

THE MODERN CLASSIC CITY: ANALYZING COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN
ATHENS, GEORGIA FROM 1930 TO 1981

by

LAUREN PATTERSON

(Under the Direction of James Reap)

ABSTRACT

Modern commercial development is a reflection of the changes that took place throughout the United States in the twentieth century. Greater mobility, the rise of consumerism, new construction techniques, and design theory that eschewed the past combined to create a unique suburban landscape that is reflected in commercial resources. Trends that took place on a national scale were seen in Athens, Georgia along with the unique influences of local industry, the University of Georgia, and the city's proximity to Atlanta. This thesis seeks to grow the understanding of modern commercial resources by using surveyed buildings in Athens as the basis to form a compositional typology, identify character-defining features, and suggest landmarks and districts for future preservation efforts. Increased understanding is what will ultimately lead to greater appreciation and a common treatment approach within the historic preservation field.

INDEX WORDS: Architecture, Athens, Commerce, Commercial, Consumer, Design, Development, Georgia, Mid-century, Modern, Modernism, Shopping, Shopping Center, Suburban

THE MODERN CLASSIC CITY: ANALYZING COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN
ATHENS, GEORGIA FROM 1930 TO 1981

by

LAUREN PATTERSON

BS Advertising, University of Florida, 2013

A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

MASTER OF HISTORIC PRESERVATION

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2019

© 2019

Lauren Patterson

All Rights Reserved

THE MODERN CLASSIC CITY: ANALYZING COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN
ATHENS, GEORGIA FROM 1930 TO 1981

by

LAUREN PATTERSON

Major Professor: James Reap
Committee: Cari Goetcheus
Laura Kviklys
Stephen Ramos

Electronic Version Approved:

Suzanne Barbour
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
May 2019

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to BK and Elfie, without whom I would have finished months earlier; to Matt Olliff, for bearing with my regularly scheduled crises; to my mom, a.k.a. Dal, for instilling in me a love of old houses and scenic routes; and to my dad, who I know would be proud.

Acknowledgments

Thank you to everyone who has helped and encouraged me along the way,
including (but not limited to):

Robert Benedict
Steven Brown
Justin Bucher
Matt Chalfa
Stephanie Cherry-Farmer
Richard Cloues
Dave Crass
Joanne DeJausserand
Amber Eskew
Donna Gabriel
Cari Goetcheus
Laura Kviklys
Bruce Lonnee
Richard Longstreth
Molly McLamb
Steven Moffson
Stephen Ramos
James Reap
Mark Reinberger
Beth Whitlock

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	v
List of Tables.....	viii
List of Figures.....	ix
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
Methodology	2
Chapter 2: National Historic Context.....	5
The Origins of Modern Architecture	5
Developing the American landscape	11
Designing for commerce.....	18
Chapter 3: Local Historic Context.....	34
Athens Pre-1930.....	38
Period of Significance: 1930-1981	48
Post-1981	75
Chapter 4: Preservation Challenges & Initiatives	81
Preservation Challenges.....	81
Preservation Initiatives.....	84
Chapter 5: Survey Methodology & Results.....	92
Survey Methodology	92
Survey Results.....	96
Chapter 6: Survey Analysis	104
Typology	106
Character-Defining Features	118
Potential Landmark & District Designations.....	129
Chapter 7: Conclusion & Recommendations.....	139
Conclusion	139
Recommendations.....	142

Bibliography..... 145

Photo Credits..... 155

Appendix A: A-CC Mid-Century Commercial Resource Survey

Appendix B: Survey Photos

Appendix C: U.S. Shopping-Center Classification and Typical Characteristics

List of Tables

Table 2.1: Five factors that made post-war suburbs distinct from pre-war suburbs (Jackson, <i>Crabgrass Frontier</i>).....	17
Table 2.2: Geographers in the 1960s were able to identify specific types of commercial strips by the businesses that clustered together (Ford, <i>Cities and Buildings</i>).....	18
Table 2.3: As communities and consumer tastes evolve, four types of blight have been identified on commercial strips (Ford, <i>Cities and Buildings</i> , 253).....	32
Table 3.1: Population of the University of Georgia and Athens (1930-1980), (“University Enrollment Fall Terms 1830-1982,” University of Georgia Office of Institutional Research. “Athens-Clarke County unified government balance, Georgia Population 2018,” World Population Review.)	48
Table 3.2: Growth of Retail Sales (\$000’s) (1948-1969), (“Base Year Socio-Economic Study,” 1971.).....	67
Table 5.1: Building Use.....	96
Table 5.2: Resources by Age.....	97
Table 5.3: Resources by Square Feet	100
Table 5.4: Resources by Stories.....	100
Table 5.5: Façades Designed for Customers	101
Table 5.6: Parking Lot Vehicle Spaces	102
Table 5.7: Setback from Road (ft).....	102
Table 5.8: Frontage Road According to GDOT Classifications	102
Table 5.9: Perceived Threats to Resources	103
Table 6.1: Resources by Overall Composition.....	110
Table 6.2: Resources by Roofline.....	114
Table 6.3: Resources by Storefront Elevation	115
Table 6.4: Resources by Storefront Visibility	116

List of Figures

- Figure 2.1: Architecture evolves with changing cultural values and technology. These buildings reflect some of the popular styles from the mid-1800s through today. From left to right, top to bottom: Gothic Revival, Beaux Arts, Art Nouveau, Prairie, Early Modernism, Art Deco, Streamline Moderne, International, Brutalist, Expressionist, Post-Modern 10
- Figure 2.2 :Examples of taxpayer buildings throughout the United States. Resembling squatter and less ornamented downtown buildings, taxpayers were meant to make just enough money to pay the taxes while the property along streetcar lines appreciated in value. ... 12
- Figure 2.3: Automobile ownership in the United States skyrocketed in the twentieth century, making it possible for Americans to move away from city centers. 13
- Figure 2.4: Country Club Plaza (left) and the Park and Shop (right) were early experiments in shopping center design. 14
- Figure 2.5: A diagram illustrating how as automobile use increased, store setbacks from the street simultaneously increased to accommodate parking. 1) Traditional downtown storefront oriented to the pedestrian walkway. 2) Downtowns made space for street parking but were often congested as they were not designed for automobile use. 3) Incorporating parking spaces in storefront design was a novel concept, as seen with the Park and Shop Center. 4) Shopping centers are designed with space for thousands of vehicles, set back far from the road. 15
- Figure 2.6: A diagram of shopping center parking configurations published in a 1932 issue of *Architectural Record*. 15
- Figure 2.7: Opening in 1956, Southdale Center in Minneapolis was the country’s first indoor mall. 16
- Figure 2.8 A graphic depiction of the phases of commercial development identified by Larry Ford in his 1994 book *Cities and Buildings: Skyscrapers, Skid Rows, and Suburbs*. “CBD” refers to central business district, the traditional downtown. 19

Figure 2.9: Coined “duck architecture” for this poultry store built in 1931, mimetic architecture is a literal representation of what is being sold inside.20

Figure 2.10: This Tudor Revival-style gas station and Buick dealership that used to stand in Athens at the corner of Broad and Lumpkin Streets is an example of using familiar domestic design for new commercial forms.21

Figure 2.11: Streamline Moderne design evolved with the Streamlined Auto Strip. The curves, sleek lines, and smooth surfaces are meant to reflect transportation designs.22

Figure 2.12: The Classic Auto Strip beginning in 1948 corresponds with the first McDonald’s opening. Though Ray Kroc didn’t found McDonald’s, he was the one to create franchising that would bring it to communities throughout the country. The restaurant and advertisement above are from the opening of the first McDonald’s east of the Mississippi in 1955.24

Figure 2.13: In the era of the Classic Auto Strips, cars became both a status symbol reflecting modernity and a form of entertainment.24

Figure 2.14: Named for the coffee shop at left, “Googie” architecture used futuristic and geometric forms to grab attention. The sign for Ideal Bagel in Athens at right is a non-historic reproduction in the Googie style meant to invoke the era of the Classic Auto Strip.25

Figure 2.15 : As product merchandising became a formal practice, stores were designed to optimize the layout and increase sales. These designs were then widely shared through professional publications, such as this one in *Architectural Record*.27

Figure 2.16 : Design books showed how materials and techniques such as canted plate glass, canopies, and sign lighting could be utilized to create interest and increase sales. The bottom picture depicts how owners of traditional storefronts could update with modern design.28

Figure 2.17 : The transition from the Classic Auto Strip to the Environmental Age is shown in the transition from the earlier McDonald’s franchise design with exaggerated arches, ample glass, and a sweeping roof, to a more muted version that uses a faux-Mansard roofline, traditional materials, and neutral colors.30

Figure 3.1: Map of Athens with Georgia inset35

Figure 3.2: Traditional downtown core highlighted. Note Prince Ave, Broad St. and Baxter St. to the west, and Oconee St. from the south.36

Figure 3.3: Closeup view of downtown with the traditional downtown core highlighted.36

Figure 3.4: This is the earliest known map of Athens, drawn in 1804. The road on the right coming north into town is present-day Oconee Street. The parcels across from campus were laid out along Broad (then called Front St.) and Clayton Streets.37

Figure 3.5 : “City Limits Evolution”.....37

Figure 3.6: This 1893 map of Athens compared to the first map in 1804 shows that over the course of 90 years, Athens had expanded from small parcels laid out adjacent to the University’s land to a network of streets and railroads serving a population of several thousand residents.40

Figure 3.7 :This 1905 map of Athens shows that, at the time, only the major thoroughfares were paved with vitrified brick (pink), Belgian block (yellow), or macadam (blue).41

Figure 3.8: Commerce was traditionally confined to downtown, the commercial nodes near Cobbham, Normaltown, and Five Points, and neighborhood grocers. Two such neighborhood grocers are shown above. On the left is the interior of Driscoll’s Grocery at 271 Dubose Street. The right is the present-day exterior of the rehabilitated B & C Grocery at 897 N Chase Street.43

Figure 3.9 The commercial node dubbed “Normaltown” grew to serve the adjacent State Normal School and streetcar suburbs. This squat row of storefronts is likely Athens’ example of “taxpayer” buildings constructed to be ephemeral.44

Figure 3.10: The commercial buildings at Five Points were of more sturdy construction compared to the “taxpayers” at Normaltown, with apartments above the storefronts.44

Figure 3.11: A 1925 map of Athens showing the streetcar routes as the dotted lines. By the time the streetcar system was shut down in 1930, 12 miles of tracks ran through town.46

Figure 3.12 : Downtown Athens adapted to increased automobile ownership with service garages, gas stations, and a “car dealer row” on Hancock Ave. From left to right: Shell Station on Thomas St. in the 1950s; Buick dealership and service station at the corner of Lumpkin and Broad Streets; Grimes Service Station at the corner of Prince and Pulaski

Streets; Service station at the corner of Washington and Lumpkin Streets; Modern service station juxtaposed to the Queen-Anne style cottage to the right; Christmas card from the Plymouth dealership on Hancock Ave., opened in 1946.47

Figure 3.13: The Union Bus Terminal at 220 W. Broad St. was completed by 1940. True to the architecture of the era, Greyhound Bus corporate design, and the spirit of transportation, the terminal shows Streamline Moderne style.48

Figure 3.14: When completed in 1957, the Georgia Center for Continuing Education was both novel for its modern design as well as the concept of having continuing education, hotel, and conference accommodations in one facility.51

Figure 3.15: The Rhodes Center built in 1937 (left) was the first strip shopping center in Atlanta. Two years later, Briarcliff Plaza (right) was the first shopping center in the state to include off-street parking.53

Figure 3.16: A preliminary map of the highway system in Georgia adopted in 1944.54

Figure 3.17: Highway construction underway in Atlanta.54

Figure 3.18: The Chick-n-Treat on Macon Highway exemplifies modern commercial design with its pylon, visual front, and arrow-shaped sign with neon lighting to attract customers. ...58

Figure 3.19: The sharp departure from classical to modern architecture can be seen through the downtown municipal garage designed by Wilmer C. Heery (top) and University of Georgia buildings constructed in the 1950s and 1960s. Creswell Hall (middle left), Chemistry building on south campus (middle right), Stegeman Coliseum (bottom).....59

Figure 3.20: Roadside businesses catering to tourists developed when the stretch of US-441 known as Macon Highway was completed through Athens in 1952.60

Figure 3.21: The Athens Chamber of Commerce printed promotional maps boasting aspects such as transportation, climate, accommodations, and shopping establishments to attract new residents. This map from the mid-1960s shows the extensive network of roads that had been built by this time.60

Figure 3.22: Opened in 1963 and built alongside the Beechwood Hills subdivision, Beechwood Shopping Center was Athens’ first modern shopping center. Aerial view of the first phase of development (top); The Sears, Roebuck anchor store left downtown to relocate at Beechwood Hills (second row); A wide-angle view (third row); “Old Fashioned Bargain Days” (bottom).....61

Figure 3.23: The shopping at Beechwood Hills was advertised on an Athens promotional map alongside downtown (top). Additional shopping centers and stand-alone businesses opened near Beechwood on Alps Rd., and Baxter and Broad Streets (bottom).62

Figure 3.24: Several other shopping centers and accompanying subdivisions opened throughout Athens, such as Homewood Hills off of Prince Avenue.63

Figure 3.25: True to national trends, Athens’ commercial thoroughfares had an abundance of signs waving down passing customers. Broad St. looking east toward downtown.63

Figure 3.26: Businesses throughout Athens showed off the geometric rooflines popular for the Exaggerated Modern style. Handy Andy convenience store on Oak St. (top left), Sterchi’s furniture store on Broad St. (top right), and Snack Shack drive-in on Broad St.(bottom).63

Figure 3.27: Increased mobility and convenience coincided with the growth of franchise fast-food chains. The Kentucky Fried Chicken on Milledge Ave. and its grand opening celebration (top); a menu and photo of Burger Chef on Alps Rd. (middle); Hardee’s on Baxter St. (bottom left); McDonald’s on Prince Ave. with the James White House in the background (bottom right)64

Figure 3.28: Examples of businesses being designed in the commercial architecture of the mid-century with canted glass, brick veneer, visual fronts, and angular signs. Arctic Girl on Broad St. (top left); Phillips 66 on Oconee St. (top right); Grant’s department store in Beechwood Shopping Center (middle); Evergreen Garden Center on Atlanta Highway (bottom)65

Figure 3.29: Acres of private houses were demolished to make way for new University dormitories as part of Athens’ ambitious Urban Renewal projects. Looking east toward campus from Baxter St., the sign reads, “University of Georgia Urban Renewal Area.” ..68

Figure 3.30: Existing Land Use map from the 1970 socio-economic study69

Figure 3.31: The Athens Retail Trade Area from the 1971 socio-economic study shows the widespread area from which consumers travel to shop.70

Figure 3.32: Published in the *Athens Observer* in May 1979, “Vanished Athens” juxtaposed the historic Greek Revival mansions that were demolished with the modern-style buildings that took their place. Several of the replacement buildings were surveyed as part of this thesis (highlighted, from left to right, top to bottom: 575 N Harris St., 225 S Milledge Ave., 596-598 Prince Ave.).74

Figure 3.33: As businesses were drawn toward suburban shopping centers then the mall, downtown Athens felt the effects. Above is the Franklin House on Broad St. in 1981 with windows broken and boarded up.75

Figure 3.34: To keep up with the modern appeal of new construction, businesses downtown, such as Gallant-Belk (left), Kress, and Lamar Lewis Shoes (top right), used “slipcover” facades that were applied over traditional storefronts. Rosenthal’s (bottom right) shows the type of storefront renovations that were made popular by designers such as Morris Lapidus and Morris Ketchum, Jr. to draw customers in with display merchandising.76

Figure 3.35: When opened in 1981, the mall roughly occupied the same amount of land and employed the same amount of people as Athens’ downtown commercial core.76

Figure 3.36: The Oconee Connector area, located off of the perimeter bypass between Clarke and Oconee Counties, has been the site of intense development in recent years. The small city onto itself of national chains and interconnected shopping centers is representative of the Corporate Megastrip commercial phase described in Chapter 2. ..79

Figure 3.37: A 2019 aerial view above the Beechwood Shopping Center/Alps Rd. area, looking east toward downtown. The shopping centers continue to be highly trafficked and have had several renovations since first being developed in the 1960s.79

Figure 3.38: After a period of dormancy in the late twentieth century, downtown Athens continues to evolve and thrive. Aerial view looking northwest with the traditional downtown core highlighted..80

Figure 3.39: With competition from online stores and the Oconee Connector shopping centers, the Georgia Square Mall has experienced decline in recent years.80

Figure 5.1: A variety of stylistic influences were seen in the surveyed resources, including (left

to right, top to bottom) Art Deco, Brutalist, Colonial Revival, Contemporary, Exaggerated Modern, International, Mission Revival, Prairie, and Streamline Moderne.....	98
Figure 5.2: “Before and After” examples of how buildings, and subsequently their historic integrities, have changed. 199 Prince Ave. in the 1930s vs. 2019 (top); 1855 W Broad St. in the 1940s-50s vs. 1960s vs. 2019 (second row); Church’s Chicken 1960’s corporate design vs. 1423 W Broad St. in 2019 (third row); 2036 S Milledge Ave. in the 1970s vs. 2019 (fourth row); 1660 W Broad St. in 1975 vs. 2018 (bottom).....	99
Figure 6.1: Typology, character-defining features, and landmarks and districts create an integrated approach to identifying buildings worthy of preservation.	104
Figure 6.2: The compositional typology identified by Richard Longstreth in <i>Buildings of Main Street</i>	107
Figure 6.3: Typology was broken down into three descending steps: Overall Composition, Roofline, Storefront Composition	108
Figure 6.4: Overall Composition Types	109
Figure 6.5: Rooflines in downtown Athens. Rooflines of traditional connected storefronts were often more ornamental than functional, whereas modern storefronts utilized rooflines for both ornamental and functional purposes.	110
Figure 6.6: Roofline Types	113
Figure 6.7: Storefront Elevation Types	115
Figure 6.8: Storefront Visibility Types	116
Figure 6.9: Buildings that did not fit into a overall composition type (left and middle) or roofline type (right).	117
Figure 6.10: Shape demonstrated by the Overall Composition types at 1054 Baxter St. (top left), 142 Oconee St. (top right), 749 W Broad St. (bottom left), and 3049 Danielsville Rd. (bottom right).	119
Figure 6.11: Openings illustrated by 925 W. Broad St.	120
Figure 6.12: Roofs and their related features illustrated by 2045 W Broad St. (left) and 1190 Prince Ave. (right).	120
Figure 6.13: Projections illustrated by 798 Baxter St. (left) and 265 E Hancock Ave. (right). ...	121

Figure 6.14: Trim illustrated by 1400 N Chase St.	121
Figure 6.15: Setting illustrated by an aerial view of the Beechwood Shopping Center looking northeast toward Atlanta Highway.	122
Figure 6.16: The Athens Plumbing & Well Supply sign (left) painted directly on the building is a traditional technique with more staying power than a removable sign. The geometric frames for the original Church’s Chicken signs remain on the vacant building at right. Of all surveyed resources, these are the two known original signs.	123
Figure 6.17: Integrating ornamental details into brickwork (left), the concrete <i>bris soleil</i> (middle), and use of non-structural stacked Roman brick (right) are examples of using materials and craftsmanship to give distinctive style without classical reference.	124
Figure 6.18: Both buildings have loss of integrity. 2900 Atlanta Highway (left) shows planned loss whereas 215 Tallassee Rd. (right) shows more unplanned, ad hoc loss.	125
Figure 6.19: A trend toward painted brick with minimalist details was seen in renovations and new construction. Left to right, top to bottom: 225 E Hancock Ave., 843 Prince Ave., 1015 Baxter St., 1135 Prince Ave., 428 N Milledge Ave., 468 N Milledge Ave.	126
Figure 6.20: Homewood Village (top left), Alps Road (top right), Green Acres (middle left), and Beechwood Promenade (middle right) shopping centers are all originally from the 1960s-1970s but have been renovated beyond recognition with new stucco facades. In the case of the Red & Black Package store (bottom left and right), a new stucco façade was applied directly over the old so parapets are still visible.	127
Figure 6.21: A map of surveyed resources color-coded by integrity. Green represents a high degree of integrity, yellow is partial, and red is very little.	128
Figure 6.22: 925 W Broad St.	129
Figure 6.23: 904 N Chase St.	130
Figure 6.24: 1400 N Chase St.	130
Figure 6.25: 265 E Hancock Ave.	130
Figure 6.26: 234 Old Epps Bridge Rd.....	131
Figure 6.27: 900 Old Hull Rd.	131
Figure 6.28: 1190 Prince Ave.	131
Figure 6.29: Buildings to include in the suggested West Broad Street historic district.	133

Figure 6.30: The Varsity restaurant photograph and menu from 1964 (top left and right), and as it is today (bottom left). The building is planned to be demolished to make way for mixed-use development. 133

Figure 6.31: Suggested buildings to include as contributing to the existing Milledge Avenue historic district. 134

Figure 6.32: Buildings to include in the suggested Normaltown historic district. 135

Figure 6.33: Buildings to include in the suggested Lower Prince Ave. historic district. 136

Figure 6.34: Additional surveyed resources that are representative of modern commercial development. 137

Chapter 1: Introduction

“...vernacular architecture can be as significant as great architecture in its aesthetic, as well as its historical, technical, and contextual dimensions... Someday architects will derive inspiration from the American commercial vernacular as they derived inspiration from the American industrial vernacular in the early 20th century and someday billboards, as well as advertising, will grace the walls of craft museums, hanging next to hand-quilted bedspreads.”

-Robert Venturi, *Preserving the Recent Past 2*

Modern commercial development is a reflection of the changes that took place throughout the United States in the twentieth century. The introduction of the electric streetcar and then automobiles enabled Americans to easily travel beyond traditional city centers beginning in the late 1800s. After the restraints of the Great Depression followed by World War II, the country emerged optimistic for the future and ripe for suburban expansion. An architecture to match evolved as traditional references and ornamentation were replaced by streamlined designs experimenting with new construction techniques. The free-flowing emphasis of modern architecture and quick-assembly materials were ideal for creating alluring commercial spaces that could easily be built and replicated to meet rising demand. Greater mobility, optimistic outlook, and new construction design and techniques combined to create a uniquely modern commercial landscape reflecting the growing suburbs and consumer culture.

Settled in the late eighteenth century, the built landscape of Athens, Georgia reflects both national trends and unique influences. The University of Georgia, a network of railroads and highways, and manufacturing and military presence have contributed to Athens' continued prosperity and status as the commercial center for Northeast Georgia. Similar to cities throughout the country, Athens expanded beyond its traditional downtown in the early twentieth century with suburban commercial and residential development enabled by the streetcar system and then automobiles. This prosperity and expansion is still seen today with the wealth of modern twentieth century resources.

Though modern commercial development presents a host of challenges not encountered with traditional historic preservation, it is important that these resources are recognized as

historically significant in Athens and beyond. Attention is growing but there is still much to be decided within the historic preservation profession about how to consistently approach, describe, and document modern commercial resources. Without this understanding and consistency, we stand to lose them before their role in our collective history is fully appreciated.

This thesis seeks to develop the conversation of preserving modern commercial resources with specific focus on the time period 1930 to 1981, and buildings categorized as “single-tenant retail or commercial buildings,” and “malls, shopping centers, or multi-tenant commercial structures.” The questions it will answer are: *Can a typology of compositional characteristics, character-defining features, and sites worthy of further research and preservation be identified from survey analysis of single- and multi-tenant commercial buildings and shopping centers dating from 1930 to 1981 in Athens, Georgia?* By identifying commonalities and the resources that are representative of modern commercial development, Athens can begin to discuss the role of these resources in its future planning and the best preservation approach.

Methodology

To answer the thesis question, primary and secondary background research was conducted to develop a historic context for the national and local scales, the challenges presented by preserving modern resources, and the initiatives taking place to advance preservation. This background knowledge was then applied to modify the Athens-Clarke County Resource Survey to accurately describe modern commercial buildings and conduct a reconnaissance-level architectural survey of 137 resources. For the scope of this thesis, “single-tenant retail or commercial buildings”, and “malls, shopping centers, or multi-tenant commercial buildings” were specifically chosen to survey for their prevalence throughout Athens; likelihood to be vulnerable to alterations or demolition; and ability to form the building blocks for further research to understand modern resources. For simplicity, they are referred to throughout this thesis as “single and multi-tenant commercial buildings and shopping centers.” The period studied began with 1930, the year the streetcar system ended in Athens, and ended with 1981, the year the Georgia Square Mall was completed. In a matter of 51 years, Athens underwent vast changes in population, transportation, and consumer preferences that are reflective of national trends.

Where the word “modern” is used throughout this thesis, it is referring both to these years and the modern design thinking that became prevalent throughout the United States.

To compile a survey list, information on all commercial properties was requested from the Athens-Clarke County Tax Assessor. This information was then run through the County Planning Department’s Land-Based Classification Standards (LBCS) to add tags that further distill the Tax Assessor’s broad categorization into distinct structure, activity, and use types, and site characteristics. The specific categories chosen to analyze were “Structure 2200: Single-tenant retail or commercial building” and “Structure 2500: Malls, shopping centers, or multi-tenant commercial.” Both are derived from the overall “Structure 2000: Commercial buildings and other specialized structures” classification. For the scope and purpose of this study, the following structure types from the broad Structure 2000 classification were excluded: office building; office building with drive-through facility; shop or store building with drive-through facility; restaurant or other food service with drive-through facility; gas station; auto repair and service structures; retail with office above; hotels, motels, bed and breakfast, hostel; industrial buildings and structures; warehouse or storage facility.

Likewise, other broad classifications were excluded, including: residential buildings; public assembly structures; institutional or community facilities; transportation-related facilities; utility and other nonbuilding structures; sheds, barns, farm buildings or agricultural facilities.

Though each structure type is worthy of research and demonstrates Athens’ development, so many variations exist that there would not be a sound basis from which to draw conclusions if grouped together. Additionally, buildings were excluded if they did not appear from reconnaissance-level survey to retain a partial to high level of historic integrity or were built for industrial or wholesale use.¹ The initial study list of 3,952 parcels was distilled to 137.

It should be noted and kept in mind throughout this study that Tax Assessor data, from which the initial list of all commercial buildings in Athens was taken, is often incomplete or inaccurate, and LBCS data is subject to human error. Therefore, some resources that would qualify as single and multi-tenant commercial buildings and shopping centers were excluded

¹ Reconnaissance-level survey is defined by the National Park Service as a, “‘once over lightly’ inspection of an area, most useful for characterizing its resources in general and for developing a basis for deciding how to organize and orient more detailed survey efforts.” United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register Bulletin 24, Guidelines for Local Surveys: A Basis for Preservation Planning, <https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb24/chapter1.htm> (accessed October 29, 2018).

when put through Tax Assessor and LBCS sorting. Resources that would qualify were added as they were encountered in the field, but still the list may not be comprehensive and building dates are approximate. For the purpose of this study, to derive broad typology, character-defining features, and potential landmark and district designations, an all-inclusive inventory was not deemed necessary to draw conclusions.

The survey information gathered on paper forms was put into a Google Form online to consolidate and analyze the results. From this, a typology was created, character-defining features were described, and potential landmarks and districts were identified to answer the thesis question.

The contexts and findings are presented in the following order. **Chapter 2: National Historic Context** provides background for commercial development that took place on the national scale. **Chapter 3: Local Historic Context** discusses Athens history and how commercial development took form on the local scale, influenced by both state and national trends. **Chapter 4: Preservation Challenges & Initiatives** details the unique challenges posed to the preservation field by modern resources and what is being done to tackle them on the national, state, and local scales. **Chapter 5: Survey Methodology & Results** further defines the methodology and presents the data collected by the architectural surveys. **Chapter 6: Survey Analysis** uses the results to develop the typology, identify character-defining resources, and suggest potential landmarks and districts. Finally, **Chapter 7: Conclusion & Recommendations** concludes the findings, summarizes the previous chapters, and recommends further research questions based on what was encountered throughout the literature review and survey process.

Chapter 2: National Historic Context

“The automobile became the opium of the American people. After the autoist had driven round and round for a while, it became high time that people should catch on to the fact that as he rides there are a thousand and ten thousand little ways you can cash in on him en route.”
-Fortune Magazine, 1934

The United States experienced unprecedented expansion in the decades following World War II. Many factors contributed to the development and design of post-war commercial resources, including the departure from classical architectural; population shift away from downtowns to the suburbs and simultaneous evolution of commercial nodes; introduction of new and pre-fabricated materials; retail and merchandising becoming formalized processes to be studied and analyzed; and the cycle of action and reaction to trends. Many of these phenomena began prior to the war, set in motion by the advent of the streetcar and then automobile allowing Americans newfound mobility and connectivity. This national historic context begins by describing the origins of modern architectural design, followed by national population, transportation, and development trends. It concludes with the distinct periods of growth seen on commercial strips. These big-picture trends are important to understanding Athens' history and answering the thesis question, as many local events mirrored those taking place on the national scale.

The Origins of Modern Architecture

Architecture throughout history can be seen as a cycle of action and reaction set against the backdrop of cultural and political influence. Whenever the design pendulum swings too far in one direction, a new approach will emerge to bring it back toward the center, with each new phase learning from and building upon those that came before.

From the late 1800s through the early 1900s, classically-trained architects from Paris' Ecole des Beaux Arts designed commercial and institutional buildings in the United States upon the principles of symmetry, scale, and proportion. Opulent materials, classical details, and grand forms, such as the palazzo and pedimented temple, were used to convey the country's rising

status and draw connections to the great wealth and learning institutions of Europe. Beneath these familiar exteriors, new technology, such as reinforced concrete and strong metal alloys, formed the structural systems and alluded to coming practices.²

Inspired by Gothic Revival principles, European designer William Morris, architect Philip Webb, and critic John Ruskin expanded upon ideology that prioritized craftsmanship, natural forms, honesty of materials, and legibility of plans to spark the Arts and Crafts movement in the 1880s. In Europe, this would eventually take hold and create the early 1900s' Art Nouveau architecture made famous in Paris by Hector Guimard and Barcelona by Antoni Gaudi. In the United States, the Arts and Crafts movement influenced the architectural reaction against Beaux Arts classicism and formed the roots for Frank Lloyd Wright's Prairie Style. Derived from his mentor Louis Sullivan's mantra, "form follows function,"³ Wright designed buildings that had free-flowing interiors blended into exterior spaces; were conscious of their environments; made use of new technology that allowed for cantilevers and molded concrete forms; considered the automobile as having a place in the American home; and used nature as inspiration for minimalist orientation. His work was published internationally and had a large impact on European Modernism.⁴

While Wright was developing his practice in the United States, European architects were expanding upon his principles and creating their own amidst the upheaval of World War I. Published in 1913, Adolf Loos' essay *Ornament in Crime* was the first to condemn all ornamentation as a means to subject the working class, who could not afford the crafts they made for the upper class. His designs stripped almost all detail down to white planes to focus on the more practical elements of a buildings, such as plumbing, heating, and structural systems. Loos' support of standardization and mass-produced objects point to the Modernist use of industrial materials and fabrication.⁵

With Europe recovering from World War I, modern architects capitalized on the new possibilities created by ever-increasing material technology to envision a future shed of

2 Will Jones, *How to Read Modern Buildings* (New York: Rizzoli, 2017), 16.

3 The idea of "form follows function" means that the functionality of a building should determine its aesthetic qualities, not vice versa.

"Form Follows Function," Guggenheim, accessed March 3, 2019, <https://www.guggenheim.org/arts-curriculum/topic/form-follows-function>.

4 Mark Reinberger, "19th Century Technology and the Tall Building," lecture, LAND2520 World Architecture, Athens, GA, April 26, 2018.

5 Mark Reinberger, "European Modernism," lecture, LAND2520 World Architecture, Athens, GA, April 27, 2018.

references to an unpleasant past. Starting in 1919, Walter Gropius founded the Bauhaus in Weimar, Germany as a progressive alternative to classical Beaux Arts education. The school grew out of a desire to reunite art with manufacturing to teach design that was both functional and creative.⁶ What emerged in the 1920s through the 1930s became known as Early Modernism. Championed by Wright and Sullivan in the United States, buildings of this style used steel, reinforced concrete, and plate glass to create a grid of columns accommodating large internal spaces. Flat roofs and blank white walls were favored. These elements became popular and widely known through the New York Museum of Modern Art 1932 “International Exhibition of Modern Architecture.” The exhibit was curated by American architectural historian Henry-Russell Hitchcock and architect Philip Johnson to feature images of buildings by famous European architects Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius, and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe.⁷

Similar to how the Ecole des Beaux Arts taught architects to carry classical principles throughout the world, Bauhaus and similarly-trained architects spread Early Modernism and International Style. Popular from the late 1920s through World War II, the International Style expanded upon Early Modernism and took the idea that form followed function to the extreme. Perhaps best known by the works of Le Corbusier, it is characterized by austere design using reinforced concrete and glass, in which buildings appear to float within the environment. Elements include slender round columns called *piloti*, complete lack of ornamentation, rectilinear forms, and an abundance of glass. The spread of these styles was accelerated in the United States as many architects, including Gropius, Mies van der Rohe, Marcel Breuer, Richard Neutra, and Jens Risom, emigrated from Europe seeking refuge from World War II.⁸ Under then-director Mies van der Rohe, the Bauhaus closed in 1933 when the Nazis assumed power in Germany. Gropius became the head of Harvard’s Graduate School of Design and Mies van der Rohe became the head of the Illinois Institute of Technology’s architecture department, thus further spreading Modernist principles as graduates went on to practice throughout the country.⁹

Evolving from Early Modernism and the International Style, Modernism is a sub-genre within the greater realm of modern architecture. It became popular in the United States from

6 Larissa Borteh, “Bauhaus,” The Art Story, accessed October 29, 2018, <https://www.theartstory.org/movement-bauhaus.htm>.

7 Chester Liebs, *Main Street to Miracle Mile* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1985), 58.

8 Dominic Bradbury, *Mid-Century Modern Complete* (New York: Abrams, 2014), 9.

9 Andreas Joch, “Walter Gropius (1883-1969),” Transatlantic Perspectives, last modified October 13, 2011, accessed October 29, 2018, <https://www.transatlanticperspectives.org/entry.php?rec=20>.

the 1930s through the 1960s, developing from critiques that earlier buildings were placed within the environment rather than interacting with it, and that purism was both limiting and elitist. Modernism allowed for more creativity in form and design than previously seen, embraced an approach that was a product of the natural environment, and played with curves and textures. Brutalist architecture making use of the heavily textured *baton brut* concrete is a variation falling under the title of Modernism. Another strain, Expressionism, took inspiration from pre-World War I experiments in Europe to create fantasized forms reminiscent of Art Nouveau style reimaged in concrete.¹⁰

By the 1970s, there was another reaction to modern architecture as being bland and strict. The resulting Post-Modern style brought back a playfulness of design, color, and decoration by reinterpreting classical elements in new ways. Moving away from pure functionalism, it allowed more room for symbolism and mocking architecture. Championed by architect Robert Venturi in his 1966 book *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*, Post-Modernism is characterized by the saying, “less is a bore”.¹¹

Offshoots and revivals have consistently taken place both separate from and within the trajectory of modern architecture. Drawing from the proportion, scale, and symmetry of classical architecture, Art Deco emerged in the 1920s and 1930s as a hybrid of what had traditionally been done and what the future held. Rather than classical references, it drew inspiration for ornamentation from art, machinery, and Egypt-mania. Its flamboyant and unrestrained nature made Art Deco a favored style for commercial buildings, particularly cinemas. Drawing upon both Art Deco and Early Modernism, Streamline Moderne became known from the 1920s to World War II for its smooth curves, horizontal emphasis, and aerodynamic forms mimicking automobiles and ships. It was architecture designed for the new efficiency and mechanization emerging in everyday American life. As such, it became a popular style on commercial strips where fast service and car culture reigned.¹² Commercial design has also reflected popular residential trends. Similar to ranch houses spreading out within expanses of lawn, commercial buildings sited where land was abundant could expand out into their surrounding environment

¹⁰ Jones, 40-43.

¹¹ Matt Schudel, “Robert Venturi, postmodern architect who argued ‘Less is a bore,’ dies at 93,” The Washington Post, last modified September 20, 2018, accessed November 1, 2018, https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/obituaries/robert-venturi-postmodern-architect-who-argued-less-is-a-bore-dies-at-93/2018/09/20/58aa9864-bcf4-11e8-b7d2-0773aa1e33da_story.html?utm_term=.3d38e6de0055.

¹² Jones, 24-27, 158.

with emphasis on one-story, horizontal forms. Techniques similar to the Contemporary style of ranch house could be applied to commercial design, such as deep overhangs to shade customers and low-sloping gable roofs to maximize space.¹³

Just as in 1828 when German architect Heinrich Hubsch was the first to formally ask with his book *In What Style Should We Build?*, we seek to categorize architecture by neat time periods and design elements as if applying taxonomy.¹⁴ As an inherently subjective field, architecture eludes definitive categories as elements from throughout history are borrowed and reinterpreted to fit aesthetic whims and programming needs. Additionally, with the trademark motto “form follows function,” modern architecture sought to reject style by letting building plan dictate appearance.¹⁵ This was especially seen in commercial buildings, where the main objective is to draw customers and sell products rather than honor or evoke a specific design tradition.

While high-style design is most often seen for prominent commercial, institutional, or mass housing projects within large cities, the bulk of American architecture is dictated by regional adaptations, materials, and economy. It is ultimately these adaptations that become more indicative of a region’s culture and daily life than its monumental architecture. Examining a building based on its style leads to prejudice against more vernacular buildings and can miss their importance in developmental history. For these reasons, stylistic categories are useful in attributing the origins of many commercial features and describing particular methods, materials, and ideologies, but should not be prioritized above a building’s form and context. Likewise, lack of textbook style does not indicate lack of historic significance.¹⁶

13 Tracey Fedor, Mary Beth Reed, and Patrick Sullivan, *The Ranch House in Georgia: Guidelines for Evaluation*, (Stone Mountain, GA: New South Associates, 2010), 52-53.

14 Jurgen Tietz, *The Story of Architecture of the 20th Century* (Cologne, Germany: Konemann, 1999).

15 “Form Follows Function,” Guggenheim.

16 Richard Longstreth, *Looking Beyond the Icons* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2015).



Figure 2.1: Architecture evolves with changing cultural values and technology. These buildings reflect some of the popular styles from the mid-1800s through today. From left to right, top to bottom: Gothic Revival, Beaux Arts, Art Nouveau, Prairie, Early Modernism, Art Deco, Streamline Moderne, International, Brutalist, Expressionist, Post-Modern

Developing the American Landscape

Cities in the United States traditionally evolved as a grid around a central node of transportation and commerce. Whether it was due to a railroad hub or river stop, this node was where area residents came to transact business, and subsequent auxiliary businesses and governmental, social, and religious institutions developed. Limited means of transportation meant that citizens lived and worked close to the main streets. These streets were designed to be impressive to establish importance, and typically had homogeneous architecture based on the prevailing style of the time.

Beginning in 1888 with the first successful large-scale installation in Richmond, Virginia, electric streetcars were able to defeat the short-comings of horse and steam power to pave the way for the shift out of downtowns.¹⁷ Built along linear routes, powered by electrified overhead wires, and moving at 20 miles per hour, streetcars opened areas that were previously inaccessible and facilitated the beginning of the end of the nucleated city.¹⁸ Prior to the streetcar, suburbs were either reserved for the elite who could afford to escape the unpleasantness of cities, or the outcasts who were not welcome elsewhere. After its wide implementation, suburban living became attainable for the working and middle classes. With streetcar lines expanding, land along routes became increasingly valuable as commerce and housing spread outward from the city center alongside them. To capitalize on the opportunity, speculative developers bought land along the lines and built “taxpayer” buildings to make just enough money to pay the property taxes while the land continually appreciated. Resembling longer, squatter downtown commercial buildings, taxpayers typically made up a single row of adjoining businesses designed for pedestrian traffic, some two-story with offices or lofts above. These placeholders were meant to be ephemeral, with the idea that they would be torn down and replaced when the property reached a higher value. The disposable philosophy of taxpayers marked a shift in thinking from downtown buildings that is perpetuated today: that it is not the quality of commercial construction that matters, it is the quality of location.¹⁹ To encourage customers to ride the whole streetcar route and see their stores, developers would charge a low

¹⁷ Mary Bellis, “The History of Streetcars-Cable Cars,” ThoughtCo., last modified April 13, 2017, accessed November 1, 2018, <https://www.thoughtco.com/history-of-streetcars-cable-cars-4075558>.

¹⁸ Rebecca A. Shiffer and Deborah Slaton, *Preserving the Recent Past*, (Washington D.C.: Historic Preservation Education Foundation, 1995), II-97.

¹⁹ Larry Ford, *Cities and Buildings: Skyscrapers, Skid Rows, and Suburbs* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1994), 230.

flat fare and build attractions at the end of lines. Though these methods meant that streetcars often operated at a loss, the money was in real estate.²⁰ Eventually, as more people began to move outward from city centers, big department store chains and theaters followed the taxpayers out of downtown.



Figure 2.2: Examples of taxpayer buildings throughout the United States. Resembling squatter and less ornamented downtown buildings, taxpayers were meant to make just enough money to pay the taxes while the property along streetcar lines appreciated in value.

What developers speculating on taxpayer buildings did not anticipate was the advent of the automobile opening even more land beyond and between streetcar lines. Rather than buildings being demolished for the land value as originally planned, their value was depreciated by the abundance of open space made available. In 1900, only 8,000 vehicles were registered in the United States. In just a decade, increased affordability made the total jump to 468,000.²¹ In an attempt to adapt, taxpayers made the first step toward our vast parking lots of today by building lots behind or near businesses. In this way, the taxpayer strips then became the evolutionary link between downtowns and shopping centers.²²

20 Matthew Manning, "The Death and Life of Great American Strip Malls: Evaluating and Preserving a Unique Cultural Resource," (Master's thesis, University of Georgia, 2009).

