

RESTRUCTURING THE URBAN NEIGHBORHOOD:  
The Dialogue Between Image and Ideology  
in Phoenix Hill, Louisville, Kentucky

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Submitted to the Department of Architecture on  
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ABSTRACT

This thesis addresses the problems of restructuring the urban neighborhood as specifically applied to the Phoenix Hill community in Louisville, Kentucky. Theory and concepts are briefly presented as a basis for design proposals for housing and open space. The first chapter introduces the destructure-restructure concept and discusses its social and political consequences when applied at the neighborhood scale: urban renewal produces changing ways of life for existing residents, but are they desired changes? Whose beliefs, ideas and aspirations are built into the renewed urban environment? Whose way of life becomes embodied in physical form? This leads to a discussion relating the images a designer projects in the environment to the ideology they represent.

The second chapter presents an historical reading of the social and physical context of the Phoenix Hill area, discussing how the interests of various social structures (or ideologies) were built into the physical structure (or image) of the environment.

The third chapter presents the Urban Renewal Plan now being prepared for Phoenix Hill--an inner city neighborhood with a predominantly low-income black population. An analysis of the planning process interprets which social interests are represented in the physical plan: community development for one group may threaten community destruction for another. In this case, transplanting suburban images and ideology back to the city may mean the end of a way of life for Phoenix Hill's existing residents.



The final chapter offers some alternate images of what Phoenix Hill could be. Designs for housing and community open space follow a statement of planning objectives and redevelopment strategies. The work draws upon lessons taken from the reading of the historical development of the neighborhood.

The design activity focuses on a key block at the center of the various institutional forces operating in Phoenix Hill. The model for the block structure relates to the existing pattern by confining buildings close to the street edge while leaving the interior of the block free. A new pattern of community open space maintains this block center as a two-acre park for the common enjoyment of all residents.

This model for 'Phoenix Commons' is extended to other blocks to form a continuous greenway connecting the cultural and work activity of downtown Louisville with the recreation and relaxation found in Cherokee Park--a major Olmstead-designed park just beyond the inner city's edge.

The housing strategy emphasizes rehabilitation of existing sound buildings and new infill construction relating to the historic nineteenth century fabric. In approaching the maximum density allowable under the Urban Renewal Plan, the historic house types are transformed to a new urban housing form: the infill dwellings combine the spacious, light-filled qualities of historic atrium houses with the energy-and material-saving aspects of attached townhouses. The units have been designed with consideration of implementation strategies that maintain lower-income residents as part of a mixed-income development and allows them to participate in the benefits of cooperative homeownership.

Thesis Supervisor: Antonio di Mambro

Title: Assistant Professor of Architecture

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to

MRS. BARBARA ANN STRATTON

my third grade teacher

who has been waiting a long time to read this

-and-

Professor MAURICE SMITH

who once told me

"You are a reasonably alert fellow

but as a designer you are a complete failure."

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The author must gratefully acknowledge those whose help has been essential in the writing of this thesis:

First, I wish to thank my parents whose love and nurturing over rocky roads has given me the start towards becoming the full human being I aspire to be;

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To my roommate and friend for life, Larry Wainblat, a thinking, feeling human being who therefore knows what it is to be alive; my thanks for being someone I can turn to in trust to help build beliefs and ideas, as you fully know what it is to go through the motions, rise now and make a move;

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To my readers, Frank Keefe and Doug Mahone, whom I could more fully thank if I had approached them with chapters for reading;

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To others, who may have been forgotten, and to the men and women of Phoenix Hill who live lives of honor.

To Joyce Chen, who fed me and gave me the following fortune when there was less than a week to go: Perseverance is often the last key on the ring which opens the door.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| Abstract .....  | 3   |
| Dedications .....   | 6   |
| Acknowledgements .....  | 7   |
| PREFACE:  |     |
| A Thought About What Architects Should Be Doing .....   | 13  |
| 1. <u>Introduction:</u><br>THE DESTRUCTURE-RESTRUCTURE CONCEPT .....                          | 15  |
| 2. <u>The Phoenix Hill Neighborhood in Louisville, Kentucky:</u><br>READING THE CONTEXT ..... | 24  |
| 3. <u>The Urban Renewal Plan:</u><br>SUBURBIA COMES BACK TO THE CITY .....                    | 72  |
| 4. RESTRUCTURING PHOENIX HILL<br><u>The City For People</u> .....<br>People for the City      | 86  |
| Notes to the Chapters .....   | 145 |
| Endpapers .....   | 156 |



# PREFACE: A THOUGHT ABOUT WHAT ARCHITECTS SHOULD BE DOING

This thesis initially began addressing the housing issues within one block located in an inner city neighborhood in Louisville, Kentucky. One must consider more than the design of housing in such an exercise. Who will live there? What kinds of lives might they live? Where will they work? What will they do in their free time? What are the connections between these func-

tions both within and outside the neighborhood? How might these change over time?

In answering these questions, the work of architects ultimately contributes to the production of ways of life for people. This thesis work is approached with the conviction that architects must engage in dialogue with users and ask, "What ways of life are desired?" Architects must add their personal vision, ethics, and beliefs to that dialogue.

I believe that architects, as well as their other fellow citizens,

are responsible for the society in which they live. Fundamentally, designers must insure that the forms they make encourage--not inhibit--a movement towards the desirable social ends expressed in the dialogue with users.

However, beliefs alone do not build buildings. Often architects must create the context that allows socially-responsive form-making.

They must also furnish strategies so that the ideas and aspirations represented in physical form can be implemented. Only then can these ideas be realized in everyday life.

Who am I?

If I am not for myself

who will be for me?

And yet, If I am for myself

only, what am I?

If not now, when?

-Hillel



INTRODUCTION:

1

# THE DESTRUCTURE— RESTRUCTURE CONCEPT

What goes

Up

Must Come

Down

- Anonymous





Restructuring the Urban Neighborhood: The State of the Art

The problem of restructuring neighborhoods within existing urban tissues is complex; the results up to this time often have proved unsatisfactory. Massive Federal intervention in the sixties and seventies sought to renew urban areas after many Americans abandoned the city for the suburb during the fifties. The "Federal Bulldozer" of Urban Renewal cleared away whole sections of American cities; these programs have often left an institutional footprint on the form of the urban environment which has been insensitive and indeed, disruptive, to both existing physical and social contexts. Part of the built historical record of the American people has been destroyed in the process.

By contrast, the Europeans have a much longer tradition of historical conservation within urban situations. There are many fine examples of sensitive restoration and new infill construction woven into the existing

urban fabric. They have helped to maintain the great European cities as places to live as well as work.

However, social problems have continued to plague conservation efforts within European historic centers: redevelopment has often resulted in attractive neighborhoods for the upper classes at the expense of less wealthy residents. In Rome, for example, boutiques and antique shops in the via Monserato area are intruding upon a neighborhood where artisans and craftsmen have lived and worked for centuries by shaping wood into furniture: the center city is losing its traditional production role and rapidly becoming a place of consumption for wealthy new-comers and international tourists.

Recent American experience has followed similar trends. Historic areas within older American cities, such as Boston's Beacon Hill, Back Bay or the South End, are undergoing 'gentrification': a class of young professionals that grew up in the

suburbs has moved back to the city, invested in older structures and restored them and their neighborhoods into fashionable places to live.

This surprising urban revitalization has occurred largely by market forces alone. A few 'urban pioneers' start the fix-up campaign. Speculators begin land-banking by investing in properties to await future development. Once the attractive nature of a neighborhood has been established, a second wave of buildings is rehabilitated: apartments that once rented for \$200 - \$300 per month are sold off as condominiums at \$50,000-150,000. Existing residents are displaced; many low and moderate income people are forced out of their homes and neighborhoods and funneled into poorer quality housing. Within a very few years, the value of their old apartments and homes may jump into the \$150,000-300,000 range. Someone else reaps the benefits, though. The gentrified neighborhoods become the most exclusive

in the city where only the wealthiest can afford to live.

While this market-force revitalization often preserves the historic fabric of a city, its overall social consequences are unacceptable: the tax base of the city may rise substantially, but large social problems and disruptive tensions have been created in adjacent neighborhoods as displaced people scramble for shelter. In the end, the increased tax base of the gentrified area may not be enough to offset the increased demands for social services and physical maintenance in near-by areas that are created by displacement. Clearly, more responsive redevelopment strategies must be found that recognize these complicated, but vitally important social issues.

However, most architects and planners are primarily trained to solve physical problems. What can these professionals hope to contribute to restructuring urban neighborhoods if this is fundamentally more than a physical process? How can they make themselves aware of the enormous

social, political and economic ramifications of their work? How can they bring this whole range of issues into their decision-making about land use and physical form?

The "destructure-restructure concept" offers an answer to these important questions. The process incorporates the notion of "reading" the existing physical environment in terms of the social, political and economic forces that historically produced it. In this way, the architect or planner develops a deeper understanding of the physical and social context that should guide his actions.

#### The Destructure - Restructure Concept

The Italian architect Giancarlo deCarlo introduced the idea of destructuring and restructuring environments to describe his approach to the adaptive reuse of existing buildings.<sup>1</sup>

In destructuring, the architect "purges" the existing environment of certain old, obsolete values

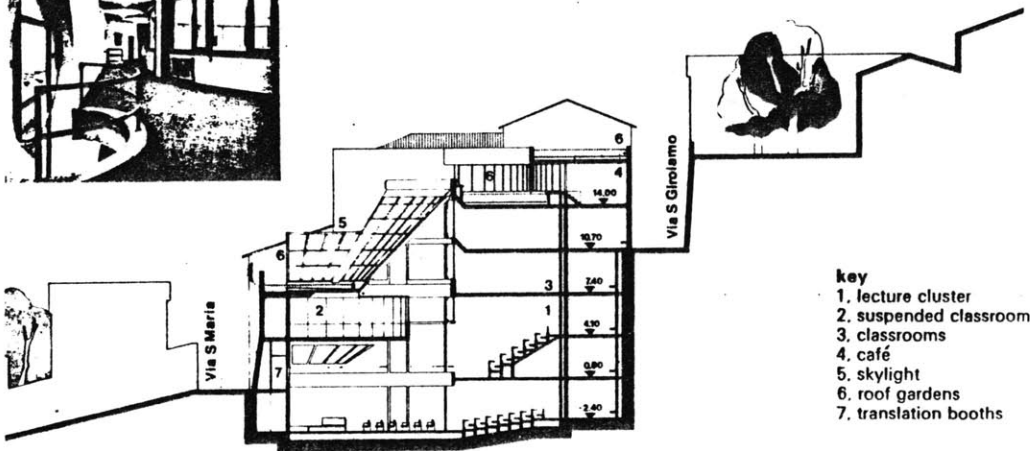
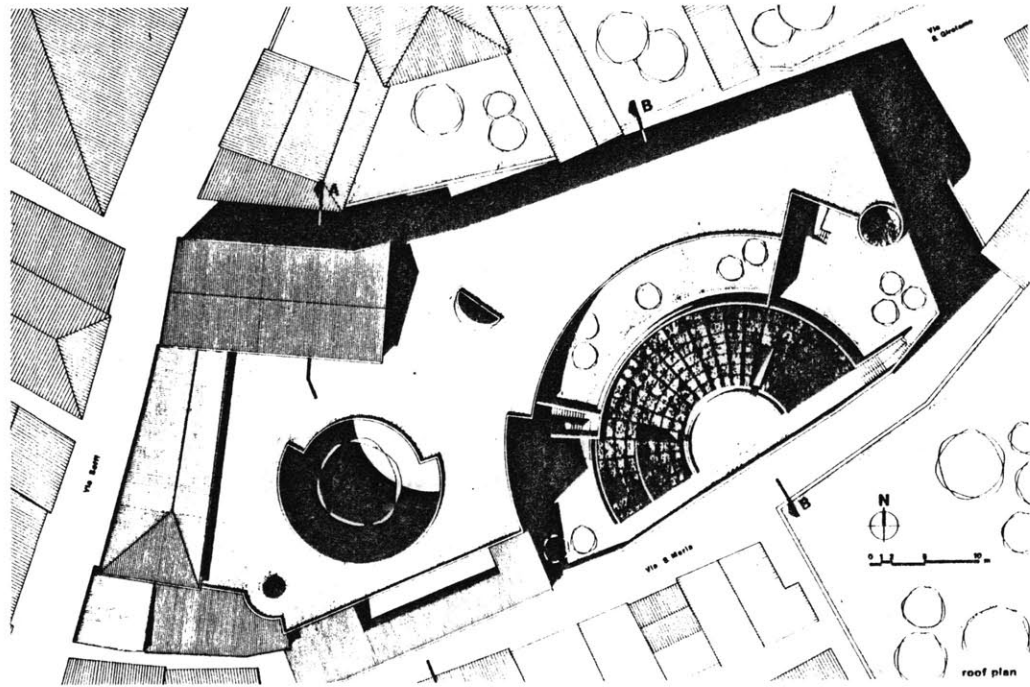
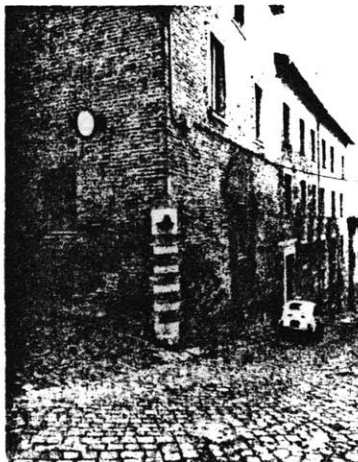
whereas restructuring preserves some of these while "inserting" new, contemporary meanings. The resulting transformation respects the surrounding physical context and the "memory of the people"---their sense of identity with their environment and its history.

DeCarlo's project for the School of Education of the University of Urbino presents an applied example of the destructure-restructure process.<sup>2</sup> The architect inserts the University presence into the medieval residential fabric which once housed the masons that built the famous Renaissance palace of the Duke of Montefeltro. The experience of the facade from the street respects the sense of moving in between masses which is common to Urbino. The restructuring maintains the residential scale, solid walls and irregular form of the previous block. Even details and materials remain true to the historic examples.

However, deCarlo also remains true to his own times. The



SCHOOL OF EDUCATION, URBINO, ITALY ARCHITECT: GIANCARLO DE CARLO



traditional Italian courtyard finds a distinctly modern expression as does the internal elaboration of the entire building.

Moreover, deCarlo recognizes that the University enjoys a position of power in modern Urbino not unlike that of the Renaissance dukes.

However, his School of Education embodies a somewhat different attitude toward the place and responsibility of that power. The building is a part of the "university diffused in the general context of the town."<sup>3</sup> It relates to the "main points of social activities in the town. Spaces of the university should be open to the town and spaces of the town should be used for university activities."<sup>4</sup> Thus, the large auditorium of the School of Education accomodates various local meetings (such as union elections) while the piazzas down the street become places of meeting and socializing for students as well as townspeople. This encourages mutual accomodation and defuses suspicion between the town's

longtime residents and the transient student population.

As the principle power-holder, the University does not dominate, but activates: "the university can be used as a support for a renewal of the organization of the town."<sup>5</sup> The School of Education is a small, but significant contribution toward this progressive University presence. In itself, it presents a rather sensitive handling of a limited social and physical transformation.

#### Image and Ideology:

#### The Linkage between the Destructure-Restructure Concept and Citizens' Participation at the Neighborhood Scale

However, wider issues come into play when the destructure-restructure concept is applied to the neighborhood scale. In destructuring and restructuring the urban neighborhood, the interplay between the image of the place and the ideology that produces it becomes critical.

To restructure a neighborhood is to transform the way of life for

the people who live there. Who controls the transformation of this way of life? Who has the power of decision? Is it the Urban Renewal planner or is it the citizens who live there? Is it local residents or outside investors?

These are essentially political questions that in all democratic societies call for citizen participation in the decision-making process. However, sometimes citizens confronted with the authority of bureaucratic machines must struggle for the right to meaningfully participate in decisions that will affect their future lives--- much less, to gain some full measure of control over their lives.

#### Villa Victoria: Image and Ideology Illustrated<sup>6</sup>

A case in point is the Villa Victoria development in Boston's South End where the Hispanic community organized in the 1960's to fight the Boston Redevelopment Authority's Urban Renewal plan for luxury housing. Over many



VILLA VICTORIA IN BOSTON'S SOUTH END



years of struggle, the community won development rights for a 19 acre parcel. To date, they have built 492 units in rehabilitated and new townhouses, mid-rise blocks and a high rise tower---all situated around an open air plaza.

In one sense, the image of Villa Victoria fully expresses its ideology: the fact that the project looks so much unlike the surrounding South End townhouses is testimony to its separateness as an identifiable, independent and cohesive community. Villa Victoria instead turns inwards around the plaza: this element of Latin culture becomes part of life in Boston.

However, in many ways, the physical transformation of the site presents an image which succumbs to the dominant ideological context of American culture. The new townhouses give almost a suburban image, as if to tell the world that the residents have become full members of the consumer society.

The image of the physical trans-

formation fails to change the idea of what it is to be a member of society. Indeed, the image in this case lies about what life is actually like for this Hispanic community; in reality, most of the residents must receive Federal subsidies to afford to live there. It is exceedingly more difficult to come by the discretionary income to buy amenities and luxuries in a country where minorities typically hold the lowest paying jobs in the best of times and suffer the highest unemployment under the crunch of a receding economy. Perhaps the 'suburban image' of the Villa Victoria townhouses is more of a vain aspiration than a true representation.

Nevertheless, this misleading image is the product of a restructuring process that involved citizen participation: community residents worked with the architect in suggesting the bright colors and pitched roofs reminiscent of their Puerto Rican homeland. However, the residents were suggesting images, not talking to the architect so much

about their ideas of the ways they wanted to live.<sup>9</sup> It is this dialogue about ideology that is most crucial to citizen participation in the deconstructing and restructuring of neighborhoods if the image, and indeed, the physical experience of the place is to support ways of life and patterns of activity that lead to more satisfying and fundamental social transformations.

Because architects contribute to the production of ways of life for people, they must engage users in dialogue to uncover what ways of life are desired. The profession must insure that its forms and images encourage--- not inhibit the realization of these Ideas in every day life.







THE PHOENIX HILL NEIGHBORHOOD  
IN LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY:

2

# READING THE CONTEXT

THE CITY IN HISTORY

---

HISTORY IN THE CITY

"We shape our

buildings;

thereafter

they shape us."

-Winston Churchill



### Why "Reading"?

Before the business of deconstructing and restructuring can begin in a particular situation, the architect must have an understanding of the physical and social context within which he or she works. The physical environment is a setting where people of different national origins, classes, races, persuasions and aspirations struggle to control enough of it (as much as they can) to further their way of life. Those who control the environment inevitably influence its very form. How did the physical environment evolve as a response to social, economic and political forces? How have the interests of various social structures (or ideology) historically been built into the physical structure (or image) of the environment? What are the images and ideologies that the architect must respond to today? This chapter will attempt to "read" the story of the people and place of the Phoenix Hill neighborhood in Louisville, Kentucky as the necessary background to subsequent

design activity. The discussion centers around the importance of a frontier in luring development activity.<sup>2</sup>

### Settling the Frontier

The 'frontier' was one of the founding premises of the New World: Early settlers chose to battle the forces of nature rather than live under the fetters of divine right despots in the Old World. The American frontier offered a place where the individual could claim a piece of the vast continental domain that later became this nation's 'Manifest Destiny.' The pioneer established this small territory as a personal estate to realize the "inalienable rights" of "Life, liberty and the pursuit of Happiness" that Jefferson had claimed on his behalf.

For many, the frontier had another attraction---the bait of potential riches lured many investors to form great land companies to speculate in town development schemes. Many such companies organized before the Revolution, but were unable to

advance into the American interior as the British monarchy refused to grant them approval. With the arrival of the new nation, these companies took their claims for large land grants before Congress.

The issue of the "disposal of the public domain"<sup>3</sup> turned into a three-way struggle over whose destiny would be manifested in which territory. The land companies were anxious to profit off of the sale of land to pioneers. Thousands of individuals wanted grants of just enough land to farm. And there was the Congress that saw the sale of public land as a source of revenue to carry on the business of government. Congress was suspect of the small farmers who seemingly wanted free land as 'something for nothing' while the new nation needed money---even if the farmers were the only one of the three interest groups directly involved in producing the material basis of the nation's economy.

The Land Ordinance of 1785 was an attempt to balance the conflicting claims to western land,

but the spoils went to those with the most power. Congress sold the land in minimum parcels of one square mile at one dollar for each of the 640 acres plus one dollar for surveying costs. The average small farmer could not afford the \$641 price tag for a section of land, especially considering that the terms of sale were cash at the time of purchase. The land went to those with access to capital: only the wealthy could buy, promote and subdivide land at considerable profit. The public domain was gobbled up in the cause of rapid speculation by the privileged part of the private sector. In practice, America was a 'land of opportunity' only for some of its citizens even in its earliest days; others were denied.

Indeed, the government even subsidized the rich when the sale of land went slowly at first:

...most of the persons with money to buy land for later speculation felt they could convince Congress to grant them large tracts of land in some favored location either without

payment or at low cost with liberal credit terms.<sup>4</sup> In this they were not mistaken.

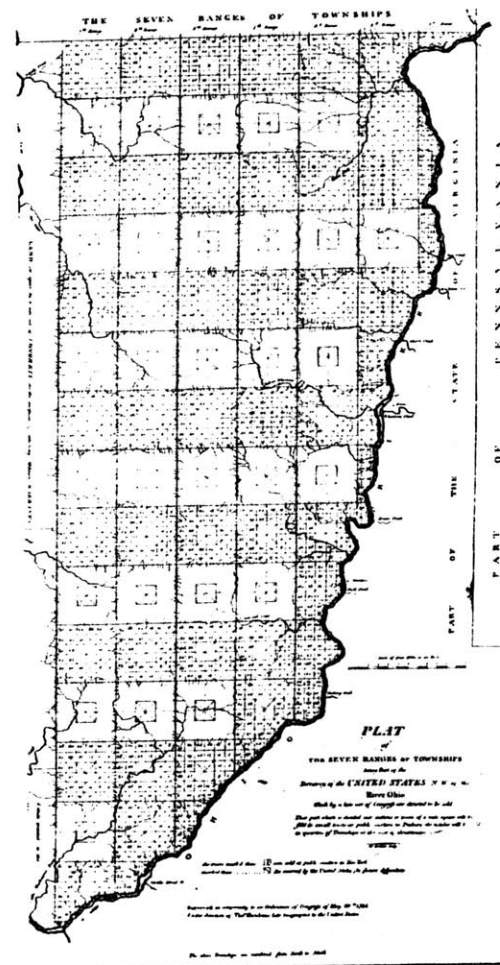
The physical legacy of the Land Ordinance of 1785 has been no less persistent than the array of social interests it served. It left its indelible marks on the American landscape and urban form. The Continental Congress adopted a survey system that stamped a girdiron of one mile squares over the land. In new towns, this reinforced the tendency for orthogonal street systems which allowed the land to be quickly carved up in neat parcels suitable for sale by speculators.

#### The Founding of Louisville

While the Ordinance pertained only to the land north of the Ohio River, it actually exerted a great influence on the pattern of settlement south of the Ohio as well. This river had long been the major link with the West since the Appalachian Mountains formed such a formidable barrier to expansion. The opening of the West for settlement after the

Revolution further spurred traffic on the Ohio, carrying settlers to the tiny village of Louisville.

First settled in 1773, the town had a scant two hundred houses by the turn of the century. Nevertheless, as one traveler



Map of the First Townships Surveyed in Ohio: 1796

noted in 1796, "Louisville is the last place of any consequence you pass in going down the Ohio."<sup>5</sup>

The frontier settlement shared many common precedents from Virginia colonial planning with the Northwest Territory. This is not surprising, however: Virginia Captain Thomas Bullitt laid out the first settlement at Louisville for Dr. John Connolly, a surgeon who had been awarded two thousand acres for his services to the British Crown. In 1774, Connolly promoted his town development plan in Williamsburg, but the outbreak of war caused the scheme to be abandoned.

During the war, the Virginia legislature commissioned another one of its native sons, George Rogers Clark, with the formidable task of capturing the entire territory north of the Ohio from the well-prepared and firmly-entrenched British. Clark brought his men with their families to the Falls of the Ohio River where he established the first permanent settlement in 1778 on Corn Island. Thus, Louisville owes its exist-

tence to the irregularities of nature: the great rapids prevented river traffic from going further south and suggested a natural place for settlement where boats could be unloaded, dismantled and carried across land to a convenient inlet on the downside of the Falls.

Clark's army settled on the south shore of the river after defeating the British in Indiana and Illinois. They erected a stockaded village along Virginian models and planted surrounding gardens and farms near what is today Twelfth Street. The citizenry officially formed a town government in 1779 and, at Clark's urging, christened their city Louisville in honor of the French king---no doubt as an enticement for more support for the war against the British.

The first formal town meeting resulted in a novel method of distributing the land equitably among the families:

...that a number of lots, not exceeding 200 for the present, be laid off, to contain half an acre

each, 35 yards by 70 where the ground will admit it, with some public lots and streets.

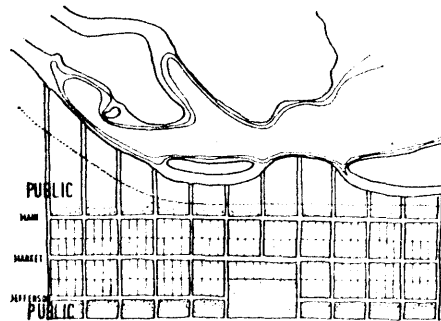
That each adventurer draw for only one lot by chance. That every such person be obliged to clear off the undergrowth and begin to cultivate part thereof by the 10th of June, and build thereon a good covered house, 16 feet by 20, by the 25th of December. That no person sell his lot unless to some person without one, but that it be given up to the Trustees to dispose of to some new adventurer on pain of forfeiture thereof.<sup>6</sup>

Each 'adventurer' was obligated to use the land or give it up. This resolution is one of the few pioneer statutes controlling speculation by emphasizing use-value over exchange-value. It essentially proposed a community land trust. What is even more interesting is that no person could own two lots: a true democracy required equivalent access to and control of property as well as the ballot box.<sup>7</sup>

At the same meeting, Clark came forth with a plan laying out the new town east of the fort. It employed many of the planning devices of colonial Virginia; a gridiron of streets defined four

acre blocks. These square blocks could be easily subdivided into the half acre lots that were standard practice in colonial Virginia land grants.

Many aspects of the plan are site-specific, however. The town spreads from east to west to provide maximum association with the river edge. The three primary streets stretch in this east-west direction, each forming a distinct character by virtue of its orientation: the northernmost street created a river-oriented edge, the interior street surrounded by houses on either side provided the town with a more enclosed 'urban' space, and the southern street looked onto outlying farms and gardens.



Louisville, 1779, showing the open strips of common land on each side of the original two rows of grid blocks.

The shorter secondary streets ran north to south corresponding to First, through Twelfth Streets in contemporary Louisville. They were much less differentiated in orientation or function.

Lots were aligned north to south allowing everyone an orientation to a primary street. Houses were usually built at the street edge of the narrow frontage lots, leaving the interior of the block as open space. The frame-built sixteen foot wide houses were probably the 'standard practice' construction of the time. All of these aspects of the plan set important precedents for the growth of Louisville in the years to come.

