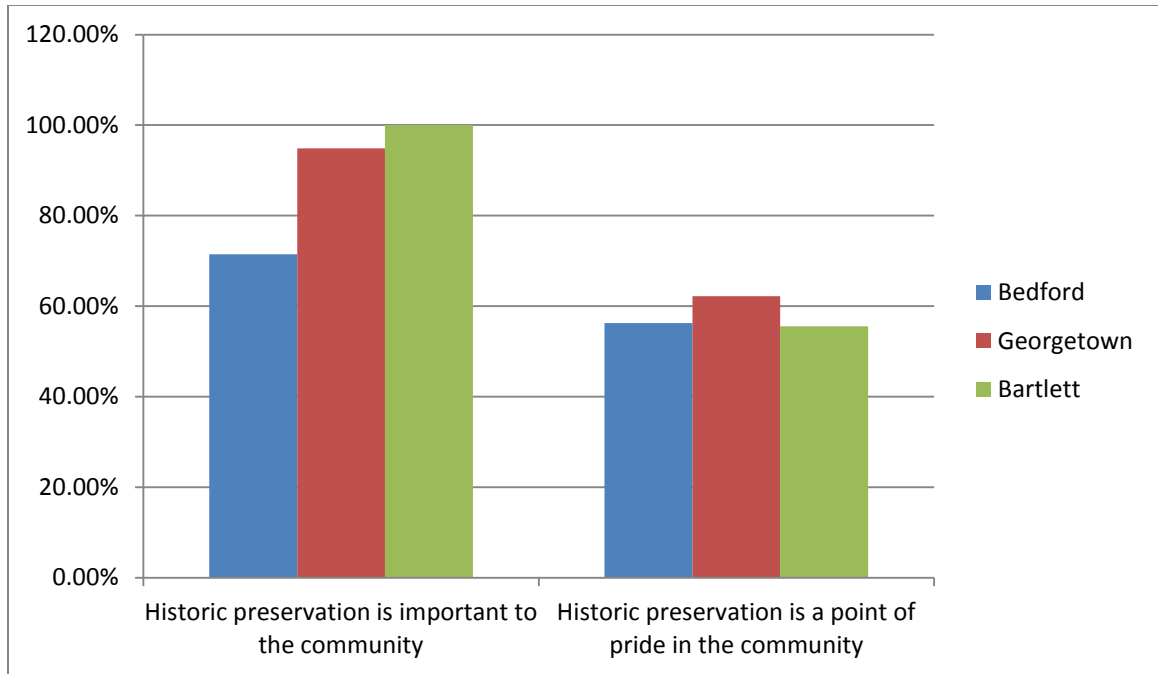

Figure 8.9: Participants' rated historic preservation more generally as important as well (chart by author)

The proportion of respondents rating historic preservation generally as important to the community was higher among the communities with more historic buildings and structures extant, Bartlett and Georgetown. Nonetheless, participants from Bedford took the same amount of pride in historic preservation and the association of their community's past with their community's present as did those from the other two cities. This indicates that the perception of quality of historic preservation may be as important as sheer quantity of historic buildings in a place, and this study suggests that a key part of that quality of buildings preserved relates to the connection between the building in its

original use and the community. Public buildings, often consciously constructed to be representative of the community and experienced by large numbers of local resident, may offer substantively more effect on both community pride and community identity than the preservation of a private home or homes. A subsequent similar study comparing communities without a preserved public building and communities such as these three cases might be useful in extrapolating upon that possibility.