21 Liebs, 17-22.

22 Ibid, 15.

Downtowns also tried to keep up by creating storefront parking and making room for lots, though streets were chronically congested because they were not originally designed for cars. A 1926 report prepared by the Beeler Organization in New York concluded,

“...growing traffic congestion in cities is making it increasingly difficult for the suburban customers of city stores to reach these stores and shop in leisure and comfort. Surveys show that these people are reducing the number of their shopping trips to the stores in the congested areas...a larger and larger proportion of their buying is being done in stores within their own suburban area.”²³

With the increase in drivers came the Good Roads Movement, a national demand for improved conditions. Bicyclists, vehicle owners, and producers of the road materials lobbied for paved routes. Prior to government oversight, private highway associations developed to build their own roads and charge drivers for passage. The federal government stepped in with the Federal-Aid Road Acts of 1916 and 1921 to build a national network with standardized construction and naming conventions.²⁴ As a result, the 1920s saw a doubling of the total miles of paved highways.²⁵ The total again doubled in the 1930s as unemployment during the Great Depression created the opportunity for the government to put unemployed Americans to work building roads.²⁶

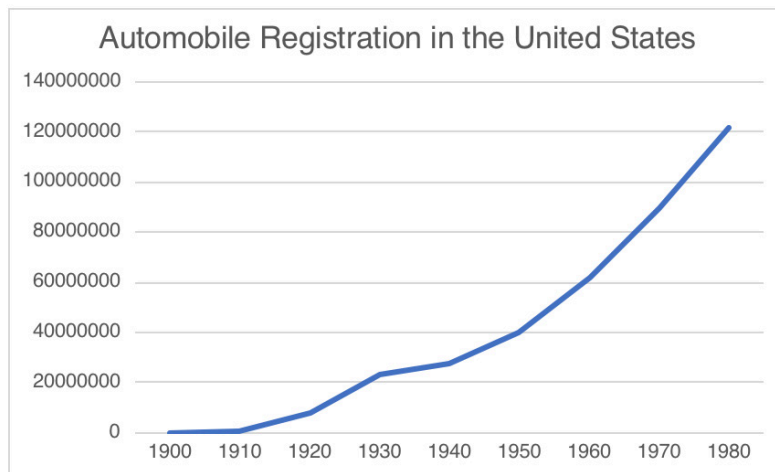


Figure 2.3: Automobile ownership in the United States skyrocketed in the twentieth century, making it possible for Americans to move away from city centers.

23 Liebs, 29.

24 Ibid, 19.

25 Ford, 233.

26 Ibid, 238.

Once roads became abundant and reliable, going “out for a drive” became a new hobby and commercial possibilities were blown wide open. In reaction to the transformation in consumer habits, in 1934, *Fortune* magazine printed,

“The automobile became the opium of the American people. After the autoist had driven round and round for a while, it became high time that people should catch on to the fact that as he rides there are a thousand and ten thousand little ways you can cash in on him en route. Within the past few years, the time ripened and burst. And along the great American Road, the Great American Roadside sprang up prodigally as morning mushrooms, and completed a circle which will whirl for pleasure and for profit as long as the American blood and the American car are so happily married.”²⁷

Incorporating parking spaces into the design of commercial construction led to never-before-seen layouts. The first regional shopping center built in the United States was Country Club Plaza by real estate entrepreneur J.C. Nichols in Kansas City, Missouri in 1922. Complete with its own tower, fountains, and ornate landscaping, the center was akin to an amusement park village. In 1930, the Park and Shop “drive-in” strip mall was built in Washington, D.C. Less high-style and ornate than the Country Club Plaza, its L-shaped design was novel for being laid out to specifically accommodate multiple rows of parked cars. The *Washington Post* remarked in September 1930,

“This park and shop center...will give store patrons free parking space while they shop. This improvement is expected to be a boon to parking problems...”²⁸



Figure 2.4: Country Club Plaza (left) and the Park and Shop (right) were early experiments in shopping center design.

²⁷ Liebs, 22.

²⁸ “Park and Shop on Connecticut Avenue,” Ghosts of DC, last modified February 7, 2013, accessed January 11, 2019, <https://ghostsofdc.org/2013/02/07/park-and-shop-on-connecticut-avenue/>.

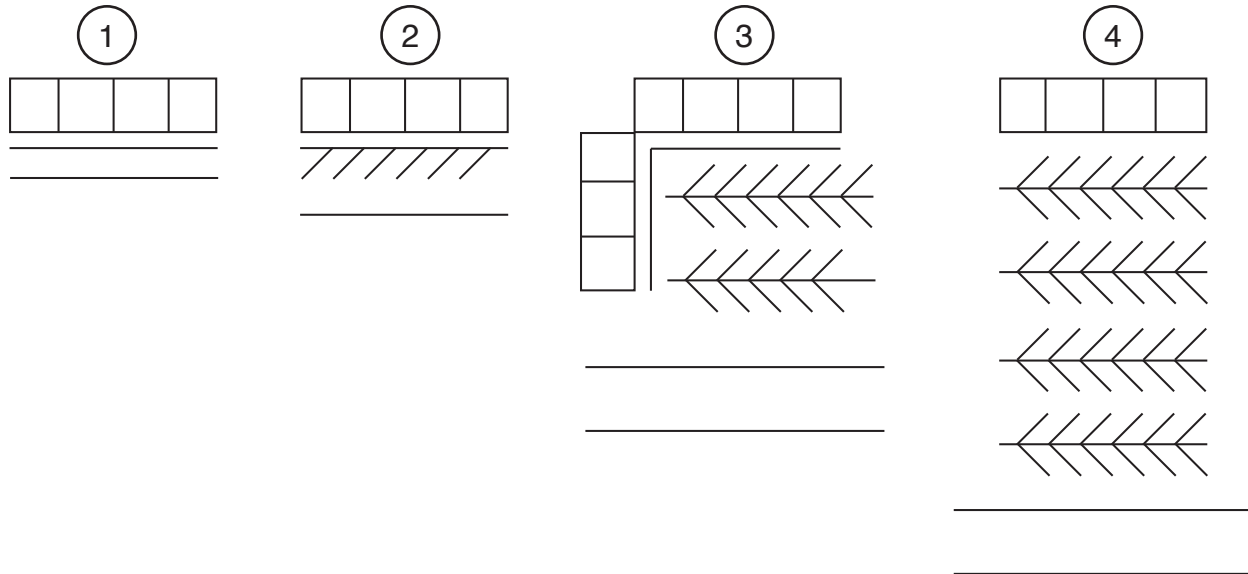


Figure 2.5: As automobile use increased, store setbacks from the street simultaneously increased to accommodate parking. 1) Traditional downtown storefront oriented to the pedestrian walkway. 2) Downtowns made space for street parking but were often congested as they were not designed for automobile use. 3) Incorporating parking spaces in storefront design was a novel concept, as seen with the Park and Shop Center. 4) Shopping centers are designed with space for thousands of vehicles, set back far from the road.

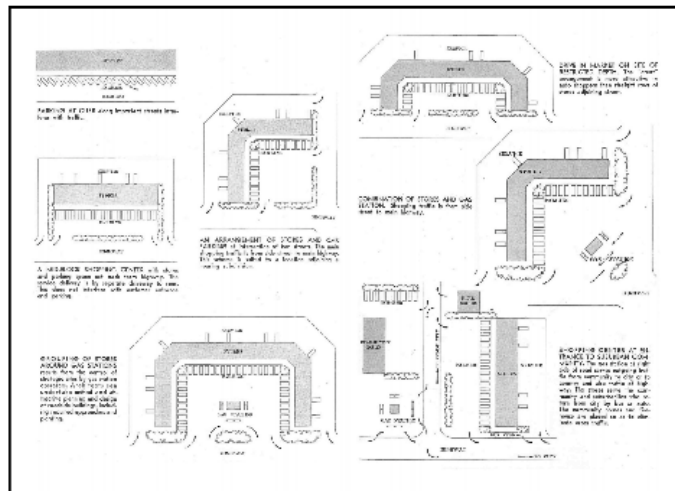


Figure 2.6: A diagram of shopping center parking configurations published in a 1932 issue of *Architectural Record*.

The shopping center concept was taken further with the Highland Park Shopping Village in Dallas, Texas by architect Hugh Prather in 1931. It was notable for being the first to have its storefronts face inward with interior pedestrian streets, rather than toward the access street. Country Club Plaza, Park & Shop, and Highland Park Shopping Village were all designed with Spanish Revival or Colonial Revival ornamentation, examples of novel forms relating to their environments through familiar design. The evolution of the regional shopping center reached a new milestone in 1956 when Southdale Center in Minneapolis, designed by Victor Gruen and Associates, became the first indoor mall in the United States.²⁹ These early experiments with shopping center and mall designs quickly caught on and were replicated throughout the country.



Figure 2.7: Opening in 1956, Southdale Center in Minneapolis was the country's first indoor mall.

Shopping centers and malls were designed for Americans' new suburban lifestyles. From 1918 to 1940, the population living in the suburbs grew modestly from 17 to 20 percent. Several factors had made suburbanization possible and cost-efficient prior to World War II, including the development of balloon frame construction; cheap and accessible land; mass-produced materials; new methods of financing and the Federal Housing Act in 1933; and the proliferation of the family car. World War II brought construction of civilian infrastructure to a halt as resources were redirected to the military effort and supply of foreign materials was cut off. With its conclusion, a pent-up demand for housing, the 1944 GI Bill of Rights, the Baby Boom, and increases in material technology set the stage for suburban explosion. The post-war marriage rate was the highest in the nation's history and the population reached 150 million, double that of 1900.³⁰ For new families, suburbs offering affordable housing and large yards were the ideal.

²⁹ Ibid, 31.

³⁰ Walter Le Feber and Richard Polenburg, *The American Century* (New York: John Wiley & Son, Inc., 1975), 356.

From 1940 to 1950, central cities grew by 13 percent, while suburbs grew at three times that rate.³¹ By 1960, 40 percent of the American population lived in suburbs.³²

Table 2.1: Five factors that made post-war suburbs distinct from pre-war suburbs (Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*)

<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. More peripheral locations relative to the central city2. Lower density3. More homogenous architecture4. More easily available and economical housing5. More economic and racial homogeny

Families needed one or more vehicles to facilitate their mobile suburban lifestyle. Ownership continued to consistently rise in the United States after World War II. In 1940, there were 27.5 million vehicles registered; by 1950, there were 40.3 million; 61.6 million by 1960; and 89.2 million by 1970.³³ Near-total mobility came with the passage of the Interstate Highways and Defense Act of 1956. While in theory it was to connect cities in case of national emergency, the 40,000-mile network of roads had much more practical implications for Americans moving through and between cities. The evolution of commercial business continued as suburbs and businesses were drawn farther away from the city core toward periphery highways. Property values increased as interchanges and areas visible from the highway became prime real estate for business. So much so, that typically only larger chains could afford this land, not local businesses. The result is an image still familiar to us today: interstate exits with a predictable mix of brands regardless of the location.

31 Ibid, 356.

32 Shiffer and Slaton, II-100.

33 "State Motor Vehicle Registration by Years, 1900-1995," United States Department of Transportation, Federal Highway Administration, accessed November 1, 2018, <https://www.fhwa.dot.gov/ohim/summary95/mv200.pdf>.

Table 2.2: Geographers in the 1960s were able to identify specific types of commercial strips by the businesses that clustered together (Ford, *Cities and Buildings*).

Types of commercial strips	
Hierarchical strips	Exist in commercial nodes to cater to area residents. Example: grocery, drug, and furniture stores
Highway-oriented strips	Exist to serve the mobile population with little relation to surrounding residents Example: gas stations, convenience stores
Urban arterial strips	Exist out of the way of retail and office uses, where land is affordable and plentiful Example: lumber and junk yards
Specialized strips	Groupings of similar businesses for comparison shopping Example: car dealerships

Designing for Commerce

Though Louis Sullivan likely had grander visions, his motto “form follows function” is especially relevant to commercial buildings seeking to maximize space and cost-efficiency.³⁴ The basic rectangular box has endured throughout time as the most practical form to fit these needs. Prior to industrialization, commerce took place in multi-story houses with ground floor shops, where artisans could live and work in the same space. Post-industrialization, and frequently seen in downtowns, the basic form became connected buildings with shops at the pedestrian level, and one or more stories above topped by an ornamental cornice. This tripartite design was only applied to facades seen by customers and could easily accommodate the prevailing style of the time. The downtown form was carried through to taxpayer strips, though with less attention to quality and ornamentation. When businesses moved to the strip, the rectangular form once again proved the most functional and efficient form on which all other ornament and materials were applied.³⁵

As the basic box form has been reimagined based on the uses and ornamentation of the time, distinct phases have been identified: Early Auto Strip (1910s-1920s), Streamlined Auto Strip (1930s-1940s), Classic Auto Strip (1948-1973), Environmental Strip (1973-1985), and the Corporate Megastrip (1980s-). These phases are adapted from Larry Ford’s *Cities and Buildings* and supported by additional primary and secondary sources found throughout the literature

³⁴ “Form Follows Function,” Guggenheim.

³⁵ Cari Goetcheus and Mark Reinberger, “Introduction to Commercial Architecture, Overall Evolution of Main Street,” lecture, HIPR6100 Cultural Resource Assessment, Athens, GA, March 2018.

review. They are applicable to both shopping centers and stand-alone businesses along the commercial strip.

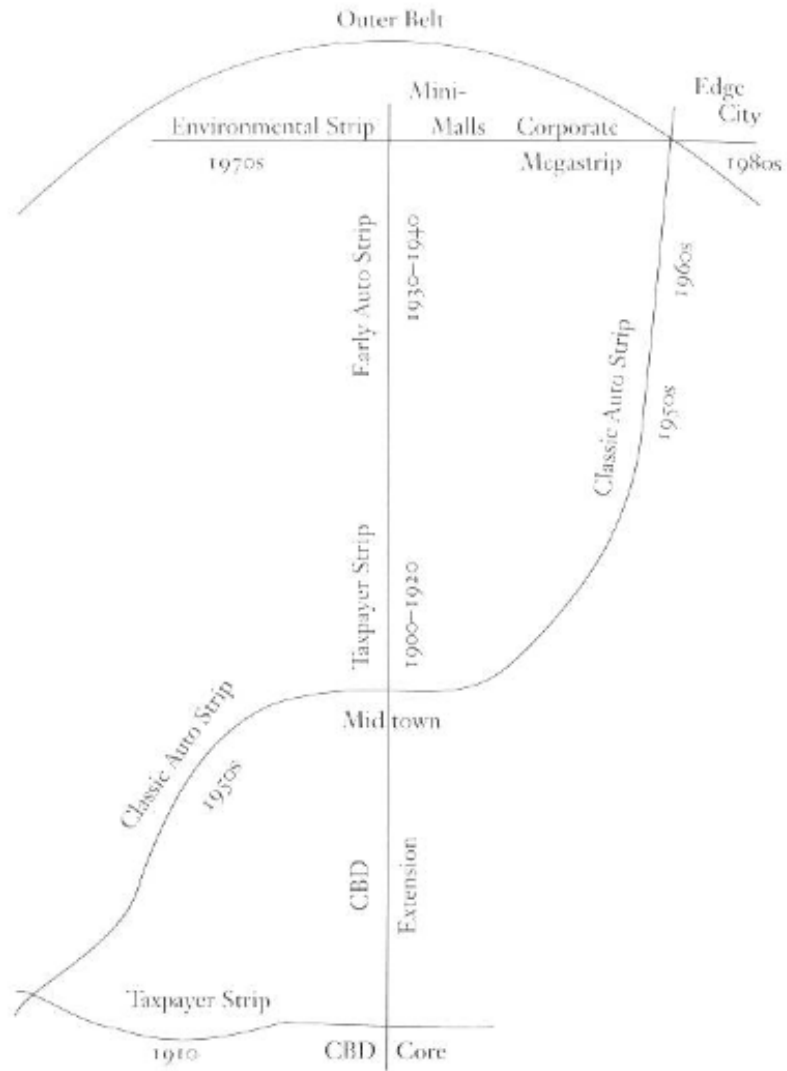


Figure 2.8 A graphic depiction of the phases of commercial development identified by Larry Ford in his 1994 book *Cities and Buildings: Skyscrapers, Skid Rows, and Suburbs*. “CBD” refers to central business district, the traditional downtown.

The **Early Auto Strip** was a result of the profound impact automobile ownership had on how consumers shopped, businesses advertised, and buildings were constructed. Meeting vehicle space and service demands required greater setback from the street, less interaction with pedestrians, and the development of entirely new building types, such as the gas station. By the late 1920s, signature and exaggerated regional were two new types of architecture developed to fulfill the function of selling.

Going back to the Middle Ages when symbols were used to communicate products and services to the illiterate, signature architecture using representational imagery became ideal for quick identification from a distance and building brand recognition.³⁶ Gas stations, selling basically identical products, were some of the first businesses to develop signature architecture and corporate imagery.³⁷ Examples include the Texaco star and Mobil Pegasus. Signature architecture is taken to the extreme with mimetic architecture, buildings that look like what they are selling. Coined “duck architecture” by modern architect Robert Venturi, the iconic example is the Long Island poultry store that was built in 1931 to look like a giant duck.³⁸



Figure 2.9: Coined “duck architecture” for this poultry store built in 1931, mimetic architecture is a literal representation of what is being sold inside.

36 In classical design, this type of imagery was known as architecture parlante. “Architecture parlante,” Oxford Reference, accessed March 3, 2019, <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095422259>.

37 Schiffer and Slaton, II-28.

38 Sabrina Syed, “9 Weird and Wonderful Architectural ‘Ducks,’” ArchDaily, last modified July 8, 2017, accessed November 1, 2018, <https://www.archdaily.com/875022/9-weird-and-wonderful-architectural-ducks>.

Another way for businesses to grab attention was exaggerated regional architecture, designs meant to play to an area's charm and create "place fantasy." For example, a restaurant in Georgia that looks like a giant peanut would be considered regional architecture.

Where logos and outrageous design were not implemented, commercial buildings could borrow literal residential imagery to conjure emotional connections and play on romantic ideals. For example, half-timbering and stucco used on Tudor Revival homes were applied to relate to domesticity.



Figure 2.10: This Tudor Revival-style gas station and Buick dealership that used to stand in Athens at the corner of Broad and Lumpkin Streets is an example of using familiar domestic design for new commercial forms.

Commerce entered the **Streamlined Auto Strip** phase by the 1930s as the effects of government roadway standardization were seen. Traffic lights and signs were installed, highways were expanded and given numbers, lines were painted to designate lanes, and parking meters were used to increase turnover. This more mature strip moved beyond the kitsch of earlier years and looked forward to a brighter future following the Great Depression. Streamline Moderne was the architecture that developed to reflect this forward thinking. Rather than mimic familiar images of days gone, buildings showed an embrace of technology and modernity with rounded walls, smooth surfaces, tile, glass block, and gleaming metals. Roofs went from complex to flat, and masonry and wood were replaced by glass and steel. Elements were also borrowed from Art Deco, though it came along too early to be popular on

the streamlined strip. Neon light technology, invented in the 1920s, lit this new way forward, with lighting used in place of gimmicky images to attract customers.

By the late 1930s, the influence of Early Modernism could be seen as features such as the building as a white box, corner windows, small round columns, and metal awnings were absorbed into the mix. The biggest influence from Modernism was not the style of building itself but the methodology of studying processes to design for maximum sales efficiency.



Figure 2.11: Streamline Moderne design evolved with the Streamlined Auto Strip. The curves, sleek lines, and smooth surfaces are meant to reflect transportation designs.

As the strip continued to mature, a predictable spatial arrangement could be seen: gas stations were typically on corners, groups of motels gathered about five miles outside the city center to not compete with downtown hotels, and grocery stores and supermarkets were placed about a mile apart.³⁹

World War II placed commercial development on hold as resources were redirected. In the early years post-war, architecture copied what had been done pre-war. Ford marks the beginning of the **Classic Auto Strip** phase at 1948, the year the first drive-in McDonald's was opened.

The late-1940s into the 1950s saw newfound affluence, leisure time, and the emergence of the teenage subculture. Never before had so many Americans been classified as middle class. From 1940 to 1950, the gross national product rose from \$121 billion to \$187 billion, compared to just \$37 billion in 1900.⁴⁰ Americans purchased 75 percent of the world's

39 Ford, 240.

40 Le Feber, 357.

appliances and vehicles in the decade between 1945 and 1955.⁴¹ The spike in television sales from 3.1 million in 1950 to 32 million in 1955 brought brands straight into the consumer's living room via commercial advertising. The automobile became the status symbol of this time. Advertisements for Plymouth asked, "Who says tomorrow never comes?"⁴² and Edsel touted, "They'll know you've arrived when you drive up in an Edsel."⁴³ New businesses sprang up to meet the consumer demand. All vying for attention, each competitor had to develop ways to flag down customers and differentiate itself.

The result became the first true commercial architectural style. Modern principles were played upon to develop "overstated functionalism" in which materials typically used in construction, like concrete, steel, and glass, were morphed into non-structural geometric and natural shapes to create a unique display. Exaggerated roof forms, like the butterfly roof developed by Marcel Bruer, the airplane roof by Ulrich Franzen, and the hyperbolic parabola by Eduardo Catalano, went beyond the popular flat roof without referencing historic forms.⁴⁴ The glass "visual front" was a popular technique to draw customers from the exterior to the interior and create a lively glow at night. Canted glass cut glare and added interest. When brick was used, thin Roman bricks and non-structural checkerboard and stacked bonds were popular. Le Corbusier's favored *bris soleil* was reinterpreted with perforated ornamental brick and concrete walls. Thin, round metal columns, similar to Le Corbusier's *pilotis*, took the place of classical columns. Signs went beyond purely functional needs to become an integrated part of the overall design. This new architecture was possible through advancements in building technology and made use of new and prefabricated materials, such as plywood and fiberglass, that had been developed during World War II to make construction quick and efficient.

41 Heimann, 26.

42 Ibid, 250.

43 Ibid, 343.

44 Liebs, 61.

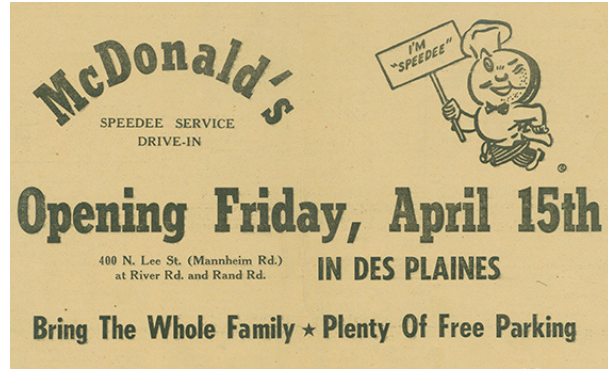


Figure 2.12: The Classic Auto Strip beginning in 1948 corresponds with the first McDonald's opening. Though Ray Kroc didn't found McDonald's, he was the one to create franchising that would bring it to communities throughout the country. The restaurant and advertisement above are from the opening of the first McDonald's east of the Mississippi in 1955.

They'll know you've *arrived*
when you drive up in an Edsel

Buy into an Edsel and you'll know you've arrived in this year. Other people spot that sleek, modern line and they'll know—and you'll know—when you look at the front. On the way home, your Edsel is waiting for its driver. And parked in front of your home, your Edsel always gets even more attention—because it always gets a lot more you. It says you chose elegant styling, luxurious comfort and such exclusive features as Edsel's Dynamic Chassis Drive—only eight other cars. The bottom where they're on the steering wheel hub. Your Edsel also means you made a wonderful buy. For of all medium-priced cars, this one really says "I'm actually priced this week." So your Edsel Dealer this week.

Based on comparison of 1958 and 1957 models. Price of the 1958 Edsel varies with equipment. See dealer for details.

1958 **EDSEL**

Of all medium-priced cars, the one that's really new is the lowest-priced, best

WHO SAYS TOMORROW NEVER COMES?

YOU'RE LOOKING AT IT!

This is the car you might have expected in 1957, but it's here today—the only car that came to lead the way home. Plymouth has worked for two decades to bring you 1958's new Plymouth styling, and a new kind of styling system... revolutionary new Torque-Allie drive... new 16-valve power for safety with the fabulous 1958 "V-8" engine, engineered in 1957 by... original Ford Concept Division... exhilarating sports car handling. 1958 is as new as your Plymouth dealer. Drive this new automobile today!

Figure 2.13: In the era of the Classic Auto Strips, cars were both a status symbol reflecting modernity and a form of entertainment.

Commercial development during the 1950s through the 1960s included several notable trends. Infill continued between the radial lines of the streetcar suburbs, making the star-shaped city more of a circle. With cheap land, businesses could afford to occupy larger parcels to accommodate drive-in activities as car-infatuated Americans saw vehicles as a place to eat, watch movies, and transact banking. Franchise and chain operations began to increase in size, and standardization allowed more investment in advertising and commercial development than small businesses could afford. With “cruising” a popular pastime, architecture on the strip continued to evolve in more sophisticated and flashy ways. The Space Race provided fruitful imagery for what was coined “Googie” architecture, with star, arrow, and sputnik-shaped decorations used to grab attention and play on popular culture. Flashing neon signs, unexpected angles, and combinations of geometric shapes further added to the visual chaos.

The clash of shapes, lights, and colors on the commercial strip was not without its critics. In his 1965 commentary, *Kandy-Kolored Tangerine Flake Streamline Baby*, critic Tom Wolfe dubbed exaggerated architecture as “Boomerang Modern.”

“...shaped not like rectangles but like trapezoids, from the way the roofs slant up from the back and the plate glass fronts slant out as if they’re going to pitch forward on the sidewalk and throw up. The signs are great too. They stand free on poles outside. They have horrible slick doglegged shapes that I call boomerang modern.”



Figure 2.14: Named for the coffee shop at left, “Googie” architecture used futuristic and geometric forms to grab attention. The sign for Ideal Bagel in Athens at right is a non-historic reproduction in the Googie style meant to invoke the era of the Classic Auto Strip.

Store design developed into an art and science for businesses taking a more sophisticated and methodical approach to sales. The first steps toward modern storefronts began as downtown businesses strove to be seen as still relevant. In 1932, to promote the use of their new structural glass, the Libby-Owens-Ford Glass company partnered with *Architectural Record* to sponsor the “Modernize Main Street” competition. This was followed in 1942, when *Pencil Points* sponsored a contest for architects to design the “Storefront of Tomorrow.” With mass media and competitions like these, business owners and builders throughout the United States could share ideas for how to use design to increase sales. Features included visual fronts with large expanses of display windows; recessed and angled entries to give pedestrians space to window shop and swoop them into the store; canopies to provide shade and cut the glare on display windows; and an overhaul of signs that made use of sleek and simple script and sans-serif text. Morris Ketchum, Jr., one of the biggest names in commercial design, published *Shops and Stores* in 1948, and another revised edition in 1957. In it, he detailed every element in a store and explained how to design to its advantage and maximize sales. He advised to start with the point of sale, the business’ heart, and design outward because, “...Everyone now realizes that entrance front, store area, and all hidden service elements of a store have to work together to work at all.”⁴⁵ Ketchum noted that the use of slender metal columns spaced 30 to 40-feet apart, similar to *pilotis*, allow for free-flowing space and an unobstructed sales floor. With the cantilever, a favorite device of Frank Lloyd Wright, “...new possibilities are immediately opened up for better sales floor and store front planning.”⁴⁶ And in a clear departure from the past, Ketchum discouraged use of masonry and wood framing as they “provide the least satisfactory and economical means for enclosing a sales space.”⁴⁷ In these recommendations, the same principles espoused by Early Modernist architects to promote optimal living were adapted to promote optimal sales.

Morris Lapidus, dubbed the “father of modern merchandising,” said that designing for commerce in the mid-century was a lesson in psychology. Before putting pencil to paper, the designer had to understand what attracts shoppers. The answers came through Lapidus’

45 Morris Ketchum, Jr., *Shops and Stores* (New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1957), 14.

46 Ibid, 107.

47 Ibid, 105.

designs emphasizing color, light, curved and sweeping spaces, ornamentation, strong graphics, and brand identifiers.⁴⁸

Similar to Ketchum's and Lapidus' methodologies, *Architectural Record* published *Design for Modern Merchandising: Stores, Shopping Centers, Showrooms* in 1954. It advised a holistic approach to planning for commerce, integrating economic analysis, site selection, site planning, and detailed architectural plans. As small businesses were likely unable to afford this level of sophisticated planning, bigger chain operations that could invest in design were given the upper leg in the competition for customers. Professional journals, construction catalogs, and the federal government helped to spread these designs and create names for famous commercial architects including Ketchum, Lapidus, Raymond Loewy, and Victor Gruen.⁴⁹ The sharing of ideas throughout the country and rise of national chains contributed to the standardized "placelessness" that is a common critique of commercial strips.

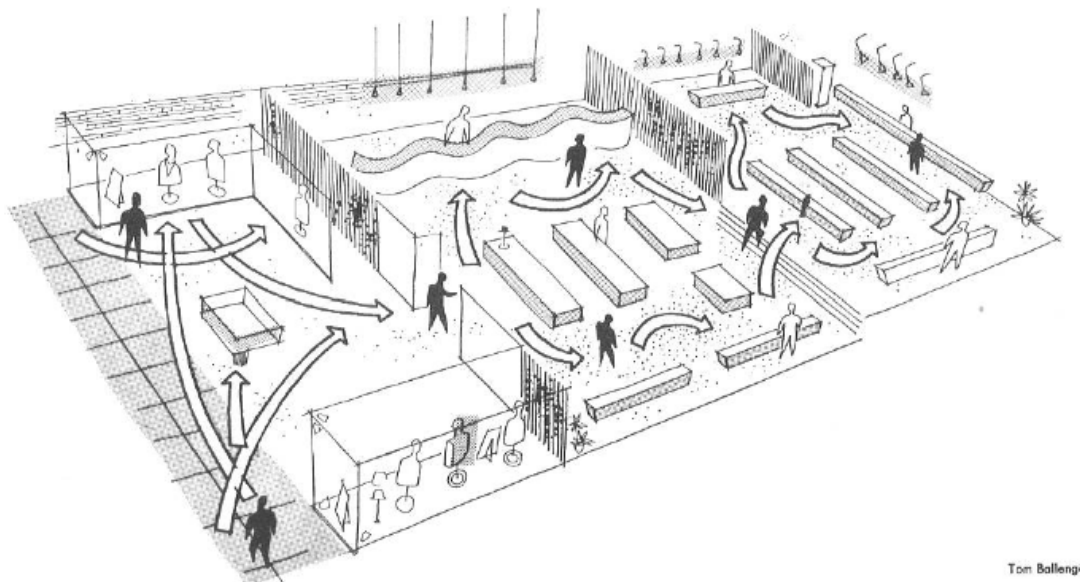


Figure 2.15 : As product merchandising became a formal practice, stores were designed to optimize the layout and increase sales. These designs were then widely shared through professional publications, such as this one in *Architectural Record*.

48 Schiffer and Slaton, I-5.

49 Carol Dyson, "Mid-Century Commercial Modernism: Design and Materials," Illinois Department of Natural Resources Historic Preservation Division, accessed November 7, 2018, <https://www2.illinois.gov/dnrhistoric/Preserve/mid-century/Documents/mid-century-commercial-modernism.pdf>.



store fronts



George M. Cuthing, Jr.

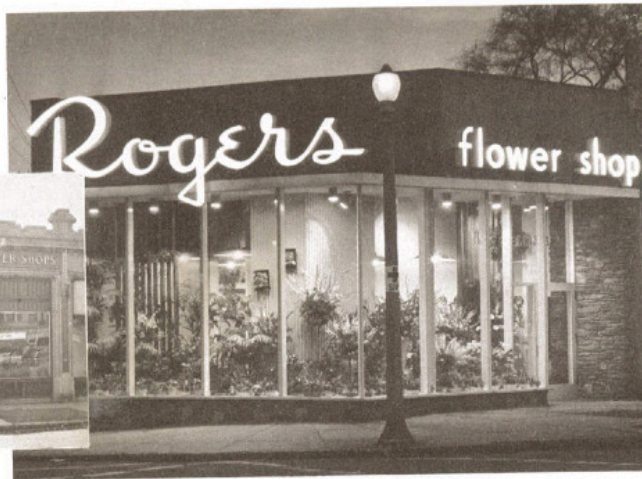


Figure 2.16 : Design books showed how materials and techniques such as canted plate glass, canopies, and sign lighting could be utilized to create interest and increase sales. The bottom picture depicts how owners of traditional storefronts could update with modern design.

A cultural shift began in the late 1950s into the 1960s that brought the end of the Classic Auto Strip. Whereas the years following World War II were a time of more social cohesion and upbeat optimism, a growing dissatisfaction and factionalism crept in through reactions to the Vietnam War, Civil Rights movement, and overabundance of American consumerism. In contrast to modernity formerly meaning owning the newest and best products, it morphed into self-awareness and austerity. With Jane Jacob's *Death and Life of Great American Cities* in 1961 and Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* in 1962, destruction caused by mass consumer culture was put in the spotlight. The commercial strip was specifically called out by architect and critic Peter Blake in 1964's *God's Own Junkyard*, noting,

“Our suburbs are interminable wastelands dotted with millions of monotonous little houses on monotonous little lots and crisscrossed by highways lined with billboards, jazzed-up diners, used-car lots, drive-in movies, beflagged gas stations, and garish motels.”

Sponsored by the White House in 1965, the Conference on Natural Beauty called for “pleasing vistas and attractive roadside scenes” to replace “endless corridors walled in by neon, junk, and ruined landscape.”⁵⁰ The cumulative outcries led to the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) in 1966 and the National Environmental Protection Act (NEPA) in 1970.

Simultaneously, several trends also led to the decline of the classic strip. Increase in land values made it impractical for single businesses like drive-in movie theaters to occupy large swaths of real estate. Smaller, sleeker cars meant less desire to do activities within them. Self-service took the place of curbside service, further drawing customers out of the car. Planned shopping centers catered to all needs in one place, limiting the need to drive to several locations. The final nail in the coffin of the classic strip and the beginning of the **Environmental Strip** phase is marked with the 1973 OPEC oil embargo. The gas shortage proved that the vehicle that had facilitated suburban living could also bring it to a halt. Flamboyant architecture of years prior was seen as a sign of excess consumption and waste. The design reaction came in a less confrontational, “back to nature” approach that favored stone, wood, and a non-structural reinterpretation of the Mansard roof. Appearing in *Sweet's Catalog*, a publication for builders and architects, starting in 1965, the faux-Mansard was an easy fix to apply over existing

50 Liebs, 65.

buildings, hang advertisements, and conceal mechanical equipment on the roof.⁵¹ At the same time, the effects of the historic preservation movement, the bicentennial, and Post-Modern design began to inspire an infusion of false-historic ornamentation, such as cornices, broken pediments, and fanlights. Increasingly, more businesses made the economical and space-saving move into planned shopping centers from stand-alone stores. There was a decrease in gas stations found along the strip as vehicles became more efficient, with an increase in chain fast-food restaurants as Americans became evermore reliant on convenience. The effects of the pivotal 1954 court case *Berman v. Parker* also were seen. This ruling gave municipalities the ability to regulate aesthetics for the public welfare and resulted in the emergence of more planning restrictions governing signs, landscaping, and parking along the strip.⁵² Finally, established businesses did not need the gimmicks and ads they had previously deployed, as they had built enough brand recognition to draw customers in by name or logo alone. The end result of all this was a commercial strip devoid of the flash that had made it visually stimulating.



Figure 2.17 : The transition from the Classic Auto Strip to the Environmental Age is shown in the transition from the earlier McDonald's franchise design with exaggerated arches, ample glass, and a sweeping roof, to a more muted version that uses a faux-Mansard roofline, traditional materials, and neutral colors.

51 Ibid, 64.

52 Martin Treu, *Signs, Streets, and Storefronts* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2012), 291.

The final phase defined by Ford is the **Corporate Megastrip**, beginning in the early 1980s. These strips are defined by the continued building of new malls and expansion of existing shopping centers resulting in small cities of commerce intermingling with hotels, and office and medical parks. Though these areas tried to mimic the functions of city life, they are still oriented for cars along linear frontage roads. Post-Modern design and a mix of historic references are the favored ornamentation for the megastrip. Though e-commerce has been introduced and malls have declined, additional sources and observations suggest that the Corporate Megastrip era continued past when *Cities and Buildings* was published in 1994. Large stores, supercenters, and category specialists, such as sporting goods stores, were the fastest growing in the retail sector during the mid-2000s due to their greater operating efficiencies.⁵³ Their importance continues as a noted trend in retailing today is the increase of supercenters and warehouse clubs.⁵⁴ These stores typically serve as anchors within megastrips.

Another noted trend in retailing is the rise of e-commerce upending traditional notions of shopping since the 2000s. Now more than half of all business is conducted online rather than in traditional brick-and-mortar stores.⁵⁵ Simultaneously, it has been recognized that online-only businesses experience higher web traffic and sales by having brick-and-mortar locations for customers to interact with the brand. American consumers are also demanding more experiences and transparency from retailers. Combined, these factors have changed the landscape of commerce. Whereas at least one new mall was opened somewhere in the United States every year from the 1950s to 2006, from 2004 to 2014 more than 150 malls had closed.⁵⁶ Recent years have seen shopping center and mall anchor staples, including Sears, Best Buy, and Toys R'Us, close their doors. To remain viable, a 2018 report by Green Street Advisors recommended malls must engage with customers in a way that creates memorable experiences and caters to their values, rather than the traditional model of pushing products.

53 Manfred Krafft and Murali K. Mantrala, *Retailing in the 21st Century: Current and Future Trends*, (Berlin: Springer, 2006), 60.

54 Ali Hortacsu and Chad Syverson, "The Ongoing Evolution of US Retail: A Format Tug-of-War," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 29, no. 4 (2015): 89. <http://faculty.chicagobooth.edu/chad.syverson/research/evolutionofretail.pdf>.

55 Natasha Geiling, "The Death and Rebirth of the American Mall," *Smithsonian*, last modified November 25, 2014, accessed November 4, 2018, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/death-and-rebirth-american-mall-180953444/>.

56 *Ibid.*

The report ironically advises, “Malls must become the new American ‘Main Street,’ where people feel a real sense of community and belonging.”⁵⁷ In the face of these changes, strip shopping centers are able to remain viable if they provide online-resistant and convenience-based businesses, such as grocery stores and nail salons.⁵⁸ Decentralized medical and university campuses have also found success in the spaces left empty by former anchors stores. Meanwhile, downtowns are experiencing revitalization and lifestyle communities develop in the wake of New Urbanist tenants emphasizing walkability, a small environmental footprint, and public transportation. The pendulum has swung back as the rise of New Urbanism in city planning brings us full circle from the post-war mentality of escaping to the suburbs for a lifestyle facilitated by the car to one designed for the pedestrian.⁵⁹

The various phases of commercial design and causes of decline point to an ideology counter to traditional historic preservation: that strips are places for experimentation and disposable architecture that need continuous reinvention to remain relevant to the modern shopper.

Table 2.3: As communities and consumer tastes evolve, four types of blight have been identified on commercial strips (Ford, *Cities and Buildings*, 253).

Types of decline on commercial strips	
Economic decline	Areas that were once more affluent experience decline in wealth and population. Common where there are high concentrations of elderly and minority residents.
Frictional decline	High traffic congestion deters shoppers away in favor of more accessible, often newer, commercial areas.
Physical decline	Buildings go without maintenance and are perceived as run-down and outdated.
Functional decline	Buildings are no longer adequate for today’s technology and programming needs, and cannot easily be modified.

57 Pamela N. Danziger, “4 Models of the Shopping Mall of the Future,” *Forbes*, last modified April 7, 2018, accessed October 10, 2018, <https://www.forbes.com/sites/pamdanziger/2018/04/07/4-models-of-the-shopping-mall-of-the-future/#f43f8e35c3b3>.

58 Chuck Sudo, “Strip Malls: The Least Glamorous Segment In Retail Is Among The Sector’s Strongest Performers,” last modified October 8, 2017, accessed October 15, 2018, <https://www.bisnow.com/national/news/retail/healthcare-qsr-service-oriented-retail-have-made-strip-malls-strong-e-commerce-resistant-performers-80023>.

59 “Principles of Urbanism,” *New Urbanism*, accessed January 27, 2019, <http://www.newurbanism.org/newurbanism/principles.html>.

Facilitated by the streetcar and then the automobile, businesses were able to move away from the city center and evolve from pedestrian-focused taxpayers to the corporate megastrip. Through these phases and in between, the accompanying architecture has reflected current events and consumer values. Chapter 2: National Context has discussed modern architectural design, American cultural changes, and trends seen along commercial strips. Understanding national trends sets the stage for the commercial development in Athens discussed in the next chapter, which in turn informed the survey process and analysis.

Chapter 3: Local Historic Context

“Although some of the downtown stores still bear the image of their ancient birth, Athens has changed quite a bit since the days when horses pulled streetcars across town and watering troughs dotted Broad Street.” -Athens, GA City Directory, 1973

Athens has grown from the wilderness of the late eighteenth century to a thriving college town with the fifth largest population in Georgia.⁶⁰ Chosen as the site for the first public-chartered university in the nation in 1801, the University of Georgia, originally named Franklin College, created the initial draw for the area to be populated. Through a network of railroad lines and later highways; manufacturing, military, and University presence; and proximity to Atlanta, Athens has maintained its status as the commercial hub for Northeast Georgia throughout its existence. Though it has had its unique figures and influences, modern commercial development has largely paralleled the national trends described in Chapter 2.

The period of significance for this thesis is 1930 to 1981, marking the end of the streetcar system in Athens and the opening of the Georgia Square Mall, respectively. However, the events which occurred during this 51-year period did not exist in a silo and were a product of preceding trends. Each section hereafter will elaborate on the events significant to Athens’ commercial development, divided by *Pre-1930*, prior to the period of significance; *1930-1981*, the period of significance and dates used for surveying; and *Post-1981*, after the period of significance.

⁶⁰ The population of Athens is estimated to be 126,512 in 2019. “Population of Cities in Georgia (2019),” World Population Review, accessed March 3, 2019, <http://worldpopulationreview.com/states/georgia-population/cities/>.