Perhaps the most unique feature of Clark's plan, however, is his notable provision for "public lots." On the north edge, this strip of land was a means of accommodating the rigid orthogonal plan of the town to the irregular curve of the river. It also kept houses above the river's floodplain. In the south, this buffer zone of half-blocks offered a

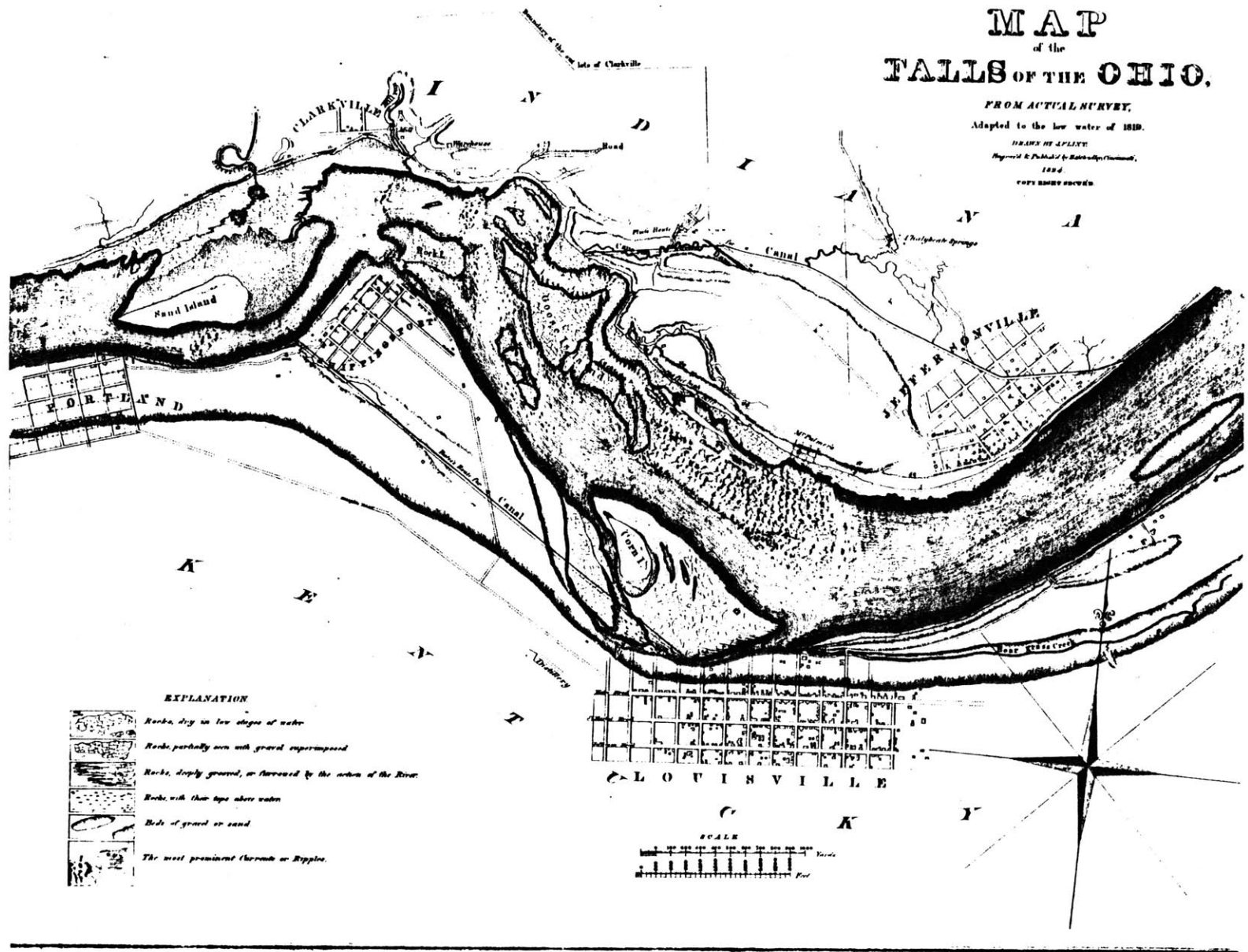
tamed piece of nature before confronting the wilderness beyond. In one instance, the public zone becomes a full block in width and two blocks long to close off the primary thoroughfare. The central position of this public block suggests that it may have been used for governmental and civic purposes much like the colonial village green. Both the north and south public lots formed a 'commonwealth' in the strictest sense of the word. Local legend has it that Clark intended to repeat this strip of common land every third street as the city expanded southward.

Such a dream was never realized, however; the town was coerced to sell the commons to extinguish a debt which Dr. Connolly, the pre-war owner, incurred to his partner, John Campbell:







Campbell exercised his influence with the Virginia legislature to secure the passage of a series of curious laws which in effect made the town of Louisville liable for Connolly's obligations. For \$3,300 the town disposed of its lands..."<sup>8</sup>

# MAP of the FALLS OF THE OHIO.

FROM ACTUAL SURVEY,  
Adapted to the low water of 1819.  
DRAWN BY A. PLINY  
Approved & Published by R. B. Johnson, Cincinnati,  
1824  
COPY RIGHT SECURED



**EXPLANATION**

-  Rocks, dry in low stages of water
-  Rocks, partially covered with gravel superimposed
-  Rocks, deeply covered, or flattened by the action of the River
-  Rocks, with their tops above water
-  Beds of gravel or sand
-  The most prominent Channels or Ripples.

Map of Louisville, Kentucky and Vicinity: 1824

Louisville lost a unique opportunity to make beauty and utility the hallmark of its urban form. As in the 'disposal of the public domain' in the old Northwest, once again the commons fell prey to the power of wealthy individuals.

The 1824 map of Louisville shows the full effect of this speculation. The differentiation in primary streets suggested by Clark's 1779 plan further specialized; the streets were given names that remain to this day. The northernmost street facing the Ohio River became known as Main Street and principally supported the activities of trade, hauling and storage associated with river traffic. Market Street, the middle, 'inner' street of Clark's Plan, became the center of domestic commerce. Louisville recognized its Virginia roots by naming its governmental and civic center to the south Jefferson Street; a succession of City Halls and County Courthouses have followed on the same site that Clark originally reserved for

these purposes.

Other nearby settlements had developed around the river economy. Portland and Shippingsport grew to the west to handle boat traffic on the downstream side of the Falls of the Ohio. Their skewed street grids remain part of Louisville today. Clarksville and Jeffersonville on the opposite Indiana shore were speculative developments aimed at siphoning off river trade from Louisville. George Rogers Clark developed Clarksville on some of the land he received for his military services, but by 1797 it had yet a tenth of the houses of Louisville. Each of these settlements viciously competed for "the canal that would make the Ohio safer for navigation and bring prosperity to the town or towns through which it passed."<sup>9</sup> The canal connected Louisville with her westward neighbors in 1830, setting the precedent for Louisville's domination of the region.

The 1824 map also indicates that the region's economy was based on more than just the

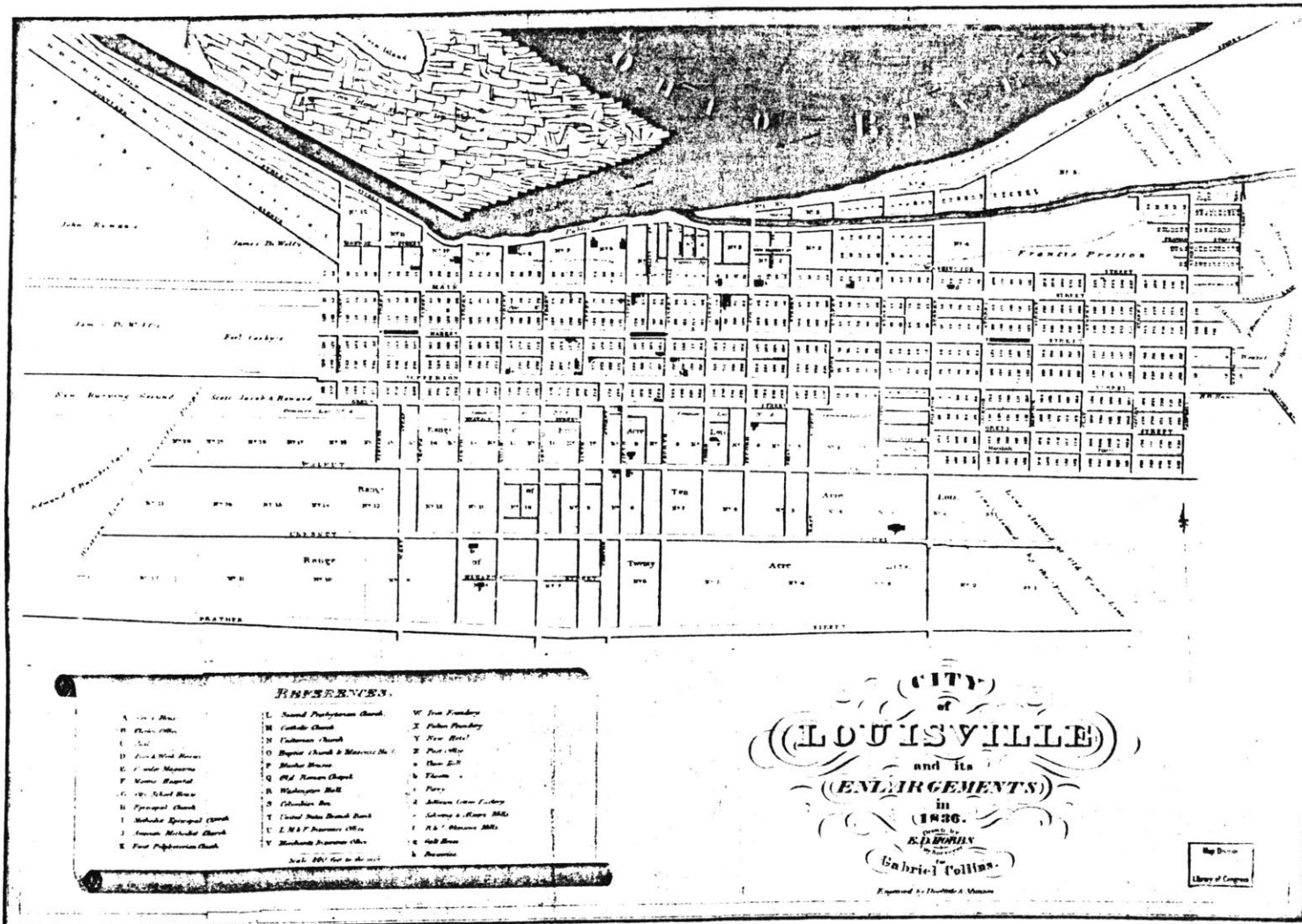
transfer of goods at the Falls; the distillery and mill marked on the map show that agricultural products remained on shore long enough to be processed.

The 1836 plan of Louisville indicates just how quickly the processing industries grew. A cotton factory, breweries, mills and foundaries are represented. The expansion of industry brought with it banks and insurance offices, churches and cathedrals, inns and guest houses, as well as theatres and places of assembly.

#### German Immigration and WASP Speculation

In addition to transporting goods to be processed, the river fueled the growth of industry in another important way: it brought labor. Burgeoning industry required a steady stream of skilled and unskilled workers. The river served as the major transportation corridor from the coastline to the interior; it carried immigrant mechanics and line operators as well as black slave





Plan of Louisville, Kentucky: 1836

servants and porters. Immigrants first arrived in Louisville from Germany and Ireland. They sought the same opportunities that had first brought settlers to Louisville; they wanted a piece of land of their own. Speculators were only too happy to accommodate, for "nowhere was speculation in town lots and new town development more intense than along the principal rivers"<sup>10</sup> such as the Ohio.

One such group of wealthy land owners was the Preston family. They owned most of the eastern half of Louisville shown on the 1836 map, from Preston's Landing at the river's edge south until Louisville turned into farmland. Their land was bounded roughly by Preston Street on the west and stretched east to what today is Baxter Avenue. The Prestons began to subdivide the western part of their land around 1835 and Germans began to settle there about twelve years later. They came down the Ohio River in a novel way; steamboats first appeared in 1840 making Louisville

even more accessible from the coast. German immigration complemented WASP speculation; not only did the Germans buy the land of the Anglo-Saxon owners, but these immigrants also worked in their factories and workshops.

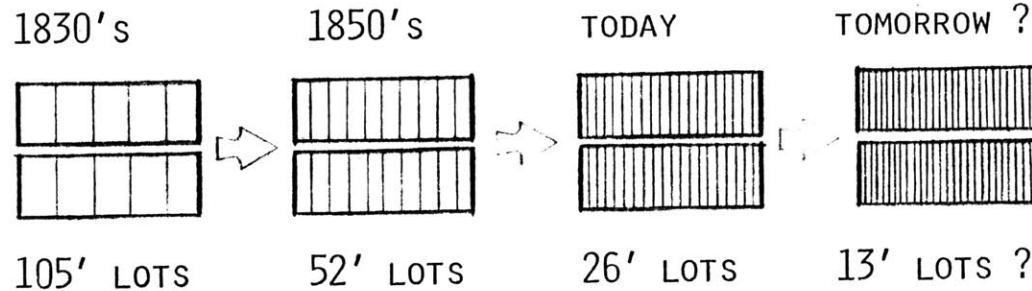
Speculation also had its impact on the physical fabric on the city. Land values increased as demand rose; owners subdivided land with this in mind. The Prestons introduced a new block type into Louisville. It was longer east to west than north to south. These five acre blocks maintained the half acre lots of Clark's plan. However, there were ten lots per block instead of Clark's eight. Thus, the north-south secondary streets were spaced further apart: if streets occupied less land, more was available for marketable real estate.

However, this block organization also reflected a practical, functional need in the way Preston's eastern subdivision related to the rest of the city: there was less need for streets directly

northward to the Ohio because the real points of interest on the river were downtown at the public wharf. Moreover, many other activities drew people downtown: the main markets, workplaces and places of assembly were all there. The street grid acknowledged this principal direction of travel: Preston's subdivision transformed Clark's square blocks into elongated forms that pointed the way to town. The new block type also formally introduced a mid-block alley that ran between the two rows of lots. This allowed rear access to the stable, garden shed, workshop or baking oven; the alley was probably the center of community domestic life.

The increased land values brought on by speculation also affected lot sizes. The extreme eastern portion of Preston's subdivision shown in the 1836 map shows several of the five acre blocks with twenty narrow lots. These quarter acre lots were created by subdividing Clark's 105 feet by 210 feet lots into two 210 feet deep lots with about 52

## EVOLUTION OF BLOCK STRUCTURE



## NARROWER LOT SUBDIVISION AS LAND VALUES RISE

feet of frontage. Poorer workers probably inhabited these narrow smaller lots since they were located on the outskirts of town.

The 1836 plan shows yet another aspect of the city which has suffered the ravages of speculation. There was an attempt to re-establish the open space commons of Clark's original plan with a strip of lots to the south. There were also outlying strips of five, ten, and twenty acre lots further south. These agricultural fields, like the common lots, have given way with the growth of the city. Louisville once again "lost an opportunity to retain a feature

of its plan which would have been as attractive and functional as it would have been unique."<sup>11</sup>

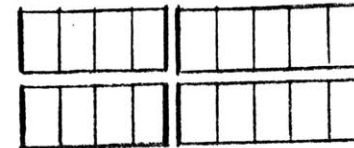
Nevertheless, the primary distributor streets that ran from east to west in between the agricultural fields remained; Walnut, Chesnut and Prather Streets influenced the subdivision of the remainder of today's center city. Clark's twelve distributor streets continued south of his original square blocks to cross these three primary streets: a new type of block resulted. These were elongated north-south, providing easy access to the river-oriented city.<sup>12</sup> Victor-

ian development south of Prather Street (in what came to be called Old Louisville) also generally adopted this north-to-south oriented block.

The spacing of Walnut, Chestnut and Prather continued to

### CLARK'S ORIGINAL BLOCK SUBDIVISION

1779



PRESTON'S EAST-WEST ORIENTED BLOCK  
c. 1835

NORTH-SOUTH ORIENTED BLOCK  
1850's

DIRECTIONS OF LATER BLOCKS POINTED BACK TO THE CENTER CITY

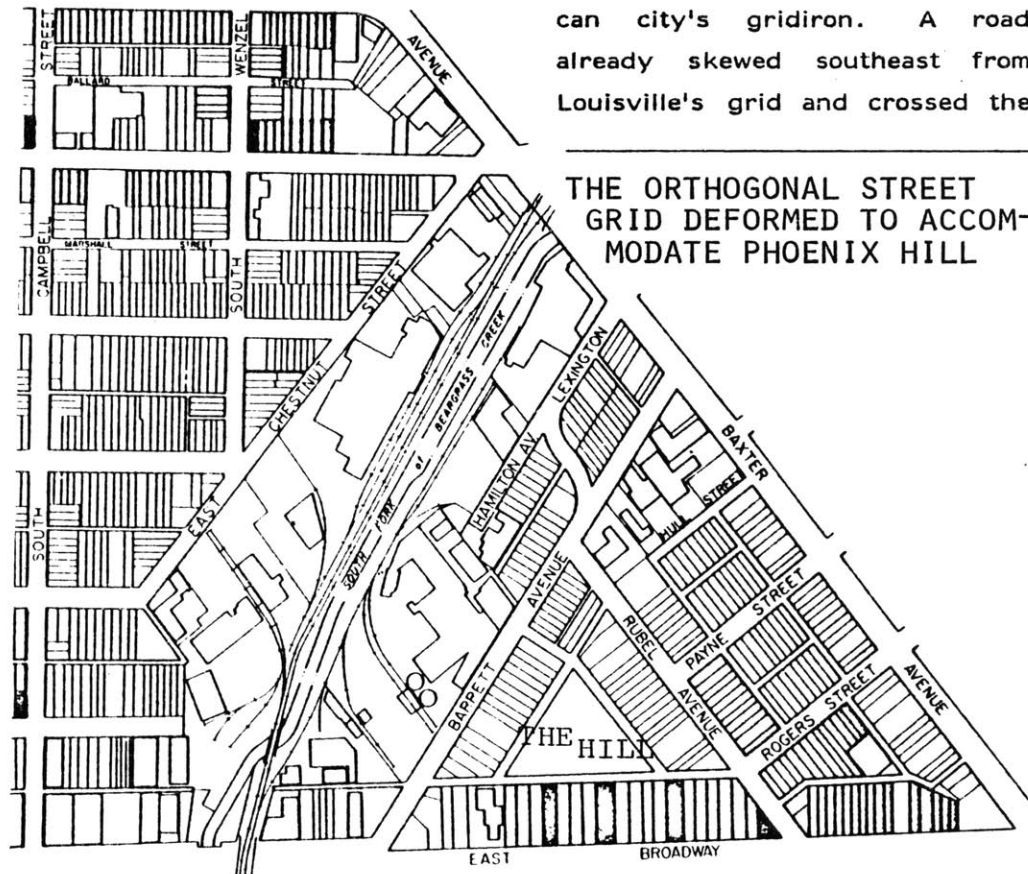
affect the further subdivision of Preston's land to the east. The north-south streets of Preston's original platting extended south to cross these three primary streets. However, the resulting blocks would have been almost twice the size of the original five acre blocks; there was greater need to allow east-west penetration of the block in order to get to town. Middle streets were introduced: Madison Street created two blocks between Walnut and Chestnut, and Gray Street made two blocks between Chestnut and Prather. The Prestons' modeled these blocks on their previous plan: mid-block alleys separated two banks of lots on either side. These lots were under the traditional half acre because the distances between Walnut, Chestnut and Prather were not as much as the width of two blocks in Clark's original plan.

These extensions and transformations of the grid accounted for the subdivision of Preston's land as far east as Campbell Street.

Farther to the east lay Phoenix Hill. This scenic knoll no doubt received its name because the morning sun rose above the hill like the ancient Egyptian phoenix which was an embodiment of Ra, the sun god. Thus, the people of the city acknowledged their daily connection with the forces and patterns of nature. Phoenix

also refers to a "thing of unsurpassed excellence or beauty."<sup>13</sup> the promontory offered just such a view of the city and the river beyond. It remained "a pleasant, tree-topped park"<sup>14</sup> until after the Civil War.

The presence of such a topographic feature forced one of the rare transformations of an American city's gridiron. A road already skewed southeast from Louisville's grid and crossed the

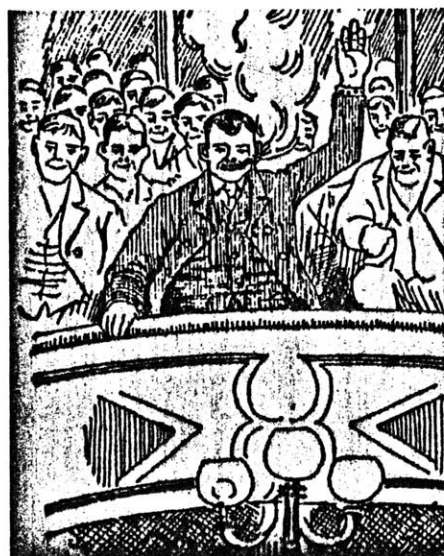


east side of the hill on its way to the inland pioneer outpost of Bardstown.

A tributary of Beargrass Creek ran southwest from this same point at the bottom of the hill. Chestnut crooked northeast to connect with Green Street (which has been subsequently called Fehr and now Liberty Street). Prather Street (or Broadway as it was known by the late 1850's) completed the southern edge of this virtually equilateral triangle.

This unique street pattern connected the hill to the grid. Phoenix Hill became the focal point and namesake of the neighborhood of German immigrants it completed.

These Germans, like all immigrants, suffered various forms of discrimination and exploitation. They certainly did not earn exorbitant wages when working in the Anglo-Saxon-owned industries. When not working, local newspapers caricatured a card-playing, beer-drinking 'mein herr' who



Top: "How 'Mein Herr' Spends Sunday," *The Courier-Journal*, 8 April 1888. Bottom: "The Way His Money Goes," *The Courier Journal*, 8 April 1888.

begins his Sunday by reading over the newspaper in a hap-hazard sort of way...[and] delights in seeking the seclusion of a friendly saloon and there, sitting hour after hour, he seeks the "delightful" state of bliss that comes of a long engagement with 'bock'.

The same article stereotyped the younger men as "the hoodlum and semi-hoodlum elements [that] congregate around certain corners and in vacant houses, or on the commons"... to go "in clusters to some cheap variety theatre" at night. There they spend

all that is left of what they earned or otherwise obtained during the week before, and depart in a partially or wholly intoxicated condition. The odds are about one to two that they raise a row before they get to their respective places they call home and have to face His Honor in the City Court next morning.

The article implies all the labels that typically confront immigrants to the United States: lazy, stupid, shiftless, immoral, brawling, criminal, drunk, spend-thrift. "The respective places they call home" are probably far different from the home of the average

WASP-bred reader of the Victorian Courier-Journal.

However, the newspaper neglects to mention that the low wages these immigrant workers received probably did not allow a 'more acceptable' Sunday diversion such as a drive in a horse-drawn buggy. Nor does it indicate the poor working conditions that they were all too happy to forget over their beer. Certainly the places they called home were not too respectable because they could not meet the expense of a more suitable dwelling.

Indeed, they were the victims of continuing speculation. An 1855 view of Louisville shows that the houses in Phoenix Hill were quite cramped next to one another. The quarter acre lots that had begun to appear in Preston's time were further subdivided into lots that were an eighth of an acre or less. These long, narrow lots--- usually no more than 25 feet wide---form the basic pattern that exists today. This scheme of land subdivision opened up the American Dream of house owner-

ship for these immigrants.

#### Historic Housing Types

Despite discrimination and exploitation, the Germans were able to become just about as American as anyone else if they learned the language and worked hard. They built their own houses and established businesses in Phoenix Hill. Most of these structures were modest in comparison to the palatial homes of the wealthier classes living on Third and Fourth Street in Old Louisville; but even if you were a mechanic working in some other man's factory, you could hope to eventually own a cottage in Phoenix Hill.

Development pressures were not so intense as to produce the uniform attached townhouses of Boston's South End or the dumb-bell tenements of New York's South Bronx. Most houses were detached individual dwellings, though there were some attached units. The narrow lots dictated long buildings of low frontage. Even so, most dwellings were no



more than two to six feet apart. This allowed a modicum of light and air to penetrate into the middle of these long buildings through side windows.

These houses initially were not much more than the 15 by 20 foot houses of one or two rooms originally erected by Clark's pioneers. They underwent successive expansions and additions as the occupants needs and pocketbooks grew. The basic house comprised a linear organization of three or four rooms. Such a house was called a 'shotgun' because one could allegedly stand at the front door and blast a shotgun through



all of the intervening doorways straight into the backyard. A small porch or covered entryway usually led to the front door which entered directly into the parlor. One had to pass through one or more sleeping rooms on the way back to the dining room and pantry. Often a rear porch provided cover for much of the cooking activity that went on outside. The outhouse and perhaps a storage shed were detached from the house in back.

The houses usually sat almost on the street, or perhaps sat back ten or twenty feet. There

was little room for expansion on the more formal street side, so additions took place into the rear yard. Kitchens and bathrooms were eventually built on here as well as other rooms. This explains the more varied---almost ad hoc---massing of the informal yard side of the house.

The 'camel back' shotgun was another variation---a second story hump in the rear afforded more bedroom privacy. These houses are usually about sixteen feet wide---rarely more than twenty---and about forty to eight feet deep.

Two and three story houses appeared in both brick and wood frame construction. Some of these were tenements with balcony entrances in the rear or along a side; others were constructed as single family homes for more middle class occupants. Some of these had simply carved stone lintels, cornices and horizontal banding. They were never as ornate or lavish as the mansions of Old Louisville, but their straightforward simplicity is

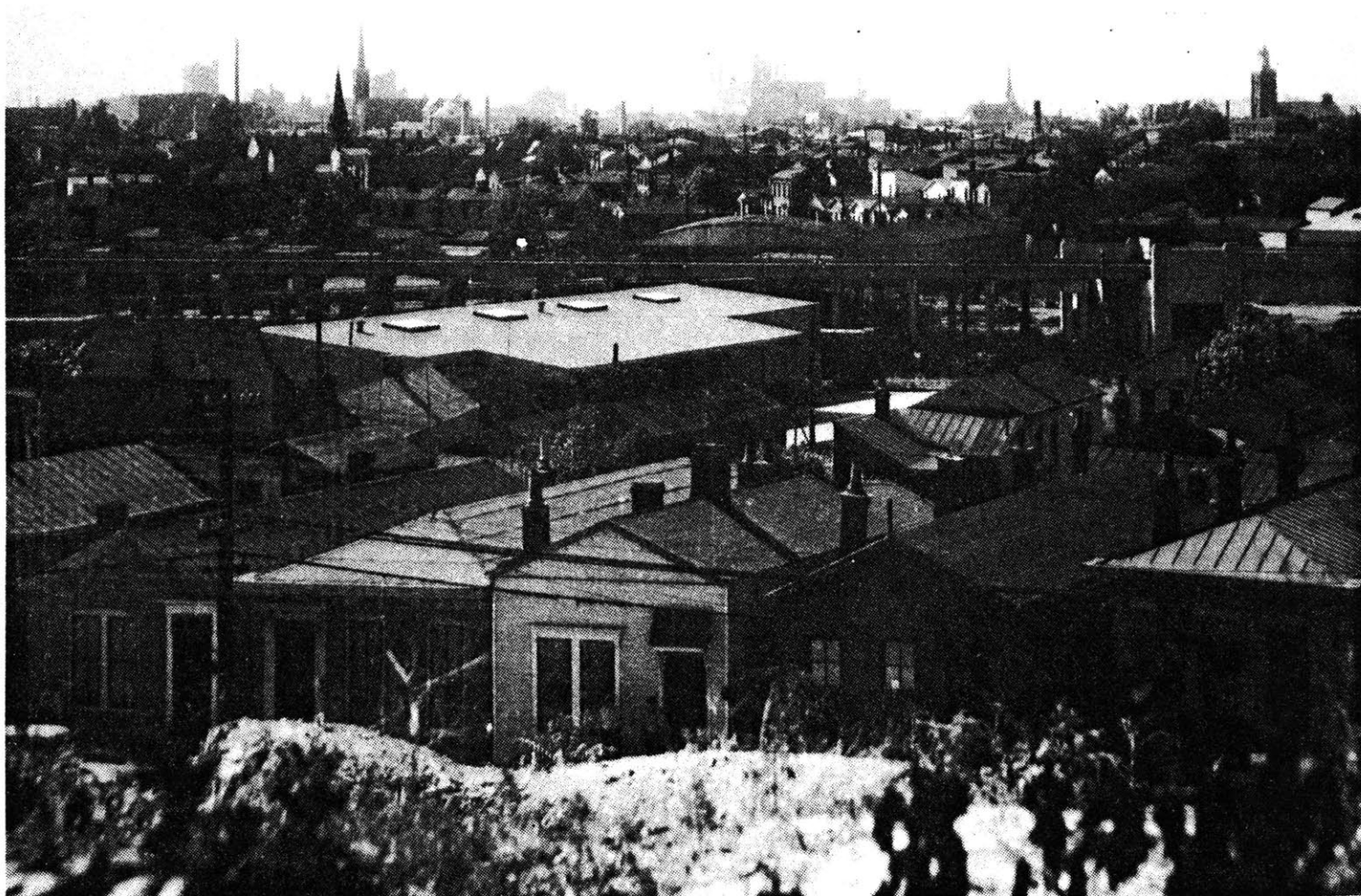
intriguing. These larger houses were generally wider as well, ranging up to twenty-four feet in frontage.

A particular variation of these larger houses often arose at the corners of a block. These were bigger structures---typically 25 by 100 feet.

Such massive forms reinforced the corner and helped enclose the interior of the block. They were usually executed in brick with simplified Renaissance elements.

Several rental units entered from the side onto the quieter north-south secondary street; in front, the ground floor at the primary street usually housed the corner tavern or store. This was the center of street life. The corner remains an important gathering place to this day.