Another important measure shared across all three case studies is the sentiment respondents attached to the historic school buildings. The vast majority of participants in the study reported that they would feel that the demolition of their historic school would be a loss to the community, and a majority also reported that they would experience a sense of personal loss.
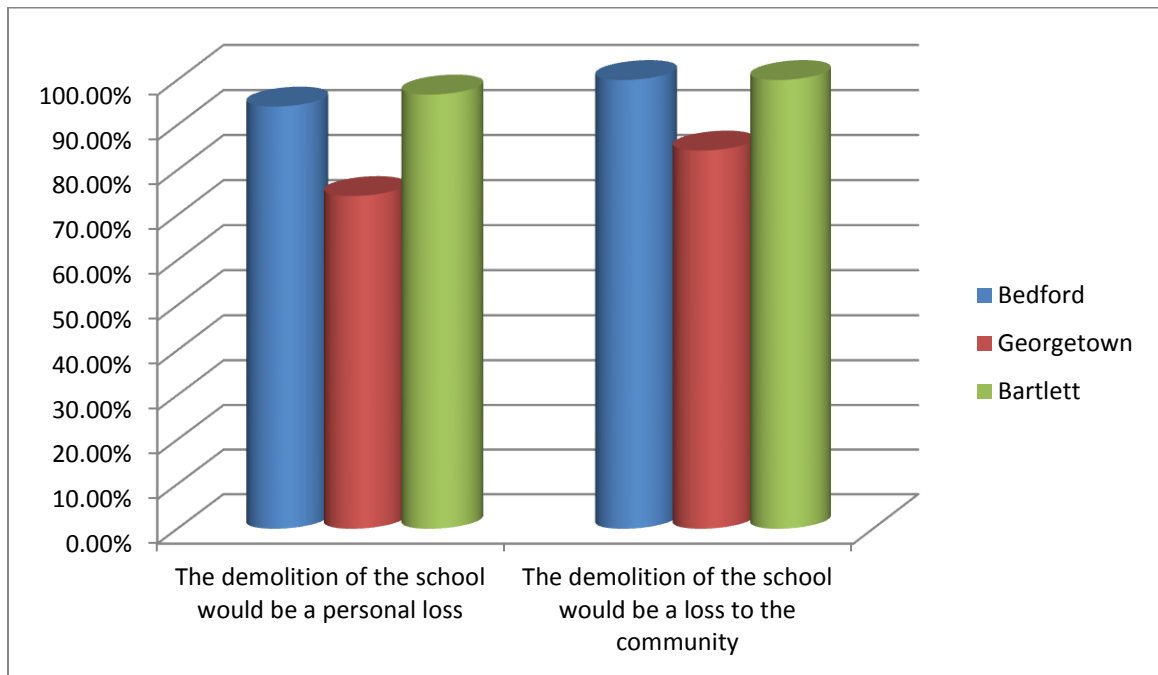
Figure 8.10: Respondents would perceive a loss if the school were demolished (chart by author)

These numbers reflect a clear trend showing that residents of all three cities have experienced significant place attachment to the historic schools. As shown previously,

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they not only identify the school with their community, they also are emotionally and in most cases personally attached to the historic school. Also contributing to this level of attachment is the fact that most respondents consider the school to be unique and to provide a certain level of uniqueness for the community. The connections between perceptions of uniqueness and identity as well as attachment have been clearly demonstrated by sociologists and other researchers, as discussed briefly in Chapter Two.

One of the key points to notice from all three case studies is the number of participants who reported that historic preservation is important to the fabric of the community, not just physically but also emotionally. The emphasis placed upon shared historic places occurred in all three case studies: residents most treasure those historic districts and buildings which are shared in common with their entire community. In the case of Georgetown and Bartlett, which have preserved a significant portion of their historic downtowns, less local emphasis was placed on the preservation of their historic schools, whereas it was rated of particular importance in Bedford where it is the last historic public space.[279] It is notable as well that a much higher percentage of residents in Bedford stated that their city is not unique from its neighbors compared to participants who made the same statement regarding Georgetown, which has retained significantly more of its historic built environment both because it is the county seat so has the courthouse square and also because it was a larger community when it began to be absorbed into the neighboring metropolitan area. In Bartlett, where population growth seems to have just begun, there are already some indications that a local sentiment that the city had a unique character is diminishing, and what remains is largely tied to the

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[279] One must bear in mind, however, that much of Bedford's built environment which dates from the 1960s is reaching an age to be eligible for listing and thus can be termed 'historic' despite being decades younger than the Old Bedford School.

historic built environment, including the preservation of the historic school. The

connection between community identity – that sense that a place has a character unique

from its neighbors – and historic preservation seems quite strong and as was explained in

Chapter One, sociologists and psychologists have already linked community identity with

high standards in quality of life for residents.