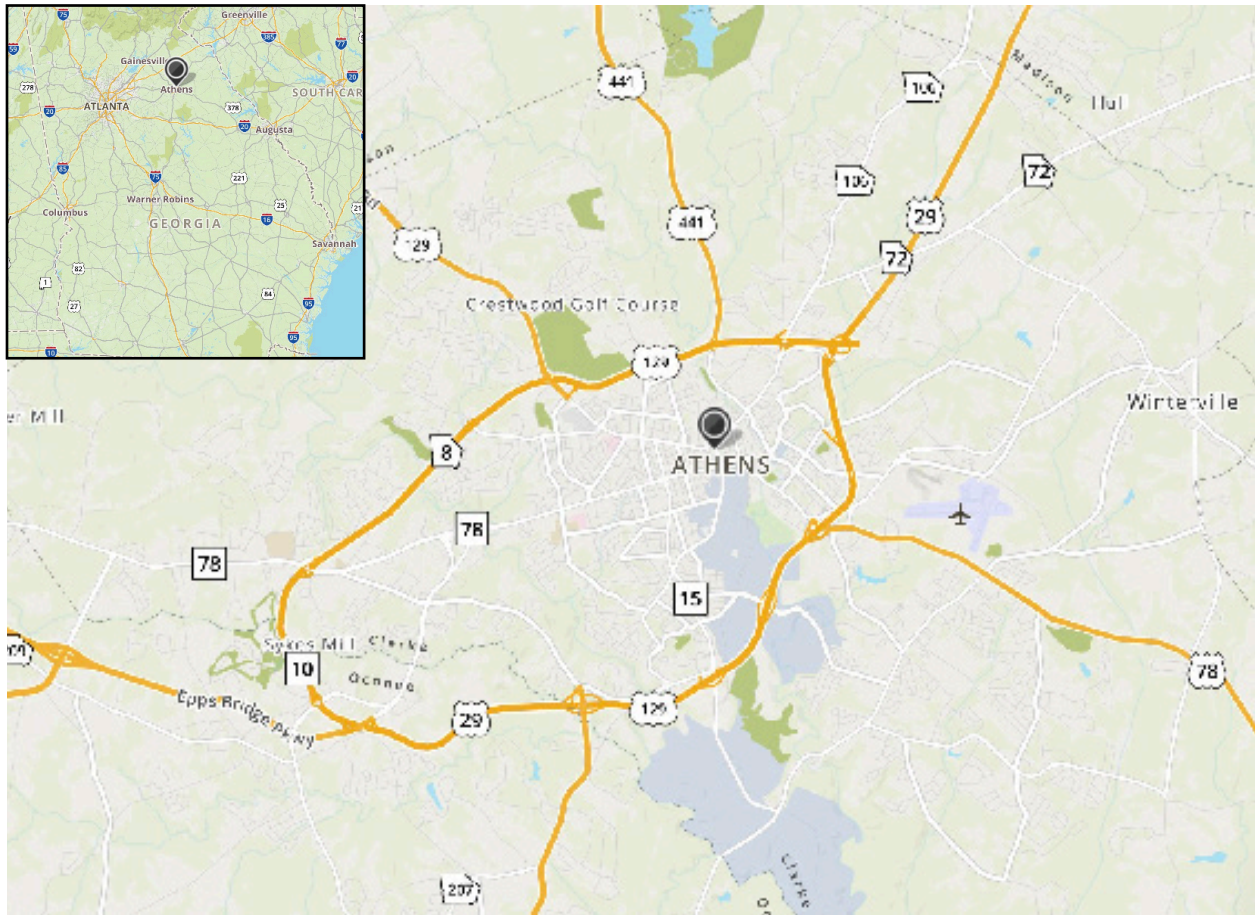


Figure 3.1: Map of Athens with Georgia inset

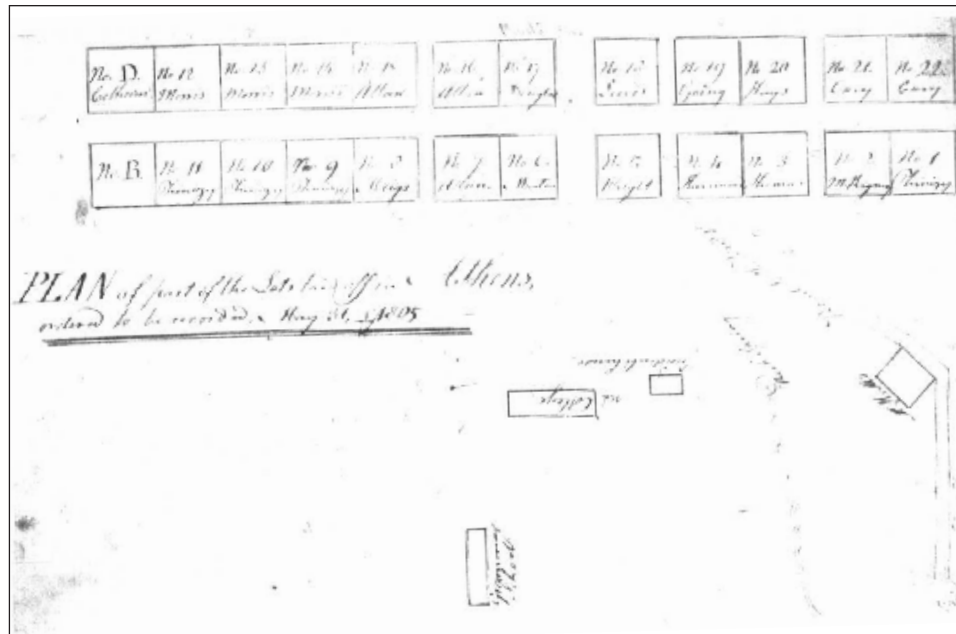


Figure 3.4: This is the earliest known map of Athens, drawn in 1804. The road on the right coming north into town is present-day Oconee Street. The parcels across from campus were laid out along Broad (then called Front) and Clayton Streets.

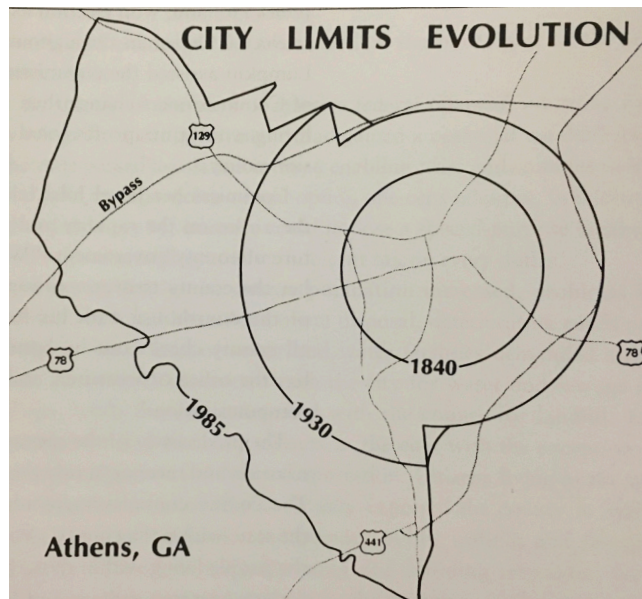


Figure 3.5 : "City Limits Evolution"

Athens Pre-1930

Though the University of Georgia was chartered in 1785, the location to start building was not chosen until 1801, when 633 acres were purchased for \$4,000 from area businessman Daniel Easley.⁶¹ Clarke County was chartered the same year, including all of its present area plus what is now Oconee County. The area had been part of Cherokee tribal land and was on their trade route as the best location to cross the Oconee River system. The original road into town came in from the east at Carr's Hill, then was moved to where Oconee St. is now located. Development and the University were sited in this area for its proximity to a spring and the river. The central business district, downtown Athens, was laid out in an orthogonal grid adjacent to the University's land. Many early roads were aligned along the ridgelines to avoid water drainage areas, and therefore are not orthogonal. When Athens was incorporated in 1806, it was home to seventeen families, with four stores and ten houses.⁶²

The abundant hills, rivers, and streams made Athens a prime location for water-powered mills. By the 1820s, it had become the southern center for textile manufacturers processing cotton grown on surrounding plantations. Athens' population grew as industry and the University attracted a variety of merchants, wealthy planters, and professors. In 1834, Cobbham, the first "suburb," was established by planter John Addison Cobb.⁶³ In 1838, Prince Ave. was established as a federal road that led west to Georgia's gold country. It would continue to be the route to Atlanta until the Atlanta Highway was completed a century later.

While Athens had already existed for three decades, Atlanta, originally known as Terminus, was established 70 miles southwest in 1837 as the zero-mile post of the Western and Atlantic Railroad. In 1833, Athens citizens led by businessman James Camak started the Georgia Railroad Company. A line was completed from Augusta to Athens in 1841, and another was added connecting Augusta to Terminus in 1845. With an additional rail line coming into Terminus by 1846, Athens and the future Atlanta were connected with each other, the major cotton markets, and the coastal ports.

61 Frances Taliaferro Thomas, "Athens," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, last modified July 27, 2017, accessed November 20, 2018. <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/counties-cities-neighborhoods/Athens>.

62 *Ibid.*

63 Though Cobbham is often referred to as Athens' first suburb, it is really just the first area of settlement that was beyond the original city perimeter. Its location is close to downtown.

By the time the Civil War began, Athens was home to about 3,800 residents, 1,892 of whom were enslaved persons, and the University had 113 enrolled students.⁶⁴ During the war, the University closed, textile mills were put to work producing uniforms for the Confederate army, and the Cook and Brother Armory churned out rifles. Because no significant battles were fought in or near Athens, it recovered relatively quickly and resumed growth following the war. During Union occupation from 1865 to 1866, freed slaves flocked to Athens for protection, leading it to become a center for African American professionals and educators. These emancipated slaves formed communities on the outskirts of town, such as Brooklyn and Allenville.

During the Reconstruction period, the county seat was moved to Athens from Watkinsville in 1871;⁶⁵ the University became a land-grant institution in 1872;⁶⁶ and a railroad line from the north was completed in 1872, further making Athens a trade destination and developing the commercial landscape.⁶⁷ Clarke County was divided to create Oconee County in 1875, leaving the present land area.

Academia expanded in Athens as the first public schools were opened in 1887, and the State Normal School opened in 1891 to train educators. Meanwhile, the Georgia Institute of Technology (Georgia Tech) opened in 1888 as part of Atlanta's New South strategy to focus on industry and education rather than agriculture.

By the 1890s, Athens boasted the modern amenities of a police force, telephone service, and the beginnings of paved streets. Commerce and connectivity were bolstered by the streetcar system started in 1885 and the addition of the East/West Seaboard rail line. The business district was still limited to the area bound by Broad St. and Clayton St. and the connecting streets in between. A variety of stores were present including the King-Hodgson Grocery, Reaves and Nicholson General Store, and Smith's Drug Store. To promote business, the Athens Commercial Club was formed in 1893. Two years later, it merged with the Athenaeum, a business and social club. Finally, in 1903, it became the Chamber of Commerce with more than 100 members.⁶⁸

64 Thomas, "Athens."

65 Gary L. Doster, *A Postcard History of Athens*, (Athens: Athens Historical Society, 2002).

66 Thomas, "Athens."

67 Steven Brown (University Archivist Emeritus, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library), interviewed by Lauren Patterson, Athens, GA, December 2018.

68 Conoly Hester, *Athens, Georgia: Celebrating 200 Years at the Millennium* (Montgomery, AL: Community

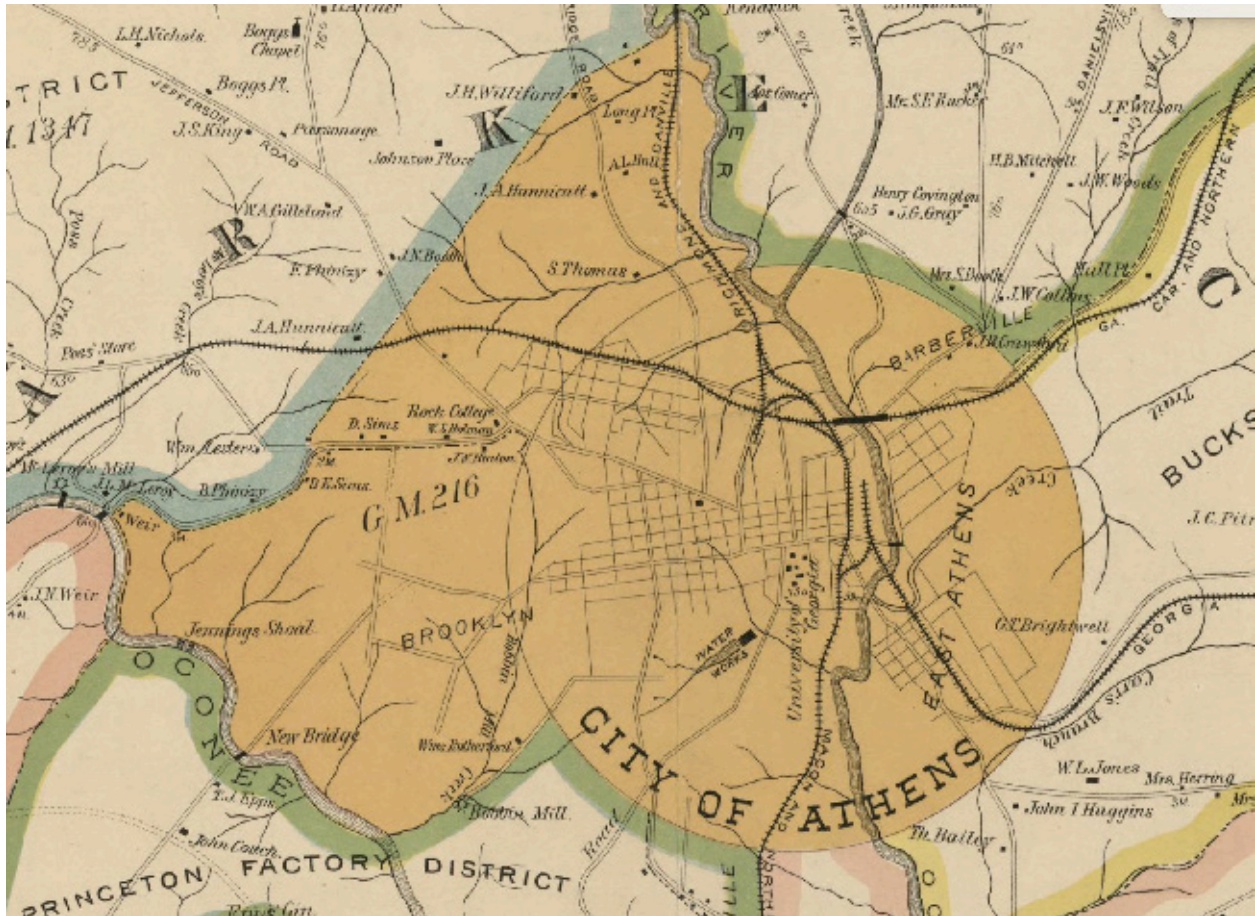


Figure 3.6: This 1893 map of Athens compared to the first map in 1804 shows that over the course of 90 years, Athens had expanded from small parcels laid out adjacent to the University's land to a network of streets and railroads serving a population of several thousand residents.

Though street paving was underway by the late 1800s, it was still modest and haphazard. The business district was paved with vitrified brick. Thomas St., Broad St. east of Thomas, and Oconee St. were paved with granite blocks, and portions of College Ave. were paved with creosote-soaked wood. The first automobile came to Athens in 1899, and shortly after a street paving program began in 1900, followed by sidewalk paving in 1901.⁶⁹ A quarry for paving with macadam was established off of Waddell St., near downtown and the end of the Milledge Ave. streetcar line. It was relocated by 1910 to a more industrial area. The streetcar system facilitated paving as the trolleys both necessitated smooth roads and were used to haul rocks from the quarry.

Communications, Inc.: 1999), 42.

69 Steven Brown and Beth Whitlock, "Yesterday's Vision: Warren Manning's Master Plan 1925," filmed April 2018, YouTube video, 1:38:50, posted June 2018, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pGSeByAevBg>.

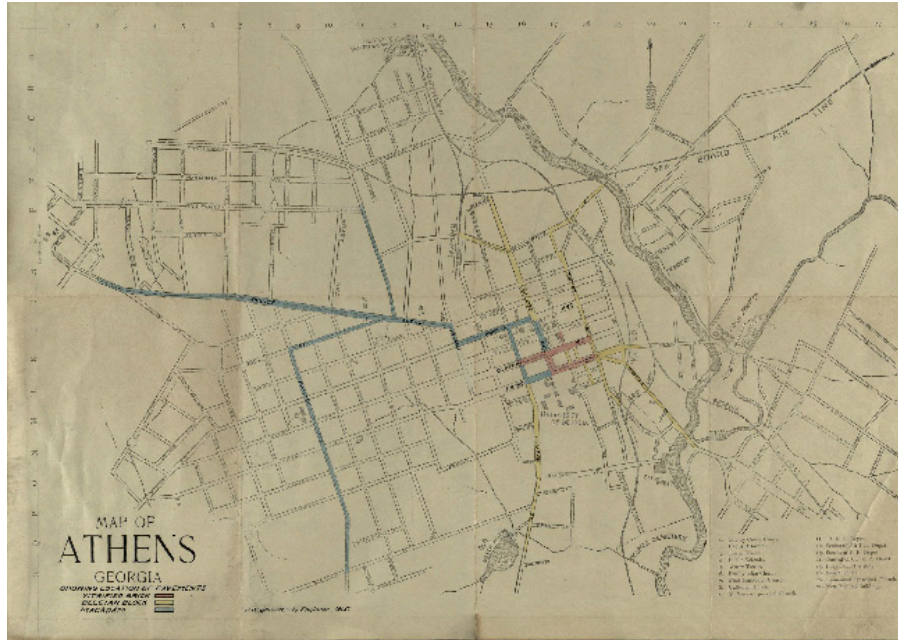


Figure 3.7 :This 1905 map of Athens shows that, at the time, only the major thoroughfares were paved with vitrified brick (pink), Belgian block (yellow), or macadam (blue).

Athens entered the twentieth century as home to 10,000 residents and the regional center for trade.⁷⁰ The *Athens Banner-Herald* published that it was one of the leading cotton markets in the world by 1910.⁷¹ Proof of civic pride and funding is evident by the new infrastructure that was built. The still-operating city hall was completed in 1904, a Beaux Arts-style design by architect L.F. Goodrich of Augusta. A federal building was constructed in 1905 across from city hall, and the still-operating county courthouse was completed in 1914. Electric, water, and sewer lines were improved and expanded as development in the Five Points and Boulevard areas was made possible by the streetcar system, becoming Athens' first streetcar suburbs. As commercial and residential development grew beyond the downtown core, the open farmland west was the most logical place to locate because south was the University's property, north was bound by the railroads and industrial uses, and east was deemed less desirable because it was home to warehouses and a significant African American population.

Though by all accounts Athens was prospering, this prosperity was not equally distributed. The city was strictly segregated and many citizens without indoor plumbing relied on outhouses. Photographs of the landscape from the early twentieth century reveal dirt roads and

70 Reap, 97.

71 Ibid, 105.

treeless expanses. Ravines were used as trash dumps. Workers at Athens' many mills lived in modest villages owned and operated by the mills themselves. Additionally, the city established in an era of horse-drawn wagons was not equipped to handle the rapid rise of the automobile and shipping trucks.

A survey by University students in 1914 expressed the need for parks and playgrounds, better roads, and better workforce housing. An editorial in the *Athens Banner-Herald* at this time lamented, "There is hardly a place to park the automobiles, much less the children of Athens."⁷² The Bankhead Highway, present-day US 29, was completed in 1919, connecting Athens with Washington, D.C. in the northeast and San Diego to the west. This facilitated movement between cities but did little to alleviate the growing congestion in town caused by the increase in automobile ownership. The impact was especially felt downtown. The 1926 Sanborn Maps show public and private garages, auto sales centers, and repair shops on each block. Where houses once stood on Hancock Ave. and Washington St. became the first iteration of the "car dealer row" in Athens.

To help remedy these issues of congestion and lack of greenspace, Warren Manning, landscape architect and colleague of Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr., was brought to Athens from Boston in the early 1920s.⁷³ In a series of maps, Manning showed present and proposed conditions for land use and transportation. The "Present Use Districts" included commercial use bound by Broad St., Hull St., Hancock Ave., and Thomas St.; residential primarily north of Washington St. and west of Hull St.; and industrial north of Dougherty St., east of Oconee St., and clustered along railroad lines.⁷⁴ Though his plans were not immediately carried out due to lack of funding, many of his visions for Athens came to fruition and impacted commerce in the coming decades. These included expanding Broad St. past where it originally ended at the former botanical gardens property on Pulaski St.; creating a perimeter loop around the city as a scenic byway and means for shipping trucks to avoid in-town roads and railroad crossings; and using historic resources to attract tourists similar to what Salem and Cambridge, Massachusetts were doing at the time.

72 Brown and Whitlock, "Yesterday's Vision."

73 Ibid.

74 "Present Use Districts" map by Warren Manning, Athens City Records—Maps, Plans, and Blueprints, OS Folder 3C, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

Until this point, commerce was confined to the downtown core, neighborhood shops, and stores operated by mill owners in company villages. Three additional commercial nodes developed by the Cobbham district, the State Normal School, and at the Five Points intersection.

John Addison Cobb established Cobbham, Athens' first development outside of the traditional town center, in 1834 by speculatively dividing property into 80 lots.⁷⁵ Growth remained limited to a handful of estates prior to the Civil War, then increased substantially after. By 1918, a filling station and five additional buildings with eight storefronts had been built along the stretch of Prince Ave. between Pulaski and N Harris Streets including three grocers, an upholsterer, a drug store, and an auto supply shop.⁷⁶



Figure 3.8: Commerce was traditionally confined to downtown, the commercial nodes near Cobbham, Normaltown, and Five Points, and neighborhood grocers. Two such neighborhood grocers are shown above. On the left is the interior of Driscoll's Grocery at 271 Dubose Street. The right is the present-day exterior of the rehabilitated B & C Grocery at 897 N Chase Street.

Further west on Prince Ave., at the intersection with Oglethorpe Ave., another series of storefronts developed to serve the traffic drawn by the State Normal School and streetcar suburbs. By 1918, eight storefronts were present including five grocers, a drug store, and a shoe shop. Unlike downtown, only one building was more than one story. By 1926, several other connected storefronts existed across the street. The two-story building at 1328 Prince Ave. is the only to remain. Several replacements came in the 1930s through 1950s and were included

⁷⁵ Martha Michael, "Tour Reveals Surprising Facts About the Cobbham Historic District, The Flagpole, last modified November 23, 2016, accessed December 13, 2018, <https://flagpole.com/news/news-features/2016/11/23/tour-reveals-surprising-facts-about-the-cobbham-historic-district>.

⁷⁶ Sanborn Map Company, Athens, Clarke County, Georgia, 1918 (New York: Sanborn Map & Publishing Co., 1918), <http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/sanborn/CityCounty/Athens1918/Sheet11.html>.

among the resources surveyed for this thesis. This is likely Athens' example of storefronts akin to "taxpayers" that were built to go up quickly and be ephemeral.⁷⁷

Finally, a series of storefronts on Lumpkin St. at the Five Points intersection were built in the mid-1920s to service another growing streetcar suburb. These storefronts were of more permanent construction, still existing today, with apartments on the upper floors. It is notable that the storefronts at Cobbham, Normaltown, and Five Points were all designed for pedestrian traffic with their entrances close to the streets and no parking lots.



Figure 3.9 The commercial node dubbed "Normaltown" grew to serve the adjacent State Normal School and streetcar suburbs. This squat row of storefronts is likely Athens' example of "taxpayer" buildings constructed to be ephemeral.



Figure 3.10: The commercial buildings at Five Points were of more sturdy construction compared to the "taxpayers" at Normaltown, with apartments above the storefronts.

⁷⁷ As mentioned in Chapter 2, "taxpayer" strips were storefronts built quickly and cheaply to occupy land and generate enough money to pay its property taxes. They were intended to be torn down once the land appreciated to a higher value and was resold.

Much of the development in Athens from the mid-1880s through the 1920s was aided by the streetcar system. Three years prior to Richmond, Virginia's full-scale electric streetcars, Athens began its own mule-powered system in December 1885. The "Classic City Street Railway" was started by a Texas entrepreneur with three, ten-foot-long streetcars. Initial routes included Broad St., College Ave., Clayton St., Lumpkin St., Hancock Ave., and Pulaski St. downtown, and Prince and Milledge Avenues beyond. Just as in towns around the country, it was not the streetcar that was the important money-maker but the real estate it opened up. The Athens Park and Improvement Company financed the electrification of the trolleys in exchange for routes being added to new developments north of Prince Ave., Boulevard, and Normaltown. The 21-acre Electric Railway Park was planned near Boulevard to encourage ridership to the end of the line and create an idyllic setting fit for the national City Beautiful movement that was popular at this time.⁷⁸

The streetcar company changed hands and names several times, becoming the Athens Electric Railway Company owned jointly by several prominent local businessmen. By 1901, the company boasted 6.53 miles of tracks and nine trolleys run by four water-powered turbines at the Mitchell Bridge and Tallassee Shoals plants. Another name change to the Athens Railway and Electric Company signaled a shift in business model to focus on providing electricity as well as streetcar service. Eventually, Southeastern Power and Light Company acquired the system in 1926, and then chartered Georgia Power in 1927. By the time Georgia Power ended the streetcar service in 1930, 12 miles of tracks had been laid throughout Athens. To supplant the streetcars, five General Motors coaches were brought in with routes on Milledge Ave., Lumpkin St., Prince Ave., and Boulevard. These too ended in 1934, marking a period from 1934 to 1976 when Athens went without public transit. For those who could afford it, the personal automobile had officially taken over. For those who could not, private bus services were the alternative.⁷⁹

78 The City Beautiful movement was popular in the United States from the 1890s to 1920s. Incorporating urban planning, architecture, and landscape design, it encouraged planned public greenspaces to counteract the congestion of cities and create idyllic settings for recreation.

Naomi Blumberg and Ida Yazadeh, "City Beautiful movement," Encyclopedia Britannica, last modified January 4, 2019, accessed February 25, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/City-Beautiful-movement>.

79 David Winter Ray, "A History of Streetcar Service in Athens, Georgia and Some Possibilities for Reintroduction," (Master's thesis, University of Georgia, 2005).

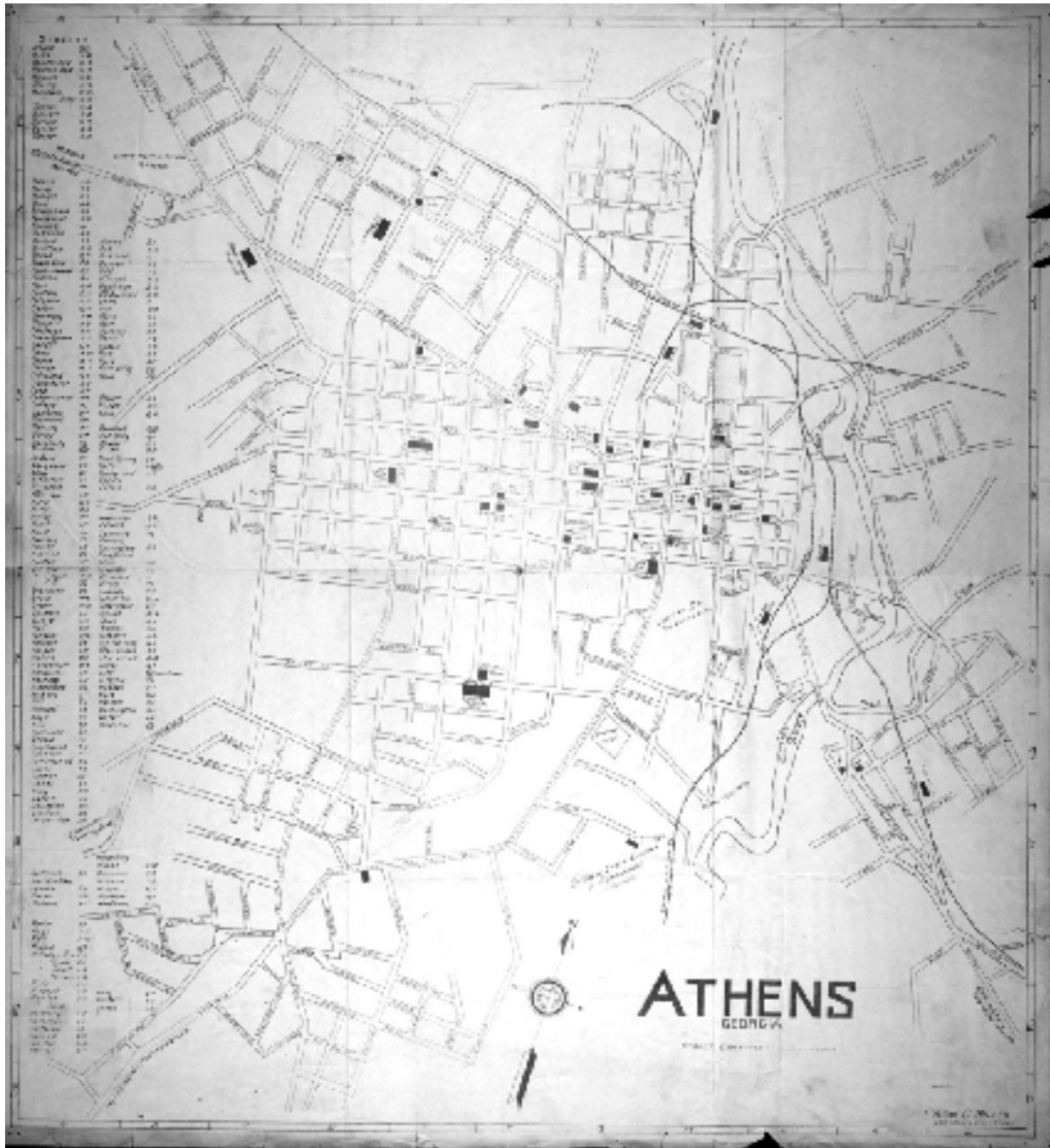


Figure 3.11: A 1925 map of Athens showing the streetcar routes as the dotted lines. By the time the streetcar system was shut down in 1930, 12 miles of tracks ran through town.

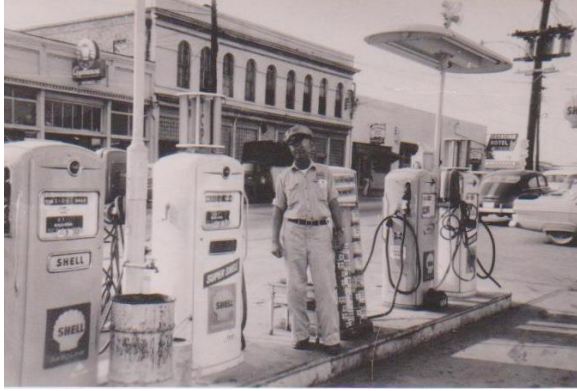


Figure 3.12 : Downtown Athens adapted to increased automobile ownership with service garages, gas stations, and a “car dealer row” on Hancock Ave. From left to right, top to bottom: Shell Station on Thomas St. in the 1950s; Buick dealership and service station at the corner of Lumpkin and Broad Streets; Grimes Service Station at the corner of Prince and Pulaski Streets; Service station at the corner of Washington and Lumpkin Streets; Modern service station juxtaposed to the Queen-Anne style cottage to the right; Christmas card from the Plymouth dealership on Hancock Ave., opened in 1946.

Period of Significance: 1930-1981

Though architecture and culture in Athens and the United States as a whole would not noticeably diverge from the past until after World War II, the end of the streetcar system in 1930 signaled a change in Athens' residents' preferences and mobility. Since the first car had come to town in 1899, Athens adapted with improved road quality and the appearance of never-before-needed types of businesses and buildings including filling stations, parking garages, and auto repair shops. The Old South, Queen City Coach, and Wilkes private bus lines were the available options for mass local and regional transit when public bus service ended in 1934. The extant Union Bus Terminal was completed by 1940 at the corner of Broad and Hull Streets.⁸⁰ Starting in 1938, buses and cars alike could travel out of town on the newly-completed Atlanta Highway, US Route 78. Stretching east to west 233 miles from the Alabama to the South Carolina state lines, various portions along the way were created from the Bankhead Highway. The construction of the Atlanta Highway was the reason for redirecting, extending, and widening Broad St., poising it to become an important commercial artery. Warren Manning's 1924 maps show that before the Atlanta Highway, Broad St. narrowed after Pulaski St. and ended at Hancock Ave. to avoid the land that was the former University botanical garden from 1833 to 1856.^{81 82}



Figure 3.13: The Union Bus Terminal at 220 W. Broad St. was completed by 1940. True to the architecture of the era, Greyhound Bus corporate design, and the spirit of transportation, the terminal shows Streamline Moderne style.

⁸⁰ Reap, 100.

⁸¹ Athens City Records—Maps, Plans, and Blueprints.

⁸² Lee Shearer, "Historical marker dedicated for first UGA Botanical Garden," Athens Banner-Herald, last modified October 29, 2013, accessed December 15, 2018, <https://www.onlineathens.com/uga/2013-10-29/historical-marker-dedicated-first-uga-botanical-garden>.

Increased connectivity benefited the University. With the Board of Regents consolidating the University with the Normal School and agricultural college in 1932 and the Works Progress Administration providing labor, the campus greatly expanded with construction of 17 new buildings from 1935 to 1940.⁸³ By 1940, 3,688 students were enrolled, double the number just a decade prior.⁸⁴

Table 3.1: Population of the University of Georgia and Athens (1930-1980)

Year	University of Georgia	Athens
1930	1,869	18,192
1940	3,688	20,650
1950	6,301	28,180
1960	7,538	31,355
1970	21,873	44,342
1980	23,470	42,549

(“University Enrollment Fall Terms 1830-1982,” University of Georgia Office of Institutional Research. “Athens-Clarke County unified government balance, Georgia Population 2018,” World Population Review.)

The tragedy of World War II brought prosperity to the South as the federal government invested more than \$10 billion in war industries and military bases in the region.⁸⁵ Millions more were spent on infrastructure and public services to support the bases. This impact was especially felt in Georgia, which was propelled into modernization by the influx of resources. A period of prosperity for Athens started in the early 1940s and would last several decades. Though enrollment at the University dropped as students enlisted, campus and sites throughout town were used as training grounds for military programs. Georgia Congressman Carl Vinson and Senator Richard Russell, Jr. leveraged their political influences to have the University named as one of the country’s five naval pre-flight schools, where 2,000 combat pilots came for training.⁸⁶

⁸³ Reap, 99.

⁸⁴ “University Enrollment Fall Terms 1830-1982,” University of Georgia Office of Institutional Research, accessed January 11, 2019, https://oir.uga.edu/_resources/files/factbook/University_Enrollment_1830-1982.pdf.

⁸⁵ Edward A. Hatfield, “World War II in Georgia,” New Georgia Encyclopedia, last modified February 20, 2018, accessed January 7, 2019, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/world-war-ii-georgia>.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

Described as the “second invasion of the Yankees,” many of those brought to Georgia for the war returned to Athens afterward to get an education through the G.I. Bill and establish households.⁸⁷ From 1940 to 1950, the population increased by 27 percent to 28,180 and University enrollment doubled to 6,301.^{88 89}

The increase in industry during the war also brought a shift in the economy throughout Georgia. Farmers that had been badly hit by the boll weevil in the 1920s followed by the Great Depression took the opportunity to leave agriculture for higher-paying jobs in manufacturing, often resulting in a move from rural to urban areas. From 1940 to 1950, the average per capita income in the state rose from just \$350 to \$1000 per year (from \$6,338 to \$18,108 in 2019 figures).^{90 91} Athens remained the second largest cotton market in the state from 1930 to 1950, then took a notable turn to diversify and attract new business.⁹² Private companies, the United States Navy, and the University worked to create a spike in commercial activity in Athens through the 1950s. Beginning in 1951, Dairy Pak, the first “outsider-owned” industry, opened in Athens. Next came Gold Kist poultry-processing, followed by two General Time plants. In 1954, the United States Navy moved its training facilities from New York to the former State Normal School campus on Prince Ave. and built new facilities. Meanwhile, under President O.C. Aderhold, the University resumed the expansion that had been started in the 1930s and paused during the war. With a \$2.5 million grant from the Kellogg Foundation, the Georgia Center for Continuing Education was completed by Atlanta architects Stevens and Wilkinson in 1957.⁹³ Seen as the first contemporary building on campus and awarded for design, the Georgia Center was novel as a continuing-education center that combined learning with hotel and conference accommodations all under one roof. It became instrumental for the Chamber of Commerce to court new business as proof of Athens’ stability and modernity.

87 Hester, 57.

88 “Athens-Clarke County unified government balance, Georgia Population 2018,” World Population Review, accessed January 11, 2019, <http://worldpopulationreview.com/us-cities/athens-clarke-county-ga-population/>.

89 “University Enrollment Fall Terms 1830-1982.”

90 Fedor, Reed, and Sullivan, 23.

91 “CPI Inflation Calculator,” Bureau of Labor Statistics, accessed February 28, 2019, <https://data.bls.gov/cgi-bin/cpicalc.pl?cost1=1000&year1=197101&year2=201901>.

92 Thomas, 185.

93 Ibid, 197.



Figure 3.14: When completed in 1957, the Georgia Center for Continuing Education was both novel for its modern design as well as the concept of having continuing education, hotel, and conference accommodations in one facility.

Just as throughout the nation, Athens' expansion took on a new and modern look departing from the classical architecture of the past. Influence from nearby Atlanta was instrumental. Georgia Tech founded its architecture school in 1908, one of the first in the South, based on Beaux Arts curriculum combining engineering, drawing, and classical design. Starting under the lead of Harold Bush-Brown in the 1930s, Modernist principles espousing form following function were introduced. When Paul Heffernan joined the faculty in 1938, he brought modern Bauhaus pedagogy and collaborated to build the Hinman Research Building, known as one of the first examples of Modernism in the South. Heffernan went on to become the architecture school's director and shifted the curriculum to focus on the use of innovative materials and building efficiency. Famous modern architects including Walter Gropius, Marcel Breuer, I.M. Pei, and Frank Lloyd Wright were brought to Georgia Tech to present their philosophies.⁹⁴ As a result, the architecture students from the pre- and post-World War II period went on to spread modern design throughout the South and build impressive credentials of their own. With Athens' proximity to Atlanta, many were commissioned to bring their talents to town.

Along with Georgia Tech becoming a respected institution, Atlanta had far surpassed Athens' growth with its accessibility and concerted effort to attract business. In 1946, a \$40.5 million bond financed road and capital infrastructure improvements. Also in the late-1940s, the Atlanta Municipal Airport, now Hartfield-Jackson, began enlarging with new concourses and terminals to serve the more than one million passengers that passed through each year.

⁹⁴ Mary Beth Reed, Karcheik Sims-Alvarado, Patrick Sullivan, and Jackie Tyson, "Modern Downtown Atlanta, 1945-1990," National Register of Historic Places (Stone Mountain, GA: New South Associates, 2018).

By 1950, the Atlanta Expressway System predated the Federal Interstate Highway System, making Atlanta one of the few United States cities with modern highway construction.⁹⁵ The “Forward Atlanta” campaign was launched in the early 1950s and successfully attracted more business to the area, increasing the city economy by \$34 million in payroll expenses.⁹⁶ In 1960, the Atlanta metro area became the first in the South to reach one million residents, making it the second fastest growing region in the country at the time.⁹⁷ While on this trajectory of “firsts,” Atlanta became home to many of Georgia’s first modern building types and designs. In 1939, the Briarcliff Plaza on Ponce de Leon Ave., designed by George H. Bond, became the first shopping center in the state to be designed for cars with off-street parking. Built two years prior, the Rhodes Center by Ivey and Crook represented the evolutionary link between old and new. Though it was modern in the sense that it was along a commuter route on the edge of town, cars were still parked along the street. Also in 1939, Georgia Tech alumni at the Stevens and Wilkinson architecture firm built the Price Gilbert house, recognized as the first residential example of the International Style in the South.⁹⁸ Finally, in 1957 the Lenox Square Mall designed by Georgia Tech alumni at the firm of Toombs, Amisano, and Wells opened in Atlanta, making it Georgia’s first regional mall. With two major anchor stores and 6,000 parking spaces, the Mall competed with downtown Atlanta as a center for both recreation and civic activity.⁹⁹

95 Reed, Sims-Alvarado, Sullivan, and Tyson.

96 Andy Ambrose, “Atlanta,” *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, last modified September 16, 2018, accessed December 20, 2018, <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/counties-cities-neighborhoods/atlanta>.

97 Reed, Sims-Alvarado, Sullivan, and Tyson.

98 “Our Place in History,” Stevens and Wilkinson, accessed January 4, 2019, <https://stevens-wilkinson.com/who-we-are/timeline/>.

99 Robert M. Craig. “Shopping Center Architecture,” *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, last modified November 8, 2013, accessed January 7, 2019. <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/shopping-center-architecture>.

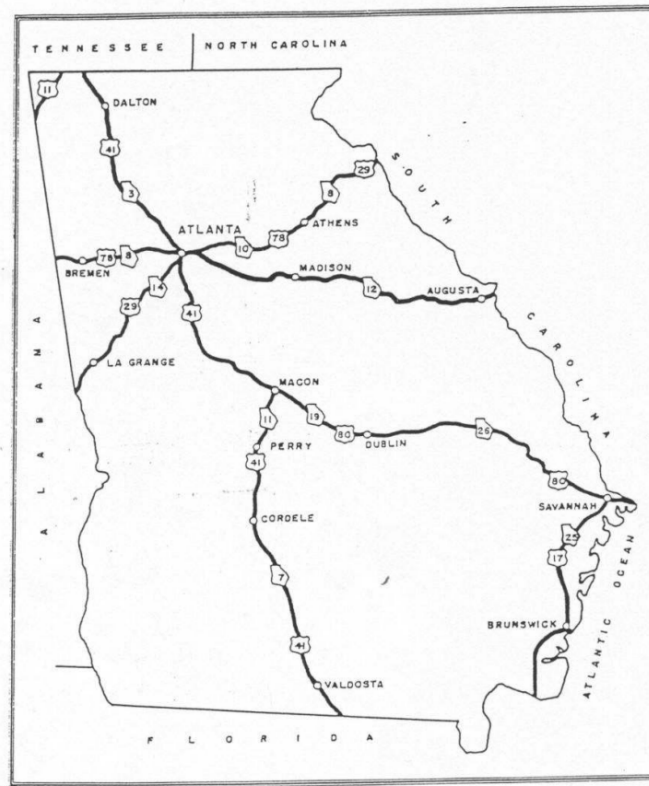


Figure 3.15: The Rhodes Center built in 1937 (left) was the first strip shopping center in Atlanta. Two years later, Briarcliff Plaza (right) was the first shopping center in the state to include off-street parking.