The street faces formed by the aggregation of all of these house types were varied and irregular in both plan and elevation. One building might come up to the sidewalk while another might sit fifteen feet back, whereas the next one might be only five feet



VIEW OF SHOTGUN HOUSES FROM PHOENIX HILL, 1940



back from the walkway. The elevation echoed this varied edge by the interplay of one-, two-, and three-story heights intermingled between one another. The aggregation of the units on the block gave interest to the simple facades with their plain cut-out vertical windows. There was a sense of enclosure by the varied building edges on either side as one walked down the street.

The siting of the houses at the street edges preserved the interior of the block as open space. While the backyards were legally parts of private lots, the 1855 view of Louisville suggests that the block interior actually functioned more as a commons for the inhabitants of a block. Indeed, newspapers of the day used the term "commons".<sup>17</sup> One could no doubt stake one's own land for a storage shed, outhouse, garden, chicken coop or even a small pigsty, but there were also many joint ventures such as baking ovens. The commons in Phoenix Hill were probably not as bucolic as the fields of its more isolated

neighbor of Germantown directly to the south; however its domestic economy and the close social relations it fostered were probably not too different. The Germantown

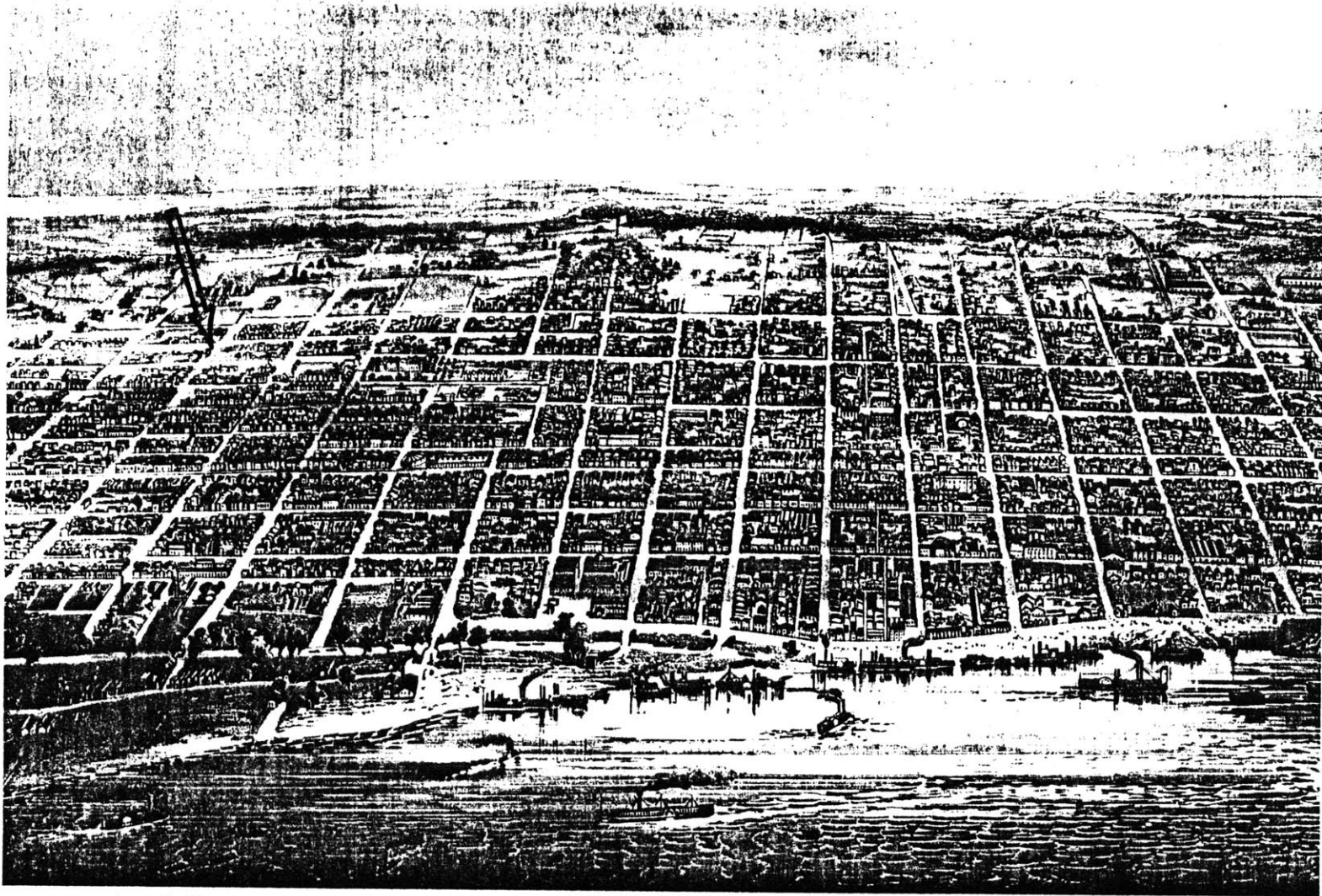
residents cultivated a sense of self-sufficiency. They planted

vegetable gardens, constructed backyard baking ovens, and many residents on the edge of the neighborhood became dairy farmers, constructed their own dairies, and sold milk, cheese, and butter to their neighbors and to Louisville residents.<sup>18</sup>

A neighborhood was a center of production as well as consumption.



LARGER MULTI-UNIT BUILDINGS REINFORCED THE CORNER



*Louisville, Ky.*, published by Charles Magnus, New York, ca. 1855. Beargrass Creek then entered the Ohio River between Third and Fourth streets.

The residential fabric developed in close proximity to places of commerce, passive and active recreation and political gathering. The focal point for the community continued to be Phoenix Hill. Three enterprising Germans acquired it shortly after the Civil War and constructed the Phoenix Hill Brewery and Park:

...their establishment included not only a beer garden and bandstand, but a lovely picnic ground dotted with scores of tables shaded by large trees, a fountain set in beautiful terraced gardens, and an immense pavilion which contained a dance floor, bowling alleys, a stage, and a roller rink. But its feature attraction was a 111-foot bar, across which would slide millions of glasses of Phoenix Hill 'Bohemian and lager beers.' Phoenix Hill Park soon became not only a center of activity for the local German community, but a mecca for millions of pleasure seekers from city, state, and nation. Musical organizations such as the local Liederkrantz Society and world famous John Phillips Sousa's Band played there...national figures including Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, Woodrow Wilson, Charles Evans Hughes, and William Jennings Bryan delivered political orations...it remained a local entertainment

center until 1919 when the brewery was closed by Prohibition.

Victorian Louisville:  
The Spatial Representation of  
Servant and Served

The flourishing of the Phoenix Hill Brewery and Park in the post-Civil War years exemplified a general growth in Louisville's economy. Kentucky had been a border state during the Civil War, mostly aligning with the North. It never seceded from the Union and thus avoided most of the oppressive pains of Reconstruction suffered by its southern neighbors. Indeed, Louisville profited a great deal from the persecution of the postbellum South. It was in a perfect position to supply the South in the Reconstruction effort. Its housing, industry, banks, roads, and canals continued their routine operation. Moreover, northern investors directed their attention southward in these 'carpet-bagging' days.

The South offered abundant natural resources and cheap labor as well as a 'captive' market.

This linking of interests created the national market economy. Louisville was a vital gateway between the north and south; it offered a central location to do business with the entire country.

No other industry created this link in physical terms more than the railroads. The first railroad bridge crossed the Ohio in 1870. Nine trunk lines passed through Louisville by 1880. Seven additional railroads joined these in just as many years. The railroads meant fortunes for some and jobs for others. It fueled a prodigious rise of industry and growth in the city generally.

Tobacco was one such industry that ushered in this "wonderful era of prosperity."<sup>20</sup> By 1890, Harper's Weekly claimed that

one third of all the tobacco grown in North America is handled by the warehouses of Louisville. There are in the city 18 tobacco warehouses, 13 rehandling establishments, 16 manufactories of chewing and smoking tobacco, and 79 cigar factories.

Statistics show that Louisville has 1100 manufacturing establishments which employ 39,000 people, and turn out products at \$65,000,000.<sup>21</sup>

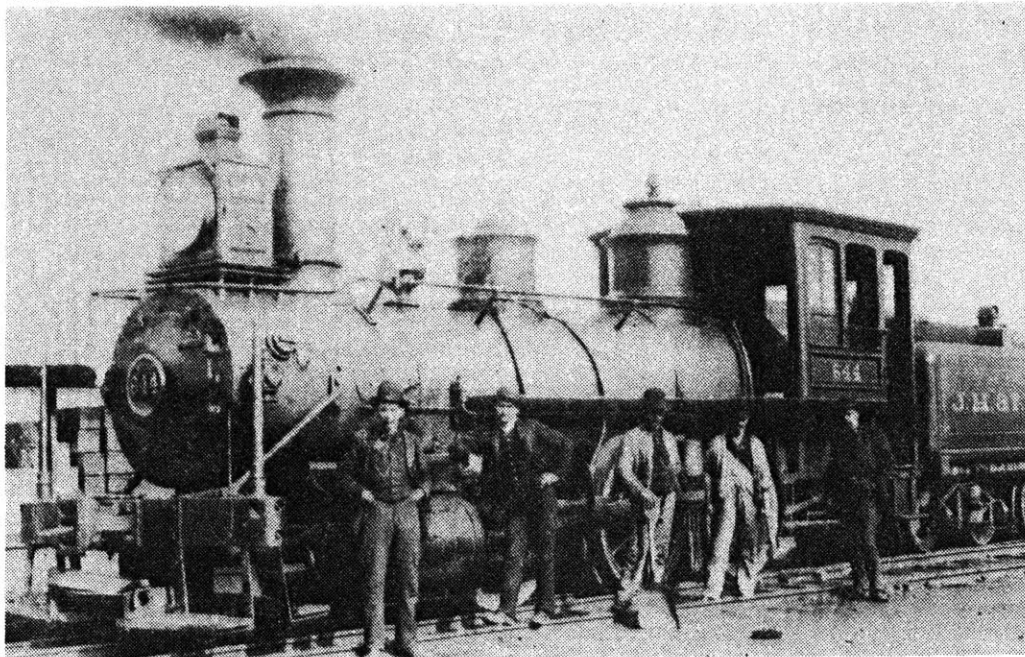
Louisville demonstrated that it was "jubilant in its growth"<sup>22</sup> when the Southern Exposition threw "its doors open to the world"<sup>23</sup> in 1883. It was intended to be a grand exhibition in which the South showed off

all her resources, agricultural, mineral and mechanical, of which cotton should be the principal feature, because it was peculiarly a Southern product and a staple of the South.<sup>24</sup>

One must remember that McCor-

mick's reaper, Whitney's cotton gin and Lowell's mills had been operating fifty years earlier. By 1883, more sophisticated technology could demonstrate a virtually continuous process by which the "invisible hands" of complex machines joined those of humans to transform living plants into useful products.

President Chester Arthur pulled a rope at the opening ceremonies which set the exhibi-



A Jeffersonville, Madison and Indianapolis locomotive at Eleventh and Maple streets, ca. 1893.

tion's machinery in motion, "symbolizing America's newly achieved supremacy in the industrial world."<sup>25</sup> Europeans and Americans came to marvel at the fifty acres of exhibits and gardens, thirteen of which were covered by the main exposition hall. It was perhaps the largest wooden structure of its kind ever erected (London's Crystal Palace and Philadelphia's Centennial Main Building covered more ground, but by using steel structures).

The Southern exposition was located in the long north-south oriented blocks south of Broadway. The dismantling of the exhibition in 1888 gave tremendous impetus to the growth of this part of the city today known as Old Louisville: the empty site left a new residential frontier for the entrepreneurial and managerial class spawned by the rapid rise of industry. Old Louisville was the first 'class enclave' in the town; "for the first time a neighborhood emerged that was composed of residents brought together by similar social and eco-

conomic interests, not by religious and ethnic considerations."<sup>26</sup> It was reserved exclusively for those who had reaped the benefits of growth most:

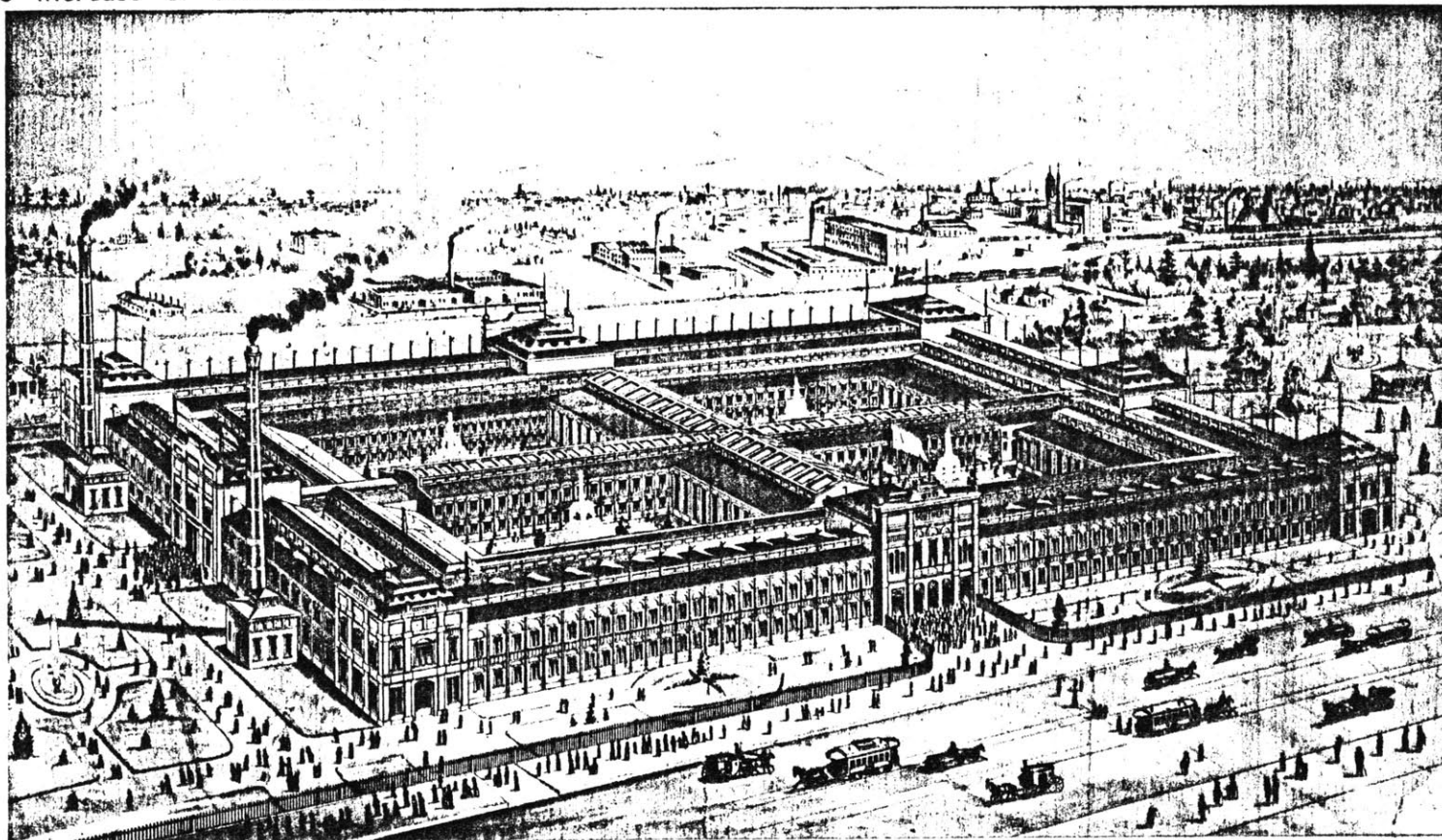
with the extension of the city's limits and the earning powers of some of Louisville's citizens, and the increase of unearned incre-

ment..., there naturally came to Louisville a desire to become somewhat of a town in the architectural line of business.<sup>27</sup>

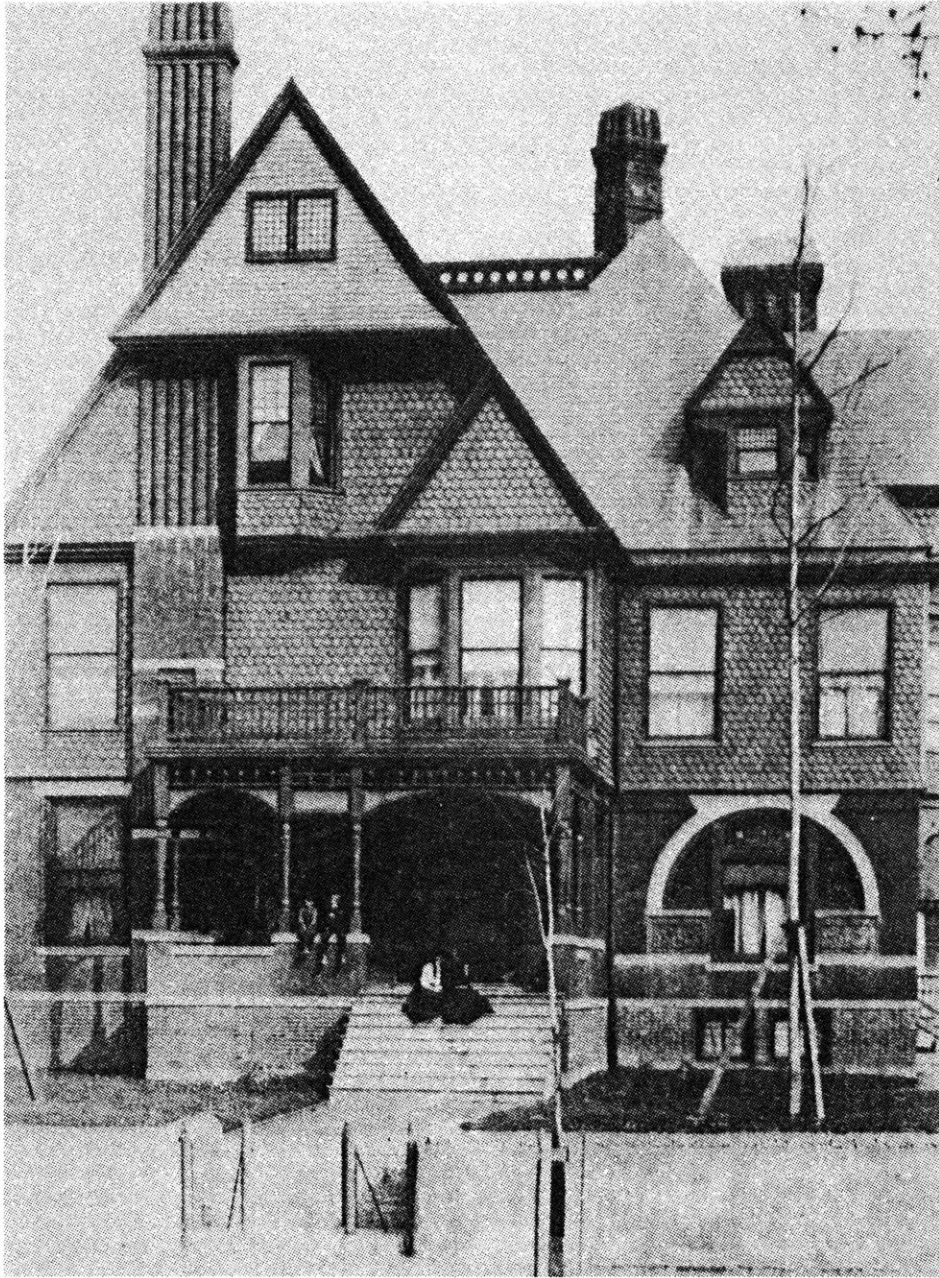
They hired architects to design magnificent houses in the full range of eclectic nineteenth century styles. A newspaper article of the day primarily fo-

cused on the way the wealthier citizens lived in its discussion of "Architecture" in Louisville:

The home is an essential feature of Louisville, which has often been described as 'a city of beautiful homes.' There is no city in the Union where the domestic relations of the people are more charming than they are



Southern Exposition and industry west of Sixth St., 1883.

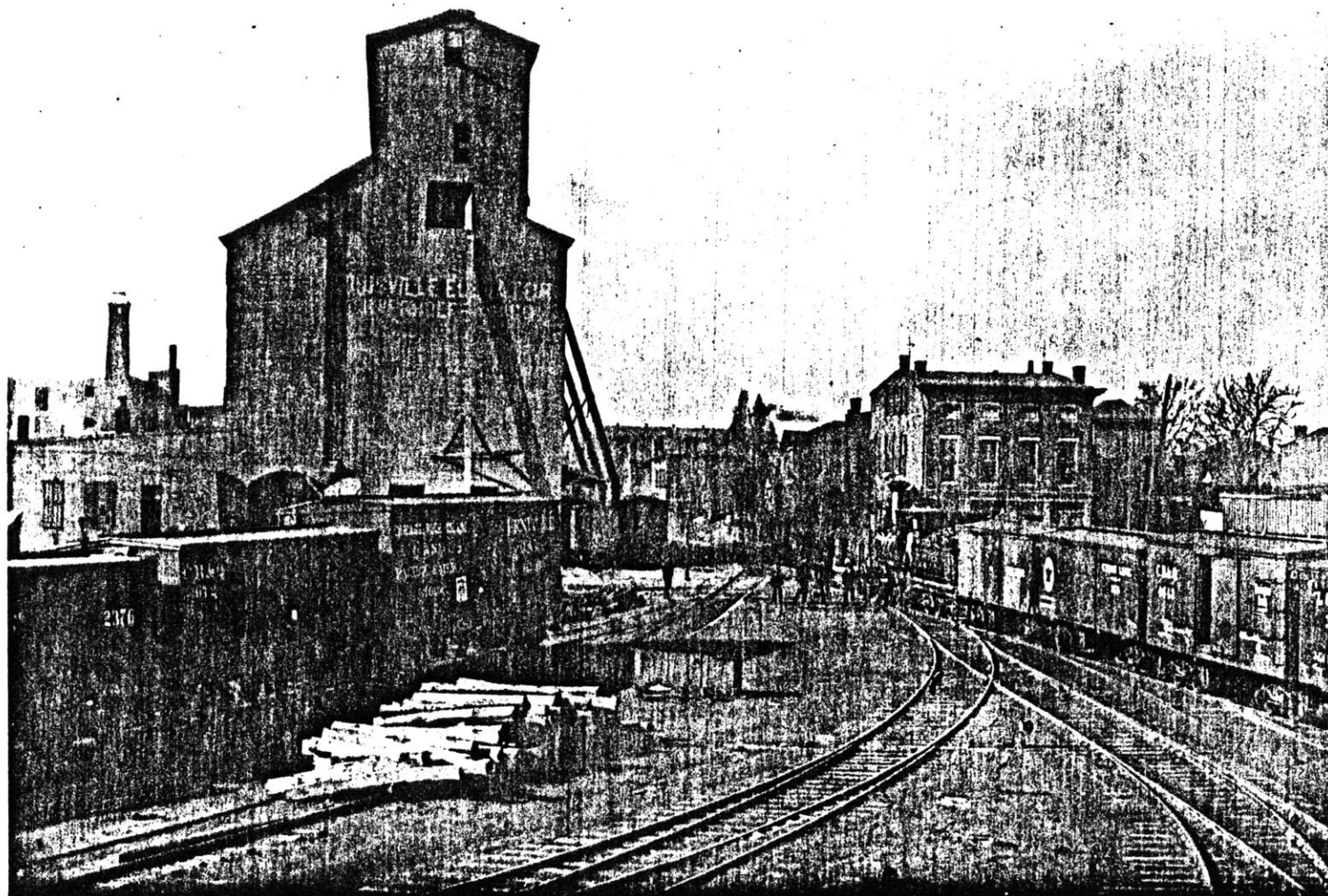


here. Strangers, as well as those native to the place, are affected by this fact and very quickly assimilate with their social surroundings. Other cities maintain more 'style' in their homes; one finds more pretension and display in the houses of the Northern and Eastern cities of the size of Louisville; but nowhere does one find more comfortable houses, more ready hospitality, more generous living, or a more thorough air of ease, quiet and luxurious comfort than in the dwelling places of Louisville. One does not have even to enter the houses to discover the fact. It is made apparent in their very surroundings. There is an invitation in the ample lawns and cheerful fronts that stretch for miles along the streets of the city. Louisville covers a great amount of ground space. Its residents have never stinted themselves for room. The city has spread broadly over the large and level tract of country lying south of the river...the city's growth has been mainly to the south; the readiness of approach in that direction outweighing the fact that the land was flat and uninteresting. The growth has been steady since the Exposition of 1883 first brought a public into the neighborhood. Land has increased in value and many new houses have been built, on Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth streets, having especially shown the signs of progress and prosperity. The character of the architecture has improved, one might almost say, with each new



A. 'HOME PARADISE' ON THIRD STREET SOUTH OF BROADWAY, AROUND 1897

THE VERHOEFF FAMILY ESTABLISHED THIS GRAIN ELEVATOR IN LOUISVILLE IN 1875, REPUTEDLY THE CITY'S FIRST. A FEW GERMANS LIKE THE VERHOEFFS WERE SUCCESSFUL ENOUGH IN BUSINESS TO MOVE OUT OF PHOENIX HILL INTO THE FASHIONABLE RESIDENTIAL DISTRICT SOUTH OF BROADWAY TO JOIN THE OTHER WEALTHY FAMILIES OF ANGLO-SAXON DESCENT, AS LOUISVILLE INDUSTRIALIZED, ITS NEIGHBORHOODS REORGANIZED INTO CLASS RATHER THAN STRICT ETHNIC ENCLAVES.





building. The rapid development of Louisville, and even of Kentucky, is nowhere better illustrated than in the progress made in the architecture of the city. When one remembers that a hundred years ago a log house was a very good and respectable establishment in Louisville, and contrasts this with the elaborate detail and beautiful art of some modern residents and understands how absolute is the change that in a century has come in the manner of life of a Kentuckian.<sup>28</sup>

Not all Kentuckians shared this tremendous wave of prosperity to the same measure; Louisville stood "pre-eminent among all as the 'residence city of America'"<sup>29</sup> only in some neighborhoods. In Phoenix Hill, the older German community flourished much as before. However, the expanding economy offered the opportunity to claim a larger 'piece of the pie' (if not a higher percentage of it): economic growth spurring an "increase of population means work for the merchants, the manufacturer, the builder, the artisan, the laborer...an expanding commerce."<sup>30</sup> A few Germans participated in this "expanding commerce" to a large extent.

While some moved out of the neighborhood, many remained.