The community residents' survey results clearly illustrate that the first four

processes related to community identity can be observed in regards to each respective

historic school. Many residents interact with the historic school, and even those who do

not interact regularly with the school identify it with their city. Residents also report

deep levels of significance assigned to the historic school, showing the process of place

release, and most responded that the historic school both possessed its own unique

identity and contributed to the specific identity of their community, illustrating high

levels of place realization. Given these results, along with the absence of significant

decisions by the organization that manages the historic schools that would show

conscious place creation or place intensification, it seems quite clear that the very nature

of historic schools strongly connects them to community identity. It can be logically

extrapolated from these results that the preservation of historic schools plays an important

role in preserving a unique community identity in each of the three case studies.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

It is clear that humans and their environment are inexorably intertwined. A sense of place, and particularly a sense of a unique identity for a specific place, is the result of human experiences in that location. Humans may become attached to a certain place because it was the scene of a single major life event, but most commonly attachment develops as a result of simple daily interactions with both the place itself and with other people in that place. Many times, attachment to a place passes relatively unnoticed in one's life: it is only when the place changes in some dramatic way that the feelings evoked by that place become noticeable. Often, community members only realize their attachment to a particular place when it is threatened or worse, when it has been destroyed in some way or another and it is too late to preserve it.

People become attached to places that bear personal memories and/or meaning to them. In many cases, these places are ones that the individual has personally experienced, usually far more often than a single experience. In other cases, people can become attached to a place with which they have only indirectly interacted, usually places with a symbolic meaning to that individual. Consider how many Americans who have never so much as set foot in Boston would express great distress at any threat to the Old North Church which, leaving aside poetic license with historical fact, famously symbolizes the start of the War for American Independence. The loss of the "belfry

arch" from which was sent the signal of "one if by land and two if by sea" would be a national loss, because that place has been imbued with great meaning by Americans.[280]

Nonetheless, most people hold the deepest attachments for places with which they personally identify and in which they have passed significant events of their lives, even if those events do not seem significant at the time. Often, one takes for granted the significance of the compilation of daily life experiences and it is only in looking back that it is clear how important the otherwise mundane activities of daily life can become in shaping both life and character of a person. This may account for why a newly-graduated student from a school does not express the same sentiments regarding the buildings or campus involved as does an alumnus returning many years later, or why people wait until threats are immediate or worse, irreparable damage has occurred, to realize the depths of their attachment to that place.

Schools, in particular, can hold important meanings for community members. For many long-term residents, a school is a place in which they spent many hours of many days of their formative years. These childhood and adolescent memories form an important source of personal identity and the place so intertwined within those memories can also become part of that identity. This is true of a childhood home, but what sets apart a school is that unlike a private home which might be experienced daily by only a handful of people and the same people for decades at a stretch a school is the setting for this sort of strong association for large numbers of community members. In many places, the secondary school especially is associated with community identity as it becomes the setting for many events including persons who do not attend and are not employed by the

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[280] Quotes from the poem *Paul Revere's Ride* by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, first published in January 1861.

school such as plays, concerts, town meetings, and of course, athletic endeavors such as football games. In many places, a community may be closely identified with its high school and the school's programs and teams such that even those without any connection whatsoever to the school take into their identity an affiliation with the colors and team of the school. Such connections, even when adopted by transplants to a place, create a sense of groundedness coming from the history of the place as well as a connection to fellow community members who have also developed similar attachments and affiliations. The school and its teams may achieve both renown and honor for the larger community, and over time, may indelibly mark the identity of the community. The place is a part of the person and a part which may be shared in order to unify all of the people living within the city.

Communities that are undergoing significant growth face particular issues in regards to maintaining this sense of community identity. The sheer numbers of newcomers arriving overload a social system's natural tendency to assimilate new people into the prevailing culture and can fundamentally alter the social structure and social norms of a community. Consider the arrival of thousands of Americans into Texas in the 1820s and early 1830s which resulted in not only massive cultural changes but also independence from Mexico and later annexation into the United States. Similar population shifts happened in places like California, New Mexico, Louisiana, and Missouri with similar results that in really just a few decades – less in some cases – the earlier residents had become strangers in their own land. Some may react to this by leaving their former home, unable to recognize the place as such after significant

changes. Others, however, remain and try to cling as they can to the vestiges of the place they once loved and what made it "home".

One of the most important ways people can do this is to preserve the physical history: preserving the built environment keeps people grounded in the history of the place and helps maintain the unique identity of the community despite the encroachments of many newcomers and often the geographic encroachments of neighboring towns and cities. When one side of a street from another is all that divides one place from another, preserving the unique feel of the places becomes a challenge. Also, identities that might have been shared when the community was smaller are now split. Examples of this can be seen relating to secondary schools in both Bedford and Georgetown. Bedford's schools consolidated with neighboring cities, and from that point Bedford's residents did not have the ability to identify themselves uniquely through that association. Today, some of Bedford's residents attend high school in Hurst and others in Euless, so the City of Bedford cannot utilize the identity and pride of the school to support a shared community among residents. In Georgetown, growth has been such that instead of one high school to unify such sentiment there are now two high schools, both located in Georgetown, also disrupting the ability of all Georgetown residents to share the experiences and triumphs of their schools. The high school is no longer the center of community social life, the place to which residents may go for holiday pageants, bazaars, meetings, games, and other community occasions.