One of the most influential of Georgia Tech's graduates in Athens was C. Wilmer Heery. Heery graduated in 1926 and went on to design both residential and commercial architecture in the classical and modern styles. The many examples of his work illustrate the progression of modern design and how Athens was developing to meet the demands of expansion. In 1956, Heery designed a nine-story municipal parking garage downtown on Broad Street. A promotional map of Athens boasted that it had, "elevators that move sideways as well as up and down (only one in city this size or south of Baltimore)."¹⁰⁰ The Georgia Power Company commissioned Heery to design their office at the corner of Prince Ave. and N Chase Street. Opened in 1963, this example of the International style has a boxy form with a recessed and transparent bottom story, ribbon windows along the top story, and no ornamentation. The Athens Regional Library on Dougherty St., opened in 1970, shows the more "natural" inspiration for modern design at the time with muted neutrals and a form that sits low and recesses into the landscape. Heery's multi-tenant residential designs for The Lyons, Mathis Apartments, and University married student housing also display Modernist principles and the need for post-war student accommodations.¹⁰¹

100 Undated promotional map, "Presenting Your City Map of Athens, Georgia," Clarke County, Created 1801 (Box 2 of 3), OS Folder 30, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

101 Carolyn Paris Edge, *The Career of C. Wilmer Heery of Athens, GA, Architect* (Athens, GA: 1988).



National System of Interstate Highways in Georgia

Figure 3.16: A preliminary map of the highway system in Georgia adopted in 1944.



Figure 3.17: Highway construction underway in Atlanta.

Under President O.C. Aderhold's direction from 1950 to 1967, the University invested in science education and greatly expanded. Designed to reflect the cutting-edge technology taught inside, the buildings of south campus became the largest concentration of modern architecture yet to be seen in Athens. High-rise dormitories were completed by 1963 on Baxter St. to house the influx of students. Stegeman Coliseum, designed by an Atlanta firm and opened in 1964, displayed how far engineering had come with its expansive cast-concrete parabolic roof. Mixed reactions to modern architecture are epitomized by the nicknames ascribed to the building for the University's School of Art on Jackson St. when it was completed in 1963. Designed by Atlanta firm Toombs, Amisano, and Wells, "form follows function" is seen in the emphasis on natural light, studio space, and exhibition halls. The austere white concrete exterior is asymmetrical, lacks all ornamentation, and formed by both soft geometric shapes and hard angles. It stood in direct contrast to the classical buildings on north campus, leading it to be dubbed "the ice plant," "that monstrosity on Jackson St.," and "Dodd's folly," referring to art school director Lamar Dodd.¹⁰²

More abundant than the high-style, architect-designed examples of modern architecture, the vernacular commercial resources that developed along Athens' arteries from the 1950s through the 1970s reflect the growth and culture change that took place. The basis for Athens' modern road network had been established by the mid-century. By 1952, the stretch of US-441 known as the Macon Highway was completed. It connected Athens with Florida to the south and Tennessee to the north, making it a busy route for tourist traffic. As a result, businesses catering to tourists, such as motels and oddity attractions, created a small highway-oriented strip. This continued until construction of the Athens perimeter bypass, known as "the loop," was begun in the 1960s and diverted motorists. Though not fully completed until 1987, the loop itself became an important artery for traffic, and many of Athens' new industries developed in close proximity. Within town, though the Atlanta Highway had been connected with Broad St. in 1938, 1946 aerial photographs of the stretch west of Hawthorne Ave. reveal that the area remained largely wooded or cleared but undeveloped. Parallel to Broad St., Baxter St. only went as far west as Rock Springs St. until the late-1950s. The landscape of these roads and the surrounding area

began to change as stand-alone businesses and shopping centers developed hierarchical strips

¹⁰² "About the Lamar Dodd School of Art," Lamar Dodd School of Art, University of Georgia, accessed January 11, 2019. <https://art.uga.edu/about-lamar-dodd-school-art>.

catering to new suburban subdivisions.¹⁰³ The 1962 city directory touted,

“...more than 400 retail establishments offering every necessity and requirement for modern living, Athens has become the Shopping Center of Northeast Georgia.”¹⁰⁴

By 1963, the Athens Industrial Development Corporation had secured 100 new manufacturing businesses employing 6,000 workers.¹⁰⁵ Housing was needed to accommodate the influx of white-collar workers coming to Athens to manage these industries and work for the University. New residences were built in ranch house subdivisions, the country’s most prevalent layout of residential development from 1945 to 1970. Beechwood Hills, the first ranch subdivision, and an adjacent shopping center by the same name were completed in the early 1960s. When the Beechwood Shopping Center opened in 1963, 24 years after Atlanta’s first car-oriented shopping center, it was home to 14 stores organized in a U-shape surrounded by a blacktop sea of 2,000 parking spaces.¹⁰⁶ Storefronts were almost completely glass to draw customers in as they strolled beneath the awning, never needing to leave the protected walkway to reach another store. Sears, Roebuck left downtown Athens to become an anchor. Several other smaller businesses followed suit to be where there was “no cuss, no fuss, no parking meters.”¹⁰⁷ Baxter St. was extended to connect with Alps Rd. for access to Beechwood, and the Alps Road Shopping Center was built soon after. The area that the new shopping centers occupied had formerly been farmland, a plane landing strip, and then a drive-in movie theatre. A 1964 map shows that businesses by this time included Beechwood Cinema, Town and Travel women’s clothing, Burton’s Shoe Store, Beechwood Buffet, and Alps Tire and Service Gulf Station.

103 As mentioned in Chapter 2, hierarchical strips are shopping centers exist built at commercial nodes to cater to area residents. Examples include grocery, drug, and furniture stores.

104 *Athens, GA City Directory* (Charleston, SC: Nelsons’ Directory Company, Inc., 1962).

105 Thomas, 209.

106 Beechwood Cinema advertisement, *The Red and Black*, September 20, 1963.

107 Cunningham Men’s Wear advertisement, *The Red and Black*, September 27, 1962.

Throughout Athens, many more subdivisions and accompanying shopping centers sprang up, such Homewood Hills to the northwest and Greenacres to the southeast. In 1963, the “Athens Advertiser” touted,

“If 100 new residences were erected today there would be a demand for all of them within thirty days and the greater number would be rented before the lumber could be placed on the grounds. The demand for more property is also good and a number of new stores could be rented easily...The people who come here have to have homes and those homes have to be located on land.”¹⁰⁸

A 1955 zoning map of Athens shows that the business zones were along Baxter St., Prince Ave., Broad St., and Oconee Street. Prior to being extended to Alps Rd., Baxter St. was a largely African American residential area.¹⁰⁹ Many houses were cleared to build new dormitories in the early 1960s. With a direct connection from the new shopping centers and neighborhoods along Alps Rd. to the University, Baxter St. developed with new schools, and both stand-alone businesses and small linear shopping centers. Prince Ave., the federal road established in 1838, had remained mostly residential until the mid-1950s. After it was re-zoned to commercial, many of the houses were either demolished and replaced or transformed into businesses. Broad St. leading west from downtown toward Alps Rd. had become a mix of businesses by the early 1960s, many catering to cars. The 1961 Sanborn Map shows that the stretch was home to several filling stations, auto repair shops, restaurants, and miscellaneous storefronts. Finally, Oconee St., the historic main road into downtown, had a mix of both residential and commercial uses though this area east of downtown was not the focus for most development. These streets as the main business zones and their relative importance at the time is reflected in the number of resources surveyed for this thesis: 15 on Baxter St., 18 on Prince Ave., 33 on Broad St., and only three on Oconee St.

True to what was simultaneously occurring around the country, the new businesses in Athens aesthetically took a sharp departure from commercial design of the past. Whereas downtown buildings had been designed to occupy a narrow strip of land and connect with adjacent storefronts, suburban businesses could spread out into their landscape with ample parking. New materials such as anodized metal, glass curtain walls, and brick and stone veneer

108 “City Real Estate,” *Athens Advertiser*, September 25, 1963, Athens General, MS 3609, Box 83, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

109 1955 Athens zoning map, Athens General, MS 3609, Box 83, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

were favored over masonry. With sign regulations not coming to Athens until the late 1950s and early 1960s, businesses could be flashy with neon signs waving down customers. An example of the new approach to commercial building is the former Chick-n-Treat on Macon Highway. The building form itself was similar to a ranch house in that it had a low-lying horizontal profile with wide eaves creating an overhang. The pylon acted as a vertical anchor and place for a sign. Connected expanses of glass created a “visual front” so that passing drivers could easily see the activity inside. The detached sign used a combination of arrows and neon lighting to grab attention and point directly to the building. The setback and lawn also spoke to a suburban ambiance created for vehicular rather than pedestrian traffic.



Figure 3.18: The Chick-n-Treat on Macon Highway exemplified modern commercial design with its pylon, visual front, and arrow-shaped sign with neon lighting to attract customers.

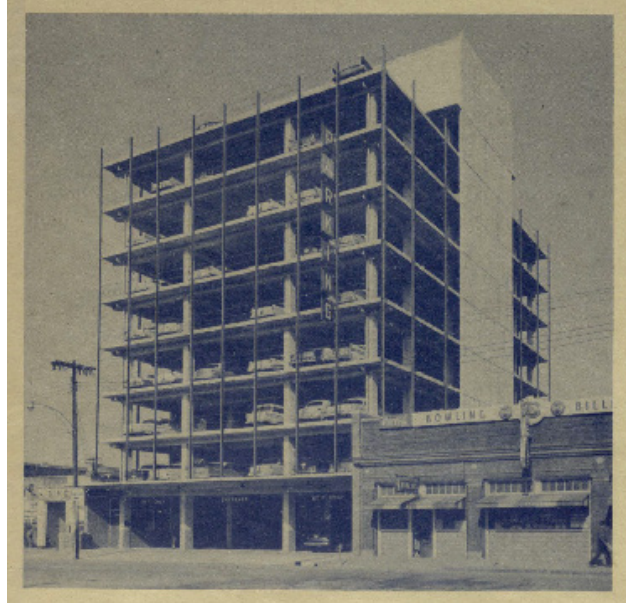


Figure 3.19: The sharp departure from classical to modern architecture can be seen through the downtown municipal garage designed by Wilmer C. Heery (top) and University of Georgia buildings constructed in the 1950s and 1960s. Creswell Hall (middle left), Chemistry building on south campus (middle right), Stegeman Coliseum (bottom)



Figure 3.20: Roadside businesses catering to tourists developed when the stretch of US-441 known as Macon Highway was completed through Athens in 1952.

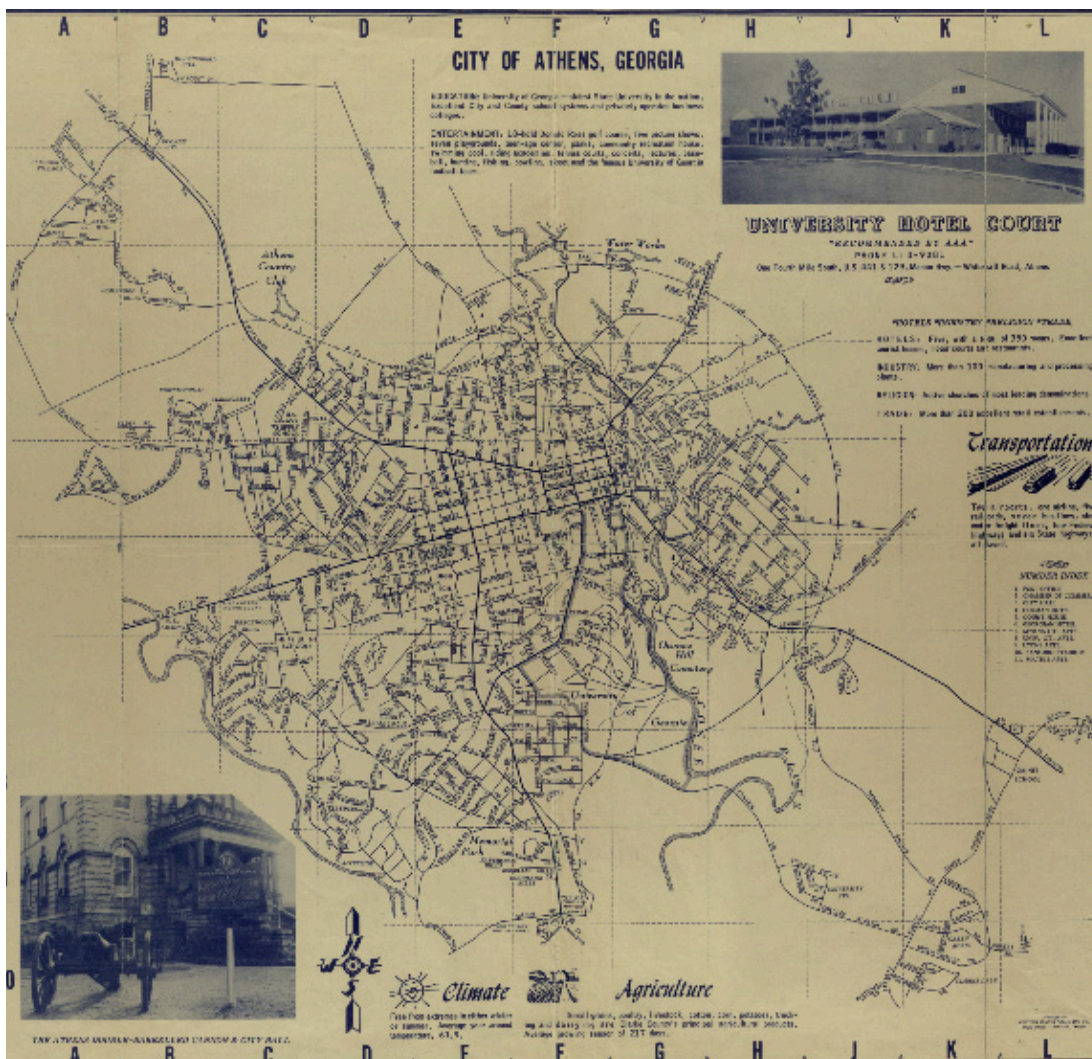


Figure 3.21: The Athens Chamber of Commerce printed promotional maps boasting aspects such as transportation, climate, accommodations, and shopping establishments to attract new residents. This map from the mid-1960s shows the extensive network of roads that had been built by this time.



Sears Roebuck and Co. Beechwood Shopping Center
Satisfaction Guaranteed or your money back. Johnny Kestler



**4th ANNUAL
Old Fashioned Bargain Days
BEECHWOOD SHOPPING CENTER**

THURSDAY, FRIDAY, SATURDAY MARCH 10-11-12 ALL STORES OPEN AT 9:00 A.M.

SPECIAL ATTRACTIONS:
Old fashioned customs worn by employees—
Old fashioned items in window displays—
Stage coach rides and pony rides for children—
Old cars and trucks on lot from time to time through-
out the weekend—
Indian shows in center all weekend (2 of them) do-
ing Indian dances—

**2200 Free Parking Spaces
NINETY MINUTE SPECIALS**

Thursday March 10

9:00-10:30—**SEWING CIRCLE FABRICS**
Fully fashioned fine quality fabrics
have 50¢ per (100¢) 3 per (100¢) 100¢
and 100¢ per (100¢) 100¢ 100¢
10:30-12:00—**KOOGES**
50¢ shirts, 50¢ 100¢ shirts, 100¢
12:00-1:30—**SHEVIN WILLIAMS**
50¢ 100¢ 100¢ 100¢ 100¢
AND
BURTON'S SHOE STORE
Special prices on ladies, childrens and
men's shoes—
RAY JEWELERS
3:00-4:30—**CANCELLATION** with checks etc.
4:30-6:00—**LEGGETS**
6:00-7:30—**GIBSON'S MEN'S WEAR**
7:30-9:00—**WOOLWORTH**

Friday March 11

9:00-10:00—**KROGERS**
10:30-12:00—**BELL BROTHERS SHOES**
12:00-1:20—**TOWNS AND TRAVEL**
1:30-2:00—**SINGLES**
2:00-4:30—**BOY'S CHILDREN'S SHOP**
4:30-6:00—**GIBSON'S MEN'S WEAR**
6:00-7:30—**PLATTER SHOP**
7:30-9:00—**GRANT'S**

Saturday March 12

9:00-10:30—**WINN DIXIE**
10:30-12:00—**FINDLEY CLEANERS**
AND
GLANT'S
12:00-1:30—**JOHN CUNNINGHAM'S MEN'S WEAR**
1:30-3:00—**KROGERS**
3:00-4:30—**WOOLWORTH**
4:30-6:00—**SEKVIN WILLIAMS**
6:00-9:00—**BETTY'S SHOES**

**NO TRAFFIC DELAY
SHOP BEECHWOOD.
THE CONVENIENT WAY.**

**Bad Weather? No Problem
Canopy Covered Sidewalks
NINETY MINUTE SPECIALS**

**MAIN ATTRACTION:
OLD FASHIONED PIERCE** Extra special bargains in ALL stores... with a different old fashioned door knocker special every ninety minutes from Thursday morning at 9:00 when the stores first open through closing time 6:00 P.M. Saturday.



Figure 3.22: Opened in 1963 and built alongside the Beechwood Hills subdivision, Beechwood Shopping Center was Athens' first modern shopping center. Aerial view of the first phase of development (top); The Sears, Roebuck anchor store left downtown to relocate at Beechwood Hills (second row); A wide-angle view (third row); "Old Fashioned Bargain Days" (bottom)

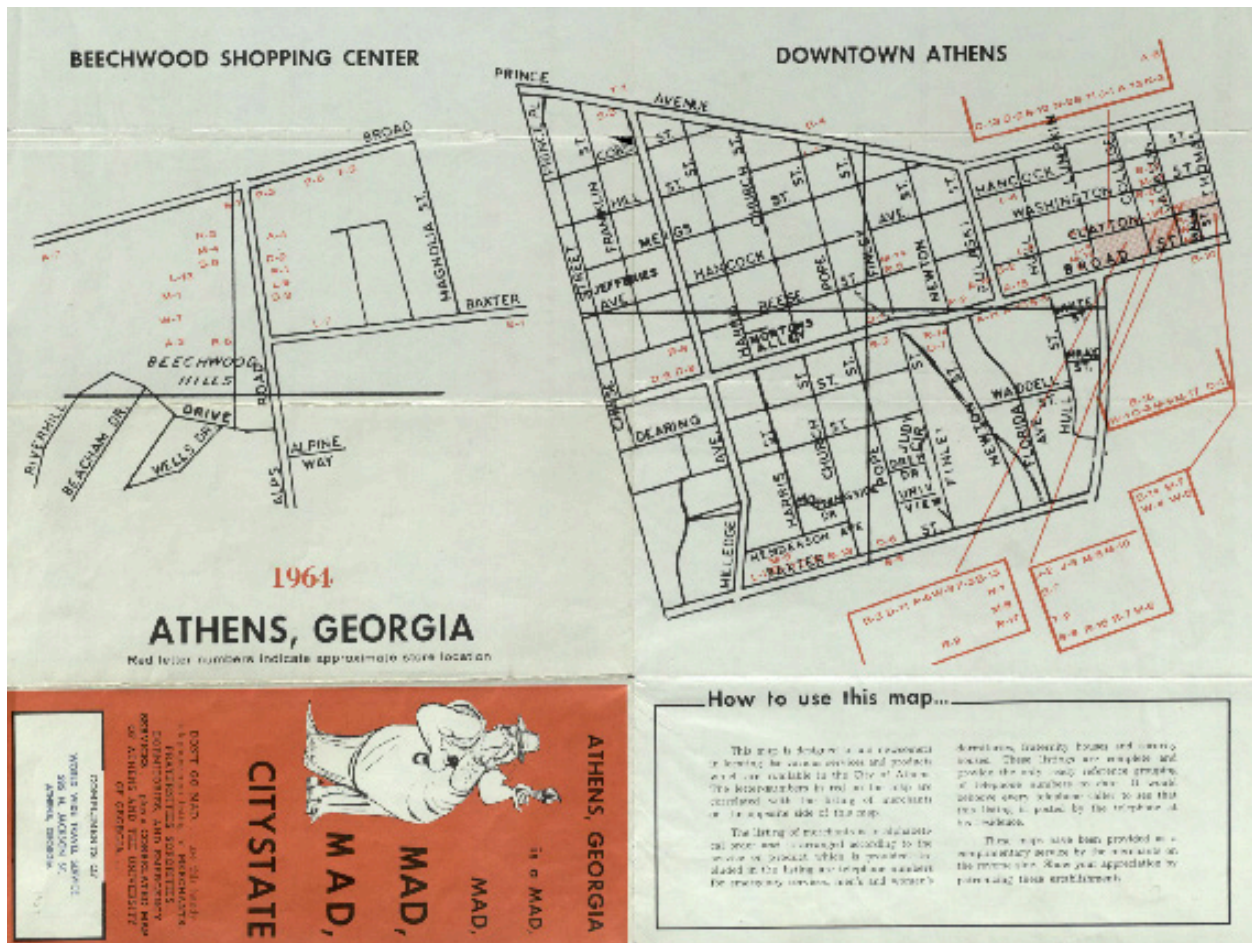


Figure 3.23: The shopping at Beechwood Hills was advertised on an Athens promotional map alongside downtown (top). Additional shopping centers and stand-alone businesses opened near Beechwood on Alps Rd., and Baxter and Broad Streets (bottom).



25,000 SQUARE FOOT HOMEWOOD HILLS SHOPPING CENTER STORE FEATURES ALL ELECTRIC MODERN SHOPPING FACILITIES
Hot Food Department, Quick Check-Out Service Among New Shopping Conveniences Offered Through Some 70 Employees

DERRELL ADDIS
Manages New Store

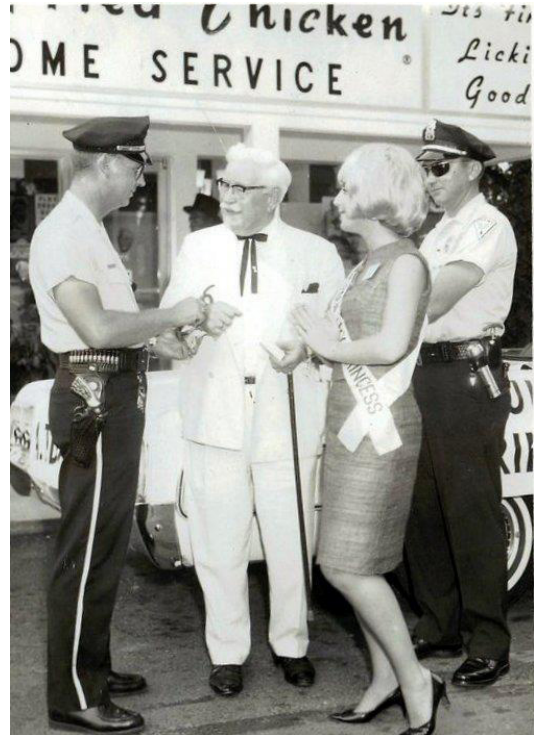
Figure 3.24: Several other shopping centers and accompanying subdivisions opened throughout Athens, such as Homewood Hills off of Prince Avenue.



Figure 3.25: True to national trends, Athens' commercial thoroughfares had an abundance of signs waving down passing customers. Broad St. looking east toward downtown.



Figure 3.26: Businesses throughout Athens showed off the geometric rooflines popular on classic auto strips. Handy Andy convenience store on Oak St. (top left), Sterchi's furniture store on Broad St. (top right), and Snack Shack drive-in on Broad St. (bottom)



**GOOD SPORTS
GO FOR
BURGER CHEF**

OPEN FLAME BROILING MAKES
THE DELICIOUS DIFFERENCE!

HAMBURGERS	15c
DOUBLE-BURGERS	25c
CHEESEBURGERS	20c
DOUBLE-CHEESEBURGERS	30c
HOT FISH SANDWICHES	25c
FRENCH FRIES	15c
MILK SHAKES	15c
GIANT MILK SHAKES	25c
Coca-Cola	10c-20c
Orange Drink	10c-20c
Root Beer	10c-20c
Hot Chocolate	15c
Coffee	10c
Milk	10c

BURGER CHEF
HAMBURGERS

ALPS ROAD
at
BEECHWOOD

Franchised nationwide by Burger Chef Systems
Indianapolis 7

Home of the World's Greatest 15¢ Hamburger!

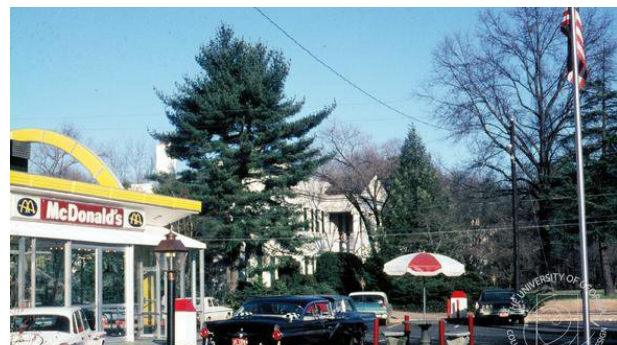


Figure 3.27: Increased mobility and convenience coincided with the growth of franchise fast-food chains. The Kentucky Fried Chicken on Millidge Ave. and its grand opening celebration (top); a menu and photo of Burger Chef on Alps Rd. (middle); Hardee's on Baxter St. (bottom left); McDonald's on Prince Ave. with the James White House in the background (bottom right)



Figure 3.28: Examples of businesses being designed in the commercial architecture of the mid-century with canted glass, brick veneer, visual fronts, and angular signs. Arctic Girl on Broad St. (top left); Phillips 66 on Oconee St. (top right); Grant's department store in Beechwood Shopping Center (middle); Evergreen Garden Center on Atlanta Highway (bottom)

Promotional maps and brochures of Athens were published to show off the developments to newcomers and speak to what consumers valued. A map from the early-1960s boasts entertainment including “five picture shows,” five hotels “with a total of 350 rooms, excellent tourist homes, motor courts, and restaurants,” “more than 100 manufacturing and processing plants,” and “more than 200 excellent retail establishments.” A mid-1960s pamphlet from the Chamber of Commerce appealed directly to shoppers:

“Athens, the shopping center of Northeast Georgia, has over 400 retail establishments, including four major department stores: Davison’s, Gallant-Belk, Penney’s, and Sears, Roebuck Co. Approximately 25 major chains are represented, and with the many local retail establishments, all necessities and requirements for modern living are offered. Beechwood Shopping Center is composed of 30 stores, and there are four neighborhood shopping centers. Two other major centers are under construction. In addition, Athens has many excellent men, women, and children specialty shops.”¹¹⁰

A 1964 promotional map indicates the rise and novelty of franchise fast-food service, including advertisements for McDonald’s to “look for the Golden Arches, home of the all-American meal,” and Kentucky Fried Chicken “quick and convenient take-home service.” An undated newcomer’s map from this period lists the various subdivision names including Homewood Hills, Knottingham, Bel Air Heights, and Forest Heights to the northwest; Beechwood Hills, Timothy Estates, and Glenwood to the southwest; and University Heights, Green Acres, and Clarke Dale to the southeast. None are shown on the east side of town, largely still an industrial area and home to African American neighborhoods.¹¹¹

The change in Athens from a traditional college town revolving around the University and downtown to a modern city complete with ranch house subdivisions and shopping centers is exemplified by the Athens Chamber of Commerce changing its slogan from “Tradition with progress” to “Advancing Athens” in 1961.¹¹² The “Base Year Socio-Economic Study” published by the Athens-Clarke County Planning Commission in March 1971 illustrates these advancements. From 1950 to 1960, the number of families with income under \$1000 per year (\$6300 in 2019) dropped from 1585 to 620, while the number earning \$10,000 and

110 Chamber of Commerce promotional pamphlet, “This is Athens, GA,” Athens General, MS 3609, Box 83, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

111 Undated map and newcomer’s guide, Clarke County, Created 1801 (Box 2 of 3), OS Folder 30, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

112 Thomas, 206.

more per year (\$63,000 in 2019) rose from 170 to 1185.¹¹³ In 1970, Athens was home to 386 establishments classified as “retail”, 356 “services”, and five shopping centers.¹¹⁴ Total floor space by activity was 2,474,066 square feet for retail and 2,148,480 for services. Speaking to retail trade, the report states,

“One of the single-most important indices of a city’s economic viability and its influence on the surrounding area is retail sales...In the Northeast Georgia region, Clarke County and Athens represent the region’s economic heart.”

Table 3.2: Growth of Retail Sales (\$000’s) (1948-1969)
 (“Base Year Socio-Economic Study,” 1971.)

Year	Clarke County	Northeast Georgia Region	Georgia
1948	33,171	72,125	2,111,539
1954	41,419	89,408	2,963,217
1958	52,230	114,197	3,528,236
1963	74,006	151,128	4,570,023
1966	88,435	--	--
1969	111,318	178,000	--

“Advancing Athens” came at a price. Athens received federal money for urban renewal projects similar to those happening around the country. Beginning in 1964, Projects 50 and 51 undertook “slum clearance” around Athens’ historic core with the three tenets of “revitalization, redevelopment, and rehabilitation.” Project 50 involved the purchase of 40 acres of land around Baxter Street. Houses were demolished and the land was resold to the University to build Brumby, Creswell, and Russell Hall dormitories. Costing \$5.5 million, Project 51 focused on 128 acres in the downtown area. After 350 of the existing buildings were cleared, many belonging to African Americans and lower-income residents, streets were rerouted to create the northern stretch of the Athens bypass and new civic buildings were constructed, including the public library designed by C. Wilmer Heery.

¹¹³ “CPI Inflation Calculator.”

¹¹⁴ It is unclear from the economic study if the number of establishments includes or excludes those in shopping centers.

To accommodate the ever-increasing influx of residents and their vehicles, part of Project 51 focused on repaving roads and alleviating traffic. The *Athens Banner-Herald* reported in 1967,

“Through a continuous program of resurfacing and street paving, the streets of Athens are now in the best condition of repair than ever before...many street corners have been widened as a safety and traffic flow precaution. There is a continued effort to expedite the building of the East By-Pass.”¹¹⁵

Following Projects 50 and 51, Athens was one of the most endowed participants in the federal Model Cities Program. Between 1970 and 1975, nearly \$9.5 million from the federal Housing and Urban Development agency and \$6.15 million in matching grants were used to update the city’s infrastructure.¹¹⁶

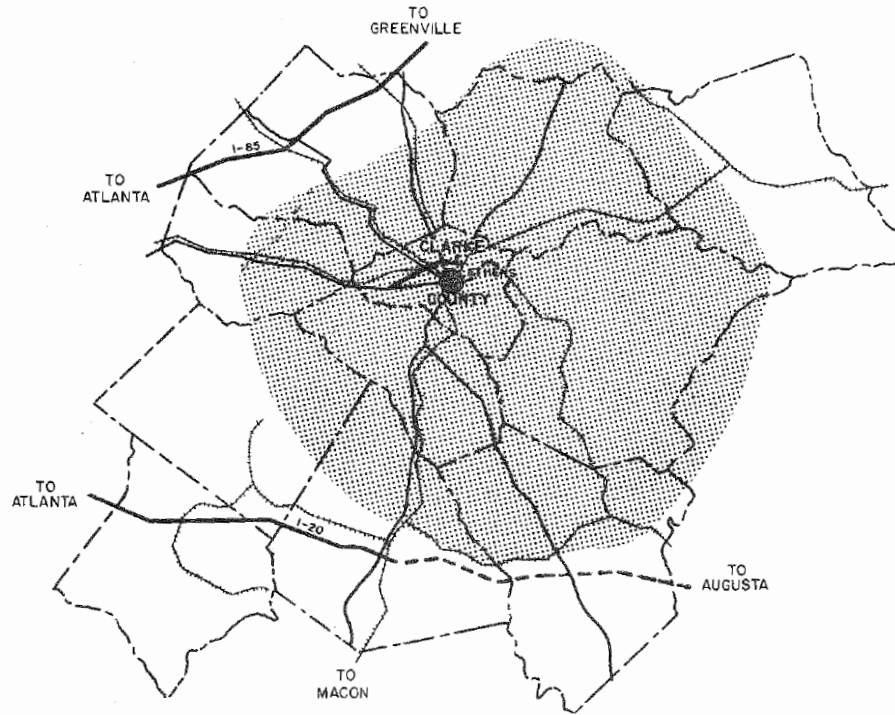


Figure 3.29: Acres of private houses were demolished to make way for new University dormitories as part of Athens’ ambitious Urban Renewal projects. Looking east toward campus from Baxter St., the sign reads, “University of Georgia Urban Renewal Area.”

115 “Progress in Advancing Athens,” *Athens Banner-Herald*, February 26, 1967, Athens General, MS 3609, Box 83. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

116 Thomas, 210.

ATHENS RETAIL TRADE AREA



- LEGEND**
- INTERSTATE HIGHWAYS
 - - - - - INTERSTATE (projected)
 - HIGHWAYS
 - - - - - COUNTY BOUNDARIES
 - - - - - RAILROADS
 -

ATHENS CLARKE COUNTY
PLANNING COMMISSION

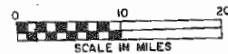


Figure 3.31: The Athens Retail Trade Area from the 1971 socio-economic study shows the widespread area from which consumers travel to shop.

Urban renewal represented a double-edge sword. While updates were needed to serve the nearly 13,000 new residents and the tripling of the University's student body between 1960 and 1970, efforts also brought an end to many of Athens' historic resources, both high-style and vernacular.¹¹⁷ Project 51 even considered demolishing the historic city hall built in 1904. The quantity of destruction prompted the *Athens Daily News* to print in 1967,

"If progress can be measured in what is torn down, then Athens' ambitious urban renewal project is well on its way to complete success."¹¹⁸

The Athens-Clarke Heritage Foundation was organized in 1967, when construction of the Brutalist-style Robert G. Stephens Federal Building threatened to demolish the Church-Waddell-Brumby house built in 1821.¹¹⁹ Unfortunately, by this time countless resources had already been lost, many replaced with commercial resources that are now considered historic and surveyed as part of this thesis.

Historic downtown Athens suffered the effects of businesses following consumers to the suburbs. In addition to stores leaving, Athens' original "car dealer row" along Hancock Ave. re-established itself on Atlanta Highway. A 1965 Chamber of Commerce study found that property values downtown were dropping as buildings deteriorated. In some regards, the urban renewal projects were aimed to help downtown by building garages and parking lots to compete with the shopping centers. In 1967, the *Athens Banner-Herald* printed,

"At the present time, considerable parking space in Urban Renewal Project 51 has been made available by the City to relieve parking congestion in the Downtown Business District. The many free parking lots on Hancock, Thomas, Dougherty, and Jackson Streets on several acres (are) for downtown employees as well as shoppers in the business district."

Other efforts to compete included installing modern slipcover facades over historic storefronts to achieve the streamlined look of new commercial buildings. Just as cast-iron storefront ornamentation had been available in catalogs in the early 1900s, these slipcovers were available nationally and targeted specifically to downtowns facing the same problems throughout the country. Tena's Fine Diamonds and Jewelry, Horton's Drugstore, and the former Lamar Lewis Shoes are all examples still visible today.

117 "Athens-Clarke County unified government balance, Georgia Population 2018."

118 Thomas, 210-215.

119 Reap, 213.

The Athens Downtown Council was created in 1973 to launch a concerted effort to help attract business. Anticipating the mall opening in 1981, the Athens Downtown Development Authority was organized in 1978 and created a low-interest loan pool for businesses. The same year, downtown was also listed in the National Register of Historic Places.¹²⁰ In 1980, Athens was named one of the first cities in the National Trust for Historic Preservation's Main Street program.¹²¹

The upward trajectory in Athens, and Georgia as a whole, from after World War II through the 1970s is indicated by the city's population doubling from 28,180 to 42,549, and the University growing from 3,688 to 23,470 students from 1940 to 1980.¹²² Likewise, Georgia's population had increased from 3.1 million to more than 5.4 million residents in the same period.¹²³ The *Daily News* reported in 1979 that Athens had been awarded the Georgia Progress "On the Move" award from the State Department of Industry and Trade for its "outstanding achievement in economic development" and three-year development plan. The same article stated that in 1978, 636 new industries representing \$554 million and 34,203 had come to Georgia.¹²⁴ New businesses to Athens in the late-1960s through 1970s included Kendell and Reliance Electric, Del Mar, DuPont, and Certain-Teed. This success and Athens' role as a regional trade center meant that it was only a matter of time before the next step in commercial evolution would come to town: the mall.

Twenty-four years after the original Lenox Square Mall was opened in Atlanta, the Georgia Square Mall was completed in Athens in 1981 on what was previously farmland located near the intersection of the Athens perimeter bypass and the Atlanta Highway. It was intended to serve a surrounding 15-county area, further establishing Athens as a regional trade center. Costing \$20 million to build, the mall boasted two stories with 850,000 square feet and four anchor department stores. In total, there were 90 stores staffed by 2,000 employees.¹²⁵ The total area and number of employees equaled roughly that of downtown Athens. A central courtyard and food court were the focal points, and all stores faced inward on a central "boulevard" to

120 Thomas, 220.

121 Ibid, 236.

122 "Athens-Clarke County unified government balance, Georgia Population 2018."

123 "Georgia Population 2019."

124 Reap, 187.

125 Thomas, 234.

create an experience isolated from the outside world. Just as Beechwood Shopping Center had drawn Sears away from downtown, the anchor then relocated to the mall.

With business being drawn further from the core to the outskirts of town, the *Athens Banner-Herald/The Daily News* wrote a 1980 article titled, “Downtown Athens will not play dead, the city’s in for changes,” with the concern,

“With shopping centers popping up all over Athens and a new shopping mall on the way, some people feel that the city may dry up and blow away.”

Articles from 1978 to 1980 show city officials taking a rational approach to counteract the negative effects of the mall. It was projected that instead of customers going to Atlanta to shop, the mall would help by keeping their dollars in Athens. Meanwhile, downtown could differentiate itself by emphasizing what it offered that the mall could not. The executive director of the Athens Downtown Development Authority said,

“Downtown Athens has got a history. It’s got a past it can look back and build on...We’ve been steering away from ‘Stop the Mall’ (approaches) because our knowledge of situations in other towns is that’s foolhardy.”

Rather, the Development Authority designed a three-phase development strategy costing an estimated \$2 to \$3 million to include “constructing three parking facilities, creating an arcade for specialty shops, and closing off part College Avenue for an activity center.” These phases have been implemented to varying degrees in the time since they were proposed. The three public parking garages were constructed. The arcade for specialty shops did not come to fruition. Closing College Ave. still remains an idea that is discussed but is yet to be undertaken. As a sign of changing tastes, the downtown parking garage designed by C. Wilmer Heery in 1956 and touted as innovative for its time was considered “an eyesore” and renovated into apartments as part of the development strategy.¹²⁶

126 “Athens will not play dead, the city’s in for changes,” *Athens Banner-Herald/The Daily News*, February 24, 1980.

Vanished Athens

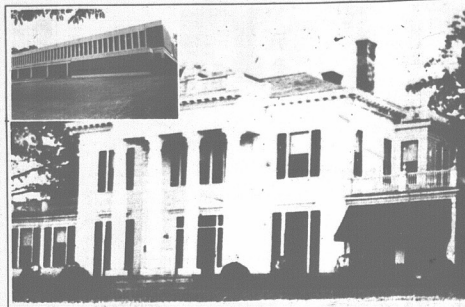
The tour you'll never take

When some citizens are upset over the demolition of a stately building, other citizens tend to shrug and say, "It's just an old house." Thus, in recent years old houses have disappeared one by one, and the average citizen hardly notices that they are gone. If we stop and look, however, at just a few of the old houses torn down, we can see at a glance what we have lost. Twenty-five years ago, the buildings shown on these pages were all standing in Athens. Had they been left standing, these structures, along with those still here, would have given Athens an architectural treasure unmatched in the country.

These houses are gone. Though they vanished during a brief period, they went one by one, with differing circumstances of economic demand, structural condition, and architectural value.

These old houses are gone forever; they are presented here simply as a reminder of what our community once had, with the hope that we can better appreciate what is left.

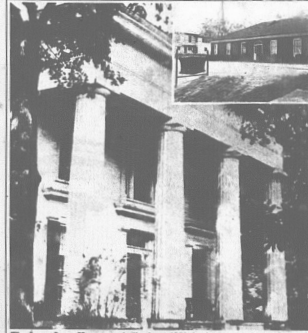
The photographs of these demolished structures were provided by the Athens-Clarke Heritage Foundation, which is the local host of the annual conference of the Georgia Trust for Historic Preservation, meeting in Athens May 11-13. Most of these photographs are reproduced from "The Columns of Athens," by William Columbus Davis, copyright now owned by William Tate. Bud Marshall photographed the present structures and parking lots now occupying the sites.



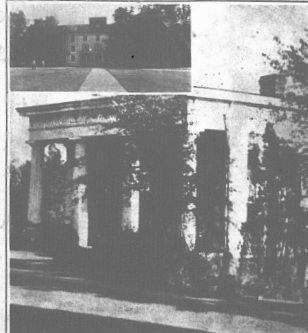
The Morton Hodgson House, built in the late nineteenth century at 1001 Prince Avenue, was occupied by the-Kappa Kappa Gamma sorority until it was torn down for construction of the Georgia Power Building.