This rapid rise of industry attracted some new working class families into Phoenix Hill:

For the few years prior to 1888, there were many new enterprises begun in Louisville, and many artisans and mechanics came to make their homes here. This created a demand for residences... the large proportion... being frame...the new homes show of what order of men Louisville's increase in population is mostly composed...the incomers are of that class which produce the wealth and importance of a city--the brawn and muscle of the land.<sup>31</sup>

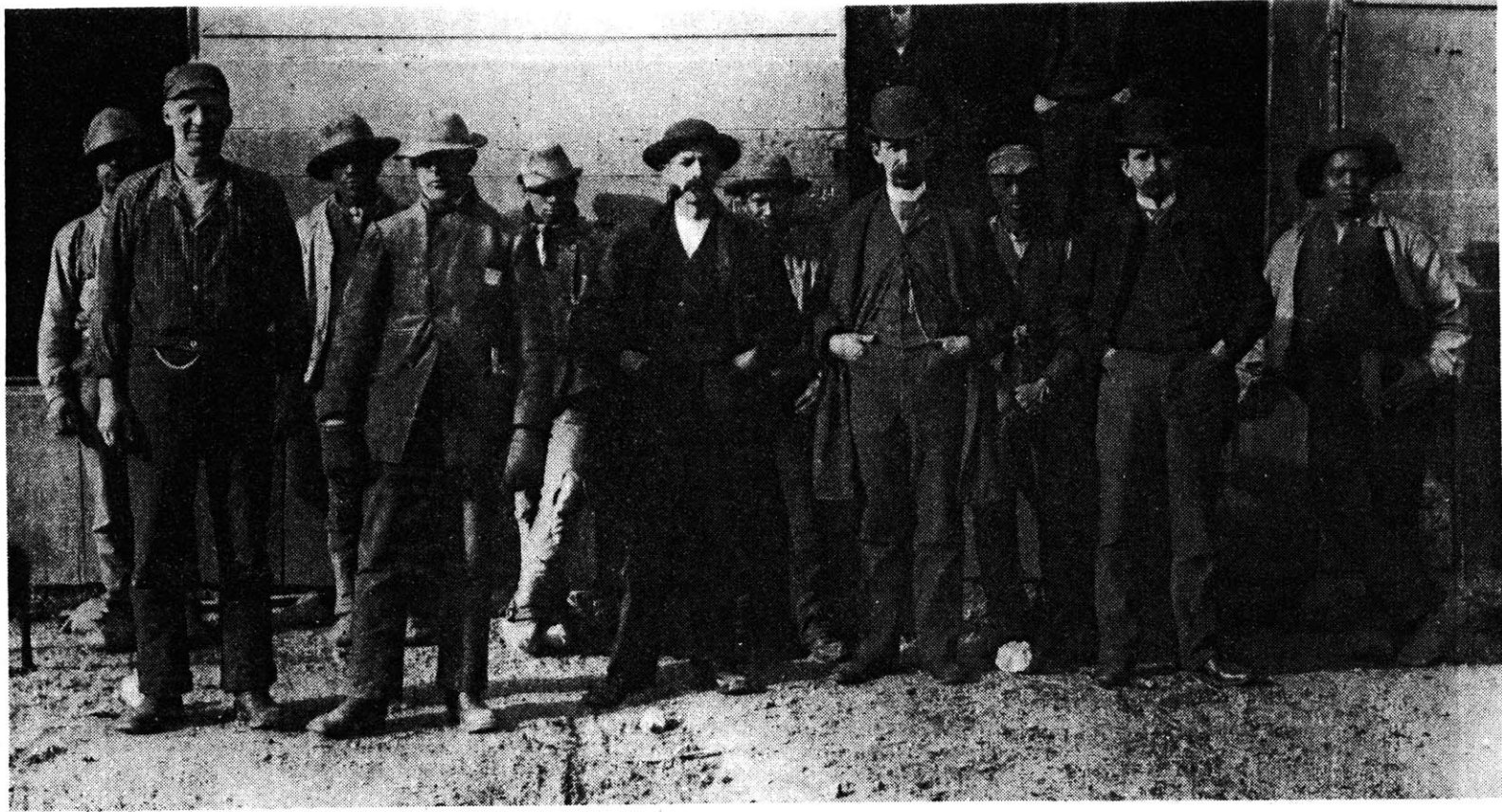
A photograph made around 1893 gives powerful insight into the class distinctions of such Phoenix Hill residents. To the right are two gentlemen sporting derbies and neckties--probably supervisors of some sort. They are obviously not manual laborers; their shoes are polished and they seem perfectly at ease to put their hands in their pockets (one only puts clean hands there usually). The pocketwatch completes the image of a man of

possessions. Such a man knows that "time is money"; he probably spends his time determining how others will use their's.

The man just left of them could be a foreman. He also wears a vest with an Edwardian coat. Like his friends to the right, he sports a mustache and feels comfortable posing with hands in pockets. However, he is not quite as dressed as his friends; he lacks a collar and tie and wears a simpler, flatter hat.

The dusty work clothes and boots of the two gentlemen at left indicate that they obviously work with their hands. One even wears gloves. The tools in his pocket suggest that he is a skilled mechanic or carpenter. The man on the left could be his helper (or co-worker) as he is dressed in simpler clothes without the protection of gloves.

The black men are relegated to the background of the photograph. They were also left to the most basic manual labor at the lowest wages. Their tattered and torn clothes show it; only one of



WORKERS IN A RAILROAD YARD, CIRCA 1893

the men has real leather shoes.

Industry maintained such blacks as 'beasts of burden' long after the Emancipation Proclamation set them free in 1863. In the late 1800's and early 1900's, they were forced off plantations and out of rural areas as agricul-

ture first began to mechanize. These penniless people came to the city, hoping to find work in the rapidly expanding industries of the day. Louisville held the attraction of a boomtown in the 1880's and 90's. The Directory called it "a wide awake, progres-

sive city."<sup>32</sup> However, the American Dream of homeownership and economic security did not automatically open up for its black citizens. They became porters---hauling tobacco or unloading railroad cars. Perhaps their best hope was to become a



house servant to some wealthy factory owner.

These hierarchial social relations were literally built into the physical fabric of Phoenix Hill. All of the classes shown in the photograph might have lived on the same block just as they worked in the same railroad yard. The well-to-do supervisors (as well as merchants) owned nice brick houses of several stories that looked out over tree-lined streets. The skilled mechanic or artisan probably lived in a simpler 'shotgun' house. The relatively unskilled white laborer



might have rented such a house or a unit in some larger structure. Perhaps he lived over the corner store and paid rent to an absentee landlord of Anglo-Saxon descent.

However, the WASP landlord was no longer the only one profiting from real estate. The first wave of immigrants claimed their stake in the American Dream during this time of rising prosperity: the Germans, as well as

other landlords and homeowners, were quick to cash in on speculation.

As usual, speculation implied the exploitation and degradation of people and their environment. Black people needed places to live and the white owners were only too happy to provide a semblance of a home---for a price.

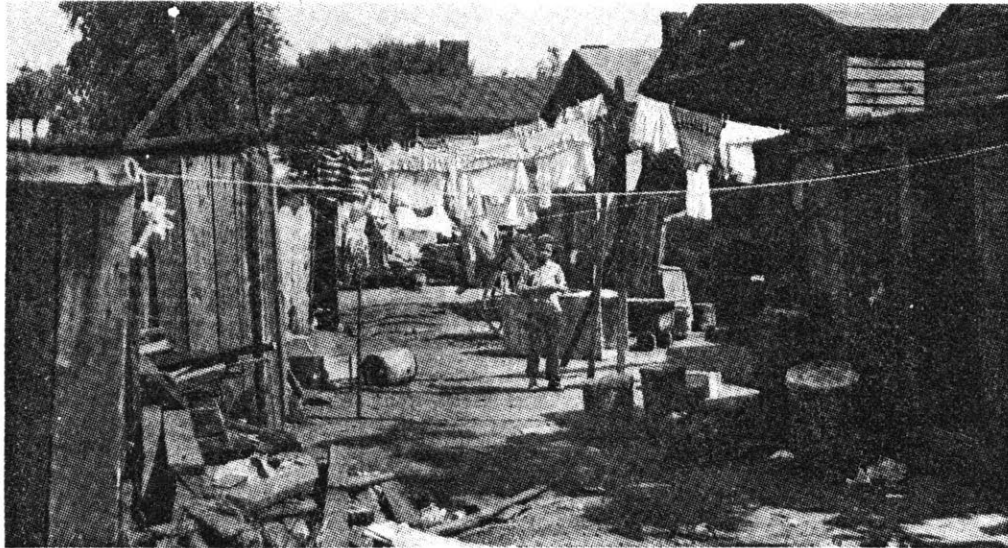
The long, narrow lots of Phoenix Hill that faced the street in front and the alley in back

offered a solution. The white privileged classes could live on the street while the black servant class was relegated to the rear alley at home just as at work. As one writer described,

out front there was the respectable world that paid the taxes; out back were servants and riffraff to do the dirty work. Expensive materials went into the front of the houses, cheaper stuff on the sides and back.<sup>33</sup>

The lots were deep enough---often more than 160 feet---to accommodate both white and black with substantial buffering space in between. A landlord could have white tenants on the street and black renters in back. White workers could more easily afford their shotgun cottages by the rent they collected from the rundown shack on the alley. The wealthier homeowner could conveniently house his servants in back---separate from his own house. Moreover, the rent probably recaptured sizeable portions (if not all) of the servant's wages.

Yet again, the 'public domain'



THE ALLEY IN THE MIDDLE OF THE BLOCK BECAME THE SITE FOR A SECOND-CLASS CITY AS SPECULATORS CARVED UP THE BACKYARD COMMONS INTO LOTS TO HOUSE THE POOR, THE PATTERN REMAINS IN SOME PARTS OF PHOENIX HILL TO THIS DAY: THIS SCENE WAS RECORDED IN 1945,

of the commons was sliced up for private profit. The onslaught of Industrialism had eroded the backyard domestic economy anyway: shopping for daily needs at Haymarket was more convenient than time invested toiling in the backyard. Participation in the market economy demanded work outside the home for the wage-earner as well. Thus, the appearance of the street facade mattered more to the white residents in their daily coming and going to town than the grim reality of the back alley.

Moreover, various city ordinances identified such practices as keeping livestock in rear lots as health hazards. Ironically, parts of public life were abolished to protect the public welfare. "Progress" had its price.

Streetcar Suburbs---For Some

Progress also radically altered the shape of the entire city during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as streetcars opened up the first suburbs. At first, the sprawl



SCENES FROM HAYMARKET IN THE 1930s: THE MARKET ECONOMY HAD FULLY REPLACED THE BACKYARD ECONOMY OF THE COMMONS

created by suburban expansion was viewed favorably. The suburbs offered "A Home Paradise" as an alternative to the crowding of the city:

Louisville covers as much territory as New York City, and is almost as conveniently supplied with means of city and suburban transportation. In Cincinnati residence houses will average five to each one hundred feet, while in Louisville the average is but little more than two to the one hundred feet, if that much... So liberal has been the ground plan of the town that every man who is able to own a house is able to own his own yard where the grass grows, the trees cast a grateful shade in summer, and where he can double or triple the size of his residence if he pleases...In such a city, parks, as 'breathing places,' are almost unnecessary. The whole of Louisville is one beautiful park in spring and summer, the streets shaded by trees, the yards verdant with turf and blooming with flowers...with 144 miles of paved streets, there are 94 miles of street railway, 22 miles of steam suburban railways, three miles of elevated railroad...the street and suburban railways carried last year 20,697,000 persons, at an average fare of less than five cents. This reads like a description of a Utopian city, and that is about what Louisville is as a place of residence.

The streetcar led the way to this new 'utopian' frontier in the same way the Ohio River originally had led Clark's settlers to Louisville. However, the land speculators owned the means of transportation to the suburbs; groups of developers formed private street railway companies to transport buyers from the city

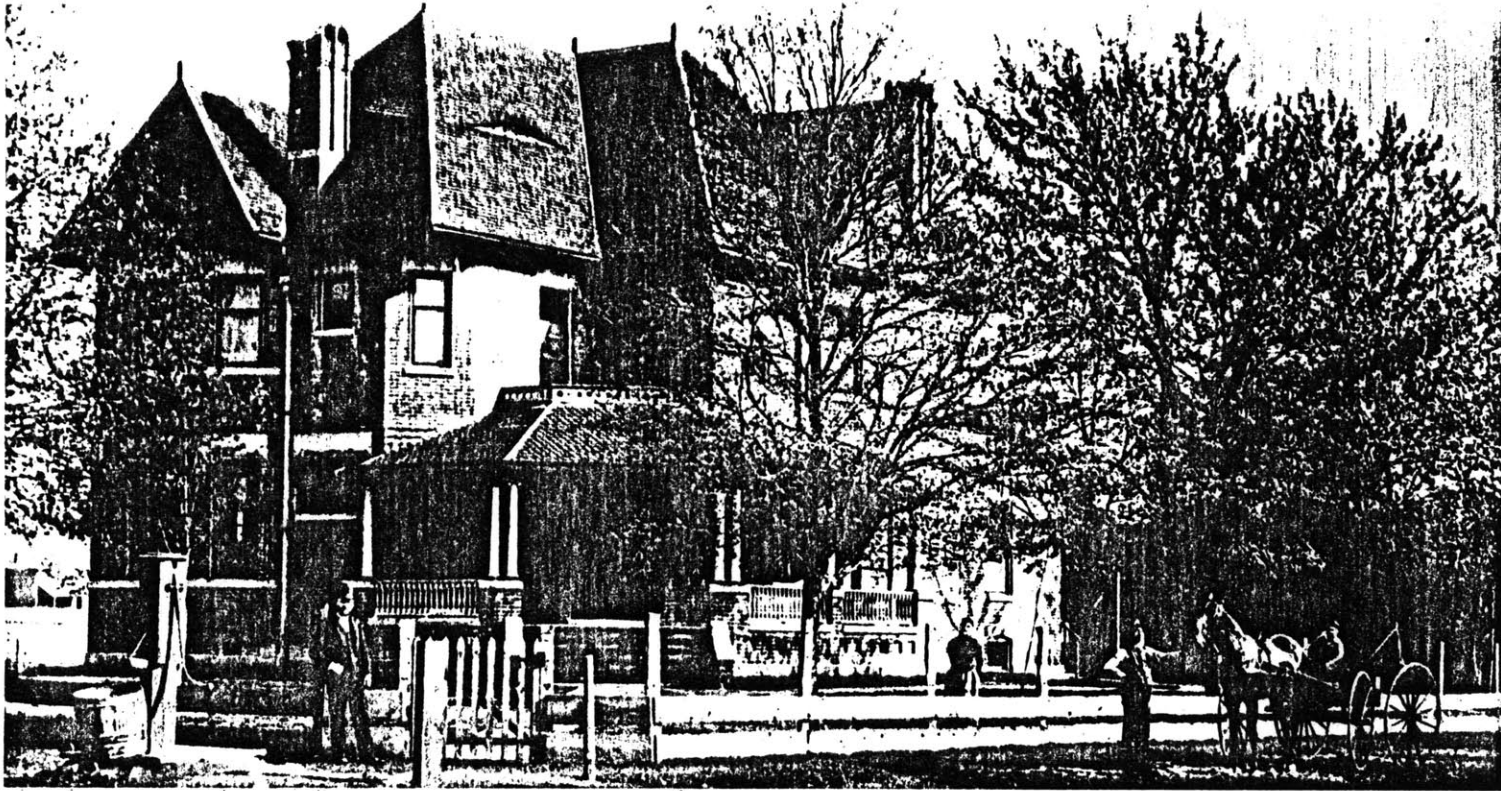
where they worked and shopped to their suburban lots that had previously been cheap farmland.

Speculation also determined the very form of these streetcar suburbs:

As to the numerous crazy-quilt residence subdivisions, the less said the better. Their designers, if we may dignify the perpetra-

tors of such abominations with that title, were consistent in one thing. They did not care a rap what happened to the city. They secured a few more front feet, possibly in some cases a few more lots, by distorting their subdivisions so as to put them entirely out of harmony with their surroundings.<sup>35</sup>

Such radical alterations of the environment went hand-in-hand with changing ways of life.



53 A SUBURBAN HOUSE IN PARKLAND, AN EARLY SUBURB, 1893

Electricity came into houses first in 1901, ushering in a host of gadgets and appliances that would eventually lead to the consumer society:

With all these changes and with the vast increase of the territory devoted to home building in Louisville there has been no change in the spirit of the home that has not been wrought by a plurality of bathrooms, electric lights, electric chafing dishes and the entrance of the motor car into the realm of domestic economy. We have more matters to fret over nowadays than we once had---that is, some of us have.<sup>36</sup>

Not everyone could enjoy these new products in their homes; similarly, not everyone could follow the migration out to the suburbs. A family only moved to where there was more space, light, air and greenery if they could afford it. The poor and the black were left behind to live in the tenements and alley houses.

#### Twentieth Century Louisville: The Contradictions of Liberalism

Throughout the twentieth century to this day, Phoenix Hill has increased in renter-occupancy and

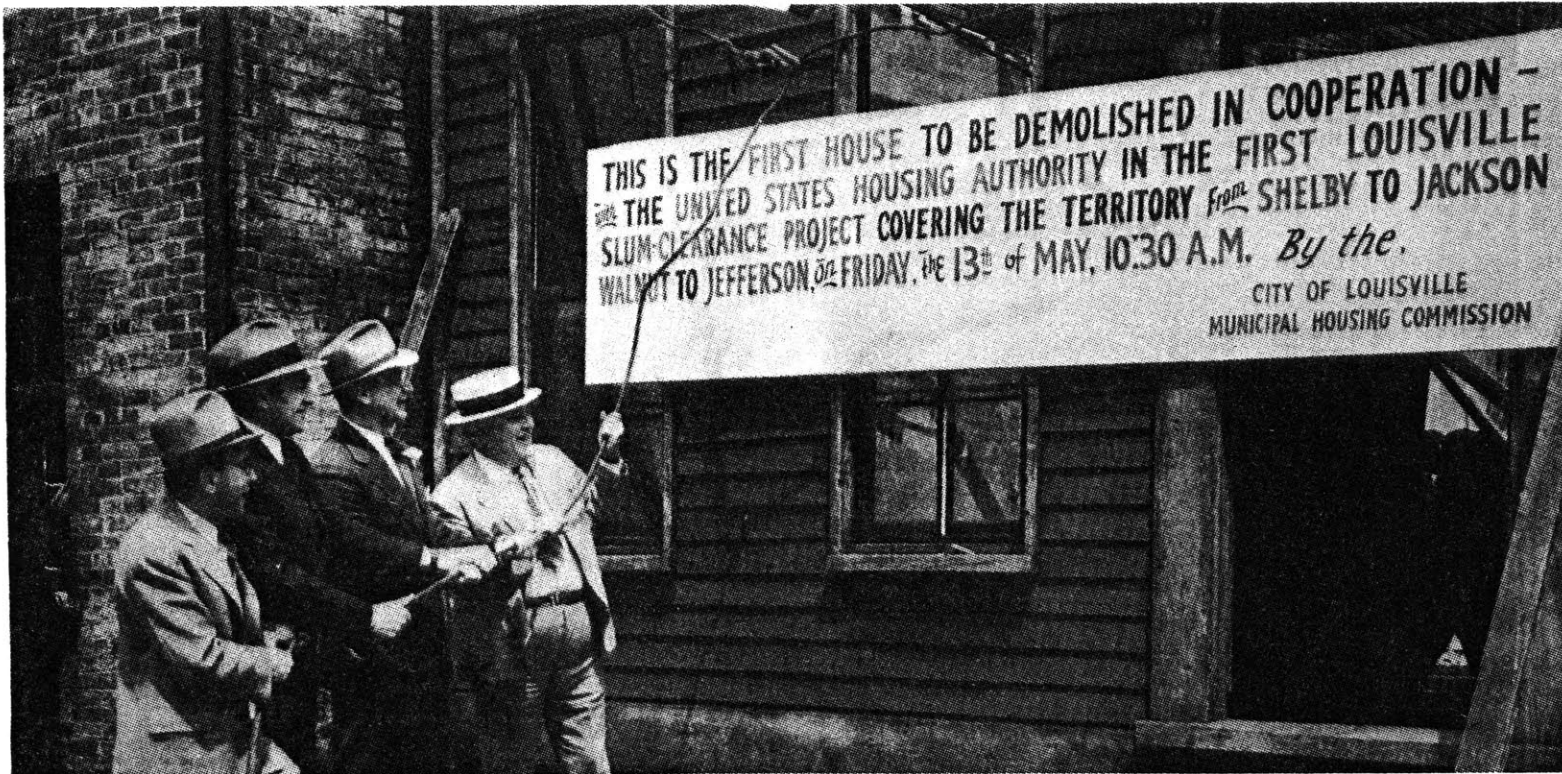
absentee-ownership. Liberal reformers first cataloged the dismal living conditions produced by these circumstances in 1909. Even a "staid and conservative city"<sup>37</sup> like Louisville grew rich enough to notice that its poor had been mistreated: it could now afford to be liberal. The eyesore of decrepit alley shacks could not be withstood forever. The Louisville Tenement Housing Commission recommended strong measures concerning these "horizontal tenements." However, they were "too general and expensive to prove useful."<sup>39</sup> Louisville was liberal enough to recognize the problem; it was not generous enough to solve it.

In the following years, the original German community largely abandoned Phoenix Hill. America assimilated them into its middle class. As they reaped the economic rewards of skilled labor, store proprietorship and backyard speculation, their class ties grew stronger than their ethnic background. In 1913, Prohibition closed down the center of the

community---the Phoenix Hill Brewery and Park. The Germans moved out of Phoenix Hill to the suburbs, joining others of similar class interests.

Many converted their former houses on the streets to rental units. Their new tenants were more poor whites and blacks, forced off the land because of the continuing mechanization of agriculture or left without jobs because of the Depression. Some were retired workers, living off minimal pensions as small as 13 dollars per month. These were the fruits reaped by less-skilled laborers in the industrial system. In addition, poor whites from Appalachia came to the city to collect welfare payments under Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal.

Such conditions only meant further deterioration in Phoenix Hill until other New Deal programs offered the liberal assistance that Louisville's citizens would not muster. The slum clearance and public housing programs provided for the first Federal incursion into Phoenix



Hill. The abandonment of the community by its German owners left a new frontier for government intervention directed at stimulating the Depression-laden economy. Decisions made far away in the nation's capitol affected the conditions of life in Louisville, Kentucky. 'Slum clearance' essentially gave a mandate for the upper middle class to displace the

poor. Local leaders directed the effort at six blocks in Phoenix Hill that had been surveyed by the Tenement Housing Commission in 1909.

Officials looked on with evident glee as the first alley house was demolished on Friday, the thirteenth of May, 1938. Four hundred and seventy-nine buildings followed, displacing 885 families.

Most of these were poor whites (69 percent). Statistics attest to the high degree of ownership by outside capital; only eight percent of the whites owned their own homes while less than three percent of the black families were owner-occupiers...

Yet, in all of them human beings have lived. Young men have grown old, loved and married.



And in some of them people still live, because the 'slum clearance' site isn't by any means deserted yet, even though the crackle of the house-wrecker's mallets may be expected almost anyday... A few of these are owners who don't believe in such new-fangled Government foolishness; but most of the last-ditchers are merely poor people with no other place to go; folk for whom the demolition of one slum means moving to another. They can't even afford to come back to the multi-unit, modern apartments the Government will erect; many wouldn't

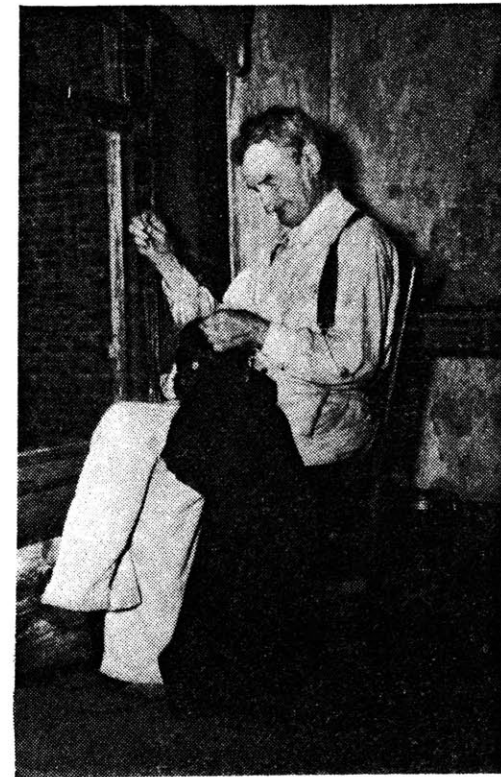
come back even if some legerdemain made it financially possible for them to do so.

Not only were the existing tenants largely excluded from the 786 units of public housing built on the site: most of those evicted ended up paying higher rents in other places.

Ironically, a Depression-era program to aid the destitute only worsened the plight of the poor-

est. The New Deal intervention set an early precedent of Federal programs displacing the most disadvantaged in Phoenix Hill.

After clearance, the Phoenix Hill site played host to Clarksdale---the city's first 'low-cost' housing project. A blue-ribbon list of distinguished local architects prepared the plans for this five million dollar project. Despite the fact that six different



firms participated, Clarksdale projects an image of completely identical, uniform and immense brick boxes quite unrelated to the local environment. This is not surprising, however. It is also not surprising that these two- and three-story walk-up apartments look so much like other public housing projects across the

country.

The plans came mostly from an August 1938 publication of the United States Housing Authority called Unit Plans: Suggestions for the interior arrangement of Low-rent Dwellings; the local architects did little to embellish upon these minimal plans that stressed efficiency and economy.

Admittedly, the almost \$6,500 per unit budget did not allow for more than the most spartan design. Minimum room areas were specified and illustrated in the sample plans; the sizes were not fundamentally derived from users' needs but "the dimensions shown result from structural design which utilizes materials and struc-



Wrecking operations, south of Marshall. St. Boniface Church is in the background.



tural systems to the greatest advantage."<sup>40</sup> The publication admonished architects to consider the "relation of the proposed site to the city pattern, character of surrounding development [and] prevailing local customs and preferences with respect to dwelling unit types;"<sup>41</sup> however, the

copybook result completely contradicts this.

The six-block project disrupts the urban pattern entirely. All mid-block alleys were closed. The new buildings ignore the varied fabric of individual, narrow-frontage shotgun houses. Instead, wider frontage units of

less depth are stacked on top of and next to the others to form long massive buildings. The immensely long and uniform facades present a solid wall to the street whereas the original shotgun houses were oriented perpendicular from the street. Indeed, the 160 foot length of the Clarks-

# UNIT PLANS

Suggestions for the interior arrangement of low-rent dwellings

## UNITED STATES HOUSING AUTHORITY

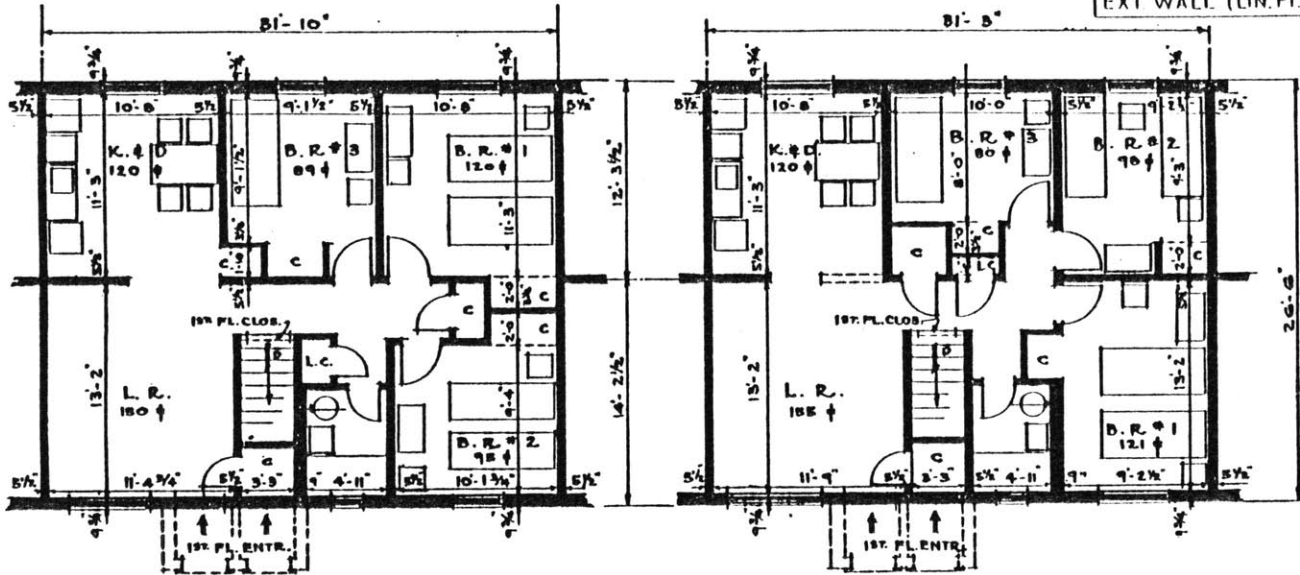
Department of the Interior Washington, D.C. August 1938

dale "extrusions" were only limited by the size of the blocks and the maximum distances one could build a brick wall without costly expansion joints.<sup>42</sup> These buildings have more to do with Hilberseimer and LeCorbisier than Louisville, Kentucky. However, these standardized and rationalized plans are also derived from concerns for cost-cutting economy more than modern architectural theory. The Federal Suggestions

even specify repetitive cookie-cutter site plans for economic reasons, contradicting the alleged concern for the existing environmental pattern: "every item of economy, however minor, is an important consideration because of the repetitive use of plan elements in low-cost housing projects."<sup>43</sup> Most of the 56 Clarksdale buildings are arranged on four, virtually identical, blocks. The other two blocks substitute a

community center, a playground and an existing church for some of the residential buildings in this "planned community."<sup>44</sup>

Clarksdale intruded into the physical and social fabric of Phoenix Hill. Perhaps that is what attracted the multitude of well-dressed visitors to the 1940 "open house." They could see the stamp of liberal ideology on the form of the neighborhood; 'low-rent,' modern housing re-



| STATISTICS                  |      |      |
|-----------------------------|------|------|
| SCHEME                      | "A"  | "B"  |
| GROSS AREA (SQ. FT. PER RM) | 154  | 151  |
| NET AREA (SQ. FT. PER RM)   | 104  | 104  |
| RATIO (NET ÷ GROSS) %       | 67.9 | 69   |
| EXT WALL (LIN. FT. PER RM)  | 11.6 | 11.3 |

(A)  
**SECOND FLOOR PLAN**  
 FIRST FLOOR PLAN SIMILAR.