In these places, the historic school can serve this important function. Even those participants who had no direct connection to the school reported associating these public buildings with the identity of the city. In small towns, schools are an important shared

experience for residents but they are also a key way even outsiders identify a community: that town is home to that school, which achieved that distinction (good or bad) at some point in his/her memory. In larger cities, particularly in the era when neighborhood schools were standard, the community was associated with its schools as well – this school represented this neighborhood, while that school identified that neighborhood. Schools often still lay at the center of community identity. Of course, people want their children to have a good education, but often the search for a "good" school is much more complicated than test scores – it involves finding a place where one feels that children are part of a community with which you want them to be comfortable and to identify. Cities take pride in the successes of their children, even if those are merely the "village's" children not one's own.

As historic schools are outgrown in changing communities – outgrown both in the size of the population they can serve but also in the need for expansive facilities both academic and athletic – they may no longer be able to work as secondary schools, but as these three case studies prove, they can continue to serve as landmarks and important public buildings for the community. They enshrine the history of the community, giving long-time resident and newcomers alike a shared sense of where they as a community have come from and thereby hopefully some sense of where they should like to go as the community adjusts to its changed circumstance. The results of the case studies in both Bedford and Georgetown reflect this: participants overwhelmingly linked historic preservation not only to the identity of their city but also described it as important to the future progress of their city. Their historic school, a single place that residents can still visit and interact with, seems to lie at the or near the center of the city not just

geographically, but also emotionally. Even those who never spent a day of attendance at the school – an increasing number of residents as the schools in Bartlett and Bedford have now been serving some other purpose for approximately three decades – associate this school with their community and with their self. Most participants reported that they would feel a personal sense of loss if the school was destroyed, and even greater numbers stated that they believed demolition of the historic school would be a serious loss to the community. It seems clear, in these cases at least, that the preservation of historic schools as public places has a positive impact on community identity and place attachment.

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Texas Administrative Code (TAC), §19.53
25 TAC §295.34 (l)

13 TAC §2.13
28 TAC § 34.301 ff.
Constitution of Texas (1845)
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APPENDIX A

Preservation Organization Questionnaire

1. Why was the school closed or no longer used for its original purpose?

2. When was the decision made to preserve the school as public property rather than some other use such as storage, private use, or demolition?

3. Why did this group decide to preserve the historic school?

4. How much active community was involved in preserving the school? Relative to the population of the community, how many (general numbers) people were actively involved in fundraising, organizing, etc., the preservation and renovation of the school?

5. Was there a perception of passive community involvement/general interest – that is, did many members of the community take an interest in preserving the school but were not actively involved in organizing or fundraising?

6. What was the process by which the school was preserved and adapted to its current use? Did it all occur at one time or was there a long period of changes between original use and current use?

7. How did they make the decision to use the historic school in the current manner?

8. What sort of community uses occur within the historic school?

9. Has community interest increased, decreased, or stayed the same since the preservation of the school? If it had to be preserved again, do you think there would be more interest or less in saving this historic place today than when it was originally preserved?

10. How does this school help mark your community as unique from the bordering communities/cities?

11. Were there any specific actions or decisions made in the preservation & renovation of the school with the intention to enhance a sense of community for the city?

12. Were any structural or usage choices made with the intention of reviving or strengthening a unique sense of place for the school itself – a sense that this historic school is unlike any other school?

Sample Online Survey

Q11 How often do you visit Williams Elementary?

❍ Regularly (at least once a month) (1)
❍ Occasionally (at least once a year, less than once a month) (2)
❍ Rarely (less than once a year) (3)
❍ I have never visited Williams Elementary (4)

Q12 DId you attend or teach at this school at any time?

❍ Yes (1)
❍ No (2)

Q13 DId a member of your immediate family attend or teach at this school at any time?