The John B. Cobb house stood at 575 Harris Street until it was torn down and replaced by the building now housing Magic Years of Learning Day Care Center.



The James-Long House was built about 1820 on the corner of Milledge and Hill, across from where the Chaney House now stands. It was demolished for construction of the Milledge Doctors Building.



The Lucas House was built in 1828 and was torn down to make way for the construction of Reed Hall on the University of Georgia campus.



The William Dearing House stood at 897 South Milledge Avenue, at the corner of Dearing Street. It was demolished for construction of the Medical Arts Center.



The two Michael mansions were on Prince Avenue between the President's Mansion and the Taylor-Grady House. These magnificent turn-of-the-century houses were demolished in the early 1960s and replaced by one-story brick buildings now housing the Interstate Life Insurance Company and the University of Georgia Small Business Center.

Figure 3.32: Published in the *Athens Observer* in May 1979, "Vanished Athens" juxtaposed the historic Greek Revival mansions that were demolished with the modern-style buildings that took their place. Several of the replacement buildings were surveyed as part of this thesis (highlighted, from left to right, top to bottom: 575 N Harris St., 225 S Milledge Ave., 596-598 Prince Ave.).



Figure 3.33: As businesses were drawn toward suburban shopping centers then the mall, downtown Athens felt the effects. Above is the Franklin House on Broad St. in 1981 with windows broken and boarded up.

Post-1981

Even as the mall became the new attraction and downtown fought back, commercial development continued elsewhere in Athens from the 1980s to today. Always chasing changing consumer tastes and what is seen as “modern,” the existing commercial zones built in prior decades matured and experienced infill development. Many received “face lifts” and the changing of tenants. With the perimeter bypass finished in 1987, new areas of Athens became more easily accessible. Beginning in the early 1990s, the area along Barnett Shoals and Gaines School Roads extending to Lexington Rd. became the center for commerce for Athens’ east side. While a 1963 aerial map shows only a handful of small subdivisions, the area has become increasingly attractive with the expansion of the University in its direction. Oconee Connector, located along the bypass between Clarke and Oconee Counties, has also been a site of intense development in recent decades. A 1993 aerial shows a landscape with little but roads and woods. Since 2010, shopping centers with national chain stores have changed it drastically. This was enabled by the construction of Epps Bridge Parkway to allow easy access from Atlanta Highway. The Parkway, in turn, diverted traffic away from Atlanta Highway, impacting its businesses. A recent example of this is big box retailer Hobby Lobby leaving its 55,000 square foot store on Atlanta Highway to move to a new, nearly 90,000 square foot, location in the Epps

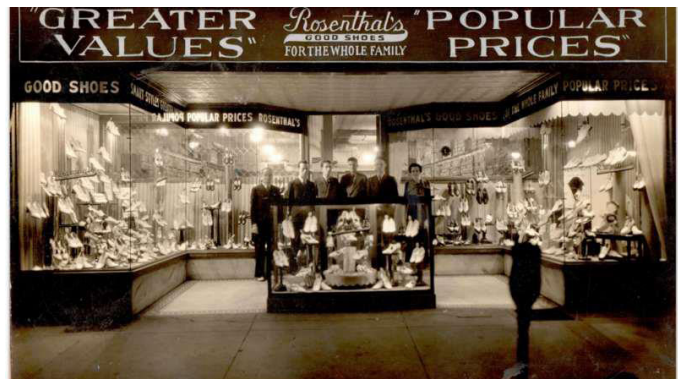


Figure 3.34: To keep up with the modern appeal of new construction, businesses downtown, such as Gallant-Belk (left), Kress, and Lamar Lewis Shoes (top right), used “slipcover” facades that were applied over traditional storefronts. Rosenthal’s (bottom right) shows the type of storefront renovations that were made popular by designers such as Morris Lapidus and Morris Ketchum, Jr. to draw customers in with display merchandising.



Figure 3.35: When opened in 1981, the mall roughly occupied the same amount of land and employed the same amount of people as Athens’ downtown commercial core.

Bridge Centre II shopping center.¹²⁷

Recent years have seen a national decline in mall sales, both because of online shopping and the abundance of brick-and-mortar alternatives. The advent of online shopping drew concerns from the Georgia Square Mall as early as 2002. When interviewed, the mall's general manager felt that retailers would begin to offer "e-shopping" to complement their brick-and-mortar stores but it would not replace them.¹²⁸ In 2017, Macy's, one of the Georgia Square Mall's four anchor stores, left after 35 years. In 2018, the *Red & Black* reported,

"...many new restaurants and shops have opened in the Oconee Connector area instead of the mall because of lack of interest from locals."¹²⁹

Meanwhile, downtown Athens has once again become the attraction the 1980's Development Authority hoped it would be. Though not all plans for its revitalization were carried out, the University's investment in historic north campus; local retailers and restaurants not found elsewhere; and the national trend toward more walkable and unique shopping experiences have allowed downtown to evolve and thrive.

In 2019, the population of Athens-Clarke County is nearly 130,000 residents, and the University has more than 38,000 undergraduate and graduate students enrolled throughout the state.¹³⁰ The University continues to be the top employer in the county, providing 10,700 jobs. In the private sector, healthcare has supplanted manufacturing as the dominant industry. Major highways servicing Athens include US Highways 29, 78, 129, 441 and Georgia Hwy 316. The town that grew on its railroad connections still has CSX, Norfolk Southern Shortline, and Athens Line TAL. Though automobiles remain the primary mode of transportation, the University and Athens Transit System buses provide public service.¹³¹

Chapter 3 has demonstrated that throughout its existence, Athens' development has been shaped by the University of Georgia and the city's role as the commercial center for

127 Lee Becker, "Hobby Lobby Will Move to Epps Bridge," *The Flagpole*, last modified October 9, 2017, accessed November 15, 2018, <https://flagpole.com/blogs/in-the-loop/posts/hobby-lobby-will-move-to-epps-bridge>.

128 Hester, 118.

129 Tyler Wilkins, "An Uncertain Future: Athens Residents Reflect on Changes at Georgia Square Mall," *The Red and Black*, last modified November 23, 2018, accessed December 13, 2018, https://www.redandblack.com/athensnews/an-uncertain-future-athens-residents-reflect-on-changes-at-georgia/article_eb1cd2aa-eeb5-11e8-947d-2f38c04d0b46.html.

130 "Enrollment by College and School, Athens and Extended Campuses, Fall Terms 2010 to 2017," University of Georgia Office of Institutional Research, accessed January 27, 2019, <https://oir.uga.edu/factbook/enrollment/S04EnrP22/>.

131 "Regional Data," Athens, Georgia Economic Development, accessed January 27, 2019, <http://www.whyathensga.com/regional-data/transportation/>.

Northeast Georgia. While it has had its unique figures and influences, modern commercial development in Athens largely paralleled nationwide trends. The rise of automobile ownership allowed for living outside the traditional city center and less density. Commerce followed consumers to the suburbs in the form of stand-alone buildings, shopping centers, and eventually the mall. With a context for growth in Athens established, the next chapter will discuss the preservation challenges and initiatives of the modern commercial landscape.



Figure 3.36: The Oconee Connector area, located off of the perimeter bypass between Clarke and Oconee Counties, has been the site of intense development in recent years. The small city unto itself of national chains and interconnected shopping centers is representative of the Corporate Megastrip commercial phase described in Chapter 2.

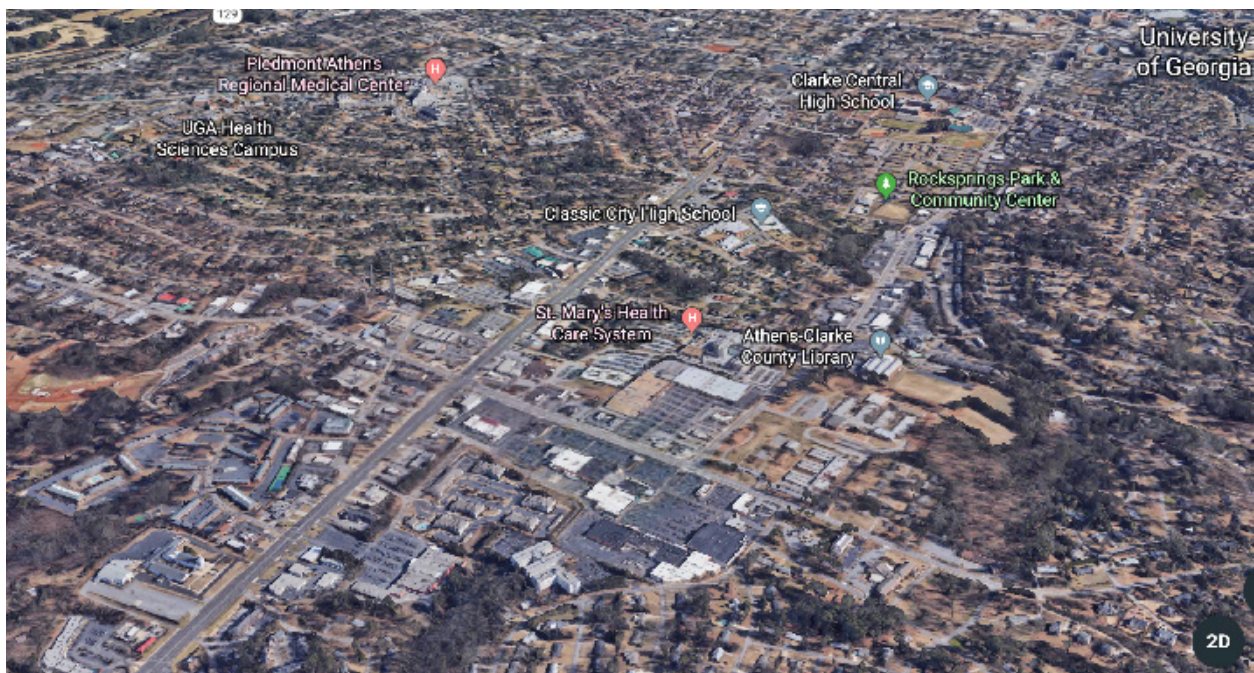


Figure 3.37: A 2019 aerial view above the Beechwood Shopping Center/Alps Rd. area, looking east toward downtown. The shopping centers continue to be highly trafficked and have had several renovations since first being developed in the 1960s.

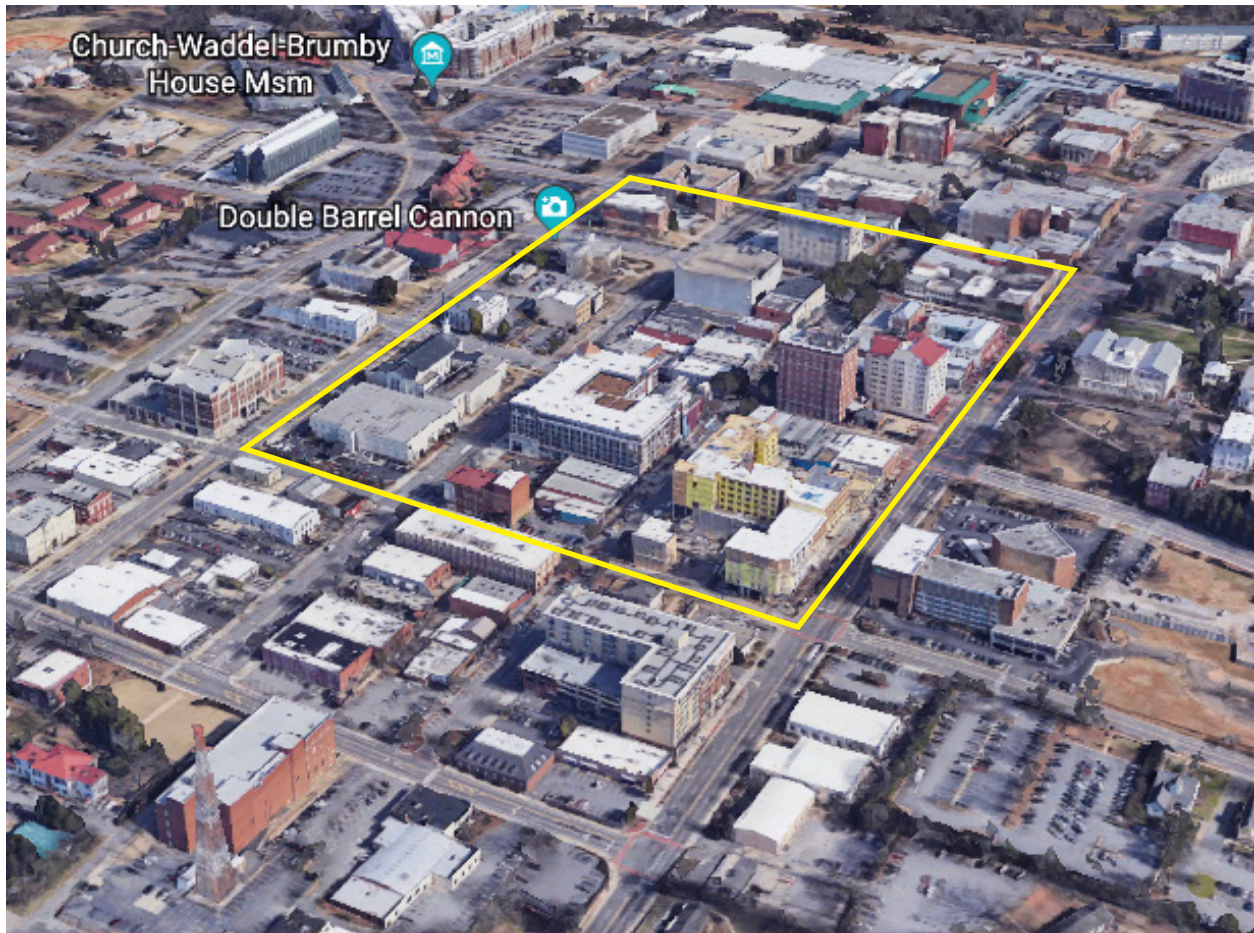


Figure 3.38: After a period of dormancy in the late twentieth century, downtown Athens continues to evolve and thrive. Aerial view looking northwest with the traditional downtown core highlighted..



Figure 3.39: With competition from online stores and the Oconee Connector shopping centers, the Georgia Square Mall has experienced decline in recent years.

Chapter 4: Preservation Challenges & Initiatives

“Many Modern Vernacular treasures are often hiding in plain sight with little thought for the need to document and protect these historical and cultural resources – their familiarity is what makes them so at risk.”- Regina O’Brien, Houston Uncommon Modern

Preservation of modern commercial resources presents more questions than answers. Challenges are multi-faceted and do not easily fit the Secretary of the Interior’s preservation framework that the United States currently operates within. The sheer quantity of resources; the materials with which they were constructed; our current evaluation standards; public perception of what is “historic;” and the ephemeral nature of commercial resources are all important considerations as we move forward. The movement to grapple with these challenges and fully understand modern architecture has been ongoing for decades but has gained momentum within recent years with increasing publications; national, state, and locally-led research and campaigns; and events bringing together preservation professionals.

Preservation Challenges

The vast majority of the built environment in the United States has been constructed since the end of World War II and is located outside of city centers. For this project alone, an initial search of commercial resources from Athens-Clarke County returned nearly 4,000 records. Unlike development centralized downtown, suburban development is scattered and denucleated. Thus, it is difficult to identify all resources and they are often not seen as cohesive districts in the way a downtown row of connected storefronts would be.¹³²

Modern commercial materials were experimental for their time. Pre-fabricated and synthetic products created for space exploration and war became available to the civilian market. They often did not have the lifespan and durability of traditional wood and masonry building materials, causing them to break down and, in some cases, present health hazards. Additionally, unlike traditional construction designed for the regional climate and passive heating and cooling, advances in air conditioning and cheap energy meant that efficiency was not a

132 Shiffer and Slaton, I-16.

priority. These factors cause buildings to be harder to adaptively reuse for new functions, need more material replacement, and not easily accommodate new technology and air conditioning systems.¹³³

Complicating matters are the current methods by which we evaluate historic resources. The Secretary of the Interior dictates the standards and criteria necessary to be listed on the National Register of Historic Places and qualify for historic tax credits.¹³⁴ Even when Register listing or tax credits are not the end goal, these standards are typically still the rule by which preservation is carried out on the local level.¹³⁵ This can present a number of challenges. First, unless there are exceptional circumstances, a resource needs to be at least 50 years of age to be considered “historic.”¹³⁶ As mentioned, the experimental materials used on modern buildings often do not hold up to this test of time and need replacement before reaching 50. Additionally, commercial resources are often inherently ephemeral and designed to change with new tenants and consumer tastes. This means that by the time a modern commercial resource reaches the “historic” age, it likely retains little design and material integrity. Next, the Secretary of Interior standards do not address historic interiors when assessing significance and integrity. With form following function, interiors are integral to understanding modern design and the architect’s intent. Finally, preservation from the national down to the local scales has traditionally focused on high-style and monumental examples of architecture. As a result, our survey and inventory methods often do not allow for adequate description of modern resources; public perception is geared toward only seeing classical architecture from the early twentieth century and prior as “historic”; and more commonplace and vernacular resources are overlooked.¹³⁷

In *Looking Beyond the Icons*, Richard Longstreth argues that this bias means “style becomes a substitute for thought.”¹³⁸ With modern architecture rejecting style, emphasis on form and a building’s role in community development are more telling characteristics.

133 Bradley T. Carmichael, “Chapter 7 When Modern Becomes Historic: Preservation the Modernist Building Envelope,” *Building Design + Construction*, last modified May 24, 2012, accessed November 11, 2018, <https://www.bdcnetwork.com/chapter-7-when-modern-becomes-historic-preserving-modernist-building-envelope>.

134 “Tax Incentives for Preserving Historic Properties,” National Park Service Technical Preservation Services, accessed February 27, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/tps/tax-incentives.htm>.

135 “The Secretary of the Interior’s Standards,” National Park Service Technical Preservation Services, accessed February 12, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/tps/standards.htm>.

136 United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, Bulletin 15.

137 Shiffer and Slaton, I-19.

138 Longstreth, *Looking Beyond the Icons*, 4.

Similar to the bias toward style, modern resources are also subject to grudges held for the historic resources that were demolished in their wake. Historic preservation became a formalized movement backed by the National Historic Preservation Act in 1966 as a result of the damage that was caused by suburbanization and urban renewal efforts.¹³⁹ Athens alone has many examples of resources that were removed in the 1960s and 1970s that we would never think of damaging today. Mourning their loss means that modern buildings are still seen as the enemy that caused the destruction.

Separate from historic preservation, the greatest challenge to modern commercial resources is the very nature of selling. Unless owners see value in preservation, commercial buildings exist to make a profit. They are intended to be ephemeral and change with time. It is often not the quality of construction that matters, it is the quality of location. Parcels that were once on the periphery of towns as suburbs developed are now in desirable central locations that may be ripe for redevelopment. Constant use and high traffic means that materials break down quickly and can be seen as dirty if not consistently maintained. Each tenant comes in with their own vision for business and will change the design and layout to suit. This is especially true of national brands that have standardized layouts and branding. Signs, which were often designed as an extension of the building, change with tenants as well. The cumulative effect means that commercial resources are moving targets that will likely have gone through many reincarnations before they reach 50 years of age or are perceived to be significant, and owners may be reluctant to embrace preservation if it means jeopardizing profitability.¹⁴⁰

Drawing from these challenges, it can be concluded that there are complex issues specific to modern commercial resources that have not been encountered with buildings from previous eras. To resolve these issues may require an approach unlike those traditionally employed and rethinking of our current understanding of preservation. As the preservation field evolves, this will likely be an ongoing process of trial-and-error over the course of many years.

139 Shiffer and Slaton, I-18.

140 Ibid, II-15

Preservation Initiatives

In reaction to these challenges, initiatives have been made on the national, state, and local levels to advance the conversation about how we identify and approach modern resources. Literature on both residential and commercial development is important to the discussion because homes and the businesses to serve their owners grew hand-in-hand and influenced each other.

Architect Robert Venturi was one of the first to see the value in studying modern commercial architecture, with the infamous Las Vegas strip as his case study. In 1972's *Learning from Las Vegas*, Venturi argued,

“Passing through Las Vegas is Route 91, the archetype of the commercial strip, the phenomenon at its purest and most intense. We believe a careful documentation and analysis of its physical form is as important to architects and urbanists today as were the studies of medieval Europe and ancient Rome and Greece to earlier generations. Such a study will help define a new type of urban form emerging in America and Europe, radically different from that we have known; one that we have been ill-equipped to deal with and that, from ignorance, we define today as urban sprawl.”¹⁴¹

Another seminal voice in understanding commercial resources is architectural historian Dr. Richard Longstreth. In his 1987 *Buildings of Main Street*, Longstreth was the first to create a commonly accepted typology of commercial buildings. Though they were examined in a classical downtown storefront context, developing typology for modern commercial buildings can be based upon his foundation. In 1997's *City Center to Regional Mall* and 1999's *The Drive-In, The Supermarket, and the Transformation of Commercial Space in Los Angeles, 1914-1941*, Longstreth examined how Los Angeles grew as the frontier of car culture and consumerism. Finally, in 2015's *Looking Beyond the Icons*, he makes a case for vernacular resources being worthy of study and as valuable to understanding community development as high-style architecture.

The frequency of conferences addressing the preservation of modern resources is increasing. Three editions of “Preserving the Recent Past” held in 1995, 2000, and 2019 by the Historic Preservation Education Foundation have brought together experts, such as Longstreth, Venturi, and Morris Lapidus, to share strategies for approaching post-World War II resources.¹⁴²

141 Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1972), ix.

142 “Preserving the Recent Past Publications,” Historic Preservation Education Foundations, accessed October 15, 2019, <https://www.hpef.us/preserving-the-recent-past>.

Similarly, the National Park Service presented the “Mid-Century Modern Structure: Materials and Preservation Symposium” in 2015.¹⁴³ Proceedings from both are published and available online.

For its part, the National Trust for Historic Preservation has also turned a spotlight toward modern commercial and residential resources through its publications and campaigns. An effort was launched in 2018 to have Route 66 named as a National Historic Trail, complete with a month-long summer road trip that highlighted its unique attractions and stories.

“Route 66 represents a unique moment in history that continues to define the nation’s identity: the rise of the automobile and its implications of freedom, mobility, and a quintessential American story.”¹⁴⁴

Additionally, the “40 Places Under 40” campaign was launched in 2019 to identify resources dating from 1979 to today. This seeks to get ahead of the challenges presented by the “50-year rule,”

“...by looking at them [sites] through a proactive lens and identifying places worthy of saving *before* they become truly historic, we can be proactive about their futures.”¹⁴⁵

Recognizing the need for standardized evaluation methods and the relationship between transportation and post-war resources, the National Cooperative Highway Research Program (NCHRP) published “A Model for Identifying and Evaluating the Historic Significance of Post-World War II Housing” in 2012. In 2019, the NCHRP issued a request for proposals to create a similar national context for “Commercial Properties from 1945 to 1980: Guidance for State DOTs and Their Partners for Historic Context Development, Identification, and Evaluation.” The request reinforces,

“...there is very little guidance on how to consistently evaluate the potential significance of these properties...Research is needed to provide state DOTs with structured, replicable methodology to determine eligibility of post-war commercial properties for listing in the National Register.”¹⁴⁶

143 “Mid-Century Modern Structures, Materials and Preservation 2015 Symposium,” National Center for Preservation Technology and Training, accessed October 10, 2018, <https://www.ncptt.nps.gov/events/mid-century-modern-structures-2/>.

144 “Preserve Route 66,” National Trust for Historic Preservation, accessed January 27, 2019, <https://savingplaces.org/preserve-route-66#.XEyUks9KjoA>.

145 “40 Places Under 40,” National Trust for Historic Preservation, accessed January 27, 2019, https://savingplaces.org/40-under-40-places?utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&utm_campaign=weekly&utm_content=20190124#.XEyVks9KjoA.

146 “NCHRP 25-58 [RFP], Commercial Properties from 1945 to 1980: Guidance for State DOTs and Their Partners for Historic Context Development, Identification, and Evaluation,” The National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, Medicine, last modified December 27, 2018, accessed January 27, 2019, <https://apps.trb.org/cmsfeed/TRBNetProjectDisplay.asp?ProjectID=4588>.

Without a standard set of criteria specifically adapted to modern resources, DOCOMOMO, an international organization dedicated to studying modern architecture, has issued its own evaluation method called Explore Modern. Criteria are based on technological, social, artistic/aesthetic, and canonic merit, referential value, and integrity.¹⁴⁷ Similar to the National Register, Explore Modern is meant to raise awareness and understanding but does not provide enforceable protections for resources. This program is part of a larger international effort, so the registry includes resources from throughout the world.

Though modern architecture allowed for greater sharing of designs and pre-fabrication, each region has its own developmental context. Several state and city-level organizations have advanced the preservation of modern resources through their research. The Texas Department of Transportation has published two guides that speak to the rise of roadside architecture and influence of the oil industry: “Historic-age Motels in Texas from the 1950s to the 1970s: An Annotated Guide to Selected Studies” in 2011, and “A Field Guide to Gas Stations in Texas” in 2016. In Houston, a partnership between the City of Houston and area non-profits led to *Houston Uncommon Modern*, an exhibition and catalog of commercial modern architecture. Using photography and geo-location for documenting, the exhibition created categories of form such as “mid-rise office building,” “boxes,” and “obtuse gable.” The spirit of the project, a theme that is relevant throughout the country, is summarized in a quote by Regina O’Brien, the chair of the Los Angeles Conservancy,

“Many Modern Vernacular treasures are often hiding in plain sight with little thought for the need to document and protect these historical and cultural resources – their familiarity is what makes them so at risk.”

The state of Washington has also made strides in documenting and creating contexts for both commercial and modern resources. Based upon Longstreth’s *Buildings of Main Street*, the Washington State Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation created “Anatomy of a Main Street Building” to provide both classical and modern examples of stand-alone commercial building styles and types.¹⁴⁸ Through state support, in 2017, the City of Spokane created a survey report and accompanying user-friendly website to highlight commercial, institutional,

147 “How to evaluate modern,” DOCOMOMO US, accessed January 27, 2019, <https://docomomo-us.org/explore-modern/explore-the-register/how-to-evaluate-modern>.

148 Washington State Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, *Anatomy of a Main Street Building*, Michael Houser, May 2011. https://dahp.wa.gov/sites/default/files/Anatomy_of_MainStreet_0.pdf (accessed January 27, 2019).

and residential modern architecture from 1949 to 1972. The survey was selective in only documenting “iconic, interesting, or rare” buildings, most architect-designed and many awarded by the American Institute of Architects.¹⁴⁹

Though stylistic movements were described in Chapter 2: National Historic Context, many more stylistic categories exist and are still being defined, particularly for buildings designed by builder-contractors rather than architects. The State of Virginia Department of Historic Resources created the *New Dominion Virginia, Architectural Style Guide* in 2014 with photographs and descriptions stylistically describing more recent and commonplace commercial and residential architecture.

Finally, Carol Dyson, the Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer at the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency, has become a leader in “resources from our more recent past.”¹⁵⁰ Many conferences discussing modern architecture include her lectures, including “Preserving the Recent Past” and “Mid-Century Modern Structures.” Under her lead, the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency has published several guides to better understand modern commercial architecture, such as “How to Work with Mid-Century Storefronts.”

Closer to home, both the Georgia Department of Natural Resources Historic Preservation Division (HPD) and non-profit organizations are working to advance the understanding and appreciation of both commercial and modern resources throughout the state. Georgia’s Living Places, an HPD program, published “Commercial Types in Georgia” to detail common forms built through the 1950s.¹⁵¹ Sponsored by HPD in 2010, *The Ranch House in Georgia: Guidelines for Evaluation* has become a frequently referenced guide to aid in the context and survey of post-war suburban ranch houses.¹⁵²

National Register nominations, which are processed and approved through HPD, have increasingly included more recent resources. High-style examples include the Peachtree Center in Atlanta by John Portman and the Brutalist Atlanta-Fulton Central Library by Marcel Breuer.¹⁵³

149 City of Spokane Historic Preservation Office, *Spokane Mid-20th Century Architectural Survey Report*, 2017. http://midcenturyspokane.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/MCM_Survey_082417.pdf (accessed January 27, 2019).

150 “Mid-Twentieth Century Preservation,” Illinois Historic Preservation, accessed January 27, 2019, <https://www2.illinois.gov/dnrhistoric/Preserve/mid-century/Pages/midcentury.aspx>.

151 “Commercial Types in Georgia,” Georgia Department of Natural Resources Historic Preservation Division, accessed November 11, 2018, <https://georgiashpo.org/sites/default/files/hpd/pdf/StoreTypes.pdf>.

152 Fedor, Reed, and Sullivan.

153 Reed, Sims-Alvarado, Sullivan, and Tyson.

Less monumental but more germane to the types of resources surveyed for this project, the New Formalist-style Trust Company of Georgia Northeast Freeway Branch bank built in 1962 was deemed significant for both architecture and mid-century commercial development in Atlanta.¹⁵⁴ Briarcliff Plaza, the first shopping center with off-street parking in Georgia was added to the Georgia Register of Historic Places in February 2019, a step that directly precedes nomination to the National Register.¹⁵⁵ HPD is also working to pass the nomination for the Cascade Heights Commercial Historic District in Atlanta, encompassing 59 resources on 26 acres. The mix of resources include residences, banks, retail stores, and filling stations spanning from the 1920s to the 1960s. Nominated in the areas of commerce and community planning, it would be the first National Register district of largely mid-century, mixed-use suburban resources in Georgia.¹⁵⁶

Just as some modern resources are being recognized, others are threatened. The Georgia Trust for Historic Preservation named the Rhodes Center built in 1937 as Atlanta's first shopping center to its 2019 Places in Peril list for its continued vacancy and neglect.¹⁵⁷

The focus of recognized resources in Atlanta does not indicate that modern architecture cannot be found throughout the state. Though there is a concentration in Atlanta due to its size, infrastructure, and proximity to Georgia Tech, there are modern resources throughout Georgia that are worthy of similar merit. A presentation developed by HPD on "Modern Commercial Storefronts in Georgia from 1945 to 1975" proves this by drawing examples from cities throughout the state.¹⁵⁸

Each of these initiatives can contribute to understanding in Athens due to the common national trends of modern commercial development. Though there have been local and regional influences, the bulk of the surveyed resources were not architect-designed and were made of

154 "Trust Company of Georgia Northeast Freeway Branch Listed in the National Register of Historic Places," Georgia Department of Natural Resources Historic Preservation Division, last modified March 7, 2018, accessed January 27, 2019, <https://georgiashpo.org/trust-company-georgia-northeast-freeway-branch-listed-national-register-historic-places>.

155 "Summary of Proposed National Register/Georgia Register Nomination," Georgia Department of Natural Resources Historic Preservation Division, last modified December 2018, accessed April 5, 2019, https://georgiashpo.org/sites/default/files/hpd/pdf/National_Register/Feb2019/Briarcliff_Plaza_Summary.pdf.

156 Georgia Department of Natural Resources Historic Preservation Division, *Cascade Heights Commercial Historic District*, Marion Ellis and Emily Taff, National Register of Historic Places nomination draft, 2018.

157 "Rhodes Center South," The Georgia Trust for Historic Preservation, accessed January 27, 2019, <https://www.georgiatrust.org/places-in-peril/rhodes-center-south/>.

158 Georgia Department of Natural Resources Historic Preservation Division, "Modern Commercial Storefronts in Georgia, 1945-1975," presentation by Ruben Acosta.

pre-fabricated materials not unique to the area. Looked at through the local lens, information from each can be useful to create a basis for preservation in Athens.

To date, Athens has yet to make a concerted effort to protect modern architecture. The most recent city preservation plan was completed more than two decades ago and does not address modern design.¹⁵⁹ The bulk of Athens' resources on the National Register of Historic Places date from the nineteenth century, with none extending beyond the mid-twentieth century. The "youngest" resource with local landmark designation is the Colonial Revival Susan Building built in 1946.¹⁶⁰ None of the architecture on either the National Register or the local listings could be considered "modern," save for the mid-century slipcover facades found on downtown storefronts, and isolated examples of modern-style and ranch houses that were infill construction to the otherwise earlier Milledge Circle and Castalia Historic Districts.^{161 162} Several resources that were surveyed for this thesis are included in the Cobbham and Milledge Avenue historic districts, however they are considered non-contributing and therefore do not have a high degree of protection.¹⁶³ Only one modern resource, 598 Prince Ave., is listed on Athens' "Potential Historic Sites" list and none of the "Potential Historic Districts" address modern commercial architecture.¹⁶⁴ While there is a lack of recognition, the constant growth in Athens means that modern resources are actively threatened. Most recently, The Varsity drive-thru restaurant on Broad St. is planned to be demolished to make room for mixed-use redevelopment. Built in 1965 and arguably a landmark in Athens, the building is of stacked concrete block and glass construction with an accordion awning and prominent red sign atop the roof. County Commissioner Melissa Link is quoted by *The Red & Black* as saying, "There's nothing to stop them from tearing The Varsity down."¹⁶⁵ East on Broad St. from the Varsity, the

159 Athens-Clarke County Historic Preservation Commission, *Athens-Clarke County Historic Preservation Planning Study*, Athens, GA, 1995.

160 Athens-Clarke County Planning Department, *Athens-Clarke County, Georgia Design Guidelines for Historic Districts and Landmark Properties*, Athens, GA, <https://www.accgov.com/DocumentCenter/View/287/HP---Design-Guidelines---General?bidId=>.

161 Unified Government of Athens-Clarke County, Georgia Planning Department, *Milledge Circle Local Historic Property Designation Report*, Athens, GA: 2018, <https://www.accgov.com/DocumentCenter/View/47427/Milledge-Circle-Designation-Report--draft-31618?bidId=> (accessed March 2, 2019).

162 Unified Government of Athens-Clarke County, Georgia Planning Department, *Castalia Avenue Local Historic Property Designation Report*, Athens, GA: 2018, <https://www.athensclarkecounty.com/DocumentCenter/View/52824/Castalia-Designation-Report--final-w-CDO-7318> (accessed March 2, 2019).

163 Non-contributing status means that proposed changes to the building are evaluated for their impact on the district at-large, not the building itself.

164 Athens-Clarke County Planning Department, *Comprehensive Plan*, Athens, GA: 2000.

165 Foster Steinbeck, "What'll Ya Build? Plan paves way for redevelopment near The Varsity, preserves historic homes," *The Red and Black*, February 7, 2019, <https://www.redandblack.com/athensnews/what-ll-ya-build-plan->

Streamline Moderne Union Bus Station built in 1940 on the corner of Broad and Hull Streets is being renovated into a restaurant with incentive changes to its character-defining features.¹⁶⁶ An encouraging sign for modern preservation in Athens is the one-year downtown demolition moratorium passed in January 2019. The period is meant to provide time to reevaluate the downtown local historic district, including potentially adding more modern resources such as the Union Bus Station and auto-related buildings, the traditionally African American “Hot Corner”, and music venues.^{167 168}

The growing amount of attention on the national, state, and local scales and the ongoing events in Athens illustrate the importance of preserving modern resources, both residential and commercial. While these examples are instrumental, this is by no means a comprehensive list and additional resources adding to the body of research are continuously being published.

The literature reviewed in Chapters 2 through 4 has covered the national context for modern commercial development, the unique events and influences on development in Athens, the challenges modern construction poses to the preservation field, as well as the initiatives being made to broaden understanding. On the national scale, the key influences for modern commercial development were the widespread mobilization made possible by automobiles; the prosperity and population shift to suburbs following World War II; and architecture that eschewed classical references and was designed to promote sales. Athens experienced these trends with the rest of the nation, in addition to influence from the network of railroad lines and highways; manufacturing, military, and University presence; and proximity to Atlanta. Because materials and designs were shared nationwide, Athens also shares in the challenges presented by modern commercial development, such as the sheer volume of resources, material breakdown, national standards not equipped to address modern resources, and the ephemeral nature of commercial buildings. Fortunately, due to this widespread sharing, Athens can benefit from the initiatives to identify, catalog, and address modern resources that have been taking

paves-way-for-redevelopment-near/article_c9535f78-2a78-11e9-aa53-47d724a6649e.html.

166 Based upon the author’s observations of the ongoing renovation.

167 Unified Government of Athens-Clarke County, Georgia Mayor and Commission, Special session meeting minutes, January 18, 2019, <https://www.accgov.com/ArchiveCenter/ViewFile/Item/4192>.

168 “Hot Corner” was traditionally the center for African American commerce in Athens, dating back to when businesses were still segregated. It is anchored by the Morton Theatre on the corner of Hull and Washington Streets. Madison Bledsoe, “Cornering History: A look at the Hot Corner of Athens,” Georgia Political Review, last modified January 22, 2018, accessed January 11, 2019, <http://georgiapoliticalreview.com/cornering-history/>.

place throughout recent decades. The next chapter will report the results of the 137 single- and multi-tenant commercial buildings and shopping centers surveyed to show how the concepts reviewed are locally manifested.

Chapter 5: Survey Methodology & Results

“You can’t preserve your heritage until you know what you have, so documentation is critical.”
-Modern Committee of the Los Angeles Conservancy, *Houston Uncommon Modern*

Survey Methodology

Bearing in mind the contexts for national and local development, the challenges posed by modern commercial resources, and the initiatives currently underway to address their preservation, resources in Athens were surveyed to provide tangible examples of commercial development and a basis from which to draw conclusions. A period of significance from 1930 to 1981 was chosen, with 1930 marking the end of the streetcar system and 1981 marking the opening of the Georgia Square Mall. These dates were deemed significant as shifts in transportation and consumer culture affected commercial development and coincided with the rise of modern architecture nationwide. Given the quantity of commercial resources built in this 51-year span, a subset of resources was chosen to provide a foundation on which future research can be developed. Dates of construction were determined by the Athens-Clarke County QPublic tax information system.¹⁶⁹ With a list of commercial resources from the Tax Assessor, the information was then paired with the county Land-Based Classification Standards (LBCS). LBCS is a method supported by the American Planning Association that assigns categories to each taxable property based on activity, structure, use, and site characteristics.¹⁷⁰ A combination of the Tax Assessor’s information and LBCS was used to create the list of resources surveyed. Three important caveats should be kept in mind regarding the accuracy of these systems. First, through field observation commercial resources not listed on the Tax Assessor’s initial list were identified that otherwise should have been. Resources fitting the criteria for survey were added if found to not be listed, but it is likely many were unobserved that should have been included. Next, dates of construction from QPublic are known to be imprecise

169 “Board of Tax Assessors and Appraisal Office,” Athens-Clarke County Unified Government, QPublic Database, accessed February 28, 2019, <http://www.qpublic.net/ga/clarke/>.

170 “LBCS Standards,” American Planning Association, accessed March 3, 2019, <https://www.planning.org/lbcs/standards/>.

and subject to human error.¹⁷¹ The date listed on the survey for most resources was taken from QPublic unless another source was readily found. This was done with the understanding that each property warrants more in-depth research than a field survey and that there was margin for error with a 51-year period of significance. Finally, the LBCS system is subject to human error. LBCS data was gathered by the University's College of Environment and Design students when the system was initiated in 2006. An effort led by county staff from 2013 to 2014 checked and refined the LBCS classifications through information available online, Tax Assessor data, and site visits. Information is updated if inaccuracies are found through the county Planning Department plans review.¹⁷² Best judgment and the literature were used when reviewing the dates and classifications for survey resources. For the purpose of giving a broad-brush overview of commercial resources, developing a typology, and identifying character-defining features and potential designations, these caveats were deemed to not have a significant impact on the end results.

Of the LBCS metrics of activity, structure, site, and use, structure was chosen to be the defining dimension from which analysis would be drawn.¹⁷³ Specifically, "Structure 2200: Single-tenant retail or commercial," and "Structure 2500: Malls, shopping centers, or multi-tenant commercial buildings" were the categories chosen for their prevalence throughout Athens; likelihood to be vulnerable to alterations or demolition; and ability to form the building blocks for further research to understand modern commercial resources.¹⁷⁴ For simplicity, these categories combined are referred to as "single and multi-tenant commercial buildings and shopping centers."

171 Per a March 2019 e-mail from Amanda Stephens, IT Supervisor at the Athens-Clarke County Tax Assessor office, the current "Year Built" information in QPublic comes from what is input from building permits. When the Tax Assessor office was formed, property owners had to come in yearly to "return" their property, meaning correct any errors in the tax information, including the year built. There is no way of knowing if every property owner returned their property, or if the office estimated the build dates. The office does update the year built information if the property owner lets them know its incorrect. Still, the property owner may be misinformed.

172 Per a September 2018 conversation with Gavin Rossiter, Senior Planner at the Athens-Clarke County Planning Department.

173 The Land-Based Classification Standards do not use the same definition of "structure" as the National Park Service. In this context, LBCS uses structure to mean "building form." The NPS distinguishes buildings as designed for human activity whereas structures are not.

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, Bulletin 15.

174 Though "malls" is included in the "malls, shopping centers, or multi-tenant commercial buildings" structural type, the Georgia Square Mall was not surveyed because it fell outside of and acted as a bookend for the period of significance.

Both the Structure 2200 and 2500 categories are derived from the overall “Structure 2000: Commercial buildings and other specialized structures” classification. For the scope and purpose of this study, the following types from the Structure 2000 classification were excluded:

- office building
- office building with drive-through facility
- shop or store building with drive-through facility
- restaurant or other food service with drive-through facility
- gas station
- auto repair and service structures
- retail with office above
- hotels, motels, bed and breakfast, hostel
- industrial buildings and structures; warehouse or storage facility

Likewise, other broad classifications were excluded, including:

- residential buildings
- public assembly structures
- institutional or community facilities
- transportation-related facilities
- utility and other nonbuilding structures
- sheds, barns, farm buildings or agricultural facilities

Variations were found in the moniker “single and multi-tenant commercial buildings and shopping centers” categories. This reveals an inherent challenge to studying commercial architecture: defining it. With structure as the focus, the initial intended use suggested by the building form was more important than current use. For example, houses that have been converted into businesses were excluded because their initial intent was to be a residence. Buildings that did not display an obvious intent based on their design were verified as commercial using historic city directories. Also excluded from the study list were resources that were deemed to have lost a high degree of integrity. For consideration on the National Register of Historic Places and for local designation, buildings must retain integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association.¹⁷⁵ As mentioned in Chapter 4, integrity of commercial resources is often compromised by the need to stay current with consumer trends. Because of this, integrity was not judged strictly and only exteriors were considered.