(B)  
**SECOND FLOOR PLAN**  
 FIRST FLOOR PLAN SIMILAR.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR  
 UNITED STATES HOUSING AUTHORITY  
 WASHINGTON, D.C.

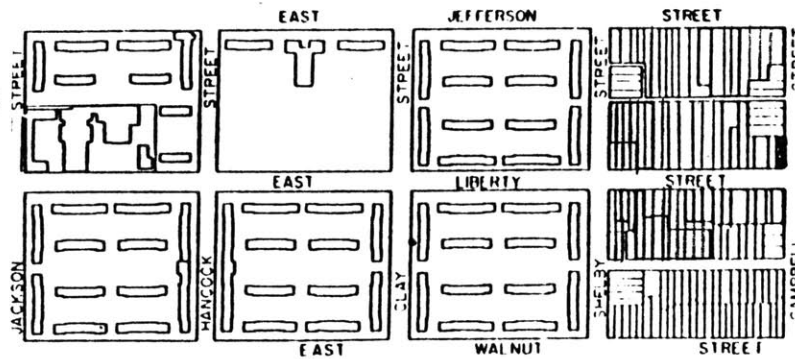
5 1/2 ROOM  
 TWO STORY FLATS

PLAN NO.  
**TA-8**

0 1 2 3 4 5 10  
 SCALE IN FEET

DATE: 8 12 58

CLARKSDALE  
AND THE  
NEIGHBORHOOD  
FABRIC IT  
DISRUPTED...  
VISITORS  
ATTEND OPEN  
HOUSE.....



placed a disgusting slum. The liberal mind did not really care that Clarksdale pushed people out of their homes or destroyed a one-hundred-year-old city pattern.

#### Economic Recovery and Suburban Growth

Such massive government spending on public works projects did not spur the economy out of the Depression; gearing up for World War II did, however. By 1941, the Federal government took over large industrial plants to direct wartime production. The war effort converted Louisville to a "diverse manufacturing community."<sup>45</sup> Major corporations settled and expanded there: DuPont, Goodrich and Union Carbide (then called National Carbide). Westinghouse directed weapons production at the Naval Ordnance Station.

As people came to work in the plants, the city's population shot up and the suburbs mushroomed. A newspaper article noted, "For the first time in several years, large crowds of muddied, overall workmen were seen on the streets.

Money and more money flowed into merchant's tills.<sup>46</sup>

However, the largest suburban expansion followed the War. A 1942 plan for the city recognized this would be the new post-war agenda for a car-oriented culture. It called for improved automobile access from the suburbs and an increase in off-street parking downtown. In the midst of the middle class move to the suburbs, it also rallied for the rebuilding of blighted urban areas such as Phoenix Hill. Despite Clarksdale, the rest of the neighborhood remained in decline. A Courier-Journal reporter toured Phoenix Hill in 1945 and was shocked by the dismal situation of the poor:

We were not prepared for the appalling conditions we found, not a half mile from Fourth and Walnut. In almost every instance the residents were ashamed of their surroundings and said they had been trying, fruitlessly, to find other places to live... 'but it is just impossible and we've got to have a roof over our heads.'<sup>47</sup>

The reporter interviewed a policewoman familiar with the area who commented:

WHILE THIS PHOTOGRAPH WAS ACTUALLY TAKEN IN THE WEST END OF LOUISVILLE IN THE EARLY POST-WAR YEARS, IT ACCURATELY DESCRIBES THE PREVAILING CONDITIONS OF LIFE FOR MANY IN THE PHOENIX HILL NEIGHBORHOOD AT THIS TIME.



These places are a fire hazard and a health hazard, to say nothing of being conducive to juvenile delinquency. People who live this way become broken in spirit and indifferent. You can segregate the people, but you can't segregate the germs. And crime is expensive to the whole community. <sup>48</sup> wish something could be done.

However, very little was done. The post-war boom bypassed Phoenix Hill: by 1950, the neighborhood contained 16,598 residents with a median family income under \$2,000 in the central portions. The rest of the country was too busy helping itself to the slice of life it had been denied since the Depression. Returning servicemen were ready to get married and have a family. The post-war FHA and VA mortgage-insurance programs amounted to a virtual land grant to the ex-soldiers for service to their country: they received their half-acre lot just like the soldiers who fought for George Rogers Clark. However, that lot was probably located outside the city; the white middle class took their Federal subsidy and went off to explore

the new suburban frontier. They sought the American Dream of homeownership and economic security like all pioneers before them.

As usual, speculators led the way. They capitalized on the cutting-edge of the culture by taming the farmland 'wilderness' into house lots; developers carved out more than one hundred new subdivisions in 1956 alone.

A new mode of transport opened up this frontier. The automobile made the countryside accessible in a way that streetcars never did. Ford first started making Model T's in Louisville in 1916, but the streetcar remained the dominant mode of transportation for many years. The booming post-war economy enabled the average American worker to own his own automobile. The car succeeded the streetcar when the last trolley rode down the tracks in 1948.

The automobile had a profound effect on the growth and form of Louisville. A 1949 article noted that inside the city

wrecking companies said yesterday the majority of their business in the past two years has consisted of tearing down old dwellings to provide space for automobile parking, used-car lots, and new car showrooms. <sup>49</sup>

Outside the city, "the people just let Louisville go sprawling out any old way." <sup>50</sup>

The post-war development around Hurstbourne Lane provides an example of this expansion process. In 1940, the area consisted of farms on either side of the road. Its widening to four lanes in 1961 brought a massive wave of development. Sprawling suburban estates joined recreational, professional and commercial areas in the Hurstbourne and Plainview communities.

Such developments grew up as nodes attached to a major ring road that circled Louisville; the Watterson Expressway was built in the Fifties and Sixties primarily to attract and service industry. Throughout the Fifties, an average of 14 major corporations located in Louisville yearly. Even a partial listing of these companies reads like the top of the



Fortune Five Hundred.

The scale of modern manufacturing in these multinational firms required huge tracts of land in outlying locations. Ford built the world's largest truck plant on three million square feet of ground. General Electric's huge Appliance Park still produces the world's supply of GE's refrigerators and air conditioners. International Harvester and Reynolds Metals also joined the industrialization of the suburbs.

These large corporations actually opened up two frontiers simultaneously. As they induced suburban expansion at home, they produced goods for new international markets abroad. Government joined this expansionary spirit with the advent of Kennedy's "New Frontier" policy. Louisville connected itself to the Free World economy, but its citizens lost control of the forces that radically altered their environment. Business Week reported in 1955 that the city's

"dominant fact is industrial



growth." But the sources of the new industrial wealth were headquartered elsewhere. An estimated 80 percent of the industrial workers were paid by absentee capital, and 60 percent of the stores in the busiest downtown blocks were controlled by chains.<sup>51</sup>

Changing City Functions

The shift to the suburbs implied changing functions for the center city. The city was now a place where service sector workers spent eight-hour days. They lived in the suburbs, drove downtown to a parking garage and worked in some sort of office building. They occasionally might spend an evening at the theatre,



ABOVE: FORD TRUCK PLANT  
BELOW: HURSTBOURNE AND  
PLAINVIEW SUBURBAN  
DEVELOPMENTS

but more often than not they pursued entertainment outside the city. Residences, industry and shopping centers remained sequestered in the suburbs.

A 1969 master plan recognized the new reality confronting the "City of the Seventies." Planners from Victor Gruen Associates applied their extensive experience in designing suburban shopping centers to this Louisville Center City Development Program. The River City Mall turned Fourth Street into a pedestrian axis linking a north anchor at the riverfront with a south anchor at Broadway. Today, the north end comprises a convention hotel, a major parking garage and a public Belvedere overlooking the river. The Kentucky Center for the Arts will soon be added nearby. The south anchor of offices and theatres is less developed today, but ambitious plans call for a major mixed-use development adding housing, parking and commercial space around a plaza linking Second Street with Fifth Street.

Around this framework, the

Gruen planners separated the city into discrete zones of specialized functions. The financial district centers around two bank office towers just west of the north end of the mall. The Commonwealth Convention Center and the Hyatt Regency Hotel comprise an area oriented toward convention business also at the north end of the Mall. The mid-Mall Galleria is "a suburban style shopping center downtown"<sup>52</sup> which is under construction in an attempt to bring retail merchandising back to the city.

Just west of the Mall's south end is Louisville's communication center comprising the offices of the Courier-Journal newspaper, two television stations and South Central Bell Telephone.

The last of these specialized zones of major importance is the Louisville Medical Center developed as part of the East Downtown Renewal Project. This project and its impact on the Phoenix Hill neighborhood are discussed in detail in a later section. What is important for

the moment is that this massive development could not have been possible without Federal funds. Outside monies came into Louisville to redevelop the city.

Outside developers also came into Louisville, in the same way that outside industrial capital pioneered the suburbs. The thirty-story Citizens-Fidelity Bank Building in the financial district is owned by the Winmar Corporation of Seattle and the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company of Milwaukee. The Gerald Hine's organization of Houston expressed interest in business office development between the financial district and the Kentucky Center for the Arts. The Oxford Development Group of Edmonton, Alberta is developing the Galleria project on the River City Mall.

Outside development capital had its deleterious effects, however; in the case of the Galleria, the developers pressured the city to demolish an important landmark building that had long been 'protected' by the National Histor-

ic Registry. Vehement citizen opposition arose, but the wreck-er's ball razed the historic building---with a Federal Urban Development Action Grant footing the bill, no less. The presence of outside capital meant that the general citizenry lost one more measure of control over their environment.

#### Urban Renewal and the Demise of Phoenix Hill

Despite many efforts at downtown renewal in the Fifties and Sixties, most people would not live there. As suburbs grew, the urban residential environment withered. The middle classes abandoned the once "pre-eminent...residential city of America"<sup>53</sup> as a place to live. In 1940, 78 percent of the Louisville factory workers lived in the city. Even by 1957, only 50 percent of the region's workers still remained there. The skilled workers moved out; creating a metropolitan area that covered seven counties: there were others less fortunate, however. Once again,

the new growth frontier offered new opportunities only to some.

Louisville residents became increasingly segregated by class and race just like the city itself was separated into discrete functional zones. An inner city neighborhood like Phoenix Hill had 58 percent black population in its center by 1970. The city as a whole was merely 23.8 percent black. Also in 1970, 48.5 percent of Phoenix Hill's households earned incomes below the poverty level compared to 18.4 percent in the entire city. Phoenix Hill had over twice the concentration of poor blacks than the rest of the city.

Since 1950, the percentage of renters remained around 80 percent. However, the percentage of owners in Phoenix Hill dropped from 17.8 percent in 1950 to 9.7 percent in 1975. Correspondingly the percentage of vacancies rose in that time period from 2.5 percent to 12.2 percent. The neighborhood lost more than 10,000 residents in that same period: the overall population

plummeted from 16,598 in 1950 to 5,882 in 1976.<sup>54</sup>

Phoenix Hill experienced its most dramatic decline by far between 1970 and 1976. The neighborhood east of Shelby Street lost 947 people or 46 percent of its population in this time. Landlords abandoned their properties by neglecting repairs, cutting off services and in many cases---resorting to arson to collect insurance money. Many units were demolished as owners awaited future redevelopment.

The area west of Shelby lost 852 people or 20.3 percent of its population in that time. Houses in both areas were wiped out by expanding businesses, parking lots, the North-South expressway and the Louisville Medical Center complex. Demolition and arson reduced the 4,964 dwellings of 1950 to 2,796 units in 1976.

This destruction of the residential neighborhood came at the hand of the second Federal incursion into Phoenix Hill. The East Downtown Urban Renewal Project stretched from Broadway to

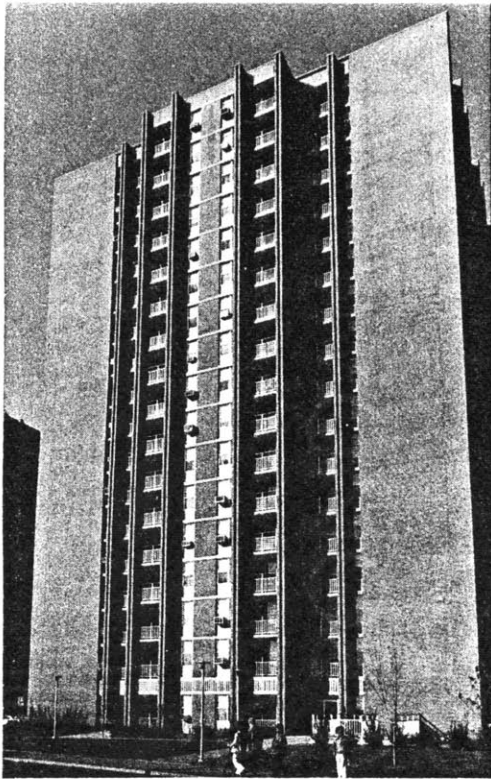


cated in Phoenix Hill. The Urban Renewal Agency report on the project states that "all of the families and individuals who were living in the areas during the process of change were assisted into decent housing."<sup>55</sup> On the average, they received just over \$1,700 per family for relocation assistance. Whether they actually found 'safe and sanitary' housing for this paltry sum is dubious.

The Urban Renewal report takes great lengths to convince the public that the "process of change" produced more housing than it destroyed. A chart indicates that 805 new units replaced the 746 units that were demolished. It even hints that students and the elderly displaced poor families. The statistics confuse the fact that the project led directly to the net displacement of 852 people--over 20 percent of the area's population; the Urban Renewal planners sought to cover up the reality that the poor families that were displaced contained more members than the student and elderly



After



RIGHT:U. OF L. MEDICAL SCHOOL

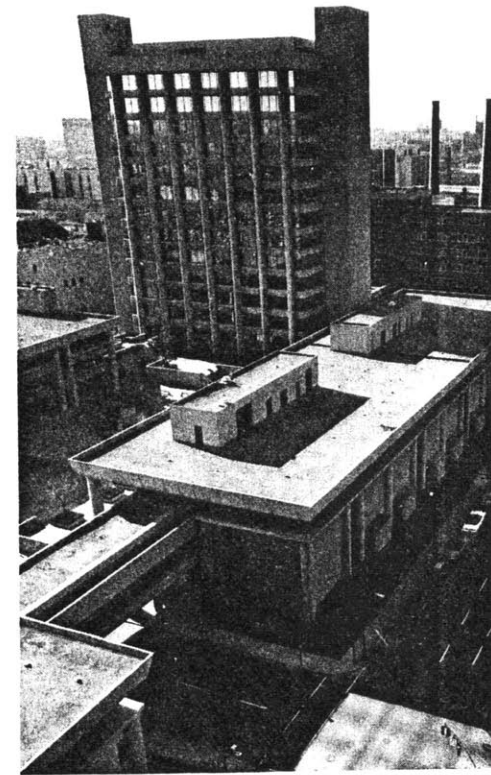
LEFT:DOSKER MANOR ELDERLY HOUSING

**Housing for Students and Elderly**

|                              | Units |
|------------------------------|-------|
| New Construction             |       |
| Dosker Manor North (Elderly) | 305   |
| Dosker Manor West (Elderly)  | 200   |
| Dosker Manor East (Elderly)  | 200   |
| U. of L. Dental Students     |       |
| Apartments                   | 100   |
| Total New Units              | 805   |

**Replacement Housing Assistance**

| Assisted and relocated into safe and sanitary housing | Units |
|---|-------|
| Families Purchased                                    | 60    |
| Families Rented                                       | 294   |
| Sub-total   | 354   |
| Individuals Rented                                    | 392   |
| Total   | 746   |



households.

Moreover, the 'Federal Bulldozer' of 'Urban Removal' contributed to the decline of the eastern half of the neighborhood as well. The city raised taxes on the redeveloped land in the western portion 263 percent from \$157,000 to \$414,000. It is not now known whether the city actually raised valuations in the

eastern section or the landlords there perceived that reassessment was coming with the redevelopment of the adjacent area. Building code enforcement programs also threatened their pocketbooks. They certainly did not want to pay more taxes nor extensive repair bills on the decrepit little houses they owned; after all, the rents barely made them profit-

able. Instead, they demolished them, avoiding both the tax assessor and code inspector. Indeed, the Urban Renewal of the western half had an astonishing multiplier effect in the eastern portion by displacing 46 percent of the population. It was not enough for Urban Renewal to displace the "low and moderate income" people that it was sup-

posed to serve within its project boundaries; it also affected the social fabric of areas around it. Moreover, the taxes lost through demolition in the eastern half negated large parts of the \$257,000 in taxes added through Urban Renewal of the western part.

However, the East Downtown project further violated the physical fabric beyond its contribution to poorer housing conditions. Alleyways and streets (like Madison between Preston and Jackson) were closed. The high rise development of the Medical Center and Dosker Manor as well as the North-South expressway created an effective barrier between the neighborhood and the center city.

The second Federal incursion into Phoenix Hill intruded upon the existing social and physical fabric even more than the first; indeed, it offered major contributions to neighborhood decline and urban blight.



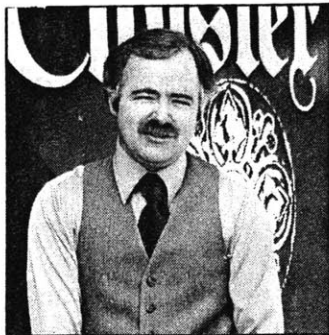


# SUBURBIA COMES BACK TO THE CITY

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT OR DESTRUCTION ?

---

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT FOR WHOM ?



**Ray Schuhmann, developer:**  
one man who's banking on  
Phoenix Hill

"Some of the people are going to want to leave...because it won't be their type of neighborhood anymore."



**John Henry Spencer, resident:**  
"scared to death" by what redevelopment could mean to him and his family



Phoenix Hill Today:  
The Changing Context  
Forces Redevelopment

The destruction of the neighborhood fabric of Phoenix Hill at the hands of the East Downtown Urban Renewal Project set the stage for further Federally-sponsored redevelopment efforts. Government programs in the late seventies and early eighties attacked the problem of re-establishing the residential neighborhood in Phoenix Hill they had helped destroy in the previous decade.

The reasons for this complete turnaround are not too difficult to understand: broader social changes worked to shift the suburban frontiers of the fifties and sixties back to the city in the seventies and eighties. The 1973 Arab oil embargo threatened the expansionary economy and consumptive way of life that suburban Americans had come to enjoy. It symbolized the closing of the sixties frontier of foreign markets and resources that had kept that growth-oriented lifestyle

afloat. Suddenly, sharp resource constraints and tumultuous world affairs beyond the average American's reach threatened their control over the immediate environment. The pattern of daily living spawned by the automobile connecting up the distantly-sprawled functions of work, family life, shopping, entertainment and education was no longer the convenient asset nor the mark of freedom that it once had been.

Also at this time, planners and decision-makers reflected upon the results of suburban expansion and the lifestyle it fostered:

The community's post-war growth has been mostly mismanaged, resource-depleting urban sprawl. Its guiding force has been money. Its consequences have included neglect of older urban neighborhoods and enormous social and governmental costs to serve outlying new subdivisions, shopping centers and industrial developments...The question is not growth-vs.-no-growth but whether the community can afford relentless suburban development around an ailing central city.

Growth-control legislation and environmental regulations began to limit further subdivision devel-

opment.

Moreover, demographic changes in the population questioned the very basis for suburban living.<sup>2</sup> Divorce was on the rise. Young couples married and reared children later than their parents. A growing number of women found joining the work force more rewarding than staying at home. More couples opted for raising smaller families. The "Me Generation" of self-involved young professionals was more oriented toward their careers than kids.

All of these factors contributed to more numerous households with fewer members. A growing number of people did not have the desire to own a sprawling suburban ranch house on its quarter or half acre lot that was more suited to extensive child-rearing and stay-at-home wives. Besides, who really liked doing housework and spending their weekends cutting the grass?

While the majority of Americans still probably preferred the detached single-family suburban home, the new shift towards

smaller households and a deteriorating economy in the late seventies began to change that: many found that they could no longer afford the rising costs of mortgages, taxes and maintenance in suburbia.

All of these trends and events in the demographic, economic and government sectors foretold the end of the suburban frontier. However, when one frontier began to close, another one opened. The direction of that new frontier had been recognized in a Louisville magazine editorial as early as 1959:

The most satisfactory answer to urban sprawl, most thoughtful viewers of the urban scene now think, is to lure the dispersed middle class back to the city it fled.

It took twenty years for this new spirit to take hold. The change of mood was best symbolized when Louisville hosted the National Back to the City Conference in June 1979.

#### Suburbia Comes Back to the City

As in the past, however, there was a lingering question of who would participate in settling the new urban frontier. If the new middle class came back to the city, what would happen to the existing low- and moderate-income residents who had never "fled the city" in the first place?

Phoenix Hill became the vanguard neighborhood on the new urban frontier where those questions would be decided. In early 1977, the Homebuilder's Association of Louisville approached the municipal government on developing a "private enterprise redevelopment program for central sections of the City of Louisville."<sup>4</sup> The Association represents "210 Registered Builders and an additional associate membership of over 430...others associated with the local housing industry."<sup>5</sup> While the Homebuilders were responsible for over eighty percent of the property built in the Louisville Metropolitan Area, they had pursued very little development within the city itself.

However, the changing context presented

some other reasons why our industry needs to seriously examine redevelopment possibilities within Louisville.

- A. The underdeveloped land remaining in Jefferson County is difficult to acquire.
- B. If such land can be acquired, it is becoming increasingly difficult to develop it at an economically feasible price.
- C. The restrictive no-growth attitude of certain segments of government and the community.
- D. In the long run the city may be the new market. And, it may be proven that housing and other development can be provided more efficiently.<sup>6</sup>

In June of 1978, the Homebuilders formally signed a "Memorandum of Understanding" with the City of Louisville.

Discussions between the City and the Homebuilders Association focused on Phoenix Hill because of its convenient location between the Central Business District and the eastern suburbs where the Homebuilders already worked. Phoenix Hill was also attractive

because a local organization of businessmen, the Phoenix Hill Association, was interested in the project, too.

The Homebuilders had a clear idea of whom the benefactors of the proposed redevelopment would be: "the project must be designed primarily for middle income wage-earners."<sup>7</sup> While "an economic, social, racial, etc., mix should be incorporated into the overall plan,"<sup>8</sup> they recognized the potential "problems associated with the relocation of residents and adverse community reaction."<sup>9</sup> The Homebuilders wanted to "do what they know how to do best:"<sup>10</sup> build primarily for the same market that they typically built for in the suburbs. "Individual Builders, Remodelers, and others...should not have to deal with such things as relocation problems."<sup>11</sup> The City "must create an atmosphere where these and other requirements can be met."<sup>12</sup>

The City's Community Development Cabinet contracted the Louisville and Jefferson County

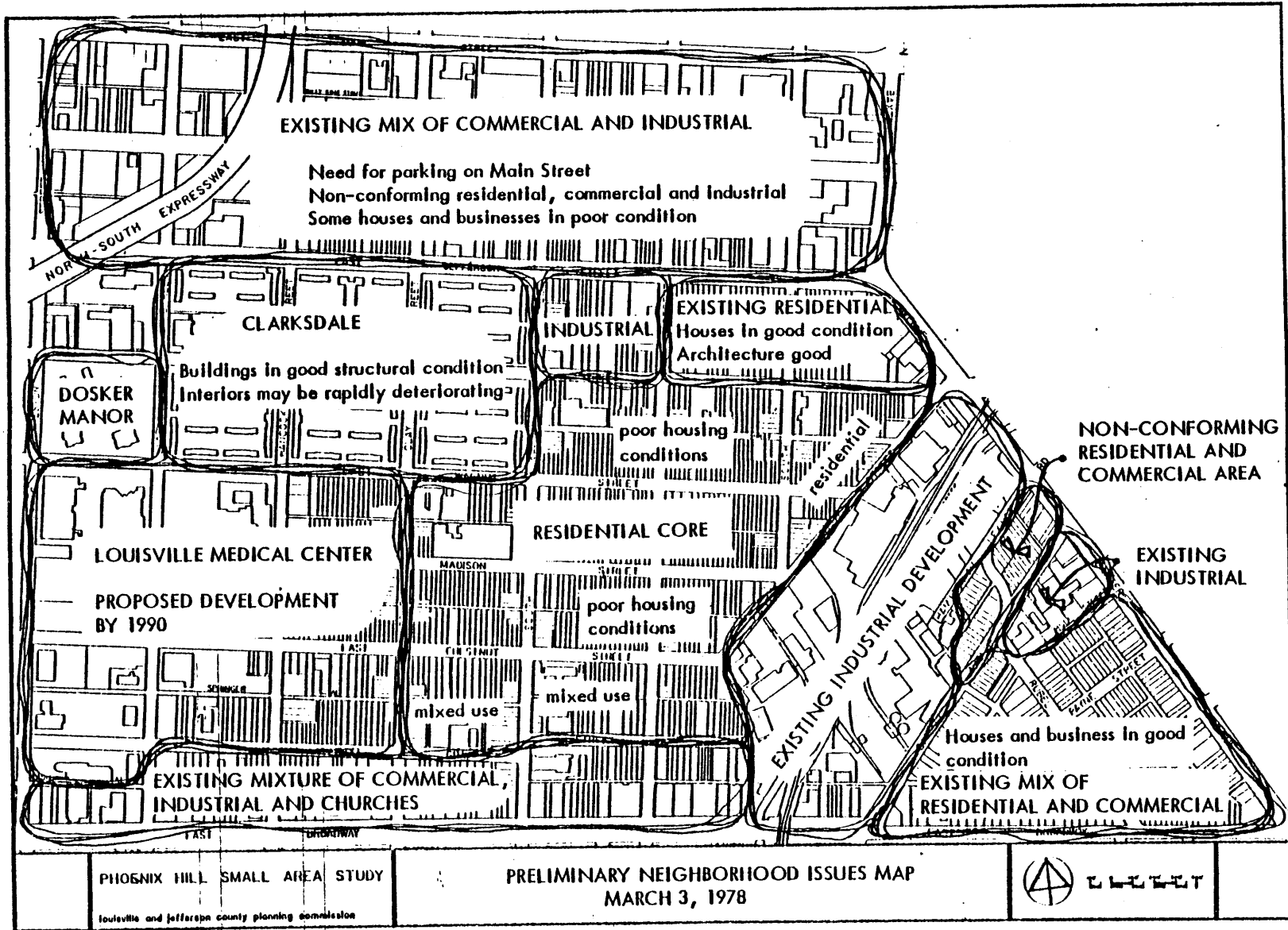
Planning Commission to perform a Small Area Study of Phoenix Hill. The first phase inventoried the existing conditions. Phase II developed planning alternatives for neighborhood improvement.

This report identified some key issues facing the neighborhood. The heart of the neighborhood contained a deteriorated residential core with poor housing conditions. There were many different forces operating at the edges of this core. The Louisville Medical Center to the west had an expansionary development program that would intrude farther into the residential section by 1990. Existing industrial development to the east was not threatening this housing directly but it certainly did not contribute to the aesthetic quality of the environment either. To the north, some relatively small scale industry had plans for expanding into the housing area where land was cheap.

The northwest edge of the residential core bordered on the Clarksdale Public Housing Project. Clarksdale had become the Louis-

ville Housing Authority's "dumping ground"<sup>13</sup> for its poorest and most difficult tenants. It boasted a crime rate more than twice the city-wide average. (It is quite ironic indeed that the very poor could not even afford to live there when it opened up in 1940).

The presence of Clarksdale threatened the entire redevelopment effort in fact: Homebuilder George Underhill, Co-chairman of his Association's Community Affairs Committee once said "Clarksdale, in its current condition, is totally unacceptable... Unless we can solve those problems, we aren't going through with it."<sup>14</sup> The founding president of the Phoenix Hill Association, businessman Ray Schuhmann, even asserted that the "Homebuilders originally wanted to get rid of Clarksdale and move new people in,"<sup>15</sup> but that charge was denied by Underhill. Robert Astorino, director of the Louisville Housing Authority, has maintained that Clarksdale would remain as low-income housing. However, it might be sold off to a



private developer who could screen tenants and thus displace some existing residents that were deemed to be trouble-makers. The controversy over Clarksdale continues, with Phoenix Hill locals maintaining that jobs and economic development are more important to solving the project's problems than cosmetic improvements or changes of management.<sup>16</sup>

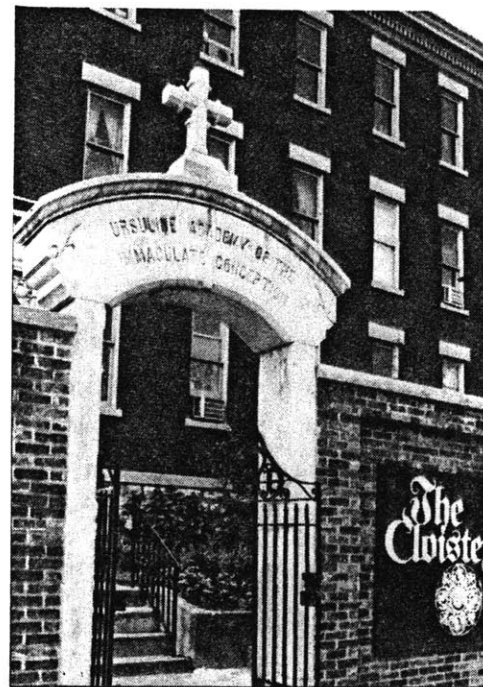
In contrast, the southern edge exerted quite a different force upon the residential core: a mix of commercial, industrial and church uses, most notably the Cloister, presented an influence promoting housing redevelopment and commercial revitalization. The Cloister is a former Ursuline Convent that businessman Ray Schuhmann developed as a complex of boutiques, shops and professional offices servicing a mostly upper middle class clientele from outside the neighborhood. It represents the first major 'gentrifying' influence on the neighborhood.