❍ Yes (1)
❍ No (2)

Q3 About the former Georgetown High School/Williams Elementary

	Strongly agree (1)	Somewhat agree (2)	Neither agree nor disagree (3)	Somewhat disagree (4)	Strongly disagree (5)
The former Georgetown High School plays an important role in the community (1)	○	○	○	○	○
I am very attached to the former high school building (2)	○	○	○	○	○
I identify strongly with the former Georgetown High School (3)	○	○	○	○	○
This historic school helps	○	○	○	○	○

define the community (4)	○	○	○	○	○
The former Georgetown High School acts as a landmark in the community (5)	○	○	○	○	○
The historic school is important to the community (6)	○	○	○	○	○
I strongly associate the former Georgetown High School with the city of Georgetown (7)	○	○	○	○	○
The former high	○	○	○	○	○

school plays a significant role in directing or organizing routes through the city (8)					
If this school was demolished, I would feel a personal sense of loss (9)	○	○	○	○	○
I have positive feelings for the former Georgetown High school building (10)	○	○	○	○	○
What happens to this school is important to	○	○	○	○	○

me (11)					
I have no particular feelings for the historic school building (12)	○	○	○	○	○
This historic school building has meaning to me (13)	○	○	○	○	○
I would be willing to donate time or talent to preserve this school (14)	○	○	○	○	○
I would be willing to donate funds to preserve this school (15)	○	○	○	○	○

The former Georgetown High School/Williams Elementary helps make the city of Georgetown unique in the area (16)	○	○	○	○	○
If this school was demolished, it would be a loss to the community (17)	○	○	○	○	○

Q4 About the City of Georgetown

	Strongly agree (1)	Somewhat agree (2)	Neither agree nor disagree (3)	Somewhat disagree (4)	Strongly disagree (5)
I would rather live someplace other than Georgetown (1)	○	○	○	○	○
The community of Georgetown reflects the type of person I am (2)	○	○	○	○	○
Historic preservation is important to Georgetown	○	○	○	○	○

(3) No other place is just like Georgetown (4)	○	○	○	○	○
I am interested in the history of Georgetown (5)	○	○	○	○	○
I utilize the same routes through Georgetown regularly (6)	○	○	○	○	○
I use buildings as landmarks more often than street	○	○	○	○	○

names (7)					
I specifically chose to live in Georgetown (8)	○	○	○	○	○
I think of myself as being from Georgetown (9)	○	○	○	○	○
What happens within Georgetown is important to me (10)	○	○	○	○	○
People should not get attached to any	○	○	○	○	○

particular buildings (11)					
Georgetown has many advantages, but if I found a better place to live I would move (12)	○	○	○	○	○
I like to show guests around Georgetown (13)	○	○	○	○	○
Even if there are better places, I would not leave Georgetown	○	○	○	○	○

(14) There are few, if any, better places than Georgetown in this area (15)	○	○	○	○	○

Q5 How many years have you lived in Georgetown

Q6 At what age did you move to Georgetown?

Q7 Why did you choose to live in Georgetown? Please select all that apply.

- ❑ Good schools (1)
- ❑ Safety (2)
- ❑ Parks & recreation opportunities (3)
- ❑ Good public services (4)
- ❑ Proximity to work (5)
- ❑ Proximity to family (6)
- ❑ Cost of living/housing (7)
- ❑ Friendly & cohesive community (8)
- ❑ Restaurants, bars, etc./social opportunities (9)
- ❑ Aesthetics/liked the look of the community (10)
- ❑ Life-long resident (11)
- ❑ Sense of history/historic preservation (12)
- ❑ Other (13)

Q8 What makes you proud to live in Georgetown? Please select all that apply.

- ❑ Good schools (1)
- ❑ Safety (2)
- ❑ Parks & recreation opportunities (3)
- ❑ Restaurants, bars, social scene, etc. (4)
- ❑ Good public services (5)
- ❑ Aesthetics/look of the city (6)
- ❑ Friendly & cohesive community (7)
- ❑ Sense of history/historic preservation (8)
- ❑ Youth athletics (ie high school football, etc.) (9)
- ❑ Community connections/knowing many other people who live in Georgetown (10)
- ❑ other (11)

Q10 In your opinion, how important is historic preservation/a sense of its own history to

the identity of the City of Georgetown?

Q9 What would you most like to change about Georgetown?

Q12 Would you recommend living in Georgetown to family/friends? Why?

Q13 What makes Georgetown unique?