¹⁷⁵ United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, Bulletin 15.

The overall building design and materials being representative of their time were important in determining the degree of integrity, even if alterations and additions had been made. The initial request of commercial properties within the county returned 3,952 parcel numbers, many of which were duplicates based upon division of ownership. From this list, 172 were identified as potential survey resources. Only those deemed by reconnaissance-level survey and readily-available photographs to have partial to high degrees of integrity were surveyed, 137 in total.¹⁷⁶

The next step was to create a survey form that would adequately and accurately describe commercial architecture. The Georgia Department of Natural Resources Historic Preservation Division recommends a form that is compatible with the Georgia's Natural, Archaeological and Historic Resources Geographic Information System (GNAHRGIS) database.¹⁷⁷ Though widely used, the form is better suited to residential buildings and does not adequately describe modern commercial features. The Athens-Clarke County Planning Department has its own survey form for local use. It, too, is largely geared toward residential resources. For the purposes of this study, the county's form was modified to focus specifically on modern commercial resources. For example, information about parking lots and signs were added, and fields only applicable to residential resources were removed. In total, 61 possible fields were documented.

Resources consulted for preparing and conducting the survey included the Historic Preservation Division "Georgia Historic Resources Survey Manual" and the National Park Service "National Register Bulletin 24, Guidelines for Local Surveys: A Basis for Preservation Planning."¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ Surveys should include clear objectives, methods for obtaining information, and expected results. For this thesis, the survey objective was to document a large enough sample size of single and multi-tenant commercial buildings and shopping centers to draw conclusions

176 The National Park Service defines integrity as, "the unimpaired ability of a property to convey its historic significance." The seven components that make up integrity are location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association.

United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, Bulletin 15, 1995, <https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/pdfs/nrb15.pdf> (accessed October 30, 2018).

177 "Historic Resource Surveys," Georgia Department of Natural Resources Historic Preservation Division, accessed March 3, 2019, <https://georgiashpo.org/surveys>.

178 Georgia Department of Natural Resources Historic Preservation Division, *Georgia Historic Resources Survey Manual*, August 2017, <https://georgiashpo.org/sites/default/files/hpd/pdf/HistoricResourcesSurveyManual.pdf>.

179 United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *National Register Bulletin 24, Guidelines for Local Surveys: A Basis for Preservation Planning*, <https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb24/chapter1.htm> (accessed October 29, 2018).

about these types of resources in Athens. Because this was a reconnaissance-level survey, the intent was to look at overarching patterns of development rather than research an in-depth history of each building. In addition to the Tax Assessor and LBCS databases, Sanborn Maps, city directories, speaking with long-term Athens residents, and archival research through the internet and University libraries were used as supplemental resources.

Survey Results

The survey took place from September to December 2018. Results described here are intended to provide an overview. See Appendix for photos of all surveyed resources.

All resources surveyed were classified as buildings, as opposed to sites, structures, or objects.¹⁸⁰ Of the 137 total, 87 (64%) are currently used for a single-tenant, 19 (14%) are multi-tenant, 19 (14%) are shopping centers, 10 (7%) are vacant, and two (1.4%) have unknown uses. This is largely congruent with the original uses being 90 (66%) single-tenant, 27 (20%) multi-tenant, and 20 (14%) shopping centers.¹⁸¹ Ownership type was majority privately-owned (134, 98%) with only three publicly owned resources.

Table 5.1: Building Use

	Original Use	Current Use
Single-tenant	90 (66%)	87 (64%)
Multi-tenant	27 (20%)	19 (14%)
Shopping centers	20 (14%)	19 (14%)
Vacant	--	10 (7%)
Unknown	--	2 (1.4%)

Though surveying was done throughout Athens, several commercial corridors stood out with a disproportionate number of resources: 30 on Broad St. (22%), 16 on Baxter St. (12%), 17 on Prince Ave. (12.4%), and 10 (7%) on Atlanta Hwy.

¹⁸⁰ Though the Land Based Classification Standards use the term “structure,” the resources are more accurately defined as “buildings.” According to the National Park Service’s Bulletin 15, buildings are “created principally to shelter any form of human activity,” whereas structures are “those functional constructions made usually for purposes other than creating human shelter.” United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, Bulletin 15.

¹⁸¹ Note that all percentages listed are rounded.

The number of resources per decade of the period of significance included four (3%) dating from 1930 to 1939; 11 (8%) from 1940 to 1949; 27 (20%) from 1950 to 1959; 59 (43%) from 1960 to 1969; and 36 (26%) from 1970 to 1980.

Table 5.2: Resources by Age

1930-1939	3 (4%)
1940-1949	11 (8%)
1950-1959	27 (20%)
1960-1969	59 (43%)
1970-1980	36 (26%)

Integrity was evaluated with the understanding that commercial architecture is generally ephemeral and updated as tenants turn over. One hundred seven (78%) resources appeared to retain close to full integrity and 30 (2%) were judged to have partial integrity. Of the observed changes, 27 (20%) had been altered in some way, 23 (17%) had additions, and eight (6%) had both alterations and additions. Fitting with the high number of resources with full integrity, 79 (58%) resources had no changes readily observed.

The majority (87, 64%) of resources surveyed had one tenant. Twenty-seven (20%) resources housed from two to five tenants, 11 (8%) had five or more, and three (2%) were unknown. The majority (104, 76%) of businesses were locally-operated stand-alone or chain stores. Six (4%) buildings had a mix of local businesses with regional and national chains, and 17 (12%) had only regional or national chains.

Fitting with the utilitarian nature of commercial businesses, 109 (80%) were deemed to be a vernacular or non-academic style, 22 (16%) showed elements of styles, and only six (4%) were considered high-style. Represented styles included Art Deco, Brutalist, Colonial Revival, Contemporary, Exaggerated Modern, International, Mission Revival, Prairie, and Streamline Moderne.



Figure 5.1: A variety of stylistic influences were seen in the surveyed resources, including (left to right, top to bottom) Art Deco, Brutalist, Colonial Revival, Contemporary, Exaggerated Modern, International, Mission Revival, Prairie, and Streamline Moderne.

Rectangular plan forms were most common (123, 90%), with L-shape, irregular, square, and U-shape plans also observed but to much lesser degrees. The building sizes were most commonly 2,000 to 4,999 square feet (73, 53%), followed by 27 (20%) that were 5,000 to 10,000, 29 (21%) that were 1,000-1,999, and eight (6%) that were more than 10,000 square feet.¹⁸²

¹⁸² The International Council of Shopping Centers defines shopping center type by square footage. Those less than 30,000 square feet are considered “Strip/Convenience,” with either no anchors or anchored by a small convenience store. See Appendix for full definitions of center types. No shopping centers surveyed were more than 30,000 square feet.

“United States Shopping-Center Classification and Typical Characteristics,” International Council of Shopping Centers, accessed January 12, 2019, <https://www.icsc.org/uploads/t07-subpage/US-Shopping-Center-Definition-Standard.pdf>.



1960's Formerly 'Pig Drive-In'



1940's-50's Pig Drive-In W. Broad

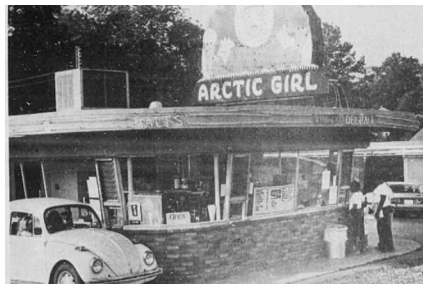


Figure 5.2: “Before and After” examples of how buildings, and subsequently their historic integrities, have changed. 199 Prince Ave. in the 1930s vs. 2019 (top); 1855 W Broad St. in the 1940s-50s vs. 1960s vs. 2019 (second row); Church’s Chicken 1960’s corporate design vs. 1423 W Broad St. in 2019 (third row); 2036 S Milledge Ave. in the 1970s vs. 2019 (fourth row); 1660 W Broad St. in 1975 vs. 2018 (bottom)

Table 5.3: Resources by Square Feet

1,000-1,999	29 (21%)
2,000-4,999	73 (53%)
5,000-10,000	29 (21%)
More than 10,000	8 (6%)

In regard to relationship of height to width and spatial emphasis, 122 (89%) resource façades exhibited a horizontal emphasis expanding into their surroundings, 13 (9%) were evaluated as balanced, and two (1.4%) showed vertical emphasis. One hundred fourteen (83%) were one-story buildings and five (4%) were two-story. Seventeen (12%) were one-and-a-half stories, split level, or had an additional basement level built into Athens' hilly topography.

Table 5.4: Resources by Stories

One-story	114 (83%)
One-and-a-half stories, split level, basement level	17 (12%)
Two-story	5 (4%)

Looking at the main entrance façade, 99 (72%) were asymmetrically designed and 38 (28%) were symmetrical. More than half (76, 55%) had just one customer entrance, 33 (24%) had two entrances, and 28 (20%) had three or more. Seventy (51%) had only one façade of the building designed for customers, 23 (17%) had two, 22 (16%) had three, and 22 (16%) had four or more. Keeping with many buildings only having one façade designed for customers, it was common to see a variety of materials and ornamentation on the front entrance façade, and plainer, more utilitarian materials on the sides and rear. The most common features found on the façades included, in order of prevalence, glass doors, entries flush with the front plane of the building, display windows, visual fronts, transoms, and awnings. Less common but still prevalent were false-front parapets, recessed entries, floor-to-ceiling glass, bulkheads, cornices, deep eaves, and canopies.

Table 5.5: Façades Designed for Customers

One	70 (51%)
Two	23 (17%)
Three	22 (16%)
Four or more	22 (16%)

The most common roof form found was flat (100, 73%). Because of the difficulty assessing the materials on a flat roof, 94 (69%) were listed as unknown but were likely either asphalt roll or membrane roofing. Asphalt shingles and standing seam metal were also prevalent. Similarly, construction type for 84 (61%) of the buildings was listed as unknown because it could not be readily gleaned from the exterior. Forty-three (31%) buildings were deemed to be of concrete construction, eight (6%) were of metal, and two (1.4%) were platform.

Most buildings displayed a variety of exterior materials, though running bond brick veneer was most common (73, 53%). Of the brick observed, 33 (24%) had been painted as an update. Other common materials included concrete block, plate glass, stucco, and standing seam or corrugated metal. With the high occurrence of glass expanses for display windows and visual fronts, metal was the most common framing material.

Several fields noted associated features, such as parking lots and signs, and the surrounding landscape. Eighty-eight (64%) business signs were replacements, 36 (26%) were unknown, and two (1.4%) appeared to be original. The majority (126, 92%) of resources did not have an observable outbuilding. One hundred four (76%) had casual or unplanned landscapes, while the rest showed more attention to designed or planned landscape features. All but seven (95%) resources had accompanying parking lots, with the majority being made of asphalt. It was most common (102, 78%) for the parking lots to accommodate ten to fifty vehicles, with 12 (9%) fitting less than ten spaces, 11 (8%) fitting 51 to 100 vehicle spaces, and three (2%) with more than 100 spaces. More than half (80, 58%) did not have a defined walkway leading to the entrance other than a front slab of concrete. Along the frontage road, 78 (57%) had a landscape verge separating the street from the parking lot, and 92 (67%) had a sidewalk. Based on how obvious the pedestrian way led from the street to the front entrance, 31 (23%) resources were well-defined, 63 (46%) were somewhat defined, and 43 (31%) were not defined. In regard to how far the building was placed from the road, 97 (71%) were set back more than 20 feet,

29 (21%) were ten to 20 feet away, and 11 (8%) were less than ten feet away. Based on the Georgia Department of Transportation classifications, 74 (54%) were located along arterial roads that are major thoroughfares, 56 (41%) along collector roads that link the arterial roads, and seven (5%) along local roads that exist to lead to homes and businesses. Of these roads, 29 (21%) were two-lanes wide, 70 (51%) were three to four lanes, and 38 (28%) were greater than four lanes. The density and type of surrounding resources defined the resources as 118 (86%) urban, 14 (10%) suburban, and five (4%) rural. One hundred thirty-one resources (96%) surveyed were surrounded by other commercial and industrial buildings.

Table 5.6: Parking Lot Vehicle Spaces

Less than 10	12 (9%)
10-50	102 (78%)
51-100	11 (8%)
More than 100	3 (2%)

Table 5.7: Setback from Road (ft)

Less than 10	11 (8%)
10-20	29 (21%)
21-50	61 (44%)
51-100	21 (15%)
More than 100	13 (9%)

Table 5.8: Frontage Road According to GDOT Classifications

Arterial	74 (54%)
Collector	56 (41%)
Local	7 (5%)

Assessing the potential historic value of these resources using the National Register criteria, 21 (15%) were judged to be potentially associated with a historic pattern or event and 32 (23%) exhibited notable architecture or craftsmanship. Based on exterior observations and current events in Athens, threats to the resources included 23 (17%) in states of deterioration or neglect, nine (6%) whole-building vacancies, and nine (6%) in areas of likely development pressure. Again, because this was a reconnaissance-level survey, further in-depth research is

warranted to give the most accurate assessment of National Register-eligible resources and potential threats.

Table 5.9: Perceived Threats to Resources

Deterioration/Neglect	23 (17%)
Whole building vacant	9 (6%)
Development pressure	9 (6%)

The next chapter will discuss how the survey data and observations were used to identify commonalities and draw conclusions.

Chapter 6: Survey Analysis

*“No matter how intricate their details, façade composition can be reduced to a simple diagram or pattern that reveals the major divisions or elements used...When these patterns appear frequently enough, they can be labeled as types.” – Richard Longstreth, *Buildings of Main Street**

Analyzing the survey results revealed commonalities in Athens’ commercial development used to create a typology for categorization, identify character-defining features, and suggest landmarks and districts that may be worthy of further research and designation on the National Register of Historic Places and by the local Historic Preservation Commission. Typology can be thought of as a big-picture classification system that looks at the overall form and composition of a building regardless of its materials and ornamentation. It is the basis by which commercial development commonalities can be identified and a useful method to describe architectural patterns. Character-defining features can be both big and small-scale, from a building’s shape to its trim. These are the distinctive elements that give a building its character and identity. Landmarks and districts are judged based on the National Register of Historic Places criteria describing their significance and integrity.¹⁸³ They are the properties essential to telling the full story of a community’s development. These three pieces, typology, character-defining features, and landmarks and districts, fit together as integrated methods by which to identify patterns of development and buildings worthy of preservation. The typology will determine the basis for description, followed by character-defining features highlighting the unique aspects of surveyed resources, then landmarks and districts defining the best examples of types and characteristics and historic importance in the community.

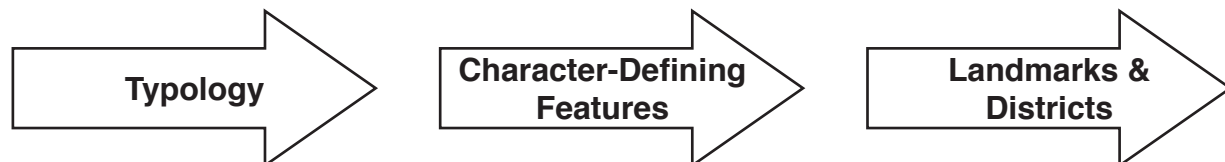


Figure 6.1: Typology, character-defining features, and landmarks and districts create an integrated approach to identifying buildings worthy of preservation.

¹⁸³ United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, Bulletin 15.

First, the results of the survey reflect both local and national trends. Of the four resources built prior to World War II beginning in 1939, three are in the traditional design of connected storefronts with false-front parapets, sited close to the sidewalk for pedestrian traffic. Only one resource was built during World War II in contrast to 21 built in the decade after. The more than 40 percent of resources (59) built from 1960 to 1969 corresponds with growth in the University of Georgia's student body, the population of Athens, and retail sales within that time period. The continued growth and development of Athens is reflected by only 11 noted vacancies, 54 resources perceived as threatened in some form, and 84 signs judged to be replacements. The high number of resources on Broad St., Atlanta Hwy., Baxter St., and Prince Ave. are reflective of their historic and current status as major thoroughfares to suburban housing and shopping, and thus high exposure to passing traffic with potential customers. Of all locations, 118 of the 137 resources were in urban areas, which receive high passing traffic counts.

In regard to design, several factors point to national trends and the goal of building quickly and efficiently rather than expending attention and money to decorative details. Most resources were described as vernacular and only 32 noted for their architecture or craftsmanship. Though only six were described as high-style, elements influenced by the modern styles were common. For example, thin round columns and expanses of glass common to International Style were elements found on many buildings surveyed. For those resources having distinctive architecture, the details were often integrated with the building's composition and materials rather than applied ornamentation as seen in classical design. A rectangular plan shape was overwhelmingly prevalent (127), as it is historically the most efficient building shape. Similarly, flat roofs were very common (102) for both modern aesthetic appeal and because there is no wasted attic space. Efficiency of design is also seen in 71 resources that had only decorative features on the main entrance façade. These facades showed heavy use of plate glass, a material made available with technological advancements and popular for drawing in customers by showing them the business' interior and products before entering. Brick veneer was also made possible with advanced technology, giving a traditional look without structural limitations. The vernacular aesthetic of surveyed resources continued in the landscapes, with 97 described as casual or unplanned. The one-story horizontal emphasis of the building forms

allowed them to expand out into their landscapes without concern for density because suburban land was plentiful. The emphasis of automobile ownership and shopping is seen in all but six having parking lots and only 32 with well-defined pedestrian ways.

Typology

The foundation on which this categorization system is based comes from Richard Longstreth's 1987 *Buildings of Main Street* typology for buildings dating from the mid-nineteenth century to the 1940s, and architectural historian Mark Reinberger's method for analyzing commercial buildings. Longstreth traveled throughout the country observing downtown storefronts to identify common characteristics and develop simple diagrams of prevailing building compositions regardless of ornamentation. His findings have become a widely-accepted method for describing commercial buildings. To preface his work, Longstreth explained several findings and caveats: free-standing buildings located outside of commercial centers and forms developed in the twentieth century were excluded from analysis; types were identified based on how storefronts were broken up into distinct zones; ornamentation and feature placement were secondary to the overall composition, and thus it was not consequential if the building was considered vernacular or high-style; common types were found nationally with regional variations playing into the materials and ornamentation; types and categories are not inherent to construction, they are just a second-hand way of organizing and understanding commercial development; creating a typology is not an end in of itself, it is only as useful as the information it provides; type does not indicate quality or style; and identifying buildings is not scientific like taxonomy, there will always be exceptions and hybrids.¹⁸⁴

Reinberger's suggested analysis is based on four progressing steps that begin with overall form and sequentially refine details. First, note the overall building composition followed by the overall building style, and then storefront composition followed by storefront style. The first step of looking at overall building composition is directly based on Longstreth's typology. The following steps then go further than Longstreth's analysis to more fully describe the building beyond its composition. Prioritizing composition before style at both the building and storefront levels speaks to the ability to apply stylistic details to a building regardless of its form, and that most change happens at the storefront level rather than to the whole building.

184 Richard Longstreth, *The Buildings of Main Street* (Lanham, MD: Altamira Press, 2000), 12-19.

This is especially applicable with the modern architecture mantra, “form follows function.” Reinberger’s approach was developed through his career as an architectural historian and taught as part of the Cultural Resource Assessment class at the University of Georgia Master of Historic Preservation program.¹⁸⁵

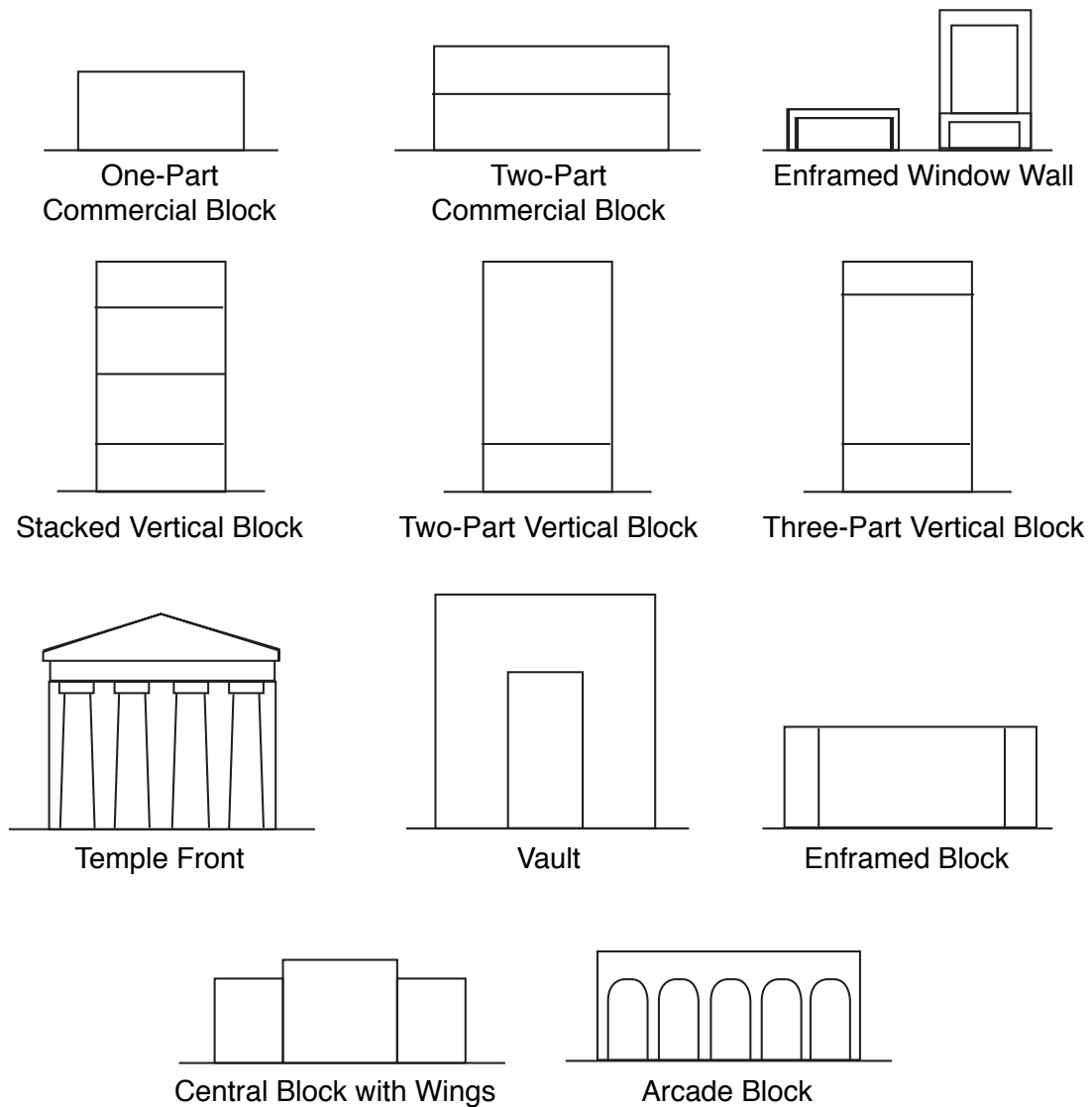


Figure 6.2: The compositional typology identified by Richard Longstreth in *Buildings of Main Street*.

185 Goetcheus, Cari and Mark Reinberger, “Introduction to Commercial Architecture, Overall Evolution of Main Street.” Lecture, HIPR6100 Cultural Resource Assessment, Athens, GA, March 2018.

In many ways, Longstreth's work is both relevant and applicable in looking at modern commercial resources. However, he did not consider stand-alone buildings that were not in commercial centers or resources dating after the 1940s, whereas this thesis is specifically looking at those "newer" resources that are outside of traditional downtowns. Because downtown storefronts were typically connected on either side and emphasized verticality, they could be more neatly composed with distinct symmetrical zones, and rooflines were typically flush with the building facade. In contrast, modern aesthetic and horizontal emphasis of stand-alone buildings and shopping centers lent itself to a variety of compositional zones and more integrated and functional rooflines. As a result, this typology proposes taking into account the differences by observing commonalities in three descending steps derived from Reinberger's method: first the overall composition, next the roofline, and last, the storefront composition. The method is devised to address single- and multi-tenant commercial buildings and shopping centers and apply regardless of style.

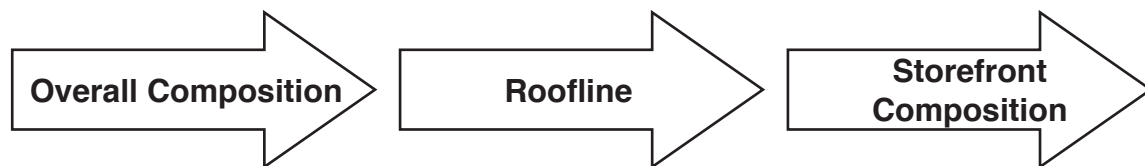


Figure 6.3: Typology was broken down into three descending steps: Overall Composition, Roofline, Storefront Composition.

Analysis began with looking at the overall composition of surveyed resources. The resulting categories are One-Story Unified Block, Two-Story Unified Block, Elongated to the Street, and Shopping Center. **One-Story Unified Block** is similar to Longstreth's One-Part Commercial Block. It is characterized by a one-story rectangular box form with a decorated façade showing compactness and cohesion in its design elements. Buildings described by the **Two-Story Unified Block** form were found to have unified composition on both stories, not split into distinct zones like Longstreth's Two-Part Commercial Block. Form was replicated or continued through from the first to the second floor.

The **Elongated to the Street** category is unique to the low-density nature of suburban commercial development. Unlike One-Story Unified Blocks, form is spread out with distinct zones formed by the solid-to-void ratio of walls to windows and anchoring features such as pylons. Both single- and multi-tenant buildings were identified as elongated to the street.

Finally, **Shopping Centers** defined their own form by the continuation of unified storefronts spreading both along and toward the street. These storefronts typically followed a pattern of window and door placement, and had more square footage and multi-tenant space than buildings elongated to the street.



Figure 6.4: Overall Composition Types

Table 6.1: Resources by Overall Composition

One-Story Unified Block	56
Two-Story Unified Block	5
Elongated to the Street	51
Shopping Center	22

Roofline is defined as the “profile of a roof.”¹⁸⁶ It is differentiated from roof form, which is the overall shape created by the interior structural system.¹⁸⁷ Roof form is structural whereas roofline is a compositional feature. For example, several buildings surveyed had a stepped parapet roofline concealing a front gable form. In the case of “form follows function” modern commercial buildings, the roofline became a functional aspect that played a large role in composition by providing a location on which to place signs and protect the store entrance. In some cases, such the Gabled category, the roof form and roofline were found to be one in the same. That is, the design and proportions of the roof were defined by the structural form. In other examples, the absence of a roof line, as in the Flush/Vanishing category, was defining to the composition. Again, this differs from traditional downtowns and what Longstreth observed because downtown rooflines were often more a stylistic extension of the rest of the building’s design than a functional or separate feature. For the sake of this method of typology, if a distinct roofline is not readily observed, consider the roof form the dominant and defining feature.



Figure 6.5: Rooflines of traditional connected storefronts, such as these in downtown Athens, were often more ornamental than functional, whereas modern storefronts utilized rooflines for both ornamental and functional purposes.

186 “Roofline,” Merriam-Webster, accessed March 3, 2019, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/roofline>.

187 Francis Ching, *A Visual Guide to Architecture* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1995), 208.

The determined Roofline categories are Exaggerated Signband, False-Front, Flush/Vanishing, Gabled, Geometric, Integrated Canopy, Mansard, Representational, and Hybrid. **Exaggerated Signband** rooflines were found to be common as they provide both a place to mount signs and protection over the front façade. They are characterized by a thick horizontal band or awning at the roofline, typically of metal or shingles. Variations were found to extend either only around the front façade, the front and two sides, or all four sides. Though a traditional technique, **False-Front** rooflines were still found among surveyed resources. These were defined by projections that extend above and conceal the actual roofline only at the front of the building. This type of architecture was common in the nineteenth century, particularly in western frontier towns.¹⁸⁸ Surveyed false-front rooflines included the parapet and stepped-parapet.¹⁸⁹ **Flush/Vanishing** rooflines were most common, fitting with modern design that eliminated the traditional cornice. Their absence is more defining than their presence. Flush/vanishing rooflines were all found with flat roof forms. **Gabled** rooflines include both broken and continuous gables.¹⁹⁰ Those of traditional proportions were most often associated with traditional stylistic details, such as Colonial Revival. Obtuse and broken gables accompanied designs that were similar to the Contemporary style of ranch house. **Geometric** rooflines were associated with the exaggerated modern style that was most popular along the Classic Auto Strip. Survey examples included accordion and clamshell. This category could also apply to other shapes such as butterfly and airplane roofs. Rooflines with an **Integrated Canopy** had a horizontal canopy extending directly from the top of the roof. These were differentiated from buildings that had attached canopies added as a façade feature. **Mansard** roofs are defined as “having on each side a steeper lower part and a shallower upper part.”¹⁹¹ They were made popular by the Second Empire style in the 1860s through the 1880s, predominantly in the Northeast and Midwest United States.¹⁹² A less high-style version of the Mansard was revived nationwide in the mid-1960s as an easy fix to apply over existing facades for storefront protection, an updated

188 “False-Front Commercial,” History Colorado, accessed January 29, 2019, <https://www.historycolorado.org/false-front-commercial>.

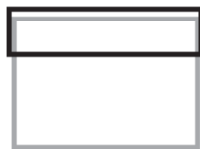
189 Parapets are defined as “that part of an exterior wall, fire wall, or party wall that rises above the roof.” Ching, 266.

190 Gabled roofs are defined as “a roof sloping downward in two parts from a central ridge, so as to form a gable at each end.” Ibid, 208.

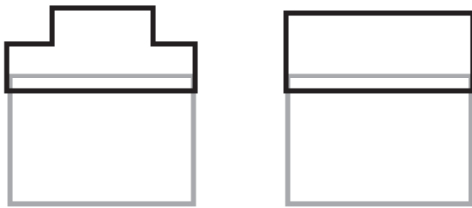
191 Ibid, 208.

192 Virginia Savage and Lee McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1991), 242.

look, and a place to mount signs.¹⁹³ The twentieth century iteration of the Mansard roofline was often only applied to the front of the building, concealing the roof form seen from the other sides. As mentioned in Chapter 2, **Representational** forms are used to directly indicate the business occupying the building. Surveyed representational rooflines were found to be suggestive of cultural themes. For example, Señor Sol was designed to look like a Mexican hacienda and Peking Buffet looks like a Chinese pagoda. Both are a result of renovations adding the representational rooflines. Finally, **Hybrid** rooflines combine two or more of the above roofline styles on the same building.



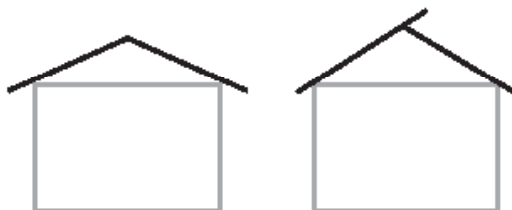
Exaggerated Signband



False-Front



Flush/Vanishing



Gabled



193 Liebs, 64.

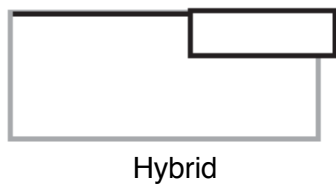
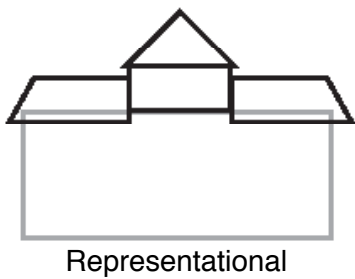
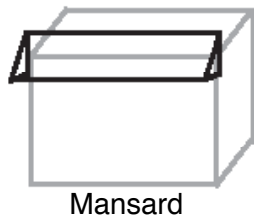
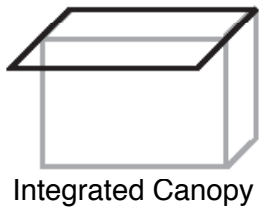
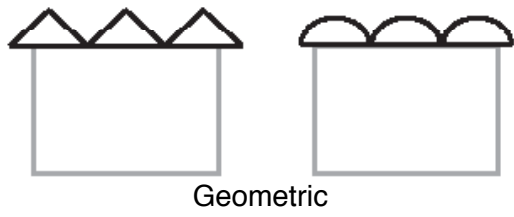


Figure 6.6: Roofline Types

Table 6.2: Resources by Roofline

Exaggerated Signband	37
False-Front	10
Flush/Vanishing	39
Gabled	17
Geometric	2
Integrated Canopy	11
Mansard	15
Representational	3
Hybrid	2

After looking at the Overall Composition and Roofline, the Storefront Composition was analyzed. This was broken down into two dimensions: Entrance Elevation and Visibility.

Elevation was characterized as either **Recessed**, **Flush**, or **Projecting** based on the plane of the entrance.

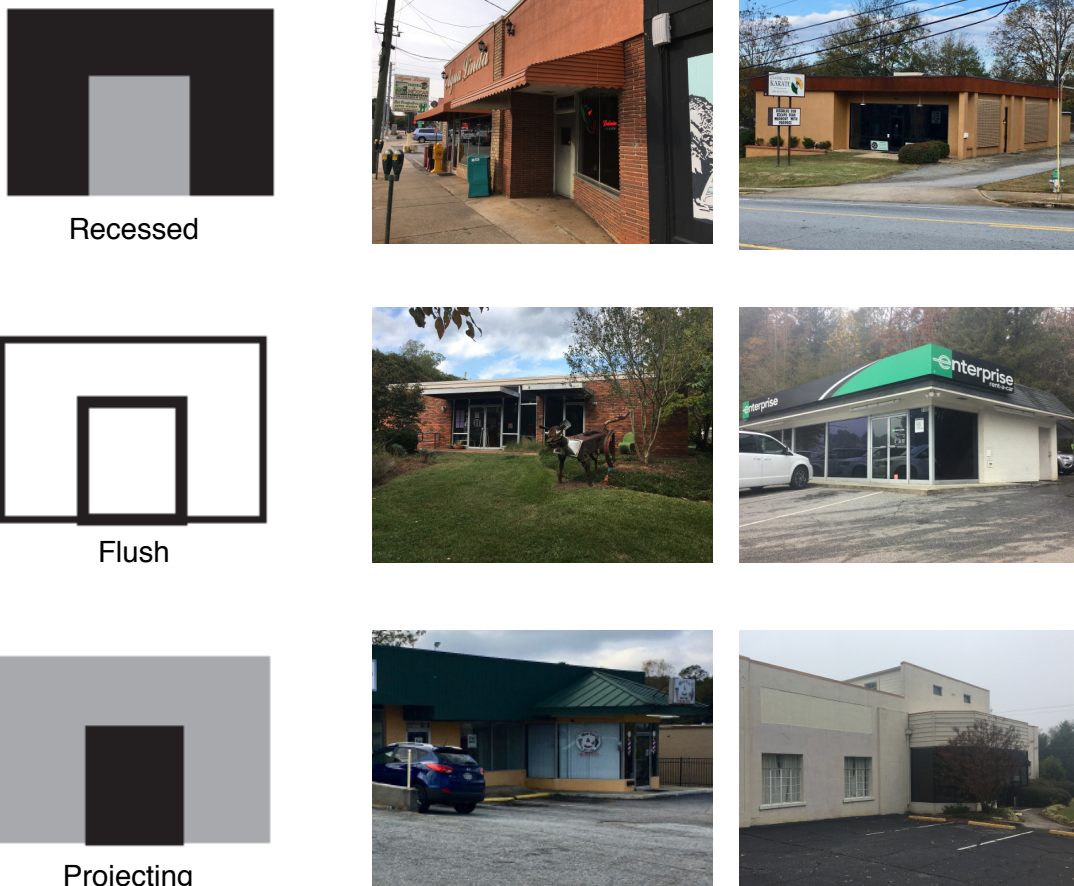


Figure 6.7: Storefront Elevation Types

Table 6.3: Resources by Storefront Elevation

Recessed	31
Flush	107
Projecting	3

Visibility was defined by either Visual Front or Directed View, determined by the solid-to-void ratio of openings to walls. A **Visual Front** provides full or near-full visibility into the building interior, a popular technique to draw in customers. A **Directed View** uses solid walls to frame window openings, directing the view of the customer to a specific area such as the entrance. For example, a building with a Recessed Visual Front has the entrance set back from the front plane of the building with majority glass to provide a transparent view.

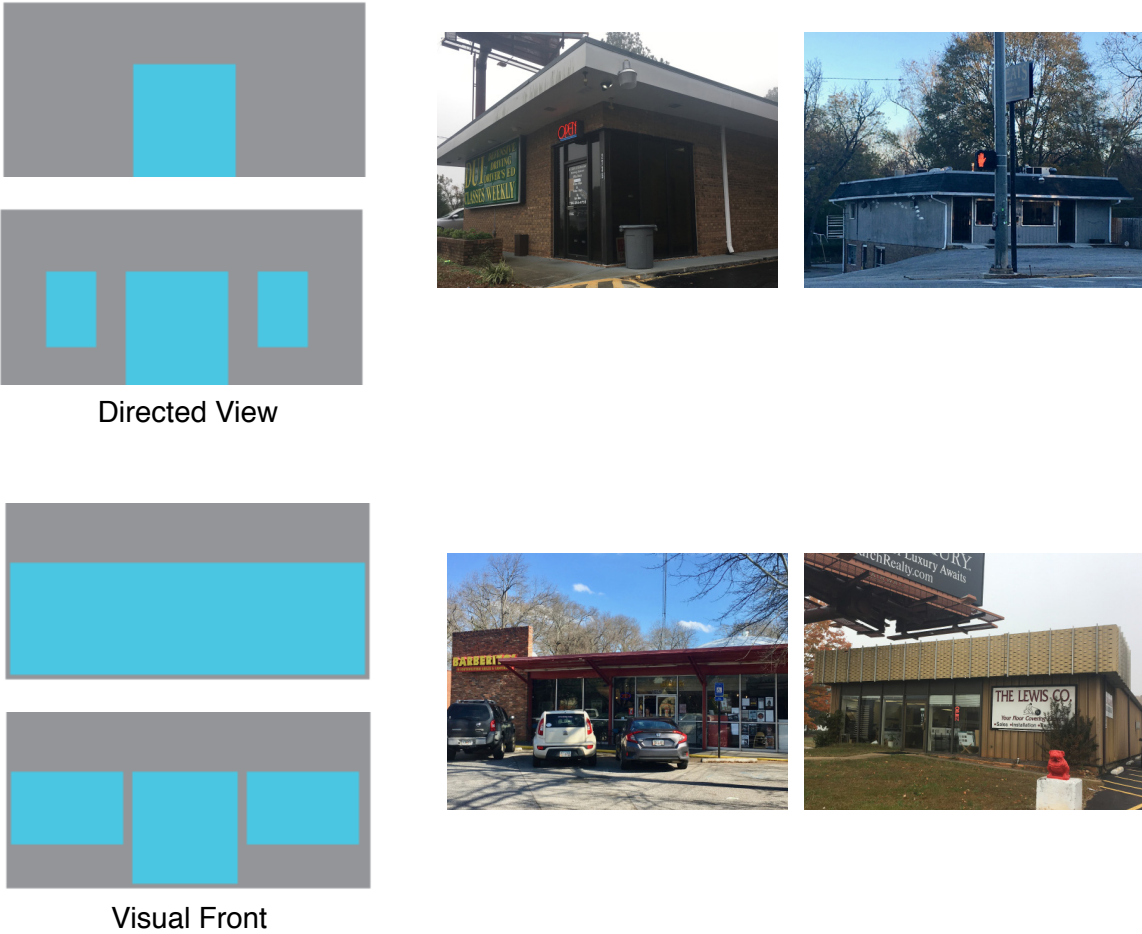


Figure 6.8: Storefront Visibility Types

Table 6.4: Resources by Storefront Visibility

Directed View	69
Visual Front	67
Exhibits both directed view and visual front	1

As noted, any categorization system is only as good as the information that can be gleaned, and not every building feature fits neatly into a category. Several resources displayed characteristics of multiple roofline and storefront types. The Overall Composition, Roofline, and Storefront Composition categories were chosen for their prevalence, indicating popular building design and trends for modern commercial resources. Categories may be added and refined with expanded research.



Figure 6.9: Buildings that did not fit into a overall composition type (left and middle) or roofline type (right).

Character-Defining Features

The National Park Service defines “character” in *Preservation Brief 17* as “all those visual aspects and physical features that comprise the appearance of every historic building.” Respecting these features as a building goes through adaptations and upkeep is essential to retaining a building’s integrity and communicating its significance. The concept of character-defining features forms the basis for both federal and state tax credit qualifications, and local historic designation design guidelines. The National Park Service’s recommended method for identifying character-defining features is to break down observations into three narrowing steps: 1) overall visual aspects, 2) visual character at close-range, and 3) interior space, features, and finishes. Overall visual aspects include shape, openings, roof and related features, projections, trim, and setting. Of these, the above typology was based upon the overall visual aspects of shape, roof and related features, openings, and projections. Though not included by the National Park Service, it is proposed that overall visual aspects for commercial buildings also include signs because they play such an important role in business and are often designed to coordinate. Visual character at close-range focuses on materials and craft details. Finally, the third step of interior space, features, and finishes involves analysis inside the building. For the scope of this thesis, and because surveys did not document the building interiors, overall visual aspects and visual character at close-range were most important. Examples of each follow.

Character-defining features are broad categories of details to which attention should be paid, not a definitive list of what are considered historic features. The character-defining features of setting, materials, and craftsmanship are also aspects of integrity necessary for inclusion on the National Register of Historic places.