The Planning Commission's Phase II Small Area Study left it

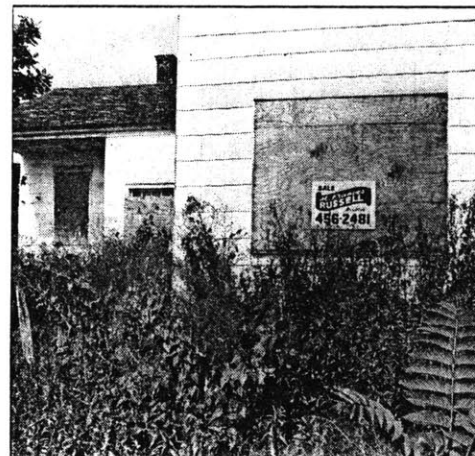
rather unclear how the residential core at the center of these disparate forces should be developed and which of the various influences would benefit most.

A third phase report by the Planning Commission was to present detailed redevelopment plans. These were to be developed through "citizen participation and coordination with public agencies and other interested groups in evaluation of the alternative strategies presented in Phase II,"<sup>17</sup> but the contract for the final phase was cancelled. A new mayor had been elected who had a new agenda.

The Mayor decided not to pursue the planning of Phoenix Hill solely within local agencies, but awarded a \$150,000 contract to Coloredo Associates, Incorporated, a planning and engineering firm from Memphis, Tennessee. A quick insight as to why planners from Memphis should be determining the direction of growth and development of Louisville can be gleaned by glancing at the firm's stationery. The



The Cloister began a surge of redevelopment in Phoenix Hill, but...



...much of the neighborhood is still fighting abandonment.

letterhead lists J.D. Leeth as a "Financial Consultant." Jack Leeth formerly headed the Urban Renewal Agency in Louisville in the sixties and early seventies when the East Downtown Louisville Project leveled much of the fabric of Phoenix Hill. Ironically, a man who had led the effort to turn the western part of Phoenix Hill into a city-wide service center was part of the firm now

responsible for planning its redevelopment as a residential neighborhood.

The Colloredo planners divided their task into three phases just like their Planning Commission predecessors: (1) a Feasibility Study to determine the area's eligibility as an Urban Renewal Area and its possibilities for redevelopment, (2) an Environmental Impact Statement justifying

that HUD monies could be allocated to the project and (3) a Development Plan and Documentation detailing the necessary physical and financial steps to be taken in the redevelopment process. At the present time, Colloredo's commitments on the first two phases have been virtually fulfilled with the Development Plan due in a few months.

The Colloredo strategies focused on the redevelopment of the residential core through proposals for street changes, recreational open space, housing rehabilitation and new construction. Through-traffic was routed around the residential core to serve such commercial areas as the Cloister complex on Chestnut Street to the south and the Jefferson, Market, and Main Streets commercial core to the north.

The Colloredo Plan proposed closing four primary downtown

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We hope that you, the citizens of Louisville and Jefferson County, share our hopes for the future of this community and our gratitude for past accomplishments achieved through Urban Renewal involvement. The Agency also wishes to acknowledge the cooperation it has received from all those who have worked side by side with us for the betterment of the City and County.

Sincerely,

J. D. Leeth  
Executive Director

WILLIAM T. COLLOREDO  
President

Member • American Institute of Certified Planners  
GARY BARTA and CHARLES GOFORTH • Vice Presidents  
LAVONDA TAYLOR • Secretary-Treasurer

J. D. LEETH  
Financial Consultant

GEORGE DANDO  
Chief Engineer

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streets to through traffic to provide for a quieter residential environment. The planners introduced cul-de-sacs at these points: an element of suburban subdivision planning was introduced to the city. This was a concession to the Homebuilders whose proposal to the city stated that "the area should be redeveloped much the way a suburban subdivision is developed."<sup>18</sup> Thus, it should "include the amenities normally found in suburban subdivisions."<sup>19</sup>

Recreational open space is one such amenity that the Colloredo planners provided. They proposed a seven-acre park in the northwestern corner of the residential core. It would require the clearance of an old brick factory building and some housing, but would provide a major green area to a neighborhood grossly underserved by recreational open spaces. The planner's Illustrative Development Plan showed tennis and basketball courts and even suggested a swimming or wading pool as the

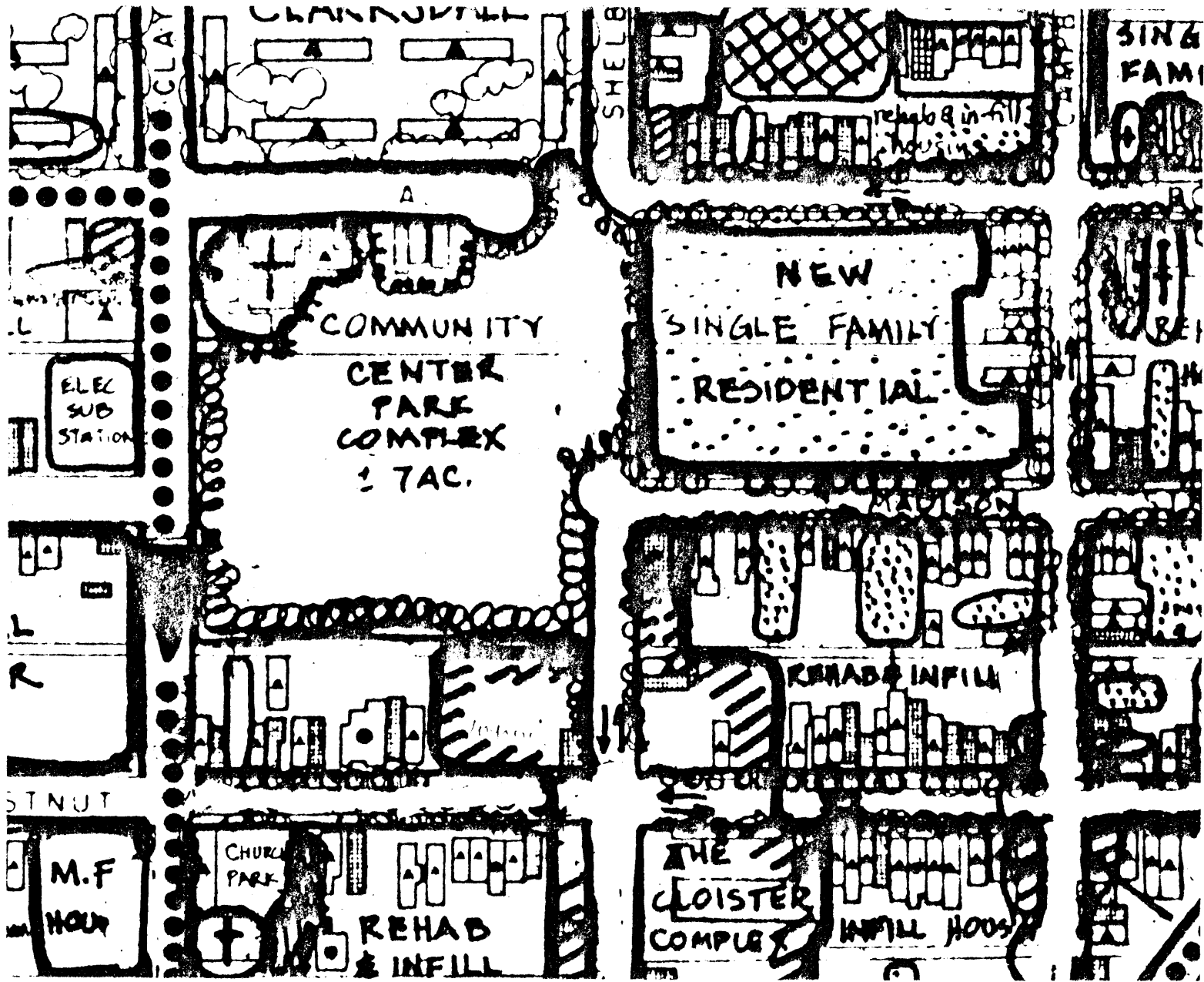
kind of amenity required to attract the 'new-town-in-town' housing market. The Phoenix Hill Park would be a new "focal point"<sup>20</sup> for the neighborhood--so much so that Colloredo Associates called the recommended first phase of their redevelopment plan the Park Area.

The Park Area comprised the heart of the residential core and contained most of the street changes previously discussed. The Colloredo Associates developed a housing program for the area oriented largely around rehabilitation of existing structures of acceptable condition with some new infill construction. New construction would be medium density at 2,000 square foot minimum area requirement per dwelling unit (or about 22 units per acre) or high density at 1,250 square feet minimum per dwelling unit (or about 34 units per acre).

The Colloredo Plan focused on one key block at the center of the residential core for almost complete clearance and redevelop-

ment. This would provide an area "large enough to create a new environment for city living"<sup>21</sup> as the Homebuilders desired. The block was just east of the proposed seven acre Park and was bounded by Muhammed Ai, Campbell, Madison and Shelby. Shelby, Madison and Muhammad Ali were to be closed here to provide a green open space connection directly from this block to the Park. The Land Use Concept map earmarked the block for new single-family residential development early in the planning process.

Thirty-seven percent of the parcels were already vacant. The remaining structures were to be cleared away, even though the Condition of Structures map indicated that many were sound enough to be rehabilitated. Moreover, several of these structures slated for clearance were significant examples of nineteenth century historic building types.



### The Illustrative Development Plan

The Colloredo Illustrative Development Plan for this block introduced cars into the middle of the block by inserting two parking courts where there were formally houses. Many of the buildings then were grouped around these parking lots. The houses are entered from the lots rather than following the existing pattern of entry from the street. This destroys the streetscape: as one walked down the street, one would see the sides of the buildings--not the fronts. The open parking lots leave 'missing teeth' in the streetface. The approach also ignored the frontage and depth relations of the existing housing context. Buildings were placed all over the block unlike the present situation where they are close to the street edge. Thus, no sizeable open space was preserved within the block.

Perhaps the most revealing information about the plans for this block is found in an April 24, 1979 memo to the Mayor's

Neighborhood Development Office from Colloredo Associates. While this block had been zoned for medium density housing at 22 units per acre, or about 90 total units for the entire block, the planners encourage that "approximately 19 new single family dwellings could be constructed in this area on 50- to 60-foot wide lots."<sup>22</sup>

Nineteen units would not yield half the tax-base of 90 units--even if they cost twice as much. The criteria for such a recommendation is clearly not economics--certainly not when these 19 houses on their almost quarter acre suburban-type lots would be within walking distance of the Central Business District!

Instead, this represented an attempt to transplant suburban images, ideology and ways of life upon the urban fabric of Phoenix Hill. In the fifties, the 'white flight' to the suburbs led to the abandonment of the city and the eventual destruction of much of the neighborhood fabric of Phoenix Hill. By 1980, subur-

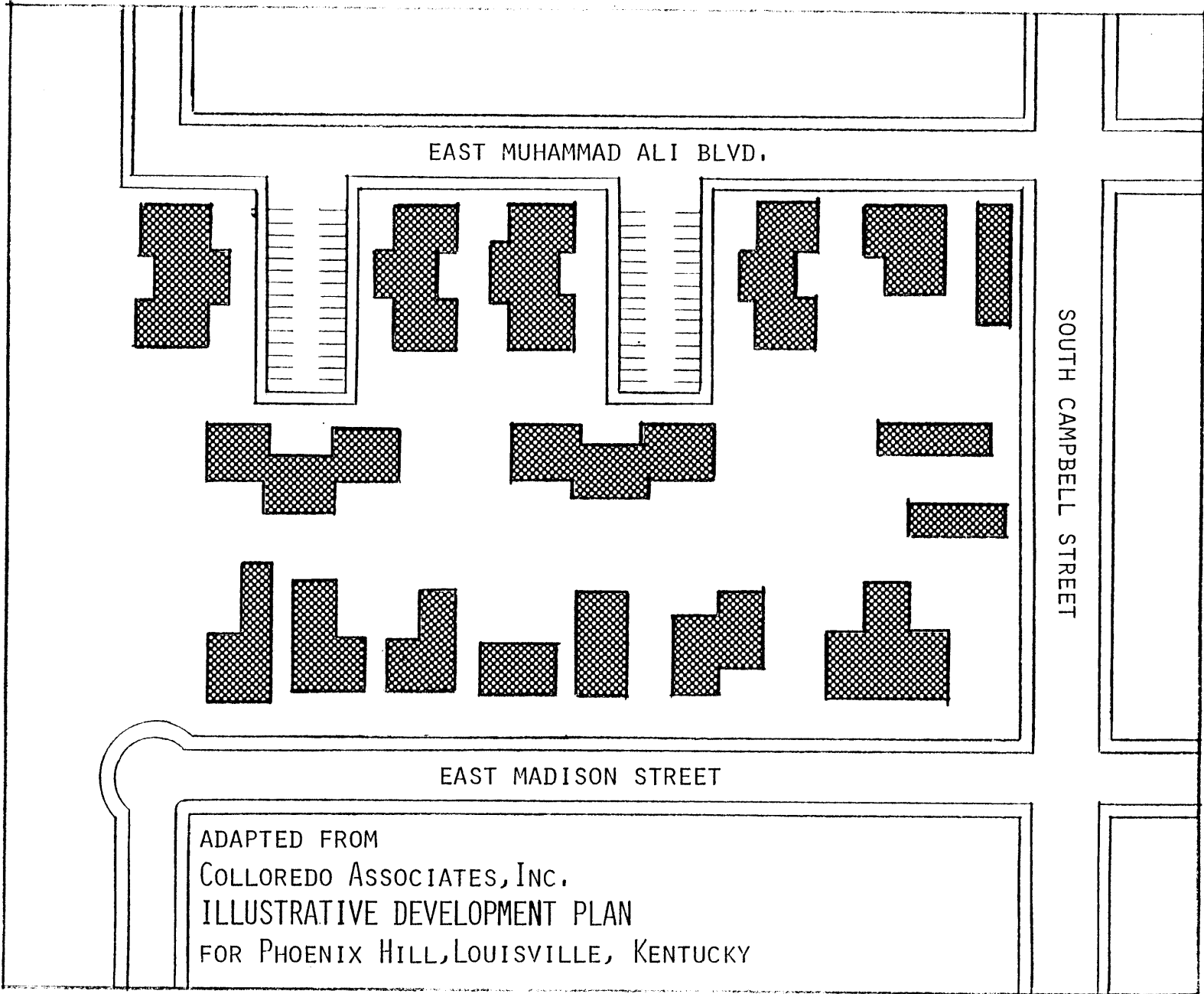
banites prepared to come back to the city to not only claim the neighborhood they had abandoned, but to stamp their imprint on it as well. Businessman Ray Schuhmann, of the Phoenix Hill Association, spoke of what would happen to the low and moderate income people who live there now: "Some of the people are going to want to leave...because it won't be their type of neighborhood anymore."<sup>23</sup>

### Summarizing the Reading:

#### The Lessons of History

Throughout history, America offered frontiers not found in the Old World. If America was indeed the land of opportunity, then the opportunists and speculators certainly helped themselves: the growth frontiers promised new ways of life for some. Others were consistently excluded.

Time and time again, the public domain fell prey to the power of the wealthy: the commons were divided up for the private benefit of speculators. The Federal government aided in



EAST MUHAMMAD ALI BLVD.

SOUTH CAMPBELL STREET

EAST MADISON STREET

ADAPTED FROM  
COLLOREDO ASSOCIATES, INC.  
ILLUSTRATIVE DEVELOPMENT PLAN  
FOR PHOENIX HILL, LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY

that effort more often than not.

In fact, Federally-sponsored development efforts usually disrupted the existing physical and social context of urban situations. Indeed, it is not clear that present Federally-supported attempts to settle the new urban frontier will be any more sensitive or responsive to the existing physical and social environment than before.

Any effort at restructuring the urban neighborhood must pay careful attention to these lessons that come from reading the historical growth and development of the environment. This work takes the following positions on these important issues:

The new urban growth frontier offers many unique opportunities for new ways of life which should be made available to all.

The commons should be re-established and preserved.

Federal programs must be used to retain, but improve the exist-

ing physical and social context of the Phoenix Hill neighborhood.

# RESTRUCTURING

## PHOENIX HILL

THE CITY FOR PEOPLE

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PEOPLE FOR THE CITY

"I think that one of the main purposes of an architect politically-involved is to give models, physical views of a new kind of organization translated in terms of form of course, representing how the world could be."

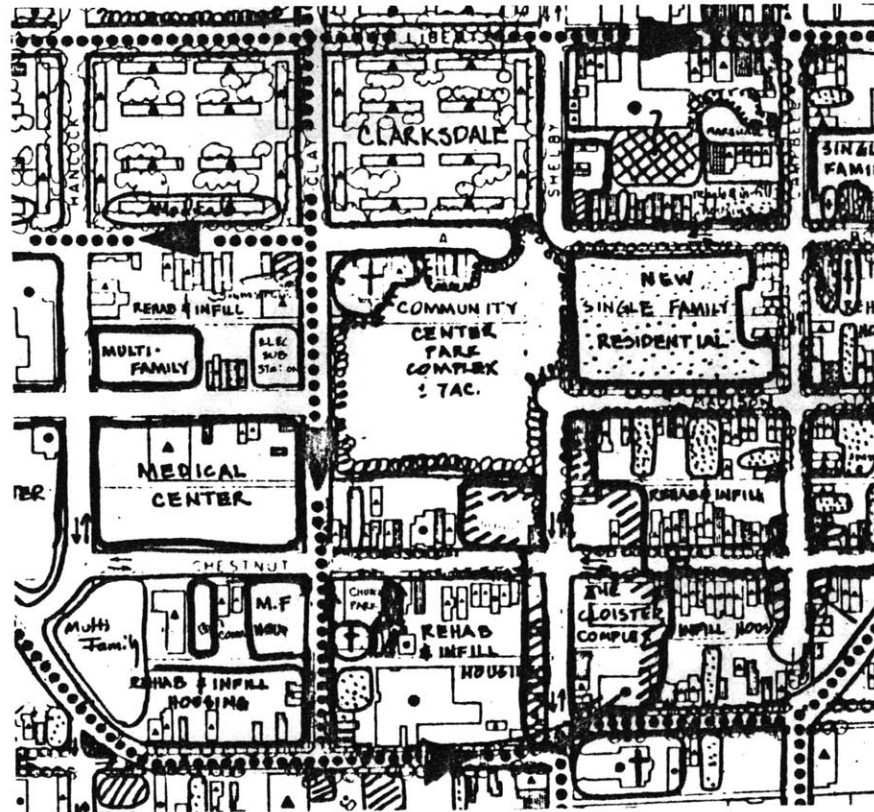
-Giancarlo de Carlo





Finding the Focal Point of  
Neighborhood Issues

The block presently slated for single family residential development in the Colored Urban Renewal Plan--bounded by Muhammad Ali, Shelby, Madison and Campbell--is not an island. This key block in the center of the residential core is a focal point for the neighborhood influences around it. Redevelopment of this block should respond to many of the social and physical factors of the Medical Center, Clarksdale Public Housing, the Cloister and the existing nineteenth century residential fabric. A successful project can only be insured by striking a balance between these important influences. The project might balance the varying social influences by providing housing at all income levels for the people who work in the Medical Center or downtown Louisville. The development might attract both the kind of people who shop at the Cloister as well as provide for the present lower income residents of Phoenix



Hill. Physically, the project should respond to the existing historic urban residential fabric.

**BOTH THE FORMS OF HOUSING AND THE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES MUST ADAPT TO THE UNIQUE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE EXISTING SOCIAL AND PHYSICAL CONTEXT AS WELL AS PRESENT DAY IMPERATIVES.**

The following recommended redevelopment strategies, design guidelines and explorations are offered as a means to restructuring the urban neighborhood of Phoenix Hill towards that end.

# OVERALL PLANNING AND DESIGN OBJECTIVES

Planning and design activity for the Phoenix Hill neighborhood must:

## 1

1. Maintain a link with the past while producing an image of the future.

## 2

2. Preserve the existing physical and social fabric of the Phoenix Hill neighborhood while contributing to a pleasant urban residential environment.

## 3

3. Propose a realistic project that can be implemented with economic feasibility.

## REDEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

The redevelopment of Phoenix Hill must consider the following strategies to reach these important objectives:

1.

### REINVESTMENT WITHOUT DISPLACEMENT

to maintain the existing population in an upgraded physical environment while attracting a new population into the area by creating a residential environment offering amenity and convenience.

2.

### PLANNED UNIT DEVELOPMENT

to insure that neighborhood revitalization results in a pleasant, attractive residential environment "retaining, but upgrading"<sup>1</sup> many existing qualities of Phoenix Hill while promoting immediate access to parks and other recreational open space.

3.

### REHABILITATION

of existing structures of acceptable condition to preserve the historic physical fabric and cultural legacy of the city with

4.

### NEW INFILL CONSTRUCTION

relating to the form, scale and texture of the existing urban housing, while adding contemporary qualities to support desired ways of modern living.

5.

### OPEN SPACE CONNECTIONS

from Phoenix Hill to both the center city and Cherokee Park to support active and vital urban ways of life within and beyond the neighborhood.

**REINVESTMENT  
WITHOUT  
DISPLACEMENT  
MEANS  
MIXED  
INCOME  
DEVELOPMENT**

If existing residents are relocated out of the neighborhood, the "socio-economic characteristics associated with deteriorating and blighted areas"<sup>2</sup> such as 'crime, low incomes, unemployment and a high percent on welfare' will just get transferred to other areas of the city where they will remain as burdens to City government and tax-payers of all classes. Housing and Community Development programs present the unique opportunity to structurally address these problems in a concerted fashion by creating jobs, homes and homeownership opportunities for low and moderate income residents.

There is no logical reason why there should be any displacement of existing residents outside of the neighborhood. Phoenix Hill had a 1950 population of over 16,000 people that had dwindled to under 6,000 residents by 1976. Clearly, the area can support the existing population as well as new residents; while much land has come under institutional use with

the expansion of the Medical Center to the west, there is still enough residential property to insure that urban revitalization in Phoenix Hill results in a ZERO DISPLACEMENT PROJECT. There may be temporary displacement while houses are rehabilitated or in the few cases where planning interventions displace residents (as might be the case with new roads), but relocation can be provided within the neighborhood. The 204 families to be supposedly displaced should have the carefully planned option to economically relocate in one of the 711 new or rehabilitated units.

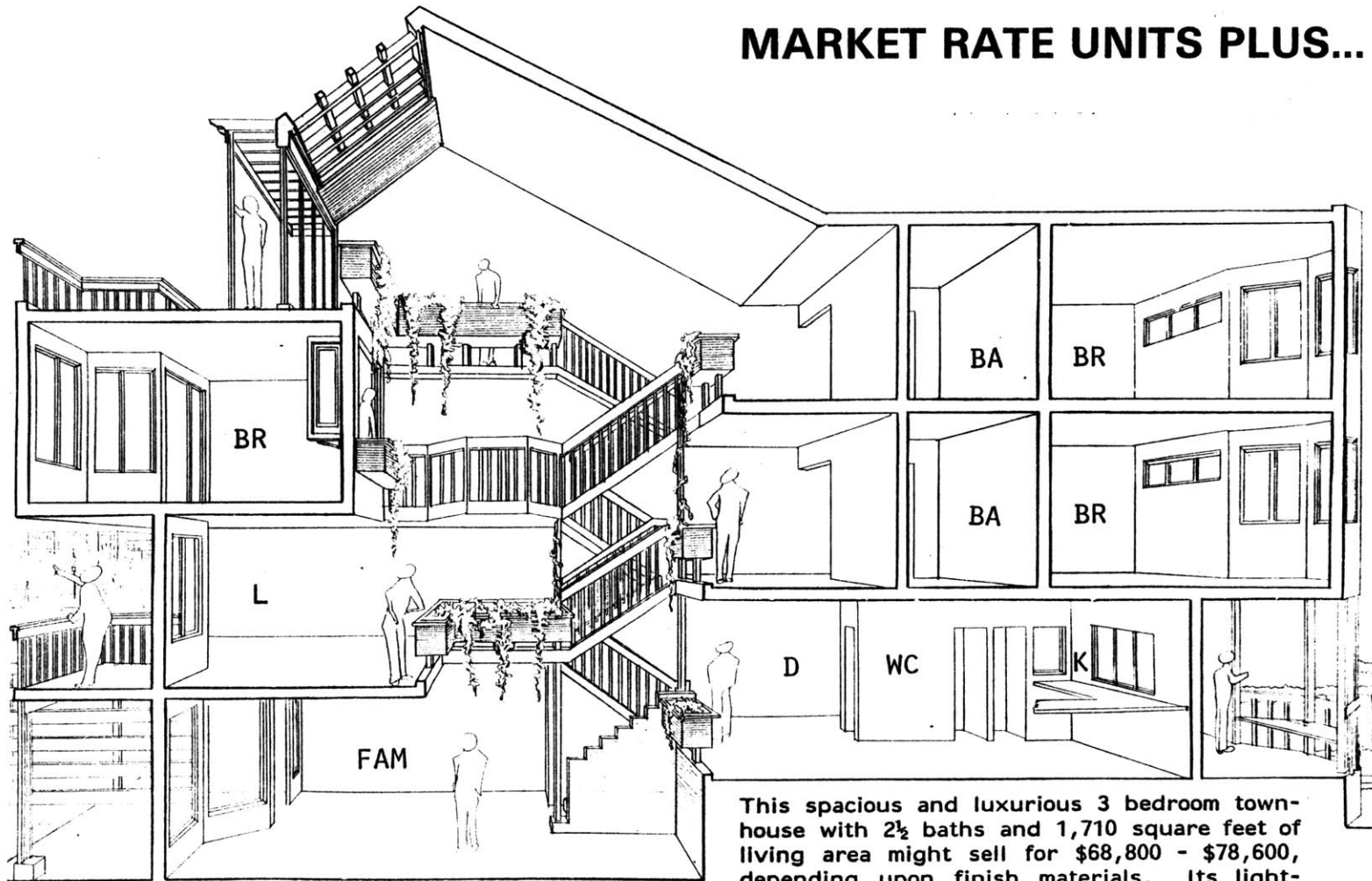
If the principal block of the "Park Area" bounded by Ali, Shelby, Madison and Campbell were to be redeveloped for a predominantly upper income market alone, there would be extremely dangerous social tensions between this island of upper income residents and the adjacent island of lower income Clarksdale residents, who would resent this outside 'invasion' of people of

another class and race.

Mixed income development offers a viable alternative to such a situation. It presents strategies whereby the interests of different income groups become intertwined for the mutual benefit of all. A diverse range of urban redevelopment projects around the country have clearly shown mixed income development to be a social and economic success with proven marketability.

DISPLACEMENT  
HURTS THE  
ENTIRE CITY,  
MIXED INCOME  
DEVELOPMENT  
PROVIDES A  
VIABLE ALTERNATIVE  
WITH PROVEN SUCCESS!

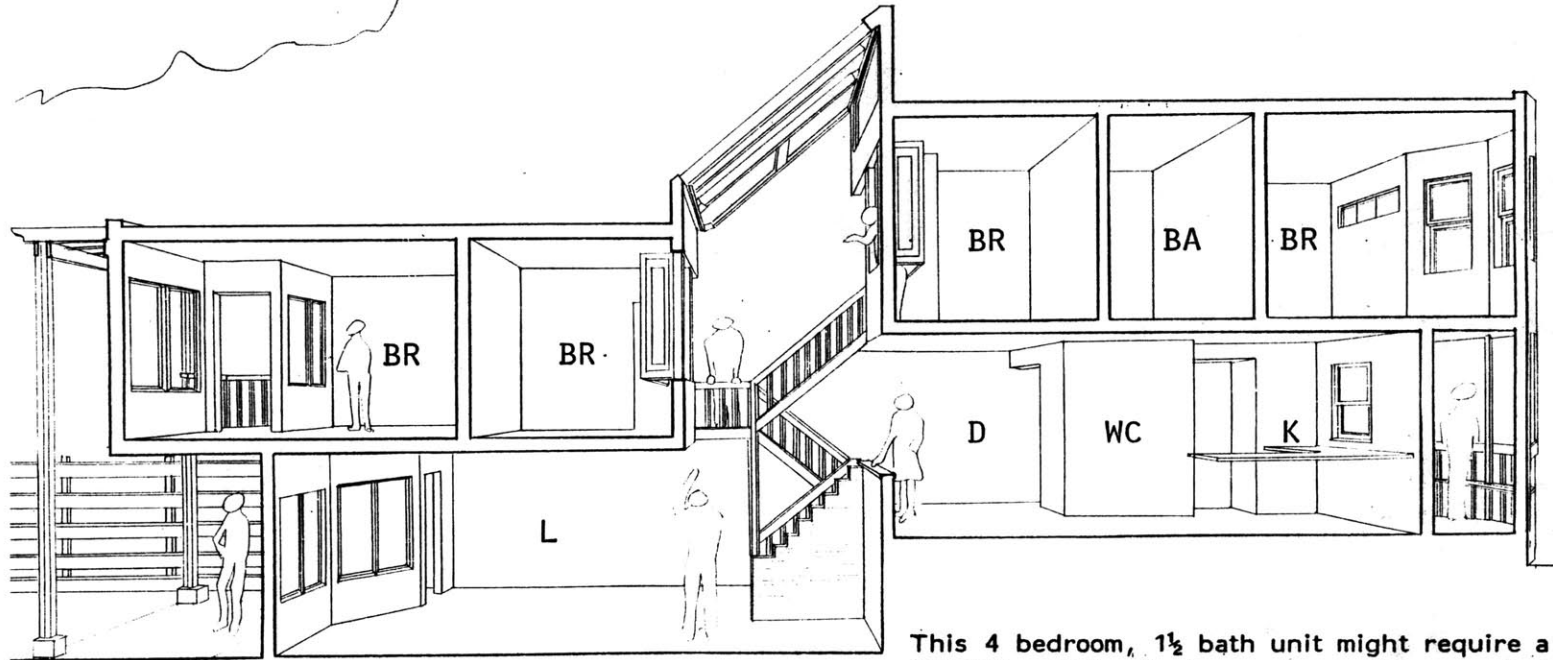
**MIXED INCOME  
DEVELOPMENT MEANS  
MARKET RATE UNITS PLUS...**



This spacious and luxurious 3 bedroom townhouse with 2½ baths and 1,710 square feet of living area might sell for \$68,800 - \$78,600, depending upon finish materials. Its light-filled atrium, energy-efficient design and private roof terrace are the kinds of features that will attract a new urban housing market.

# FEDERALLY ASSISTED UNITS...

# ...TOGETHER



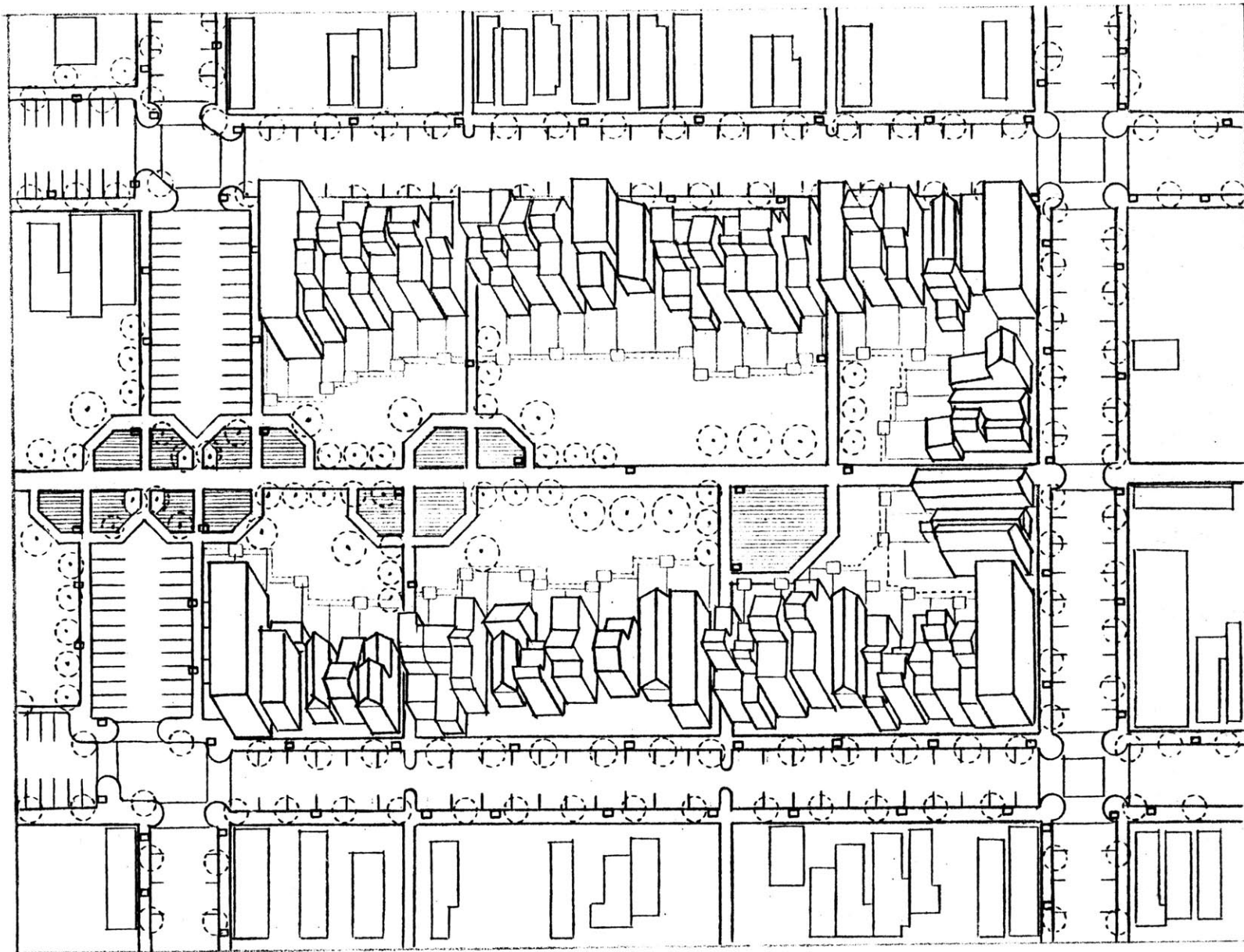
This 4 bedroom, 1½ bath unit might require a \$45,500 Federally-insured mortgage, but Section 8 Rental Assistance would enable a low income family to live here. Under cooperative development strategies, a lower income family could come to own a share in their housing.

# WHICH HOUSES ARE FEDERALLY- ASSISTED? WHICH ARE MARKET- RATE?

Chances are that if you were walking down the tree-lined streets or strolling through the park-like commons, you couldn't tell. From the outside, you would only see beautiful homes combining the best of the new and the old. Even inside, you would see many of the same features, such as the spacious central atrium that makes for a very energy-efficient but brightly daylit house. All of the houses would have convenient parking outside the front door and command views over a two acre park in the back. There would be easy access to the recreational amenities of nearby Phoenix Hill Park, yet you would be living in a central location where you could probably walk to work.

People of all income levels can come to live together comfortably and successfully. Federally-assisted housing can blend in alongside market-rate homes.





**PHOENIX COMMONS** An Urban Village for the 80's 96

# MIXED INCOME DEVELOPMENT HAS BEEN PURSUED SUCCESSFULLY ELSEWHERE...

## SAVANNAH:

### REHABILITATION +

### RENTAL ASSISTANCE =

### REINVESTMENT

### WITHOUT DISPLACEMENT

Savannah, Georgia's historic Victorian District is undergoing extensive redevelopment through a program of reinvestment without displacement. A non-profit development corporation is in their successful third year of a ten-year program to purchase and restore 600 housing units in the forty-five block area. The Feder-

al government's Section 312 program provides low three percent interest loans to aid the rehabilitation. Section 8 rental assistance allows existing low-income residents to remain in the newly rehabilitated housing. The project is moving toward eventual ownership of the units by the existing tenants.

The architect for the rehabilitation emphasizes the "social restoration as much as the architectural restoration,"<sup>3</sup> though the

preservation of architectural landmarks...has become recognized as a necessity, for the continuance of our cultural heritage, and it's also less expensive than building from scratch. We also have to remember that the rehabilitation of less significant structures is important,<sup>4</sup> both culturally and economically.

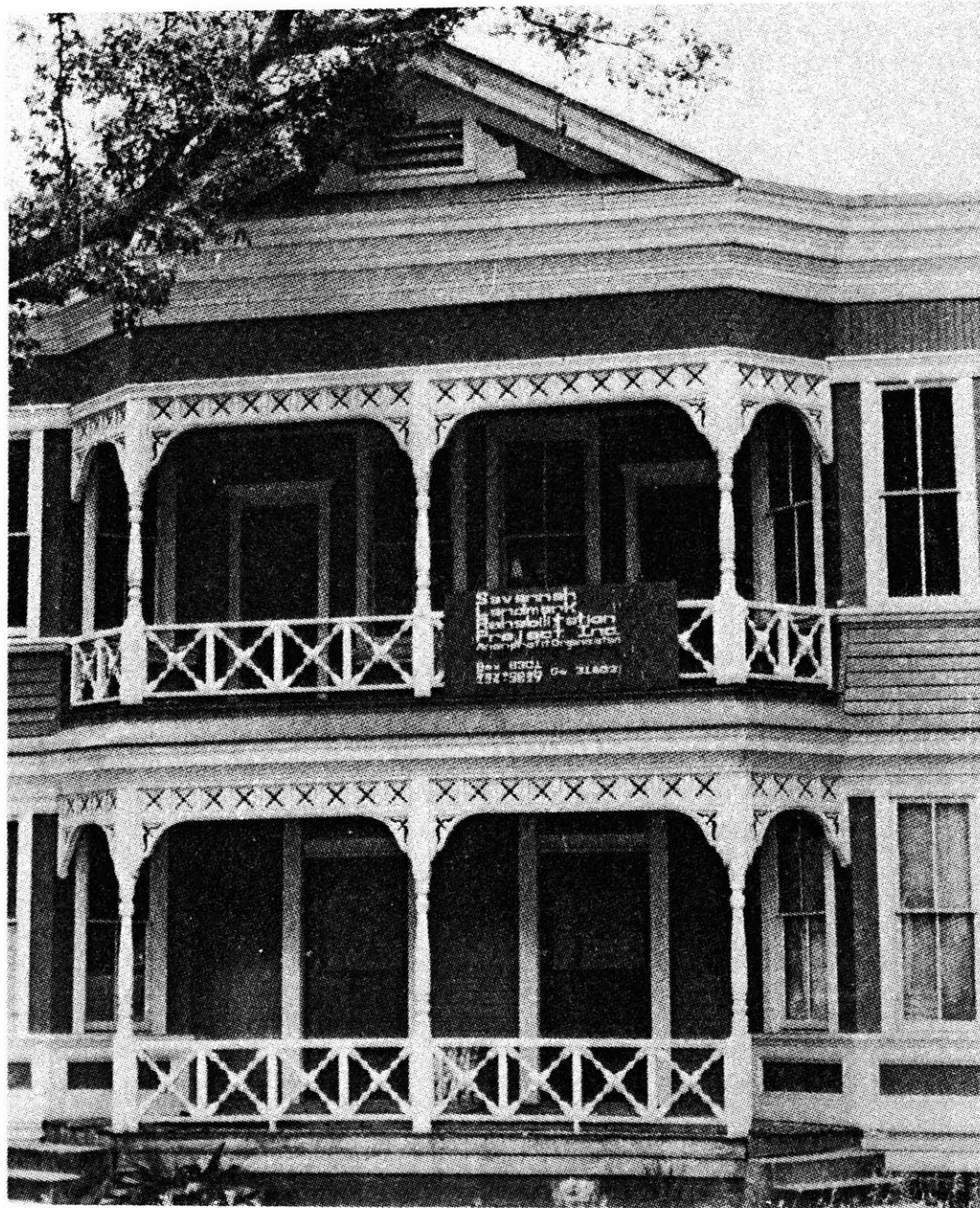
Rehabilitation can be cheaper than new construction. Costs for rehab alone in 1978 were about \$13 per square foot. Acquisition and administrative costs brought the total up to \$21 per square foot, which is almost half of new construction costs.

The rehab program provides means for upgrading the neighborhood generally. Some low income residents have developed important employable skills in performing rehab work under the Comprehensive Employment Training Assistance program. Improving the neighborhood for lower income residents has also made it more attractive to higher income families who are moving into the neighborhood and restoring some of the older vacant buildings. However, the rehabilitation and rental assistance are fundamental

in maintaining a viable mixed income community.

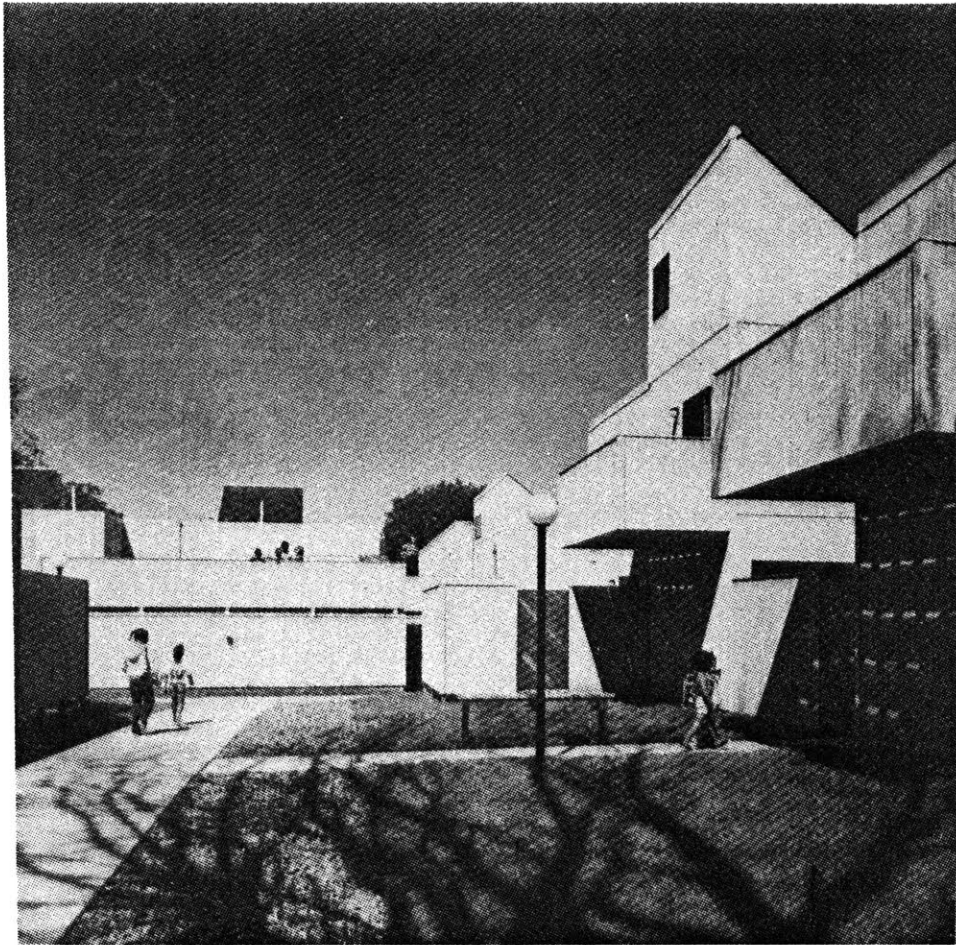
Beverly, Massachusetts:  
COOPERATIVE HOUSING FOR  
MIXED INCOME MARKET

Northridge Homes is a mixed-income development of 98 cooperative units in Beverly, Massachusetts.<sup>5</sup> A non-profit cooperative corporation controlled entirely by the residents owns the housing. The residents buy shares of stock in the corporation for which they are entitled to live in a housing unit. Twenty-five percent of the residents are low-income, fifty percent are moderate-income and twenty-five percent pay full market rate rents. The low-income residents can extend their paying of the downpayment over time. If they should decide to move in the future, they would be entitled to the equity they have paid plus five percent interest. A similar mixed-income cooperative development of 125 dwellings has been successfully established in Lincoln, Massachusetts.



Housing cooperatives are unique in that the rents paid to the cooperative association build up value as an investment for the resident. Under this form of ownership, lower-income tenants can come to assume the responsi-

bility of homeownership and develop the pride that comes with it. These projects prove that market-rate units can be marketed successfully as part of a mixed-income development.



Boston:

SWEAT EQUITY--NOT SUBSIDIES  
PROVIDE JOBS AND HOUSES

Boston's South End is a mixed-income neighborhood that is the site of the Tremont Street Condominium.<sup>6</sup> This building contains five housing units that are owned by low and moderate income residents without the aid of any Federal or state subsidies. A community-oriented architect developed the project with the residents participating in the rehabilitation of the building through a "sweat-equity" program: their labor counted toward the purchase price of the units.

This made the housing substantially more affordable while also developing skills that would aid residents in finding future construction jobs. The low- and moderate-income residents now manage the property by themselves. Such an approach which provides both jobs and housing can be an important strategy in neighborhoods like Phoenix Hill where unemployment is as great a problem for low-income people as finding decent housing.

Minneapolis:

NON-PROFIT NEIGHBORHOOD  
GROUP DEVELOPS MIXED INCOME  
HOUSING

In Minneapolis, a private non-profit community corporation comprising a local church and neighborhood groups built a mixed-income project of 89 cluster houses on three acres.<sup>7</sup> Most of the units received Section 8 rental assistance to make the development affordable to low-income tenants. Other units were rented successfully at market rates.

Lynn, Massachusetts

LIMITED PARTNERSHIP BENEFITS  
BOTH DEVELOPER AND  
RESIDENTS

In Lynn, Massachusetts, a former public housing project has been successfully converted into a 441-unit mixed-income development called "King's Lynne."<sup>8</sup> A private developer and the tenants jointly own the housing through a limited partnership agreement. The developer cites careful marketing techniques and the provision of amenities as important

# ...IT CAN BE SUCCESSFULLY

## DONE HERE!

contributions to successfully attracting market-rate tenants. Section 8 rental assistance supports the lower income residents.

A residents' council manages much of the day-to-day affairs of the project. The developer, who has marketed more suburban property around Boston than any other realtor, was somewhat skeptical of the limited partnership with the tenants at first. However, he has become firmly convinced of its importance in keeping vandalism out of the development while contributing to resident pride and a clean, well-maintained environment: fundamentally, developers and market-

rate tenants as well as rent-assisted residents have many common interests: a partnership can be forged to the benefit of all.

THESE EXAMPLES ILLUSTRATE THAT THERE ARE MANY STRATEGIES FOR MIXED-INCOME DEVELOPMENT. SUCCESSFUL PROJECTS HAVE ONE THING IN COMMON: THEY PROVIDE GENUINE OPPORTUNITIES FOR OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL TO LOW-INCOME RESIDENTS WHILE OFFERING ATTRACTIVE ENVIRONMENTS WITH FULL AMENITIES AND CONVENIENCES TO HIGHER INCOME RESIDENTS.

# A PROGRAM OF INNOVATIVE IMPLEMENTATION STRATEGIES MAKES IT POSSIBLE...

THERE ARE MANY DEVELOPMENT  
OPTIONS THAT CAN RESULT IN  
A SUCCESSFUL MIXED-INCOME  
PROJECT:

## Non-Profit

A non-profit housing corporation can develop the housing. The monies conventionally realized as profits are reinvested in providing higher quality housing and related community facilities. However, the corporation--not the tenants--own and manage the

housing: those who control the corporation determine policies and regulations for those who live in the housing. The ideal non-profit housing corporation is one where the residents form the membership and most of the governing board.

## Cooperative

Under this development strategy, a Cooperative Association owns and manages the housing with residents buying shares of the Association that entitle them to a housing unit and a voting membership. Cooperative ownership has the unique characteristic of linking the interests of all residents: the members alone decide management policies to guide daily living within the development.

At the same time, cooperatives offer investment opportunities similar to other forms of housing: when a family wants to move, they sell their shares in the Cooperative Association, with the price tag reflecting the rising value that housing tends to

accumulate.

Cooperative Associations can be structured as profit or non-profit organizations. Profit-making associations can develop their housing by syndicating the project to outside investors to raise capital; the profits are usually distributed among members and investors. Non-profit cooperatives, like conventional non-profit corporations, can maximize their investment in a quality project complete with a wide range of community facilities.

#### Profit

Profit-motivated developers provide for most of the housing in our society. They have been principally responsible for the detached single-family dwellings of the suburbs. This kind of development is not appropriate for the city because it cannot be developed at the urban densities that would maximize the tax base of the city and the return-on-investment to the developer in addition to providing for an urban way of life.

Condominiums could be developed on a for-profit basis by developers within the city. In this form of ownership, residents own their units individually and common areas jointly through a Condominium Association. As long as the developer is marketing the units, he usually retains some degree of control over the Association in setting management policy. The condominium is difficult to develop on a mixed-income basis, however, as Federal assistance programs are usually not targeted toward this form of housing.

The Federal Government does assist low to moderate income people in rental housing however. A mixed-income development could be composed partly of condominium units sold at market-rates and partly of Federally-assisted rental units. However, the different forms of tenure and management could easily lead to conflicts: there is no inherent linking of interests within the development. Moreover, the rental housing component usually

excludes lower income residents from participating in management decisions or in the benefits of homeownership. There is no way to develop equity for those who have it the least and need it the most.

Limited partnerships offer a viable alternative: a partnership of general partners (a residents organization and one or two others) syndicates the project to outside investors who can take considerable advantage of the tax depreciation benefits of investing in real estate. These outside investors become limited partners with the resident's organization in owning the housing. Residents rent their housing units from the partnership. They develop some equity: some of the profits go to the outside investors, while a major percentage of ownership usually rests with the tenants. More importantly, the residents usually play an active role in day-to-day management.

**PUTTING  
FEDERAL  
HOUSING  
PROGRAMS  
TO WORK IN  
LOUISVILLE  
MAKES IT  
HAPPEN:**

**FEDERALLY—  
INSURED  
MORTGAGES  
THROUGH...**

There are several Federal programs that insure mortgages made by private lending institutions to finance the construction or rehabilitation of housing. This encourages lenders to invest their capital in home mortgages by insuring them against loss. This can also help fulfill their obligations to increase their loan portfolios in center city areas under the Community Reinvestment Act.

**SECTION  
221 (d) (3)  
and (4) PLUS...**

This is the most common program for insuring mortgages for rental or cooperative housing of five or more units for low and moderate income families. The



United States Department of Housing and Urban Development encourages 221 (d) mortgages targeted at families displaced through urban redevelopment actions, making it especially appropriate for Phoenix Hill. The program will finance substantial rehabilitation or new construction, setting maximum cost limits for the amount that can be insured. The chart presented here shows the current mortgage allowances.<sup>9</sup> However, HUD will be setting higher mortgage limits soon to reflect changing economic circumstances. This will encourage more investment in housing for

low and moderate income families. Housing financed under the 221 (d) programs may qualify for Section 8 Rental Assistance if occupied by eligible low-income families. In fact, the Section 221 (d) (4) mortgage limits are established so that the rents allowable under the Section 8 program can yield a profitable return to investors. The mortgage allowances for the 221 (d) (3) non-profit and cooperative programs are higher because the monies conventionally targeted as profits are reinvested in the housing. The 221 d(3) profit program allows a housing development organization

to syndicate a project's tax shelter benefits to investors in order to raise capital that will be further invested in the housing and related community facilities. Fundamentally, however, it is Section 8 Rental Assistance that opens up these housing opportunities for low and moderate income families.

## ...SECTION 8 RENTAL ASSISTANCE EQUALS...

The Section 8 Rental Assistance Program provides a "rent subsidy for lower-income families to help them afford decent housing in the private market."<sup>10</sup> It may be applied to existing housing, new construction or substantially rehabilitated units as long as certain standards of safety and sanitation are met. No eligible tenant need pay more than 25 percent of their adjusted income

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### MAXIMUM ALLOWABLE COST PER DWELLING

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Federally insured mortgages under Section 221(d) Program

| Program Option: | 221 d(3) Non-profit | Cooperative | 221d(3) Profit | 221d(4) Profit |
|-----------------|---------------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|
| Efficiency      | \$28,248            | \$25,545    | \$25,422       | \$25,422       |
| 1 Bedroom       | 32,307              | 28,296      | 29,075         | 28,857         |
| 2 Bedrooms      | 39,279              | 33,798      | 35,350         | 34,879         |
| 3 Bedrooms      | 50,276              | 41,658      | 45,249         | 43,780         |
| 4 Bedrooms      | 56,010              | 47,160      | 50,409         | 49,016         |

for rent. To be eligible, a low-income tenant must have an adjusted annual income below or equal to the following, depending upon the number of persons in the family:<sup>11</sup>

| <u>Persons per Family</u> | <u>Maximum Adjusted Annual Income</u> |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1                         | \$9,950                               |
| 2                         | \$11,400                              |
| 3                         | \$12,800                              |
| 4                         | \$14,250                              |
| 5                         | \$15,100                              |
| 6                         | \$16,000                              |
| 7                         | \$16,900                              |
| 8                         | \$17,800                              |

Beyond the rent that the low-income resident pays, the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development would then pay any additional money required to yield a fair market rent to the property-owner.

The Section 8 Rental Assistance Program permits the following fair market rents to be charged for semi-detached, row housing such as the new infill construction:

|            |       |         |
|------------|-------|---------|
| 1 Bedroom  | \$327 | monthly |
| 2 Bedrooms | \$381 | monthly |
| 3 Bedrooms | \$483 | monthly |
| 4 Bedrooms | \$540 | monthly |

Detached units such as some of the rehabilitated housing can earn up to the following fair market rents:

|            |       |         |
|------------|-------|---------|
| 2 Bedrooms | \$403 | monthly |
| 3 Bedrooms | \$516 | monthly |
| 4 Bedrooms | \$579 | monthly |

For example, a lower income family with an annual income of \$6,000 would probably be expected to pay 25 percent of \$6,000, or \$1,500 per year for rent. This works out to be \$125 per month.

If we assume that this family requires three bedrooms and wants to live in semi-detached row housing developed as new infill construction in Phoenix Hill, the owner-developer of the housing may receive up to \$483 per month as a fair market rent. The low-income resident would pay \$125 per month with HUD making up the difference of \$358 (\$483

maximum fair market rent - \$125 low income family payment = \$358 Federal contribution).

However, Section 8 assistance can do more than help pay the rent for low income residents as part of a mixed-income development; it can also help provide the benefits of cooperative homeownership to citizens who would not otherwise have the opportunity.

## ...THE PREFERRED DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY: COOPERATIVE HOME OWNERSHIP FOR ALL INCOME LEVELS

A mixed income cooperative for housing development in Phoenix Hill would have many advantages. It would be particularly appropriate for the key block slated for complete redevelopment bounded by Madison, Shelby, Ali and Campbell. Such a cooperative would be organized for the entire block with low, moderate and upper income families all benefiting from their membership in the same association. LINKING THE INTERESTS OF ALL INCOME LEVELS WITHIN THE SAME BLOCK WOULD MAKE FOR A STRONG BLOCK ASSOCIATION: SUCH ORGANIZATIONS ARE THE CORE COMPONENT IN FOSTERING NEIGHBORHOOD PRIDE AND IDENTITY WHICH LEADS TO A SAFE AND WELL-MAINTAINED ENVIRONMENT. A mixed-income block association would establish those goals as a common bond among all income groups. It would also provide the means for dispelling the suspicion and tension that would otherwise exist between unfamiliar groups of people if they were segregated

into different blocks. Moreover, the cooperative block association would control a substantial budget that could be used to provide amenities for the common enjoyment of all in keeping with the open space zoning of a planned unit development. LOWER INCOME FAMILIES WOULD PARTICIPATE IN THE COOP THROUGH THE ASSISTANCE OF SECTION 8 ALLOCATIONS.

As with Section 8 assistance for rental units, the low income resident pays no more than 25 percent of their income for rent. The Federal government signs a contract with the cooperative association guaranteeing the remaining fair market rent. These guaranteed steady payments expose the association to less risk.