Shape considers the configuration of each façade as well as the overall building plan form. With every surveyed resource but one being rectangular, “boxiness” and emphasis on horizontal width are character-defining features. This speaks both to functionality as well as prevailing modern aesthetic.



Figure 6.10: Shape demonstrated by the Overall Composition types at 1054 Baxter St. (top left), 142 Oconee St. (top right), 749 W Broad St. (bottom left), and 3049 Danielsville Rd. (bottom right).

Opening size, location, and material all play significant roles in sparking visual interest and leading a customer to the store entrance. Here the curved glass block window on the left shows Streamline Moderne influence, and the entrance on the right is angled in. Replacing or covering either of these openings would significantly impact how the building is meant to be seen from the street.



Figure 6.11: Openings illustrated by 925 W. Broad St.

Roofs and their related features were used for both function and distinction. The stepped parapet on the left is a traditional method for adding a false-front to a façade. The clamshell roof on the right was a feat made possible by advances in cast concrete. In both cases, the roofs give prominence and definition to the façade.



Figure 6.12: Roofs and their related features illustrated by 2045 W Broad St. (left) and 1190 Prince Ave. (right).

Projections on modern commercial resources provided function and style that was often structurally integrated with the building rather than applied. The pylon seen at left not only is a place to mount sign, it is also a vertical anchor to an otherwise horizontally-oriented shape. This was a popular technique used by Frank Lloyd Wright in his Prairie houses.¹⁹⁴ The perforated brick entrance seen at right allows a balance of light and shade for the entry and functions as a *bris soleil*, or “sun break,” a tool made popular by Le Corbusier.



Figure 6.13: Projections illustrated by 798 Baxter St. (left) and 265 E Hancock Ave. (right).

Very few examples of **trim** were noted throughout surveying, likely because either it is a non-essential aspect that was overlooked with quick construction, or because modern design eschewed non-structural ornamentation. The exposed rafter tails supporting the obtuse gable seen below borrow a popular detail from first Craftsman and later Contemporary Ranch house architecture.



Figure 6.14: Trim illustrated by 1400 N Chase St.

194 Reinberger, Mark. “19th Century Technology and the Tall Building.” Lecture.

Setting could be considered on several scales as it pertains to commercial resources: the building's setback and orientation to the road; the parking lot and landscaping; the frontage road and level of traffic; and the relationship to surrounding buildings and open space. In contrast, the Secretary of Interior's standards for evaluation pertain to more residential or bucolic concept of setting that includes "topographic features (a gorge or the crest of a hill); vegetation; and simple man-made features (paths or fences)," in addition to the surrounding buildings. The 95 percent of surveyed resources with parking lots indicates that these lots are integral to the commercial setting, and often determine the setback. Busy four-lane arterial roads with high traffic counts are the most common frontage roads documented. Density is relatively low beyond the downtown core, with most buildings being one-story with surrounding parking creating a barrier between the street and other buildings.



Figure 6.15: Setting illustrated by an aerial view of the Beechwood Shopping Center looking northeast toward Atlanta Highway.

It is proposed that **signs** also be considered as part of the overall visual aspects. Sign design became an important aspect in merchandising as businesses moved further away from the street. Of all surveyed resources, only two were noted for having original signs, both found on vacant buildings. This demonstrates that signs face a high danger for replacement or damage, causing an important component of visual character to be lost. The degree to which this loss impacts integrity is dependent upon the original role the sign played in the overall building design. If the sign was an element coordinating with the building's architectural elements, then its loss is more significant than if it was not unique or complementary to the building. Additionally, if the interior pieces with text are replaced but the sign's frame and shape remains, this is less of a loss than if the entire sign is removed.



Figure 6.16: The Athens Plumbing & Well Supply sign (left) painted directly on the building is a traditional technique with more staying power than a removable sign. The geometric frames for the original Church's Chicken signs remain on the vacant building at right. Of all surveyed resources, these are the two known original signs.

The texture, color, and shape of **materials** are the dominant determinants of visual character at close range and dictate **craftsmanship**. Metal, concrete block, plate glass, and brick veneer were the main materials observed through surveying. Each of these could be used in simple, utilitarian ways or elevated with higher quality products and more attention to detail. Unlike classical design, materials and craftsmanship in modern design were structurally-integrated, subtle, and devoid of historic references.



Figure 6.17: Integrating ornamental details into brickwork (left), the concrete *bris soleil* (middle), and use of non-structural stacked Roman brick (right) are examples of using materials and craftsmanship to give distinctive style without classical reference.

Of the 172 resources on the survey list, 35 were found to have lost integrity due to changes to character-defining features. Though they were not surveyed, patterns were observed. First, there are at least two different causes for loss of integrity. One is a result of formal rebranding or renovations to update the building. Another is from more unplanned, ad hoc changes over time. Corporate rebranding can be seen below at 2900 Atlanta Highway, where U-Haul has changed the signband to match its franchise design. It was deemed to have partial integrity because the rest of the building remained intact. The collection of buildings at 215 Tallassee Rd. exhibit unplanned loss of integrity. According to the Tax Assessor, the buildings on the property range in date from the 1920s through the 1950s. Many changes have taken place over time, though without a clear master plan resulting in a haphazard collection of buildings and features.



Figure 6.18: Both buildings have loss of integrity. 2900 Atlanta Highway (left) shows planned loss whereas 215 Tallassee Rd. (right) shows more unplanned, ad hoc loss.

Other patterns observed include stylistic trends in renovations that reflect prevalent new construction. One is to do a minimalist look by painting brick a neutral tone, removing all ornamentation, and adding metal canopies with exposed diagonal ties. Subtle traditional details may be seen in cornices and quoins.



Figure 6.19: A trend toward painted brick with minimalist details was observed in renovations and new construction. Left to right, top to bottom: 225 E Hancock Ave., 843 Prince Ave., 1015 Baxter St., 1135 Prince Ave., 428 N Milledge Ave., 468 N Milledge Ave.

Another trend, especially noted for shopping centers, is to cover the front façade with stucco or brick veneer and add Post-Modern, exaggerated traditional details such as cornices, pediments, and ornamental towers.



Figure 6.20: Homewood Village (top left), Alps Road (top right), Green Acres (middle left), and Beechwood Promenade (middle right) shopping centers are all originally from the 1960s-1970s but have been renovated beyond recognition with new stucco facades. In the case of the Red & Black Package store (bottom left and right), a new stucco façade was applied directly over the old so parapets are still visible.

A color-coded “heat map” was created to spatially depict the varying degrees of integrity due to changes to character-defining features. High integrity is colored green, partial is yellow, and red is very little. The map shows that surveyed resources were largely within a close proximity to the traditional downtown core; varying degrees of integrity are exhibited throughout Athens; and all major shopping centers have lost integrity. A cluster of high and partial-integrity resources are seen on Hawthorne Ave., while Broad St., Atlanta Highway, Prince Ave., and Baxter St. have mixes of integrity levels. A possible explanation for why Hawthorne Ave. has retained a higher degree of integrity is because it is a less prosperous area and therefore has seen less development pressure. Further research is needed to confirm if this is true.

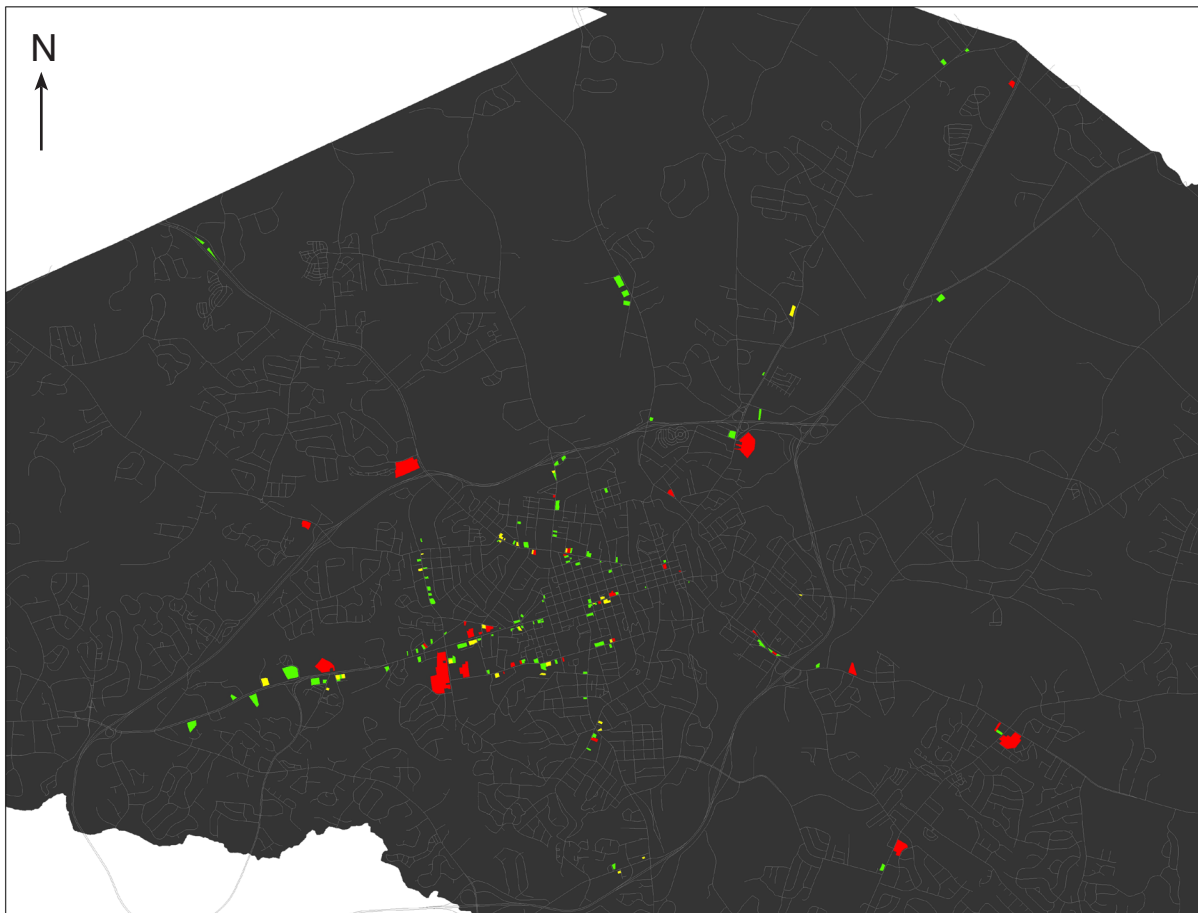


Figure 6.21: A map of surveyed resources color-coded by integrity. Green represents a high degree of integrity, yellow is partial, and red is very little.

Potential Landmark & District Designations

The sheer quantity and ephemeral nature of commercial buildings means that most would not be deemed historically significant and worthwhile of preservation. It is not the intent of this thesis to argue that everything should be saved. Rather, we should preserve the resources that best exemplify modern commercial development in Athens and, in a sense, curate our past. Based on the historic contexts and character-defining features they represent, and a retained high degree of integrity, the following buildings were identified as worthy of further research to potentially be designated on the National Register for Historic Places and/or by the local historic preservation commission. Landmarks stand on their own merit for preservation while districts are groupings based on historic contexts and proximity. Each suggested landmark and district warrants additional research, particularly to expand the districts with additional structure types that were not surveyed such as offices and auto service stations. As mentioned in Chapter 4, only one modern resource, 598 Prince Ave., is listed on Athens' "Potential Historic Sites" list and none of the "Potential Historic Districts" address modern commercial architecture. Where modern resources are included in existing historic districts, they are considered non-contributing. Without recognition and protection, modern commercial resources may be lost before their value is fully recognized.



Figure 6.22: 925 W Broad St.

Business: Vacant

Year built: c. 1950

Significance: Architecture

Character-defining features:
Streamline Moderne influence,
rounded glass block window,
recessed angled entrance, visual
front, three-dimensional black
trim

Potential threat: Vacant and for
sale



Figure 6.23: 904 N Chase St.

Business: Devore & Johnson

Year built: c. 1960

Significance: Architecture

Character-defining features:
Canted glass, Roman brick,
inlaid brick ornamentation,
long/low profile

Potential threat: None known



Figure 6.24: 1400 N Chase St.

Business: Animal Hospital

Year built: c. 1967

Significance: Architecture

Character-defining features:
Contemporary style influence,
Roman brick, recessed entry,
exposed rafter tails, floor-to-
ceiling glass sloping with the
roofline

Potential threat: None known



Figure 6.25: 265 E Hancock Ave.

Business: First American Bank &
Trust Operations Center

Year built: c. 1967

Significance: Architecture

Character-defining features:
Stacked Roman brick, *bris soleil*,
floor-to-ceiling glass entrance

Potential threat: None known



Figure 6.26: 234 Old Epps Bridge Rd.

Business: Quality Glass Supply

Year built: c. 1963

Significance: Architecture

Character-defining features: International style influence, cantilevered awning, glass first floor, decorative grillwork

Potential threat: None known



Figure 6.27: 900 Old Hull Rd.

Business: Athens Janitor Supply

Year built: c. 1965

Significance: Architecture

Character-defining features: Prairie style influence, metal letter sign, inlaid Roman brick design, entry piers, first and second floor canopies

Potential threat: None known



Figure 6.28: 1190 Prince Ave.

Business: Rite Aid
(now Walgreens)

Year built: c. 1965

Significance: Architecture

Character-defining features: New Formalist style, clamshell roof, round form, glass bays

Potential threat: Piedmont Hospital development pressure

West Broad Street District

As explained in the local context, when Atlanta Highway was built and connected with the rerouted Broad St. in 1938, business began to expand west of downtown to what was previously residences and farmland. The buildings below are exemplary of the type of development that took place. Plans are being put in motion to demolish the iconic Varsity restaurant on Broad St. With its accordion canopy, sign perched atop the roof, and contrasting red and white details, it is one of the few remaining examples in Athens of exaggerated modern restaurants built for car culture. The property is planned to have a zoning overlay approved for mixed-use development. This is likely not an isolated incident and poses a threat to surrounding resources. The *Red & Black* quoted Commissioner Jerry Nesmith as saying,

“...this zoning overlay...could serve as a good model for the development of the West Broad Street corridor...as a way to develop dense commercial and business development...”¹⁹⁵



855 W Broad St.



925 W Broad St.



940 W Broad St.



1387 W Broad St.



1423 W Broad St.



1660 W Broad St.

195 Steinbeck, “What’ll Ya Build?”



1675 W Broad St.



1918 W Broad St.



2045 W Broad St.



2145 W Broad St.



2155 W Broad St.

Figure 6.29: Buildings to include in the suggested West Broad Street historic district.

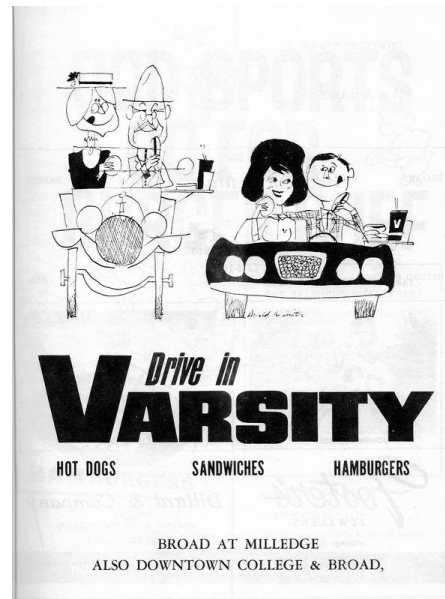


Figure 6.30: The Varsity restaurant photograph and menu from 1964 (top left and right), and as it is today (bottom left). The building is planned to be demolished to make way for mixed-use development.

Milledge Avenue District

Notably, all of the buildings below are included in local historic districts but classified as non-contributing and out-of-character. Changes to non-contributing resources are only evaluated for their impact on the surrounding district, not the resource itself. Because of this, there is nothing that would prevent demolition. If they were demolished for new construction, or heavily renovated, their replacements would likely be dictated by the historic preservation commission to more closely resemble the classical architecture in the Milledge Ave. and Cobbham historic districts to which they belong. This allows the possibility of telling a false history that disregards the changes that took place on Milledge Ave. when it was re-zoned to allow commercial development. Along with several other prominent commercial buildings that were not included with the survey, this collection of buildings presents the opportunity to amend the existing historic districts or create a new district to recognize their place along Athens' iconic Milledge Ave.



623 N Milledge Ave.



225 S Milledge Ave.



698 S Milledge Ave.



920 S Milledge Ave.

Figure 6.31: Suggested buildings to include as contributing to the existing Milledge Avenue historic district.

Normaltown District

Normaltown developed into a commercial node corresponding with the State Normal School. The storefronts are connected and designed for pedestrian traffic similar to downtown but represent a different era of construction. Normaltown is the area in Athens that most represents “taxpayer” buildings constructed to capitalize on land value.



1298 Prince Ave.



1354 Prince Ave.



1368 Prince Ave.



1376 Prince Ave.



1365-1383 Prince Ave.

Figure 6.32: Buildings to include in the suggested Normaltown historic district.

Lower Prince Avenue District

Anchored by a former Coca Cola plant, the commercial resources along Prince Ave. near where it joins Dougherty St. downtown represent Athens' developmental history in a variety of ways. The older of the buildings have more traditional influence in design and were built to serve Athens' early Cobbham and Boulevard suburbs. The mid-century 596 and 598 Prince Ave. are known for being built where the Michael Brothers' Greek Revival mansions were demolished in the 1960s, a time when Athens lost many historic resources in the name of progress. The only modern resource listed on the county's "Potential Historic Sites" list is 598 Prince Ave., though there is no clear rationale for why it was selected.¹⁹⁶ With its proximity to downtown and the new mixed-use construction at 100 Prince Ave. underway, this area of lower Prince Ave. may be especially susceptible to development pressures.¹⁹⁷



199 Prince Ave.



298 Prince Ave.



493-497 Prince Ave.



596 Prince Ave.



598 Prince Ave.

Figure 6.33: Buildings to include in the suggested Lower Prince Ave. historic district.

¹⁹⁶ Athens-Clarke County Planning Department, *Comprehensive Plan*.

¹⁹⁷ Ashley Soriano, "Mixed-use development to be built in downtown Athens area," Red and Black, last modified December 11, 2018, accessed March 3, 2019, https://www.redandblack.com/athensnews/mixed-use-development-to-be-built-in-downtown-athens-area/article_b41488d6-fd90-11e8-bc4a-073607d51901.html.

In addition to the noted potential historic landmarks and districts, several other buildings were identified as representative of modern commercial development. Though they may not be deemed worth of preservation protections, they are nonetheless representative of the diversity of Athens' commercial development and have retained partial to full integrity.



2575 Atlanta Hwy.



2725 Atlanta Hwy.



798 Baxter St.



108 Gaines School Rd.



575 N Harris St.



6330 Jefferson Rd.



1739 Lumpkin St.



823 Prince Ave.



1226 Prince Ave.

Figure 6.34: Additional surveyed resources that are representative of modern commercial development.

Analysis of the surveyed resources revealed identifiable commonalities that were used to create a typology and describe character-defining features. From the resources, the most representative of modern commercial development were suggested to potentially be designated as landmarks or historic districts on the local government level and National Register. Based on Longstreth's and Reinberger's foundation, the typology broke down building composition into three categories: Overall Composition, Roofline, and Storefront Composition. From the surveyed resources, overall composition types identified were one-story unified block, two-story unified block, elongated to the street, and shopping centers. Next, rooflines were described as exaggerated signband, false-front, flush/vanishing, gabled, geometric, integrated canopy, mansard, representational, and hybrid. Last, storefront composition was broken down into two dimensions: elevation and visibility. Types of elevations were recessed, flush, and projecting, while visibility was either directed view or visual front. With the typology established, character-defining features were then described based on the National Park Service's recommended analysis including shape, opening, roof and their related features, projections, trim, setting, and materials and craftsmanship. Though not included by the Park Service, signs were also listed as integral to commercial architecture. Judged based on loss of character-defining features, examples of lost integrity observed while surveying were detailed. Finally, seven potential landmarks and four potential districts were identified for further research and historic preservation designations.

Chapter 7: Conclusion & Recommendations

Evidence of commercial development between 1930 to 1981 is hiding in plain sight throughout Athens, Georgia. Just as much as The Arch and Taylor-Grady House hold historic significance that helps define Athens, so too do the buildings designed with modern principles for the modern consumer. Without this recognition, we stand to lose or irreversibly damage these important reminders of Athens' past.

Conclusion

This thesis seeks to advance the historic preservation conversation in Athens and beyond by addressing a small subset of modern commercial resources: the single- and multi-tenant commercial buildings and shopping centers. Using a sample size of 137 surveyed resources, the thesis question was: *Can a typology of compositional characteristics, character-defining features, and sites worthy of further research and preservation be identified from survey analysis of single- and multi-tenant commercial buildings and shopping centers in Athens, Georgia?*

Answering this question began with a literature review to develop national and local historic contexts and identify preservation challenges and initiatives relevant to modern commercial resources. On the national scale, the key influences for modern commercial development were the widespread mobilization made possible by automobiles; the prosperity and population shift to suburbs following World War II; and architecture that eschewed classical references and was designed to promote sales. Athens experienced these trends with the rest of the nation, in addition to influence from the network of railroad lines and highways; manufacturing, military, and University presence; and proximity to Atlanta. Because materials and designs were shared nationwide, Athens also shares in the challenges presented by modern commercial development, such as the sheer volume of resources, material breakdown, national historic preservation standards not equipped to address modern resources, and the ephemeral nature of commercial buildings. Fortunately, due to this widespread sharing, Athens

can benefit from the preservation initiatives that have been taking place throughout recent decades. The timeliness and universality of these initiatives and challenges is echoed in the 2019 call for requests for proposals by the National Cooperative Highway Research Program to fund a \$300,000 study evaluating commercial resources from 1945 to 1980. The request states,

“Despite the widespread construction of commercial properties after 1945, there is very little guidance on how to consistently evaluate the potential significance of these properties. As a result, evaluations require significant time and staff resources. Inconsistent approaches also provide regulatory partners with inconsistent information, which means more time may be needed to complete consultation, resulting in project delays. Further, the volume of postwar property evaluations can be overwhelming for state DOTs, FHWA division offices, state historic preservation officers (SHPOs), and tribal historic preservation officers (THPOs). Research is needed to provide state DOTs with a structured, replicable methodology to determine eligibility of postwar commercial properties for listing in the National Register.”

With the literature review as a foundation for research, a list of all commercial parcels from the Athens-Clarke County Tax Assessor was distilled to 137 target resources to survey using the date range 1930 to 1981, and the Land-Based Classification Standards “Structure 2200: Single-tenant retail or commercial building” and “Structure 2500: Malls, shopping centers, or multi-tenant commercial” categories. Because the existing state and local architectural survey forms did not adequately take into account modern commercial resources, a form was created from the existing Athens-Clarke County survey form to accurately describe characteristics and settings. Reconnaissance-level survey using the modified form took place from October to December 2018. Using the survey data, a typology was developed based upon Richard Longstreth’s *Buildings of Main Street* commercial typology and Mark Reinberger’s recommended analysis. Three overarching categories were created to describe resources: Overall Composition, Roofline, and Storefront Composition. The overall compositions identified were one-story unified block, two-story unified block, elongated to the street, and shopping centers. The rooflines identified were exaggerated signband, false-front, flush/vanishing, gabled, geometric, integrated canopy, mansard, representational, and hybrid. Storefront composition was broken down into two categories: elevation and visibility. Variations of storefront elevations included projecting, flush, and recessed. Visibility was described as either visual front or directed view.

Next, features of surveyed resources were illustrated using the National Park Service's recommended character-defining features. These included shape, openings, roofs and their related features, projections, trim, setting, materials, and craftsmanship. Though not included by the Park Service, signs were also illustrated as integral to commercial design. Measured against the character-defining features, loss of integrity was then shown by comparing ad hoc versus planned changes, and two common integrity-impacting trends that were observed in the field.

Finally, landmarks and districts were identified as a study list for future preservation efforts dedicated to modern commercial resources. These landmarks and districts were identified as exemplary of modern commercial architecture and historic patterns in Athens. Further research is warranted to establish significance and integrity and support designation on the National Register of Historic Places and/or by the local historic preservation commission. Additionally, buildings that may not be worthy of preservation efforts but are typical of modern commercial architecture were listed as examples.

By creating the typology, illustrating character-defining features, and identifying potential landmarks and districts, the thesis question, *Can a typology of compositional characteristics, character-defining features, and sites worthy of further research and preservation be identified from survey analysis of single- and multi-tenant commercial buildings and shopping centers in Athens, Georgia?*, was affirmatively answered. Through this, Athens is shown to be home to modern commercial resources that played an important role in its developmental history and are still largely in-use today.

This thesis adds to the national conversation about modern commercial resources by identifying a typology and character-defining features that are believed to be nationally applicable. Athens did not exist in a vacuum, and in many ways was not unique in how it grew and prospered following World War II. The cultural and urban development trends described in Chapter 2 were in many ways reflected in Athens. Additionally, the growth of mass communication, pre-fabricated materials, and sharing of designs means that similar resources are likely found throughout Georgia and the rest of the country.

Recommendations

Research revealed several recommendations and cautions to heed when continuing the research in Athens or elsewhere. First, information from the Tax Assessor and public resources should not be unquestionably accepted as accurate. The many resources missing from the initial list of all commercial parcels from the Athens-Clarke County Tax Assessor means that supplementary sources are needed to ensure buildings are not overlooked. One of the greatest sources of knowledge are locals who have spent decades in the area. Between local word-of-mouth and the “Growing Up in Athens” Facebook page, gaps in research were filled with information not found in libraries or online. Next, survey forms may not fully describe the target resources, and thus should be adapted for accurate documentation. Fortunately, because this is a pressing and national issue, there are many preservation professionals who are facing the same challenges and can lend advice for how to approach research and surveying.

As Richard Longstreth said, a typology is only as good as the information that it tells us.¹⁹⁸ The suggested next steps to continue this research are to test the typology and character-defining features in other cities throughout Georgia and the United States to verify their applicability, and scale to encompass structural categories not surveyed. On the local level, resources that were not surveyed should be approached by structure type and analyzed to provide a complete inventory and basis for preservation planning. This would allow more potential historic landmarks and districts to be identified and added to the County’s watchlist for designation. Education and awareness are also key components needed to raise support for modern commercial resources. With the demolition of the Varsity planned and the University of Georgia ever-growing, it is imperative for both Athens’ public and private sectors to take a proactive approach before too many resources are gone. On the national level, continuing to research and compare local findings to those around the country will help to advance the conversation about modern historic resources, share knowledge, and prevent duplication of effort.

Researching modern commercial resources raised many unanswered questions. Several areas for future research as it broadly pertains to modern resources were identified through the literature review and survey.

198 Per a phone conversation with Longstreth in January 2019.

Deciding what to survey first raised the question, What is “commercial” architecture? Is it defined by the purpose for which a building was originally constructed? Or is it defined by current use? For example, is a house that was transformed into a business considered commercial architecture? Additionally, given the volume of post-war resources, is it worthwhile to spend time documenting buildings that show no signs of significance or integrity?

Our current standards through the Secretary of the Interior for qualification on the National Register of Historic Places may not be adequate or applicable for modern resources. Surveying raised several questions as they pertain to the standards of significance and integrity: If the internal structure of a building is from one era and the façade is from a more recent time but both are more than 50 years old, is the integrity considered intact or lost and what is the period of significance? How strict can we uphold the standard of integrity for buildings designed to be ephemeral with short-lived materials? Can brand architecture that was replicated throughout the country, such as the Pizza Hut signature “hat” building, be considered significant if it is ubiquitous? In assessing changes to a property, are there distinguishable patterns between wealthier versus lower-income areas, white-owned versus minority-owned businesses, or locally-owned versus nationally-owned businesses? For the “setting” requirement of integrity, is it important to preserve the asphalt surroundings that are integral to commercial development? If we consider the surrounding lawn important to a historic residential resource, do we consider the surrounding parking lot important to a historic commercial resource?

Answering these questions will contribute to establishing a common national vocabulary and approach to preserving modern commercial resources. As the National Cooperative Highway Research Program request for proposals stated, the current lack of consistency creates inefficiencies and confusion. Once preservation professionals are consistent in approach, how will we adapt our survey documentation methods, the National Register of Historic Places, and federal tax credit criteria to account for modern commercial resources? If we surveyed everything that is out there, would our current systems be able to handle the quantity of data? How could it be streamlined for easy access and take advantage of emerging technology to collaborate and share?

The tasks at hand may be daunting but just as shopping centers with parking lots were once considered an exciting sign of the future, the fact that the preservation field is

discussing modern commercial resources is also an exciting sign of things to come. Modern resources have a lot to tell us about our collective history in Athens and throughout the nation if we acknowledge their significance and work together to create collaborative approaches to preservation.

Bibliography

- “40 Places Under 40,” National Trust for Historic Preservation. Accessed January 27, 2019. https://savingplaces.org/40-under-40-places?utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&utm_campaign=weekly&utm_content=20190124#.XEyVks9KjoA.
- A Preservationist's Dilemma, Mid-Century Commercial Building Remodels*. National Alliance for Preservation Commissions. The Alliance, Spring 2017.
- “About the Lamar Dodd School of Art,” Lamar Dodd School of Art, University of Georgia. Accessed January 11, 2019. <https://art.uga.edu/about-lamar-dodd-school-art>.
- Ambrose, Andy. “Atlanta,” New Georgia Encyclopedia. Last modified September 16, 2018. Accessed December 20, 2018. <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/counties-cities-neighborhoods/atlanta>.
- “Architecture parlante,” Oxford Reference. Accessed March 3, 2019. <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095422259>.
- Architectural Record. *Design for Modern Merchandising: Stores, Shopping Centers, Showrooms*. New York: F.W. Dodge Corporation, 1954.
- Athens City Records—Maps, Plans, and Blueprints, MS 1633a, OS Folder 3C. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.
- Athens-Clarke County Historic Preservation Commission. *Athens-Clarke County Historic Preservation Planning Study*. Athens, GA, 1995.
- Athens-Clarke County Planning Commission. *Base Year Socio-Economic Study*. Athens: Athens-Clarke County, 1971.
- Athens-Clarke County Planning Department. *Athens-Clarke County, Georgia Design Guidelines for Historic Districts and Landmark Properties*. Athens, GA. <https://www.accgov.com/DocumentCenter/View/287/HP---Design-Guidelines---General?bidId=>.
- Athens-Clarke County Planning Department. *Comprehensive Plan*. Athens, GA: 2000.
- “Athens-Clarke County unified government balance, Georgia Population 2018,” World Population Review. Accessed January 11, 2019. <http://worldpopulationreview.com/us-cities/athens-clarke-county-ga-population/>.
- Athens, GA City Directory*. Charleston, SC: Nelsons' Directory Company, Inc., 1956.
- Athens, GA City Directory*. Charleston, SC: Nelsons' Directory Company, Inc., 1962.

- Athens, GA City Directory*. Chillicothe, OH: Mullin-Kille of America, 1968.
- Athens, GA City Directory*. Chillicothe, OH: Mullin-Kille of America, 1973.
- Athens General, MS 3609, Box 83. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.
- “Athens will not play dead, the city’s in for changes.” *Athens Banner-Herald/The Daily News*. February 24, 1980.
- Becker, Lee. “Hobby Lobby Will Move to Epps Bridge,” *The Flagpole*. Last modified October 9, 2017. Accessed November 15, 2018. <https://flagpole.com/blogs/in-the-loop/posts/hobby-lobby-will-move-to-epps-bridge>.
- Beechwood Cinema advertisement. *The Red and Black*. September 20, 1963.
- Bellis, Mary. “The History of Streetcars-Cable Cars,” ThoughtCo. Last modified April 13, 2017. Accessed November 1, 2018. <https://www.thoughtco.com/history-of-streetcars-cable-cars-4075558>.
- Blake, Peter. *God’s Own Junkyard*. New York: Hold, Rinhart, and Winston, 1964.
- Bledsoe, Madison. “Cornering History: A look at the Hot Corner of Athens,” *Georgia Political Review*. Last modified January 22, 2018. Accessed January 11, 2019. <http://georgiapoliticalreview.com/cornering-history/>.
- Blumberg, Naomi and Ida Yalzadeh. “City Beautiful movement,” *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Last modified January 4, 2019. Accessed February 25, 2019. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/City-Beautiful-movement>.
- “Board of Tax Assessors and Appraisal Office,” Athens-Clarke County Unified Government. QPublic Database. Accessed February 28, 2019. <http://www.qpublic.net/ga/clarke/>.
- Borteh, Larissa. “Bauhaus.” *The Art Story*. Accessed October 29, 2018. <https://www.theartstory.org/movement-bauhaus.htm>.
- Bradbury, Dominic. *Mid-Century Modern Complete*. New York: Abrams, 2014.
- Brown, Steven and Beth Whitlock. “Yesterday’s Vision: Warren Manning’s Master Plan 1925.” Filmed April 2018. YouTube video, 1:38:50. Posted June 2018. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pGSeByAevBg>.
- Brown, Steven (University Archivist Emeritus, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library). Interviewed by Lauren Patterson. Athens, GA, December 2018.
- Carmichael, Bradley T. “Chapter 7 When Modern Becomes Historic: Preservation the Modernist Building Envelope,” *Building Design + Construction*. Last modified May 24, 2012. Accessed November 11, 2018. <https://www.bdcnetwork.com/chapter-7-when-modern-becomes-historic-preserving-modernist-building-envelope>.

- Ching, Francis. *A Visual Guide to Architecture*. New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1995.
- City of Spokane Historic Preservation Office. *Spokane Mid-20th Century Architectural Survey Report*. 2017. http://midcenturyspokane.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/MCM_Survey_082417.pdf (accessed January 27, 2019).
- Clarke County (Box 2 of 3), Created 1801, OS Folder 30. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.
- “Commercial Types in Georgia,” Georgia Department of Natural Resources Historic Preservation Division. Accessed November 11, 2018. <https://georgiashpo.org/sites/default/files/hpd/pdf/StoreTypes.pdf>.
- “CPI Inflation Calculator,” Bureau of Labor Statistics. Accessed February 28, 2019. <https://data.bls.gov/cgi-bin/cpicalc.pl?cost1=1000&year1=197101&year2=201901>.
- Craig, Robert M. “Shopping Center Architecture,” *New Georgia Encyclopedia*. Last modified November 8, 2013. Accessed January 7, 2019. <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/shopping-center-architecture>.
- _____. “Modern and Postmodern Architecture: Overview,” *New Georgia Encyclopedia*. Last modified January 1, 2019. Accessed February 11, 2019. <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/arts-culture/modern-and-postmodern-architecture-overview>.
- Cunningham Men’s Wear advertisement. *The Red and Black*. September 27, 1962.
- “Dallas, Texas’ Highland Park Shopping Village,” Shopping Mall Museum Blogspot. Accessed March 5, 2019. <http://shoppingmallmuseum.blogspot.com/2010/08/highland-park-texas-highland-park.html>.
- Danziger, Pamela N. “4 Models of the Shopping Mall of the Future,” *Forbes*. Last modified April 7, 2018. Accessed October 10, 2018. <https://www.forbes.com/sites/pamdanziger/2018/04/07/4-models-of-the-shopping-mall-of-the-future/#f43f8e35c3b3>.
- Doster, Gary L. *A Postcard History of Athens*. Athens, GA: Athens Historical Society, 2002.
- Drexler, Arthur. *Transformations in Modern Architecture*. New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1979.
- Dyson, Carol. 2008. “How to Work with Storefronts of the Mid-Twentieth Century.” Paper presented at the *National Main Streets Conference, Philadelphia, 2008*. <https://www2.illinois.gov/dnrhistoric/Preserve/mid-century/Documents/modern-storefront-glossary.pdf>.
- _____. “Mid-Century Commercial Modernism: Design and Materials,” Illinois Department of Natural Resources Historic Preservation Division. Accessed November 7, 2018. <https://www2.illinois.gov/dnrhistoric/Preserve/mid-century/Documents/mid-century-commercial-modernism.pdf>.

Edge, Carolyn Paris. *The Career of C. Wilmer Heery of Athens, GA, Architect*. Athens, GA: 1988.

“Enrollment by College and School, Athens and Extended Campuses, Fall Terms 2010 to 2017,” University of Georgia Office of Institutional Research. Accessed January 27, 2019. <https://oir.uga.edu/factbook/enrollment/S04EnrP22/>.

“False-Front Commercial,” History Colorado. Accessed January 29, 2019. <https://www.historycolorado.org/false-front-commercial>.

Fedor, Tracey, Mary Beth Reed, and Patrick Sullivan. *The Ranch House in Georgia: Guidelines for Evaluation*. Stone Mountain, GA: New South Associates, 2010.

Ford, Larry. *Cities and Buildings: Skyscrapers, Skid Rows, and Suburbs*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1994.

“Form Follows Function,” Guggenheim. Accessed March 3, 2019. <https://www.guggenheim.org/arts-curriculum/topic/form-follows-function>.

Garfield, Leanna. “25 incredible photos revealing the history of America’s first modern shopping mall,” Business Insider. Last modified August 2, 2017. Accessed March 5, 2019. <https://www.businessinsider.com/first-shopping-mall-us-southdale-center-history-photos-2017-8>.

Geiling, Natasha. “The Death and Rebirth of the American Mall,” Smithsonian. Last modified November 25, 2014. Accessed November 4, 2018. <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/death-and-rebirth-american-mall-180953444/> (accessed January 27, 2019).

Georgia Department of Natural Resources Historic Preservation Division. *Cascade Heights Commercial Historic District*, Marion Ellis and Emily Taff, Ray, Ellis, and LeBrie Consulting. National Register of Historic Places nomination draft, 2018.

____. “Modern Commercial Storefronts in Georgia, 1945-1975.” Presentation by Ruben Acosta.

____. *Georgia Historic Resources Survey Manual*. August 2017. <https://georgiashpo.org/sites/default/files/hpd/pdf/HistoricResourcesSurveyManual.pdf>.

“Georgia Population 2019,” World Population Review. Accessed January 27, 2019. <http://worldpopulationreview.com/states/georgia-population/>.

Goetcheus, Cari and Mark Reinberger. “Introduction to Commercial Architecture, Overall Evolution of Main Street.” Lecture, HIPR6100 Cultural Resource Assessment, Athens, GA, March 2018.

Greenberg, Cara. *Mid-Century Modern*. New York: Harmony Books, 1984.

“Growing Up in Athens,” Facebook. Accessed January 31, 2019. <https://www.facebook.com/GrowingupinAthensGa/>.

- Harris-Finch, Delaney and Anna Mod. *Houston Uncommon Modern*. Houston: AIA Houston Publications, 2016.
- Hatfield, Edward A. "World War II in Georgia," *New Georgia Encyclopedia*. Last modified February 20, 2018. Accessed January 9, 2019. <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/world-war-ii-georgia>.
- Heimann, Jim. *50s: All American Ads*. New York: Taschen, 2002.
- Hester, Conoly. *Athens, Georgia: Celebrating 200 Years at the Millenium*. Montgomery, AL: Community Communications, Inc.: 1999.
- Historic Aerials by Netronline. Accessed January 10, 2019. <https://www.historicaerials.com/viewer>.
- "Historic Resource Surveys," Georgia Department of Natural Resources Historic Preservation Division. Accessed March 3, 2019. <https://georgiashpo.org/surveys>.
- Hortacsu, Ali and Chad Syverson. "The Ongoing Evolution of US Retail: A Format Tug-of-War," *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 29, no. 4 (2015), 89. <http://faculty.chicagobooth.edu/chad.syverson/research/evolutionofretail.pdf>.
- "How to evaluate modern," DOCOMOMO US. Accessed January 27, 2019. <https://docomomo-us.org/explore-modern/explore-the-register/how-to-evaluate-modern>.
- Jackson, John Brinckerhoff. *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984.
- Jackson, Lesley. *The Sixties: Decade of Design Revolution*. London: Phaidon, 1998.
- Jester, Thomas C. *Twentieth-Century Building Materials*. Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 2014.
- Joch, Andreas. "Walter Gropius (1883-1969)." *Transatlantic Perspectives*. Last modified October 13, 2011. Accessed October 29, 2018. <https://www.transatlanticperspectives.org/entry.php?rec=20>.
- Jones, Will. *How to Read Modern Buildings*. New York: Rizzoli, 2017.
- Ketchum, Morris. *Shops and Stores*. New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1957.
- Krafft, Manfred and Murali K. Mantrala. *Retailing in the 21st Century: Current and Future Trends*. Berlin: Springer, 2006.
- "LBCS Standards," American Planning Association. Accessed March 3, 2019. <https://www.planning.org/lbcs/standards/>.
- Le Feber, Walter and Richard Polenburg. *The American Century*. New York: John Wiley & Son, Inc., 1975.

- Lichtenstein Consulting Engineers. 2007. *Historic Context of the Interstate Highway System in Georgia*. Georgia Department of Transportation. <http://www.dot.ga.gov/AboutGeorgia/CentennialHome/Documents/Historical%20Documents/HistoricalContextof%20GeorgialInterstates.pdf>.
- Liebs, Chester. *Main Street to Miracle Mile*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1985.
- Longstreth, Richard. *City Center to Regional Mall*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1997.
- _____. *Looking Beyond the Icons*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2015.
- _____. *The Buildings of Main Street*. Lanham, MD: Altamira Press, 2000.
- _____. *The Drive-In, The Supermarket, and the Transformation of Commercial Space in Los Angeles, 1914-1941*. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1999.
- Manning, Matthew. "The Death and Life of Great American Strip Malls: Evaluating and Preserving a Unique Cultural Resource." Master of Historic Preservation thesis, University of Georgia, 2009.
- Mell, Edward Baker. *Reminiscences of Athens, Georgia: About 1880 to 1900*. Athens: 1956.
- Michael, Martha. "Tour Reveals Surprising Facts About the Cobbham Historic District, The Flagpole." Last modified November 23, 2016. Accessed December 13, 2018. <https://flagpole.com/news/news-features/2016/11/23/tour-reveals-surprising-facts-about-the-cobbham-historic-district>.
- Mid-Century Commercial Design Evaluation and Preservation: An Opportunity for Commissions*. National Alliance for Preservation Commissions. The Alliance, Spring 2017.
- "Mid-Century Modern Structures, Materials and Preservation 2015 Symposium," National Center for Preservation Technology and Training. Accessed October 10, 2018. <https://www.ncptt.nps.gov/events/mid-century-modern-structures-2/>.
- "Mid-Twentieth Century Preservation," Illinois Historic Preservation. Accessed January 27, 2019. <https://www2.illinois.gov/dnrhistoric/Preserve/mid-century/Pages/midcentury.aspx>.
- "NCHRP 25-58 [RFP], Commercial Properties from 1945 to 1980: Guidance for State DOTs and Their Partners for Historic Context Development, Identification, and Evaluation," The National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, Medicine. Last modified December 27, 2018. Accessed January 27, 2019. <https://apps.trb.org/cmsfeed/TRBNetProjectDisplay.asp?ProjectID=4588>.
- Nelson, Lee H. "Preservation Brief 17: Architectural Character – Identifying the Visual Aspects of Historic Buildings as an Aid to Preserving their Character," National Park Service Technical Preservation Services. Accessed January 14, 2019. <https://www.nps.gov/tps/how-to-preserve/briefs/17-architectural-character.htm#process>.

- “Park and Shop on Connecticut Avenue,” Ghosts of DC. Last modified February 7, 2013. Accessed January 11, 2019. <https://ghostsofdc.org/2013/02/07/park-and-shop-on-connecticut-avenue/>.
- “Population of Cities in Georgia (2019),” World Population Review. Accessed March 3, 2019. <http://worldpopulationreview.com/states/georgia-population/cities/>.
- “Preserve Route 66,” National Trust for Historic Preservation. Accessed January 27, 2019. <https://savingplaces.org/preserve-route-66#.XEyUks9KjoA>.
- “Preserving the Recent Past Publications,” Historic Preservation Education Foundations. Accessed October 15, 2019. <https://www.hpef.us/preserving-the-recent-past>.
- “Principles of Urbanism,” New Urbanism. Accessed January 27, 2019. <http://www.newurbanism.org/newurbanism/principles.html>.
- Ray, David Winter. “A History of Streetcar Service in Athens, Georgia and Some Possibilities for Reintroduction.” Master of Historic Preservation thesis, University of Georgia, 2005.
- Reap, James K. *Athens: A Pictorial History*. Norfolk: The Donning Company Publishers, 1985.
- Reed, Mary Beth, Karcheik Sims-Alvarado, Patrick Sullivan, and Jackie Tyson. “Modern Downtown Atlanta, 1945-1990,” National Register of Historic Places. Stone Mountain, GA: New South Associates, 2018.
- “Regional Data,” Athens, Georgia Economic Development. Accessed January 27, 2019. <http://www.whiyathensga.com/regional-data/transportation/>.
- “Rhodes Center South,” The Georgia Trust for Historic Preservation. Accessed January 27, 2019. <https://www.georgiatrust.org/places-in-peril/rhodes-center-south/>.
- Reinberger, Mark. “19th Century Technology and the Tall Building.” Lecture, LAND2520 World Architecture, Athens, GA, April 26, 2018.
- _____. “European Modernism.” Lecture, LAND2520 World Architecture, Athens, GA, April 27, 2018.
- “Roofline,” Merriam-Webster. Accessed March 3, 2019. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/roofline>.
- Roth, Darlene. 1989. *Georgia Community Development and Morphology of Community Types*. Historic Preservation Section, Georgia Department of Natural Resources. <https://georgiashpo.org/sites/default/files/hpd/pdf/CommunityMorphology.pdf>.
- Sanborn Map Company. Athens, Clarke County, Georgia, 1918. New York: Sanborn Map & Publishing Co., 1918.
- _____. Athens, Clarke County, Georgia, 1926. New York: Sanborn Map & Publishing Co., 1926.

- ____. Athens, Clarke County, Georgia, 1961. New York: Sanborn Map & Publishing Co., 1961.
- Savage, Virginia and Lee McAlester. *A Field Guide to American Houses*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991.
- Scanlon, Heather. "The Country Club Plaza, Our Retail Claim to Fame," Squeezebox. Last modified July 14, 2015. Accessed January 27, 2019. <http://www.squeezeboxcity.com/the-country-club-plaza-our-retail-claim-to-fame/>.
- Schudel, Matt. "Robert Venturi, postmodern architect who argued 'Less is a bore,' dies at 93," The Washington Post. Last modified September 20, 2018. Accessed November 1, 2018. https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/obituaries/robert-venturi-postmodern-architect-who-argued-less-is-a-bore-dies-at-93/2018/09/20/58aa9864-bcf4-11e8-b7d2-0773aa1e33da_story.html?utm_term=.3d38e6de0055.
- Shearer, Lee. "Historical marker dedicated for first UGA Botanical Garden," Athens Banner-Herald. Last modified October 29, 2013. Accessed December 15, 2018. <https://www.onlineathens.com/uga/2013-10-29/historical-marker-dedicated-first-uga-botanical-garden>.
- Shiffer, Rebecca A. and Deborah Slaton. *Preserving the Recent Past*. Washington D.C.: Historic Preservation Education Foundation, 1995.
- "Site Selection," Athens, Georgia Economic Development. Accessed January 27, 2019. <http://www.whyathensga.com/site-selection/major-employers/>.
- Soriano, Ashley. "Mixed-use development to be built in downtown Athens area," The Red and Black. Last modified December 11, 2018. Accessed March 3, 2019. https://www.redandblack.com/athensnews/mixed-use-development-to-be-built-in-downtown-athens-area/article_b41488d6-fd90-11e8-bc4a-073607d51901.html.
- "Summary of Proposed National Register/Georgia Register Nomination," Georgia Department of Natural Resources Historic Preservation Division. Last modified December 2018. Accessed April 5, 2019, https://georgiashpo.org/sites/default/files/hpd/pdf/National_Register/Feb2019/Briarcliff_Plaza_Summary.pdf.
- "State Motor Vehicle Registration by Years, 1900-1995," United States Department of Transportation, Federal Highway Administration. Accessed November 1, 2018. <https://www.fhwa.dot.gov/ohim/summary95/mv200.pdf>.
- "State Tabs Athens 'City on the Move.'" *Athens Daily News*. May, 7, 1979.
- Steinbeck, Foster. "What'll Ya Build? Plan paves way for redevelopment near The Varsity, preserves historic homes," The Red & Black. Last modified February 7, 2019. Accessed March 1, 2019. https://www.redandblack.com/athensnews/what-ll-ya-build-plan-paves-way-for-redevelopment-near/article_c9535f78-2a78-11e9-aa53-47d724a6649e.html.

- Sudo, Chuck. "Strip Malls: The Least Glamorous Segment In Retail Is Among The Sector's Strongest Performers," BisNow. Last modified October 8, 2017. Accessed October 15, 2018. <https://www.bisnow.com/national/news/retail/healthcare-qsr-service-oriented-retail-have-made-strip-malls-strong-e-commerce-resistant-performers-80023>.
- Syed, Sabrina. "9 Weird and Wonderful Architectural 'Ducks,'" ArchDaily. Last modified July 8, 2017. Accessed November 1, 2018. <https://www.archdaily.com/875022/9-weird-and-wonderful-architectural-ducks>.
- "Tax Incentives for Preserving Historic Properties," National Park Service Technical Preservation Services. Accessed February 27, 2019. <https://www.nps.gov/tps/tax-incentives.htm>.
- The Secretary of the Interior's Standards," National Park Service Technical Preservation Services. Accessed February 12, 2019. <https://www.nps.gov/tps/standards.htm>.
- Thomas, Frances Taliaferro. *A Portrait of Historic Athens and Clarke County*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992.
- _____. "Athens," New Georgia Encyclopedia. Last modified July 27, 2017. Accessed November 20, 2018. <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/counties-cities-neighborhoods/Athens>.
- Tietz, Jurgen. *The Story of Architecture of the 20th Century*. Cologne, Germany: Konemann, 1999.
- Treu, Martin. *Signs, Streets, and Storefronts*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2012.
- "Trust Company of Georgia Northeast Freeway Branch Listed in the National Register of Historic Places," Georgia Department of Natural Resources Historic Preservation Division. Last modified March 7, 2018. Accessed January 27, 2019. <https://georgiashpo.org/trust-company-georgia-northeast-freeway-branch-listed-national-register-historic-places>.
- Unified Government of Athens-Clarke County, Georgia Mayor and Commission. Special session meeting minutes, January 18, 2019. <https://www.accgov.com/ArchiveCenter/ViewFile/Item/4192>.
- Unified Government of Athens-Clarke County, Georgia Planning Department. *Milledge Circle Local Historic Property Designation Report*. Athens, GA: 2018. <https://www.accgov.com/DocumentCenter/View/47427/Milledge-Circle-Designation-Report--draft-31618?bidId=> (accessed March 2, 2019).
- Unified Government of Athens-Clarke County, Georgia Planning Department. *Castalia Avenue Local Historic Property Designation Report*. Athens, GA: 2018. <https://www.athensclarkecounty.com/DocumentCenter/View/52824/Castalia-Designation-Report--final-w-CDO-7318> (accessed March 2, 2019).

- “University Enrollment Fall Terms 1830-1982,” University of Georgia Office of Institutional Research. Accessed January 11, 2019. https://oir.uga.edu/_resources/files/factbook/University_Enrollment_1830-1982.pdf.
- United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service. *National Register Bulletin 24, Guidelines for Local Surveys: A Basis for Preservation Planning*. <https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb24/chapter1.htm> (accessed October 29, 2018).
- United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service. *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*. Bulletin 15. 1995. <https://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/pdfs/nrb15.pdf> (accessed October 30, 2018).
- “United States Shopping-Center Classification and Typical Characteristics,” International Council of Shopping Centers, accessed January 12, 2019, <https://www.icsc.org/uploads/t07-subpage/US-Shopping-Center-Definition-Standard.pdf>.
- “Vanished Athens,” *The Athens Observer*. May 10, 1979.
- Venturi, Robert, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour. *Learning from Las Vegas*. Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1972.
- Virginia Department of Historic Resources. *New Dominion Virginia, Architectural Style Guide*. Melinda Bezirdjian and Lena Sweeten McDonald. Richmond: Virginia Department of Historic Resources, 2014. https://www.dhr.virginia.gov/pdf_files/newdominion/NewDomStylGdeApril2014Version.pdf (accessed February 28, 2019).
- Washington State Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation. *Anatomy of a Main Street Building*. Michael Houser. May 2011. https://dahp.wa.gov/sites/default/files/Anatomy_of_MainStreet_0.pdf (accessed January 27, 2019).
- Wilkins, Tyler. “An Uncertain Future: Athens Residents Reflect on Changes at Georgia Square Mall.” *The Red and Black*. Last modified November 23, 2018. Accessed December 13, 2018. https://www.redandblack.com/athensnews/an-uncertain-future-athens-residents-reflect-on-changes-at-georgia/article_eb1cd2aa-eeb5-11e8-947d-2f38c04d0b46.html.

Photo Credits

Chapter 2

Figure 2.1

“Victorian era Gothic revival architecture Manchester town hall in Albert Square,” Bear Tales. Last modified February 28, 2015. Accessed March 2, 2019. <https://beartales.me/2015/02/28/amazing-and-interesting-photos-28-february-2015/victorian-era-gothic-revival-architecture-manchester-town-hall-in-albert-square/>.

“Beaux Arts,” Chicago Architecture Center. Accessed March 2, 2019. <http://www.architecture.org/learn/resources/architecture-dictionary/entry/beaux-arts/>.

“Antonio Gaudi,” Art Nouvea Around the World. Accessed March 2, 2019. <http://www.art-nouveau-around-the-world.org/en/artistes/gaudi.htm>.

“Prairie Style,” Chicago Architecture Center. Accessed March 2, 2019. <http://www.architecture.org/learn/resources/architecture-dictionary/entry/prairie-style/>.

“Gropius House,” Wikipedia. Last modified March 7, 2019. Accessed March 7, 2019. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gropius_House.

“10 Best Art Deco Buildings in Miami,” Fodor’s Travel. Last modified September 25, 2015. Accessed March 4, 2019. <https://www.fodors.com/world/north-america/usa/florida/miami/experiences/news/photos/10-best-art-deco-buildings-in-miami-beach>.

“66 Diner,” Trip Advisor. Accessed March 7, 2019. https://www.tripadvisor.co.uk/LocationPhotoDirectLink-g60933-d484754-i280185510-66_Diner-Albuquerque_New_Mexico.html.

“The International Style,” The Art Story. Accessed March 5, 2019. <https://www.theartstory.org/movement-international-style.htm>

“Wotruba Church: Brutalist architecture in Vienna,” Designed to Travel. Last modified August 31, 2018. Accessed March 5, 2019. <https://designedtotravel.ro/wotruba-church-brutalism-vienna/>.

“Guggenheim,” Guggenheim Museum. Accessed March 4, 2019. <https://www.guggenheim.org/>.

Boer, Rene. “8 Reasons You Will Also Like Postmodern Architecture in 2016,” Failed Architecture. Last modified December 22, 2015. Accessed March 3, 2019. <https://failedarchitecture.com/8-reasons-you-will-also-like-postmodern-architecture-in-2016/>.

Figure 2.2

Liebs, Chester. *Main Street to Miracle Mile*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1985. 12-13, 30.

Figure 2.3

“State Motor Vehicle Registration, By Years, 1900-1995,” U.S. Department of Transportation, Federal Highway Administration. Accessed March 3, 2019. <https://www.fhwa.dot.gov/ohim/summary95/mv200.pdf>.

Figure 2.4

"In 1923, work began on the first block of Country Club Plaza," Midtown KC Post. Last modified October 2, 2018. Accessed March 4, 2019. <http://midtownkcpost.com/in-1923-work-began-on-first-block-of-country-club-plaza/>.

"Park and Shop on Connecticut Avenue," Ghosts of DC. Last modified February 7, 2013. Accessed January 11, 2019. <https://ghostsofdc.org/2013/02/07/park-and-shop-on-connecticut-avenue/>.

Figure 2.5

Diagram by author.

Figure 2.6

Manning, Matthew. "The Death and Life of Great American Strip Malls: Evaluating and Preserving a Unique Cultural Resource." Master of Historic Preservation thesis, University of Georgia, 2009.

Figure 2.7

Garfield, Leanna. "25 incredible photos revealing the history of America's first modern shopping mall," Business Insider. Last modified August 2, 2017. Accessed March 2, 2019. <https://www.businessinsider.com/first-shopping-mall-us-southdale-center-history-photos-2017-8>.

Figure 2.8

Ford, Larry. *Cities and Buildings: Skyscrapers, Skid Rows, and Suburbs*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994. 234.

Figure 2.9

Syed, Sabrina. "9 Weird and Wonderful Architectural 'Ducks,'" ArchDaily. Last modified July 8, 2017. Accessed November 1, 2018. <https://www.archdaily.com/875022/9-weird-and-wonderful-architectural-ducks>.

Figure 2.10

"Growing Up in Athens," Facebook. Accessed January 31, 2019. <https://www.facebook.com/GrowingupinAthensGa/>.

Figure 2.11

"Postcards of the 'Streamline Moderne' Greyhound Terminals," Flashbak. Last modified March 18, 2017. Accessed March 3, 2019. <https://flashbak.com/gorgeous-postcards-of-the-streamline-moderne-greyhound-terminals-375899/>.

"Zenith Radio Store," Chuckman Chicago Nostalgia. Last modified September 3, 2010. Accessed March 3, 2019. <https://chuckmanchicagonostalgia.wordpress.com/2010/09/03/zenith-radio-store-michigan-blvd-at-huron-note-international-sryle-c1940/x-postcard-chicago-zenith-radio-store-michigan-blvd-at-huron-note-international-sryle-c1940/>.

Figure 2.12

"The McDonald's Story," McDonald's. Accessed March 4, 2019. <https://corporate.mcdonalds.com/corpmcd/about-us/history.html>.

Figure 2.13

Heimann, Jim. *50s: All American Ads*. New York: Taschen, 2002. 250, 343.

Figure 2.14

Novak, Matt. "Google: Architecture of the Space Age," Smithsonian Magazine. Last modified June 15, 2012. Accessed March 3, 2019. <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/google-architecture-of-the-space-age-122837470/>.

Ideal Bagel sign photo by author, January 2019.

Figure 2.15
Architectural Record. *Design for Modern Merchandising: Stores, Shopping Centers, Showrooms*. New York: F.W. Dodge Corporation, 1954. 6.

Figure 2.16
Architectural Record. *Design for Modern Merchandising: Stores, Shopping Centers, Showrooms*. 2, 5-6.

Ketchum, Morris. *Shops and Stores*. New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1957. 167.

Figure 2.17
Novak, Matt. "Googie: Architecture of the Space Age."

Chapter 3

Figures 3.1-3.3
"Athens, Georgia," Mapquest. Accessed March 7, 2019. <https://www.mapquest.com/?zoom=0>.

Figure 3.4
Reap, James K. *Athens: A Pictorial History*. Norfolk: The Donning Company Publishers, 1985. 16.

Figure 3.5
Thomas, Frances Taliaferro. *A Portrait of Historic Athens and Clarke County*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992. 229.

Figure 3.6
"Map of Clarke County, Georgia," 1893, Library of Congress. Accessed March 7, 2019. <https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3923c.la000088a/>.

Figure 3.7
Athens City Records—Maps, Plans, and Blueprints, MS 1633a, OS Folder 3C. Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.

Figure 3.8
"Growing Up in Athens," Facebook.

B & C Grocery photo by author, January 2019.

Figures 3.9-3.10
"Growing Up in Athens," Facebook.

Figure 3.11
Ray, David Winter. "A History of Streetcar Service in Athens, Georgia and Some Possibilities for Reintroduction." Master of Historic Preservation thesis, University of Georgia, 2005. 72.

Figure 3.12
"Growing Up in Athens," Facebook.

Figure 3.13
Doster, Gary L. *A Postcard History of Athens*. Athens, GA: Athens Historical Society, 2002. 48.

Figure 3.14
"Growing Up in Athens," Facebook.

Figure 3.15

“Rhodes Center South,” The Georgia Trust for Historic Preservation. Accessed January 27, 2019. <https://www.georgiatruster.org/places-in-peril/rhodes-center-south/>.

Georgia Department of Natural Resources Historic Preservation Division. “Modern Commercial Storefronts in Georgia, 1945-1975.” Presentation by Ruben Acosta.

Figure 3.16

Lichtenstein Consulting Engineers. 2007. Historic Context of the Interstate Highway System in Georgia. Georgia Department of Transportation. <http://www.dot.ga.gov/AboutGeorgia/CentennialHome/Documents/Historical%20Documents/HistoricalContextof%20GeorgiaInterstates.pdf>.

Figure 3.17

Georgia Department of Natural Resources Historic Preservation Division. “Modern Commercial Storefronts in Georgia, 1945-1975.”

Figures 3.18-3.20

“Growing Up in Athens,” Facebook.

Figure 3.21

Athens City Records—Maps, Plans, and Blueprints.

Figure 3.22

“Growing Up in Athens,” Facebook.

Figure 3.23

Athens City Records—Maps, Plans, and Blueprints.

“Growing Up in Athens,” Facebook.

Figures 3.24-3.29

“Growing Up in Athens,” Facebook.

Figure 3.30

Athens-Clarke County Planning Commission. *Base Year Socio-Economic Study*. Athens: Athens-Clarke County, 1971.

Figure 3.31

Athens-Clarke County Planning Commission. *Base Year Socio-Economic Study*.

Figure 3.32

“Vanishing Athens.” *The Athens Observer*. May 10, 1979. 4A-5A.

Figures 3.33-3.35

“Growing Up in Athens,” Facebook.

Figures 3.36-3.39

“Athens, Georgia,” GoogleEarth. <https://www.google.com/earth/>.

Chapter 5

Figure 5.1

199 Prince Ave.
“Growing Up in Athens,” Facebook.
Photo taken by author, January 2019.

1855 W Broad St.
“Growing Up in Athens,” Facebook.

1423 W Broad St.
“About Us,” Church’s Chicken. Accessed November 13, 2018.
<http://www.churchs.com/about.php>.
Photo taken by author, November 2018.

2036 N Milledge Ave.
“Growing Up in Athens,” Facebook.
Photo taken by author, November 2018.

1660 W Broad St.
“Growing Up in Athens,” Facebook.
Photo taken by author, November 2018.

Figure 5.2
Photos taken by author, October-December 2018.

Chapter 6

Figure 6.1
Diagram by author

Figure 6.2
Diagram by author based on Longstreth, Richard. *The Buildings of Main Street*. Lanham, MD: Altamira Press, 2000.

Figure 6.3
Diagram by author.

Figure 6.4
Photos and diagrams by author, October 2018-January 2019.

Figure 6.5
Photo by author, January 2019.

Figures 6.6-6.8
Photos and diagrams by author, October 2018-January 2019.

Figures 6.9-6.14
Photos by author, November 2018.

Figure 6.15
“Athens, Georgia,” GoogleEarth.

Figures 6.16-6.20
Photos by author, November 2018.

Figure 6.21
GIS map created by Justin Bucher, Athens-Clarke County Planning Department.

Figures 6.22-6.29
Photos by author, November 2018.

Figure 6.30
“Growing Up in Athens,” Facebook.

“The Varsity, Athens,” Yelp. Last modified September 3, 2016. Accessed March 9, 2019. https://www.yelp.com/biz_photos/the-varsity-athens-athens?select=t56c1sa559YikqACagIOpg.

Figures 6.31-6.34
Photos by author, November 2018.

A-CC Mid-Century Commercial Resource Survey

1) Name of Resource _____ 2) Address _____ 3) Date _____

4) Classification, # Building __ Site __ Landscape feature __ Structure __ Object __

5) Current Use _____ 6) Original Use _____

7) Date of Construction _____ Approximate Known

8) Major Changes Altered Addition Unknown _____

9) Appears to Retain Integrity Yes No Partially

10) Architect/ Engineer/ Designer _____ 11) Contractor/ Builder/ Craftsman _____

12) # of Businesses Within 1 2 3+ unknown _____

13) Affiliation Local Regional chain National chain

14) Style

<input type="checkbox"/> High Style	<input type="checkbox"/> Revival _____	<input type="checkbox"/> Stmln. Moderne	<input type="checkbox"/> Brutalist	<input type="checkbox"/> Enviro. Age
<input type="checkbox"/> Elements of	<input type="checkbox"/> Art Deco	<input type="checkbox"/> International	<input type="checkbox"/> Expressionism	<input type="checkbox"/> Post-Modern
<input type="checkbox"/> NoAcad.Style	<input type="checkbox"/> Strip. Classical	<input type="checkbox"/> Exagg. Modern	<input type="checkbox"/> Contemporary	<input type="checkbox"/>

15) Description of main form and appendages (shape, size, window placement)

16) Plan Shape

<input type="checkbox"/> Circular	<input type="checkbox"/> I-Shape	<input type="checkbox"/> Octagonal	<input type="checkbox"/> Triangle/Flatiron
<input type="checkbox"/> E-Shape	<input type="checkbox"/> Irregular	<input type="checkbox"/> Rectangular	<input type="checkbox"/> U-Shape
<input type="checkbox"/> Greek Cross	<input type="checkbox"/> L-Shape	<input type="checkbox"/> Square	<input type="checkbox"/> _____
<input type="checkbox"/> H-Shape	<input type="checkbox"/> Latin Cross	<input type="checkbox"/> T-Shape	

17) Approx. Square Footage <1000 1000-2000 2000-5000 5000-10,000 10,000+

18) Emphasis Horizontal Vertical Balanced

19) Stories

<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> Split level	<input type="checkbox"/> _____
<input type="checkbox"/> 1 1/2	<input type="checkbox"/> 2 1/2	<input type="checkbox"/> + basement		

20) Entry Façade Symmetrical Asymmetrical

21) Front Entrances 1 2 3+ Double doors () Garage bay ()

22) # Façades Designed for Customer 1 2 3 4 _____

23) Façade Features

<input type="checkbox"/> Arcade	<input type="checkbox"/> Cantilever	<input type="checkbox"/> Door, opaque	<input type="checkbox"/> Piers	<input type="checkbox"/> Shutters
<input type="checkbox"/> Awning	<input type="checkbox"/> Cornice	<input type="checkbox"/> Entry flush	<input type="checkbox"/> Prismatic glass	<input type="checkbox"/> Sidelights
<input type="checkbox"/> Bris soleil	<input type="checkbox"/> Curtain wall	<input type="checkbox"/> Flr-to-ceil glass	<input type="checkbox"/> Pylon	<input type="checkbox"/> Sign band
<input type="checkbox"/> Bulkhead	<input type="checkbox"/> Deep eaves	<input type="checkbox"/> Glass corners	<input type="checkbox"/> Recessed, angle	<input type="checkbox"/> Transom
<input type="checkbox"/> Canopy	<input type="checkbox"/> Display windw	<input type="checkbox"/> Parapet	<input type="checkbox"/> Recessed, even	<input type="checkbox"/> Visual front
<input type="checkbox"/> Canted glass	<input type="checkbox"/> Door, glass	<input type="checkbox"/> Pediment	<input type="checkbox"/> Shadowbox	<input type="checkbox"/>

24) Roof Types

<input type="checkbox"/> Accordion	<input type="checkbox"/> Faux-Mansard	<input type="checkbox"/> Gable, broken	<input type="checkbox"/> Gable, side	<input type="checkbox"/> Shed/Pent
<input type="checkbox"/> Butterfly	<input type="checkbox"/> Flat	<input type="checkbox"/> Gable, cross	<input type="checkbox"/> Gambrel	<input type="checkbox"/> Vaulted
<input type="checkbox"/> Complex	<input type="checkbox"/> Flat on hip	<input type="checkbox"/> Gable, front	<input type="checkbox"/> Hipped	<input type="checkbox"/> _____
<input type="checkbox"/> Conical	<input type="checkbox"/> Flat w/ parapet	<input type="checkbox"/> Gable, multi	<input type="checkbox"/> Parabolic hyper.	
<input type="checkbox"/> Dome	<input type="checkbox"/> Gable, asym.	<input type="checkbox"/> Gable, parapet	<input type="checkbox"/> Pyramidal	

25) Roof Materials

<input type="checkbox"/> Asphalt roll	<input type="checkbox"/> Clay tile	<input type="checkbox"/> Metal shingle	<input type="checkbox"/> Slate	<input type="checkbox"/> _____
<input type="checkbox"/> Asphalt shngle	<input type="checkbox"/> Concrete tile	<input type="checkbox"/> Metal, corrugated	<input type="checkbox"/> Wood shingle	
<input type="checkbox"/> Built-up/Tar	<input type="checkbox"/> Concrete, poured	<input type="checkbox"/> Metal, stnd seam	<input type="checkbox"/> Unknown	

26) Construction

Concrete blk Metal/Steel Pour concrete Platform Unknown _____

27) Exterior Materials

<input type="checkbox"/> Aluminum	<input type="checkbox"/> Brick, chckr brd	<input type="checkbox"/> Brick, Flemish	<input type="checkbox"/> Brick, running	<input type="checkbox"/> Concrete block
<input type="checkbox"/> Asbestos siding	<input type="checkbox"/> Brick, common	<input type="checkbox"/> Brick, painted	<input type="checkbox"/> Brick, stacked	<input type="checkbox"/> Concrete, cast
<input type="checkbox"/> Asphalt shingle	<input type="checkbox"/> Brick, English	<input type="checkbox"/> Brick, Roman	<input type="checkbox"/> CastIron/Pres Tin	<input type="checkbox"/> Shotcrete

- | | | | | |
|--|---|--|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Decorative block | <input type="checkbox"/> Masonite | <input type="checkbox"/> ShtMetal/Corrugt | <input type="checkbox"/> Stone, rusticated | <input type="checkbox"/> Wood shingles |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Glass block | <input type="checkbox"/> Patterned asphalt | <input type="checkbox"/> Slate | <input type="checkbox"/> Stucco, smooth | <input type="checkbox"/> Wood, flush |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Glass, structural | <input type="checkbox"/> Permastone | <input type="checkbox"/> Steel, stainless | <input type="checkbox"/> Stucco, textured | <input type="checkbox"/> Wood, vertical |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Glass, pigmented | <input type="checkbox"/> Plastic/Fiberglass | <input type="checkbox"/> Steel, weathering | <input type="checkbox"/> Terra cotta | <input type="checkbox"/> Wrought iron |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Glass, plate | <input type="checkbox"/> Plywood | <input type="checkbox"/> Stone panels | <input type="checkbox"/> TileBlok/ Mosaic | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hardiplnk/Comp. | <input type="checkbox"/> Poured wall | <input type="checkbox"/> Stone, coursed | <input type="checkbox"/> Vinyl/Alum. sid | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Half-timbering | <input type="checkbox"/> Prcln enaml/Steel | <input type="checkbox"/> Stone, field | <input type="checkbox"/> Wood, board/bat | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Log | <input type="checkbox"/> Prefab panel | <input type="checkbox"/> Stone, random | <input type="checkbox"/> Wood, clapboard | |

28) Windows

- | | | | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Casement | <input type="checkbox"/> Fixed | <input type="checkbox"/> Picture | <input type="checkbox"/> 1x-hung (/) | <input type="checkbox"/> Unknown Type |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Chicago | <input type="checkbox"/> Hopper | <input type="checkbox"/> Pivotal Sash | <input type="checkbox"/> 2x-hung (/) | <input type="checkbox"/> Other decorative |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Display/Plate | <input type="checkbox"/> Jalousie | <input type="checkbox"/> Ribbon | <input type="checkbox"/> 3x-hung (/) | <input type="checkbox"/> |

29) Window Framing

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Metal | <input type="checkbox"/> Vinyl | <input type="checkbox"/> Wood |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|

30) Outbuildings, Material

- | | | | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|---|---|--------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Barn/Ag storage | <input type="checkbox"/> Garage | <input type="checkbox"/> Trash/Dumpster | <input type="checkbox"/> Brick | <input type="checkbox"/> Stone |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Carport | <input type="checkbox"/> Greenhouse | <input type="checkbox"/> Unknown use | <input type="checkbox"/> Concrete block | <input type="checkbox"/> Wood |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Dwelling | <input type="checkbox"/> Storage | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> Metal | <input type="checkbox"/> |

31) Landscape

- | | | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|---|---|--------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Casual/unplanned | <input type="checkbox"/> Street trees | <input type="checkbox"/> Foundation plnts | <input type="checkbox"/> Planter | <input type="checkbox"/> Fence |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Designed/planned | <input type="checkbox"/> Shade trees | <input type="checkbox"/> Lawn | <input type="checkbox"/> Retaining wall | |

32) Parking

- | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Side lot | <input type="checkbox"/> Front lot | <input type="checkbox"/> Rear lot | <input type="checkbox"/> Shared lot | <input type="checkbox"/> Striped parking |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|

33) # lot entrances

- | | | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3+ | <input type="checkbox"/> Not defined |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|

34) Material

- | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Asphalt | <input type="checkbox"/> Concrete | <input type="checkbox"/> Brick | <input type="checkbox"/> Decorative | <input type="checkbox"/> Dirt | <input type="checkbox"/> Gravel |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|

35) # parking spaces

- | | | | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> <10 | <input type="checkbox"/> 10-20 | <input type="checkbox"/> 21-50 | <input type="checkbox"/> 51-100 | <input type="checkbox"/> 100+ |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|

36) # entry walkways

- | | | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3+ | <input type="checkbox"/> Not defined |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|

37) Walkway Features

- | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|--|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|--------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Steps | <input type="checkbox"/> Wheelchair ramp | <input type="checkbox"/> Railing | <input type="checkbox"/> Curb cut | <input type="checkbox"/> Decorative paving | <input type="checkbox"/> |
|--------------------------------|--|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|--------------------------|

38) Walkway Material

- | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Asphalt | <input type="checkbox"/> Concrete | <input type="checkbox"/> Brick | <input type="checkbox"/> Decorative | <input type="checkbox"/> Dirt | <input type="checkbox"/> Gravel |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|

Signs

- 39) Original Replacement Unknown

40) Type

- Pylon Awning Monument Post & panel Projecting Letters Wall mount Marquee Decal

41) Number

- 1 2 3

42) Shape

- Rect. Square Circular Irregular Individ. letter

43) Material

- Wood Metal Plastic Brick Stone Glass Concrete Fabric

44) Size

- <10sqft 10-20sqft 21-30sqft 31-40sqft 41-50sqft >50sqft

45) Placement

- Attached to building Detached

46) Lighting

- Unlit Neon Internal illum. External illum. Channel Reverse channel

47) Design

- Serif text Sans serif Script Changeable letters Logo Graphics

48) Colors

- R O Y G B I V White Black Grey

49) Setting

- Urban Suburban Rural

50) Frontage road

- 2 lanes 3-4 lanes >4 lanes Paved Unpaved

51) GDOT classification

- Local road Collector Arterial

52) Setback from road

- <10ft 11-20ft 21-50ft 51-100ft >100ft

53) Surrounding resources

- Residential Commercial Industrial Institutional Mixed use

Public Right-of-Way

- 54) Width of landscape verge None <2' 2-4' >4' 55) Width of sidewalk None <4' 4-8' >8'

- 56) Quality of pedestrian way Well-defined Somewhat defined Not defined

57) Additional Physical Description

58) Historical Themes

- | | | | | |
|--|--|---|---------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Afr. Amer. His. | <input type="checkbox"/> Conservation | <input type="checkbox"/> Gov./Law | <input type="checkbox"/> Planning | <input type="checkbox"/> Social/ Cultural |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Agriculture | <input type="checkbox"/> Education | <input type="checkbox"/> Industry | <input type="checkbox"/> Public Works | <input type="checkbox"/> Transportation |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Architecture | <input type="checkbox"/> Engineering | <input type="checkbox"/> Landscape Arch. | <input type="checkbox"/> Recreation | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Arts/Letters | <input type="checkbox"/> Entertainment | <input type="checkbox"/> Military | <input type="checkbox"/> Religion | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Commerce | <input type="checkbox"/> Exploration | <input type="checkbox"/> Native Amer. His | <input type="checkbox"/> Settlement | |

59) Significance

- Historic pattern/Event Architecture/Craft. Person Assoc. Archaeology

60) Ownership

- Private Public-Federal Public-State Public-Local

61) Threat assessment

- Deterioration Neglect Vacant None known

Survey Photos: 1930-1939



940 W Broad St.



493 Prince Ave.



1354 Prince Ave.



1298 Prince Ave.

Survey Photos: 1940-1949



1687 Lumpkin St.



346 Athens Ave.



740 N Chase St.



199 Prince Ave.



1376 Prince Ave.



766 W Broad St.



1918 W Broad St.



180 Park Ave.



2045 W Broad St.



393 N Finley St.



1655 S Lumpkin St.

Survey Photos: 1950-1959



925 W Broad St.



1675 W Broad St.



754 N Chase St.



3049 Danielsville Rd.



1500 W Hancock Ave.



6330 Jefferson Rd.



1087 Baxter St.



855 W Broad St.



2165 W Broad St.



2109 W Broad St.



2161 W Broad St.



142 Oconee St.

Survey Photos: 1950-1959



1368 Prince Ave.



1380 Prince Ave.



1365-1383 Prince Ave.



1625 W Broad St.



784 Prince Ave.



585 Nellie B. Ave,
151-159 Vine St.



1965 W Broad St.



435 Macon Hwy.



2036 S Milledge Ave.



2147 W Broad St.



2155 W Broad St.



825 King Ave.

Survey Photos: 1950-1959



480 Macon Hwy.



430 Hawthorne Ave.



1323 W Hancock Ave.

Survey Photos: 1960-1969



1015 Baxter St.



1045 Baxter St.



600 W Broad St.



985 W Broad St.



1495 W Broad St.



1660 W Broad St.



1855 W Broad St.



2145 W Broad St.



904 N Chase St.



954 N Chase St.



120 Collins Industrial Rd.



1355 Danielsville Rd.

Survey Photos: 1960-1969



4005 Danielsville Rd.



225 S Milledge Ave.



410 Oak St.



1275 Oconee St.



101 Old Winterville Rd.



1242 Prince Ave.



490 Hawthorne Ave.



698 S Milledge Ave.



1180 Baxter St.



250 Old Epps Bridge Rd.



298 Prince Ave.



2597 Atlanta Hwy.

Survey Photos: 1960-1969



1501 Lexington Rd.



234 Old Epps Bridge Rd.



529 Baxter St.



700 Baxter St.



2455 W Broad St.



1225 Chase St.



920 S Milledge Ave.



1135 Prince Ave.



2565 Atlanta Hwy.



3100 Atlanta Hwy.



510 Baxter St.



1035 Baxter St.

Survey Photos: 1960-1969



1039 Baxter St.



1050 Baxter St.



1054 Baxter St.



1063 Baxter St.



749 W Broad St.



865 W Broad St.



1387 W Broad St.



900 Old Hull Rd.



1190 Prince Ave.



596 Prince Ave.



598 Prince Ave.



550 Hawthorne Ave.

Survey Photos: 1960-1969



1739 S Lumpkin St.



1961 W Broad St.



2330 W Broad St.



1400 Chase St.



265 E Hancock Ave.



401 North Ave.



121 Rowe Rd.



1255 S Milledge Ave.



798 Baxter St.



1068 Baxter St.



1573 S Lumpkin St.

Survey Photos: 1970-1980



2575 Atlanta Hwy.



1037 Baxter St.



105 Old Epps Bridge Rd.



823 Prince Ave.



1226 Prince Ave.



1423 W Broad St.



2303 W Broad St.



108 Gaines School Rd.



400 Hawthorne Ave.



2750 Atlanta Hwy.



3195 Atlanta Hwy.



110 Commerce Rd.

Survey Photos: 1970-1980



145 Epps Bridge Rd.



390 Glenhaven Ave.



6300 Jefferson Rd.



623 N Milledge Ave.



1296 W Hancock Ave.



470 Hawthorne Ave.



387 Old Commerce Rd.



2900 Atlanta Hwy.



3035 Atlanta Hwy.



2280 Barnett Shoals Rd.



1029 Baxter St.



2364 W Broad St.

Survey Photos: 1970-1980



120 Epps Bridge Rd.



575 N Harris St.



210 Hawthorne Ave.



161 Alps Rd.



670 N Milledge Ave.



573-575 Hawthorne Ave.



2725 Atlanta Hwy.



1875-1895 Commerce Rd.



2735 Atlanta Hwy.



1650 W Broad St.



655 Hawthorne Ave.



850 Hawthorne Ave.



U.S. Shopping-Center Classification and Typical Characteristics*

Type of Shopping Center	Concept	Typical GLA Range (Sq. Ft.)	Acres	# of Anchors	% Anchor GLA	Typical Number of Tenants	Typical Type of Anchors	Trade Area Size
General-Purpose Centers								
Super-Regional Mall	Similar in concept to regional malls, but offering more variety and assortment.	800,000+	60-120	3+	50-70%	N/A	Full-line department store, mass merchant, discount department store, fashion apparel store, mini-anchor, cineplex or other large-scale entertainment attraction, and food-and-beverage service cluster.	5-25 miles
Regional Mall	General merchandise or fashion-oriented offerings. Typically, enclosed with inward-facing stores connected by a common walkway. Parking surrounds the outside perimeter.	400,000-800,000	40-100	2+	50-70%	40-80 stores	Full-line department store, mass merchant, discount department store, fashion apparel store, mini-anchor, cineplex or other large-scale entertainment attraction, and food-and-beverage service cluster.	5-15 miles
Community Center ("Large Neighborhood Center")	General merchandise or convenience-oriented offerings. Wider range of apparel and other soft goods offerings than neighborhood centers. The center is usually configured in a straight line as a strip, or may be laid out in an L or U shape, depending on the site and design.	125,000-400,000	10-40	2+	40-60%	15-40 stores	Discount store, supermarket, drug, large-specialty discount (toys, books, electronics, home improvement/furnishings or sporting goods, etc.)	3-6 miles
Neighborhood Center	Convenience-oriented.	30,000-125,000	3-5	1+	30-50%	5-20 stores	Supermarket	3 miles
Strip/Convenience	Attached row of stores or service outlets managed as a coherent retail entity, with on-site parking usually located in front of the stores. Open canopies may connect the storefronts, but a strip center does not have enclosed walkways linking the stores. A strip center may be configured in a straight line, or have an "L" or "U" shape. A convenience center is among the smallest of the centers, whose tenants provide a narrow mix of goods and personal services to a very limited trade area.	< 30,000	<3	Anchor-less or a small convenience-store anchor.	N/A	N/A	Convenience store, such as a mini-mart.	<1 mile
Specialized-Purpose Centers								
Power Center	Category-dominant anchors, including discount department stores, off-price stores, wholesale clubs, with only a few small tenants.	250,000-600,000	25-80	3+	70-90%	N/A	Category killers, such as home improvement, discount department, warehouse club and off-price stores	5-10 miles
Lifestyle	Upscale national-chain specialty stores with dining and entertainment in an outdoor setting.	150,000-500,000	10-40	0-2	0-50%	N/A	Large-format upscale specialty	8-12 miles
Factory Outlet	Manufacturers' and retailers' outlet stores selling brand-name goods at a discount.	50,000-400,000	10-50	N/A	N/A	N/A	Manufacturers' and retailers' outlets	25-75 miles
Theme/Festival	Leisure, tourist, retail and service-oriented offerings with entertainment as a unifying theme. Often in urban areas, they may be adapted from older—sometimes historic—buildings, and part of a mixed-use project.	80,000-250,000	5-20	Unspecified	N/A	N/A	Restaurants, entertainment	25-75 miles
Limited-Purpose Property								
Airport Retail	Consolidation of retail stores located within a commercial airport	75,000-300,000	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	No anchors; retail includes specialty retail and restaurants	N/A

*Disclaimer: While every effort is made to ensure the accuracy and reliability of the information contained in this report, ICSC does not guarantee and is not responsible for the accuracy, completeness or reliability of the information contained in this report. Use of such information is voluntary, and reliance on it should only be undertaken after an independent review of its accuracy, completeness, efficiency, and timeliness. Criteria used in the definitions above are intended to be only typical of general features, rather than covering all situations.