THE MIXED-INCOME COOPERATIVE ALSO MINIMIZES RISKS TO LENDERS AND BUILDERS. A typical cooperative may have 25 percent low income, 50 percent moderate income and 25 percent upper income residents. The Section 221 (d) (3) program could

then insure the mortgages of the 75 percent of the development that was low and moderate income--

much to the comfort of local lending institutions. Other FHA mortgage insurance programs could probably apply to the remaining housing.

A number of local builders could participate in constructing the housing for the cooperative association. The project might even be put out to bid by the coop association so that builders would have a solid contract instead of risking the selling of the homes on an individual basis in an uncertain market. THE COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION COULD PROVIDE AN INTEGRATED, AND COORDINATED MARKETING EFFORT.

MOREOVER, THERE IS SUBSTANTIAL FUNDING AVAILABLE TO INITIATE HOUSING COOPERATIVES. The Federal government recently established the National Consumer Cooperative Bank to offer loans to coops at attractive rates. The Bank is especially

interested in housing cooperatives that would include lower income members.

THE SECTION 8 MONIES TO SUPPORT LOW INCOME MEMBERSHIP SHOULD NOT BE TOO DIFFICULT TO BRING INTO LOUISVILLE. The national office of the Department of Housing and Urban Development has special Discretionary Funds of Section 8 allocations designed for projects that avoid displacement of low-income residents. In particular, these funds are targeted under the Urban Renewal Pre-Selected Sites program. This special allocation of Section 8 funds could be put to work in Phoenix Hill when it was officially declared an Urban Renewal area (according to the provisions of Kentucky Revised Statute 99--the state law governing the designation of such areas). These special allocations are an addition to the normal Section 8 Housing Assistance Plan of the local HUD office and Kentucky Home Mortgage Finance Corporation or the Neighborhood Strategy Area program of the

City Community Development Cabinet.

Such special Section 8 monies would probably be allocated to the Phoenix Hill redevelopment project under any kind of development strategy. HOWEVER, IT IS MOST IMPORTANT TO INSURE THAT THESE FUNDS PROVIDE THE MAXIMUM BENEFIT THAT THEY POSSIBLY CAN: THE STRATEGY OF USING SECTION 8 ASSISTANCE TO ALLOW LOW INCOME RESIDENTS TO ENJOY THE BENEFITS OF HOMEOWNERSHIP AS MEMBERS OF A COOPERATIVE IS ONE OF THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAYS TO STRUCTURALLY IMPROVE THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PHOENIX HILL NEIGHBORHOOD.

Educational programs can prepare these new homeowners for the responsibilities of long term tenure.

Homeownership has long been the mark of entry into the middle class: by establishing full tenure, a resident develops greater self-pride responsibility and sense of control over and care for their

environment. In addition, there are the obvious economic advantages of developing investment equity. THE MIXED INCOME COOPERATIVE IS AN EXCELLENT WAY TO INSURE MAINTENANCE OF THE ENVIRONMENT AND A STABLE TAX BASE.

The mixed income cooperative would offer many advantages to upper income residents as well. The coop offers convenience: most maintenance chores and repairs are the responsibility of the association. THE IMPROVED SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT THAT COMES WITH HOMEOWNERSHIP AT ALL INCOME LEVELS WOULD PROVIDE A SAFER NEIGHBORHOOD IN WHICH TO LIVE. IN ADDITION, THE MARKET-RATE UNITS WOULD OFFER A LEVEL OF SPACIOUSNESS AND ELEGANCE THAT WOULD MATCH ANY SUBURBAN HOME. Moreover, cooperative ownership provides a good investment: some associations link the price of their shares to the rise in the cost of housing--encouraging an important investment that will grow in value.

Costs have been estimated using the Dodge Building Cost Calculator and Valuation Guide, an accepted construction industry standard. The estimates include general site preparation as well as builder's overhead and profit. They take inflation into account through March 1981, when construction could be well underway.<sup>12</sup> They do not include land costs or financing costs. Land costs could add an average of \$1,360 to \$2,117 to the cost of each unit, depending on how the block commons is developed.<sup>13</sup>

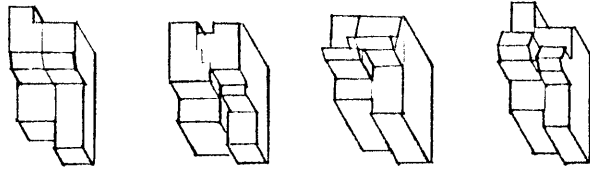
Each square foot of interior heated floor area of the new construction is assumed to cost \$35 for the rent-assisted units and \$40 for the market rate units. This cost difference reflects the different finish materials that are likely to be used in the two types of housing. Porches, exterior balconies, vestibules and atria are assumed to cost one-half as much per square foot as interior floor area (\$17.50 - \$20.00). Roof terraces are estimated at one-fourth the cost of interior space.

**BUT  
HOW  
MUCH  
WILL  
IT  
COST?**

108A

## 4 BASIC UNIT TYPES

## MANY VARIATIONS



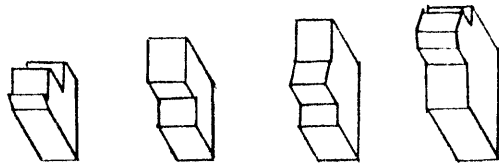
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12'/18' SIDE-BY-SIDE

---

12' WIDE AT ONE END  
18' WIDE AT OTHER

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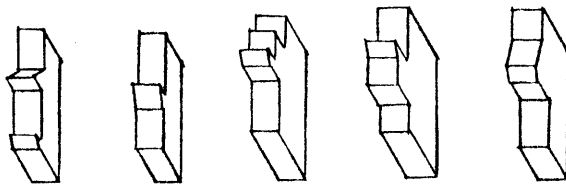
---

18' WIDE DUPLEX

---

1 UNIT ABOVE / 1 BELOW  
1 AND 2 BEDROOM UNITS

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---

12' WIDE

---

MINIMUM FRONTAGE ALLOWS  
MAXIMUM UNITS PER BLOCK  
ATRIUM MAKES IT SPACIOUS

---



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CORNER

---

24' WIDE X 100' LONG  
REINFORCES CORNER OF  
BLOCK LIKE EXISTING  
PATTERN

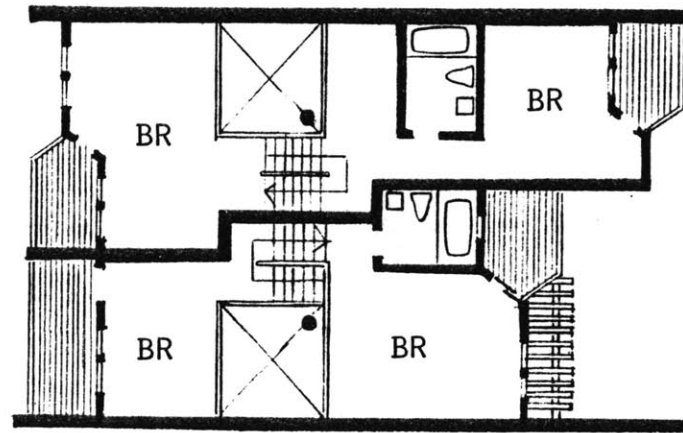
PROBABLY 6 UNITS OR  
5 WITH STOREFRONT

---

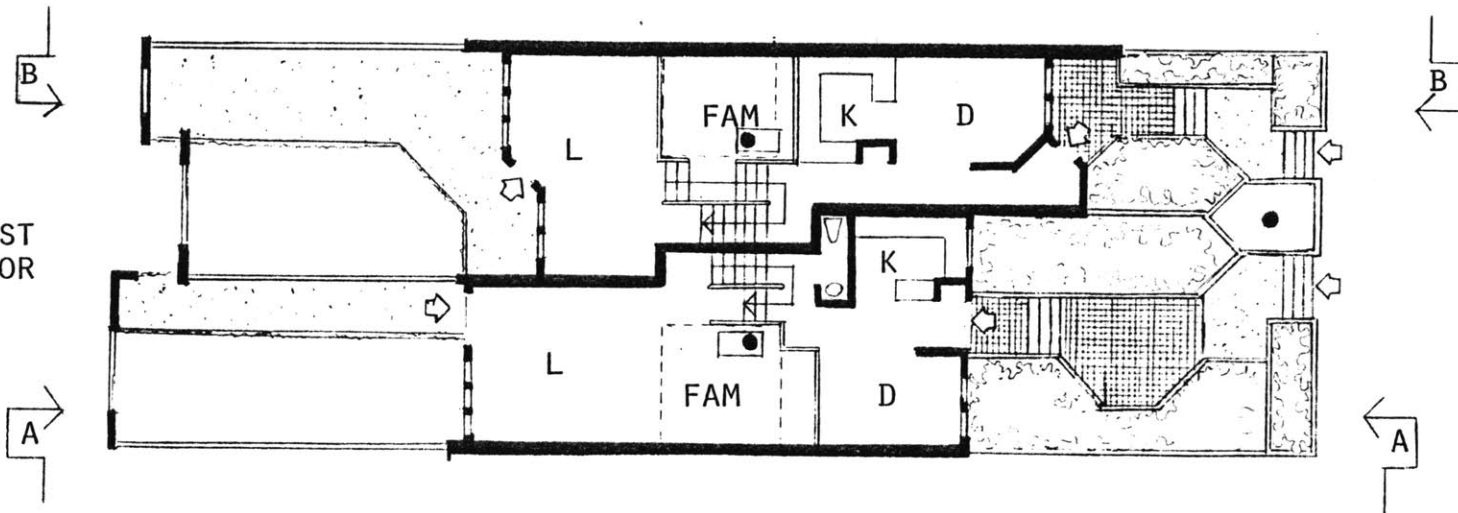
# 2 BEDROOMS ON 2 FLOORS

1 BATH

SECOND FLOOR



FIRST FLOOR



110 PARK-SIDE

STREET-SIDE



# 2 BEDROOMS ON 2 FLOORS

1 BATH

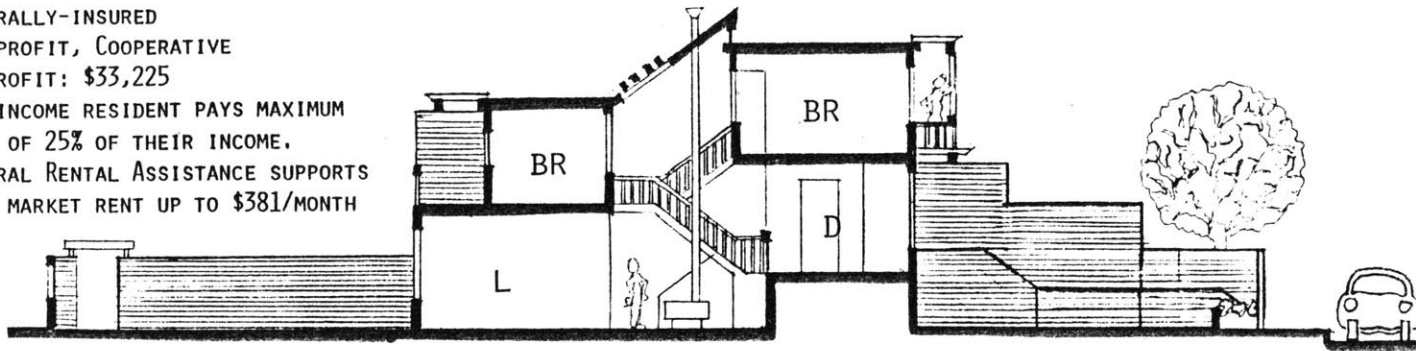
UNIT A

1100 S.F.

MARKET-RATE: \$49,400

FEDERALLY-INSURED  
NON-PROFIT, COOPERATIVE  
OR PROFIT: \$33,225

LOW-INCOME RESIDENT PAYS MAXIMUM  
RENT OF 25% OF THEIR INCOME.  
FEDERAL RENTAL ASSISTANCE SUPPORTS  
FAIR MARKET RENT UP TO \$381/MONTH



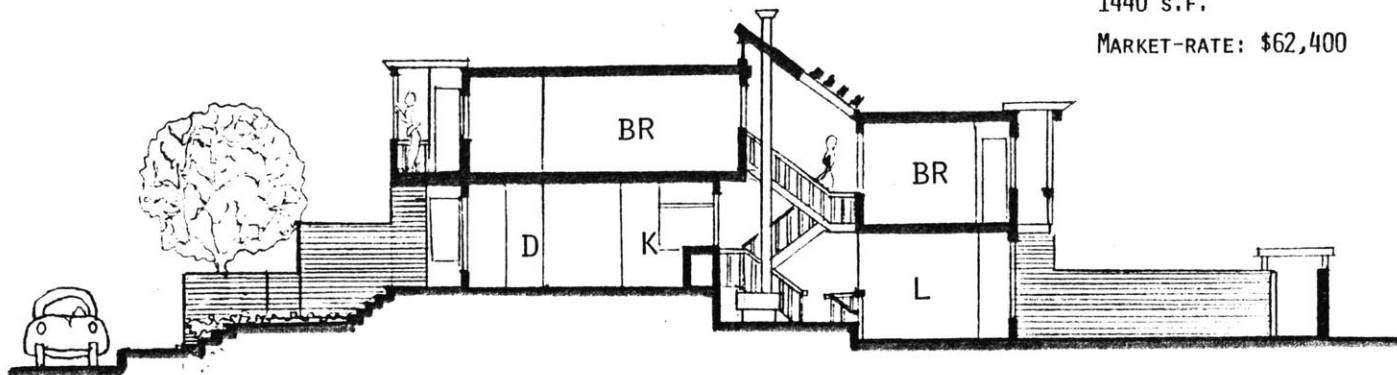
STREET-SIDE

PARK-SIDE

UNIT B

1440 S.F.

MARKET-RATE: \$62,400

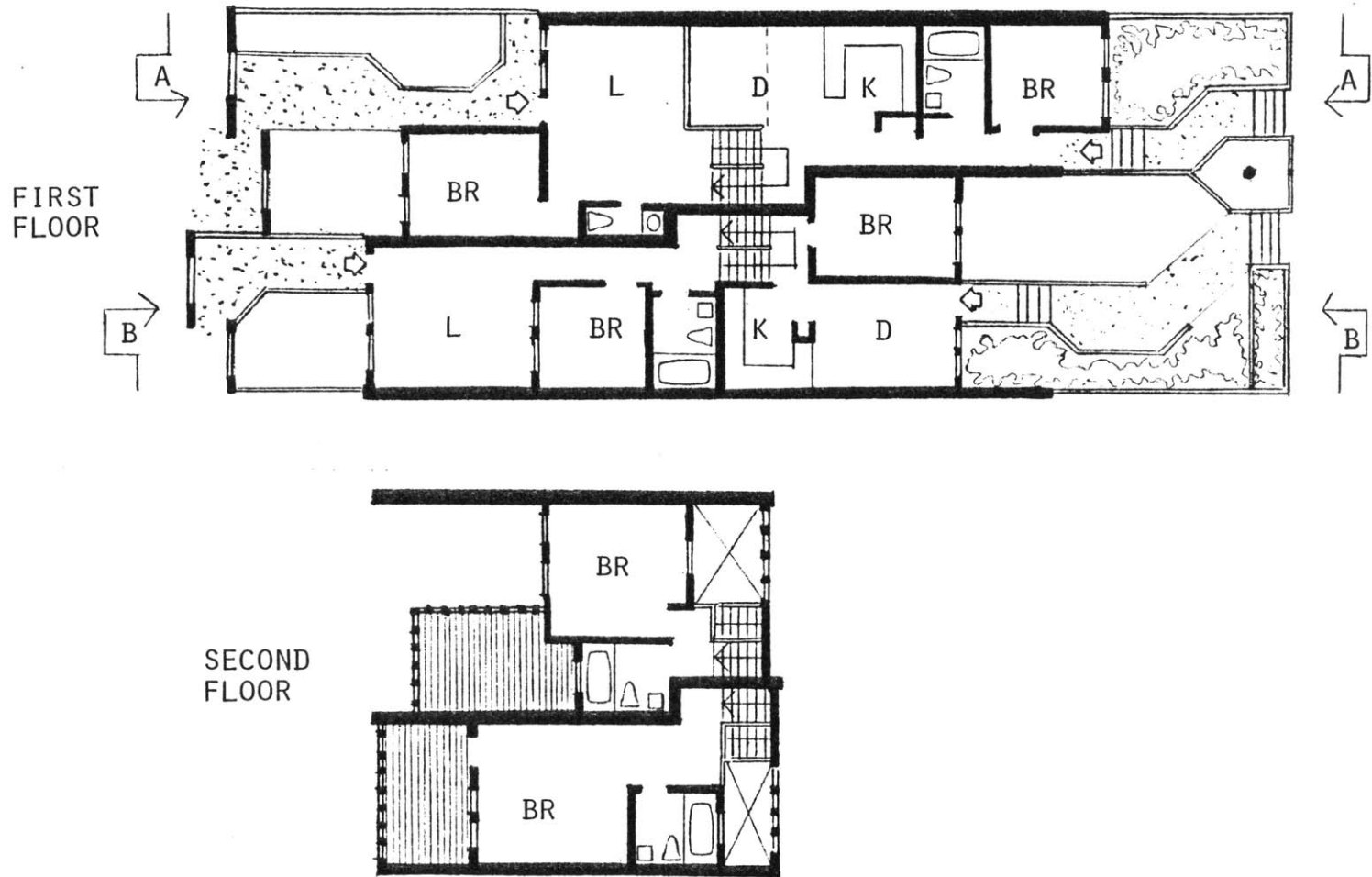


PARK-SIDE

STREET-SIDE

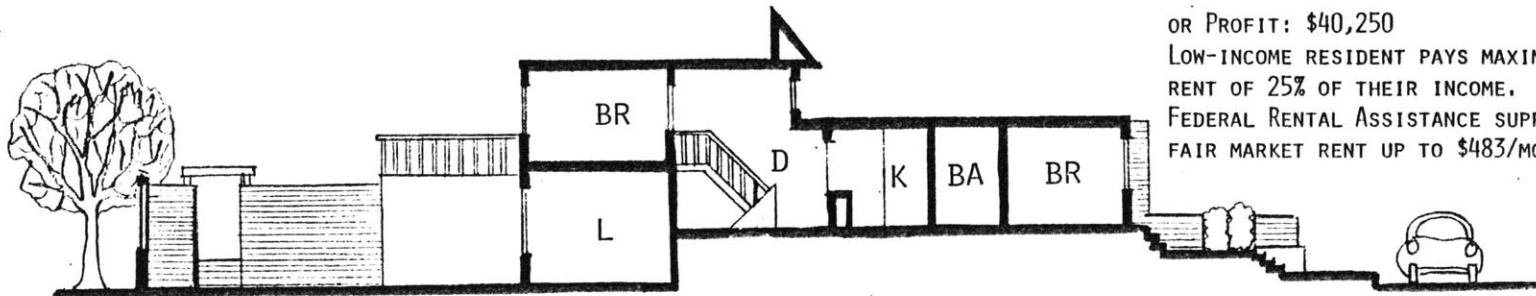
# 3 BEDROOMS ON 1½ FLOORS

2 BATHS

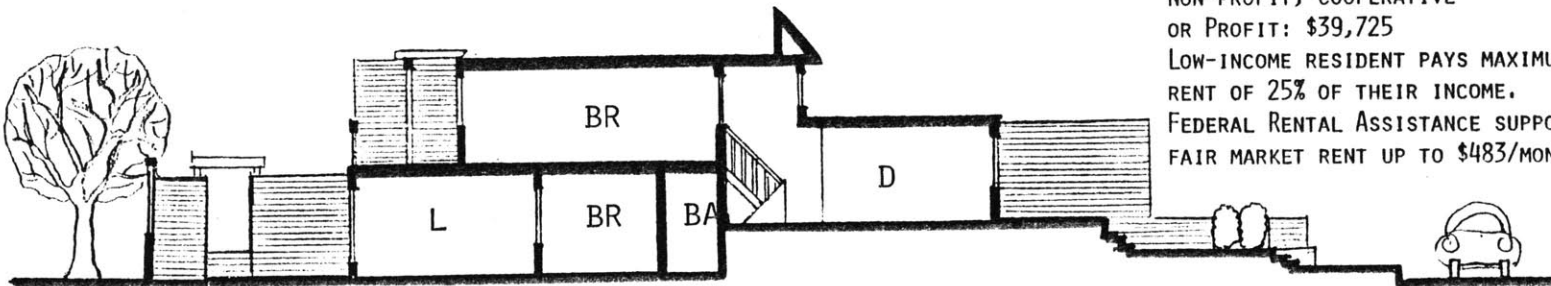


# 3 BEDROOMS ON 1½ FLOORS

2 BATHS



UNIT A  
 1060 s.f.  
 MARKET-RATE: \$46,000  
 FEDERALLY-INSURED  
 NON-PROFIT, COOPERATIVE  
 OR PROFIT: \$40,250  
 LOW-INCOME RESIDENT PAYS MAXIMUM  
 RENT OF 25% OF THEIR INCOME.  
 FEDERAL RENTAL ASSISTANCE SUPPORTS  
 FAIR MARKET RENT UP TO \$483/MONTH



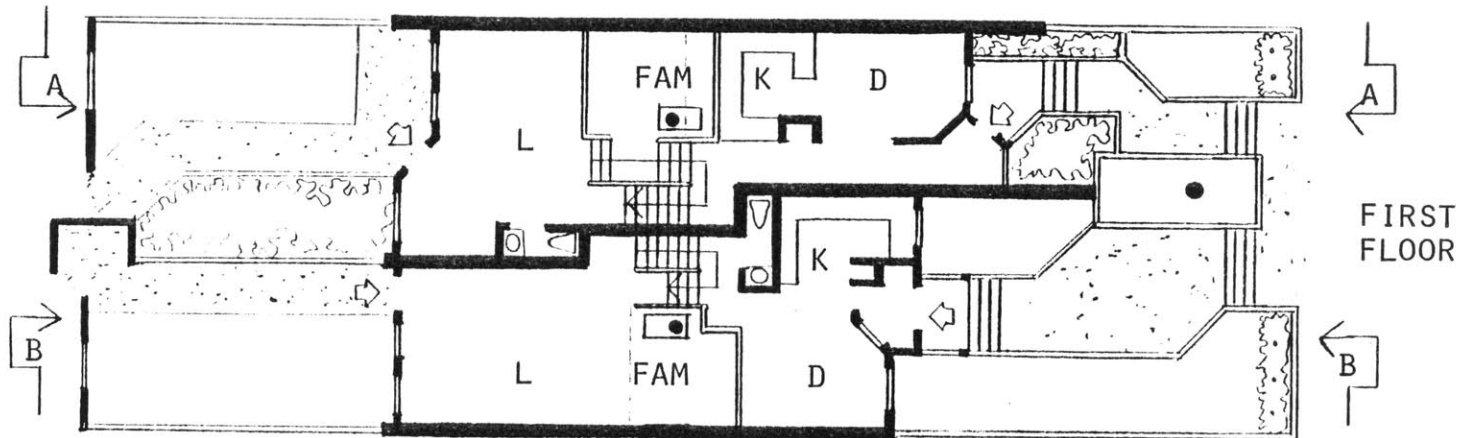
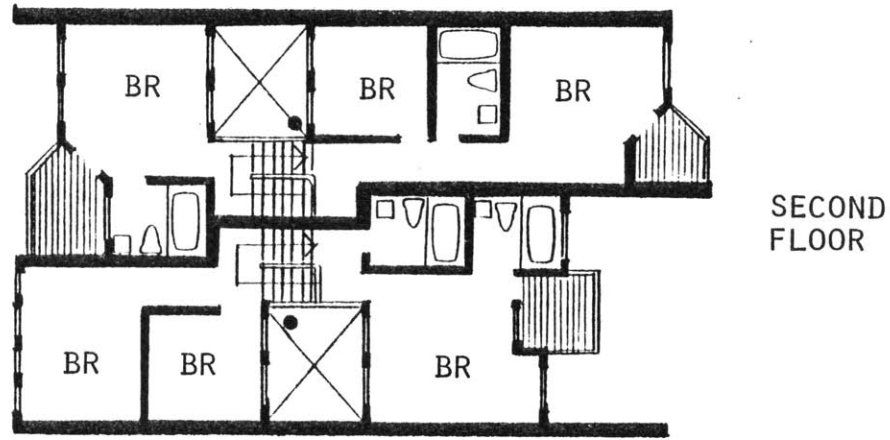
UNIT B  
 1060 s.f.  
 MARKET-RATE: \$45,400  
 FEDERALLY-INSURED  
 NON-PROFIT, COOPERATIVE  
 OR PROFIT: \$39,725  
 LOW-INCOME RESIDENT PAYS MAXIMUM  
 RENT OF 25% OF THEIR INCOME.  
 FEDERAL RENTAL ASSISTANCE SUPPORTS  
 FAIR MARKET RENT UP TO \$483/MONTH

PARK-SIDE

STREET-SIDE

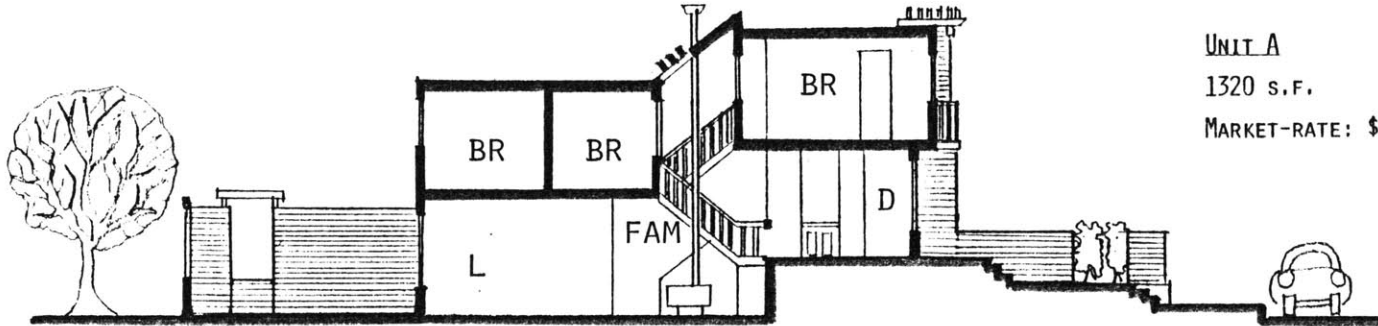
# 3 BEDROOMS ON 2 FLOORS

2 1/2 BATHS

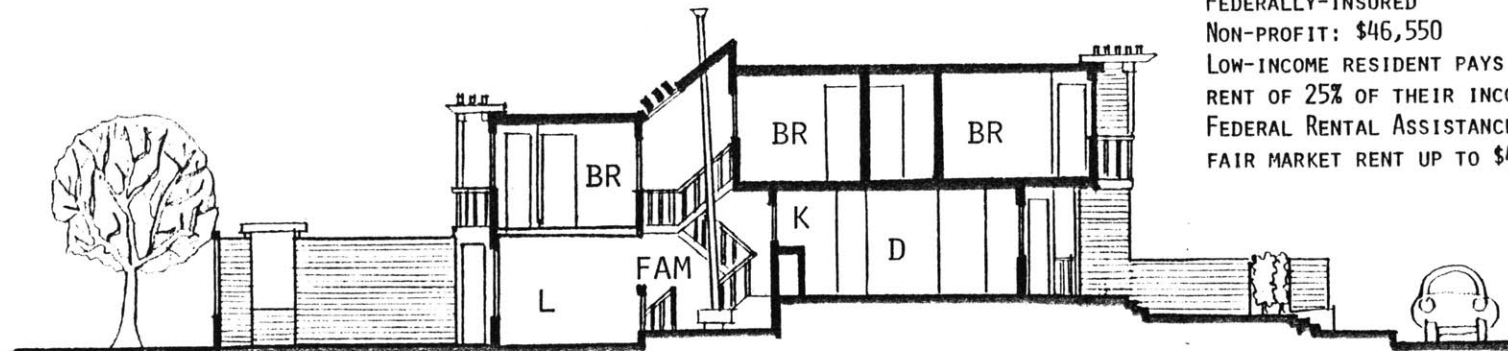


# 3 BEDROOMS ON 2 FLOORS

2 1/2 BATHS



UNIT A  
1320 s.f.  
MARKET-RATE: \$58,800



UNIT B  
1230 s.f.  
MARKET-RATE: \$53,200  
FEDERALLY-INSURED  
NON-PROFIT: \$46,550  
LOW-INCOME RESIDENT PAYS MAXIMUM  
RENT OF 25% OF THEIR INCOME.  
FEDERAL RENTAL ASSISTANCE SUPPORTS  
FAIR MARKET RENT UP TO \$483/MONTH

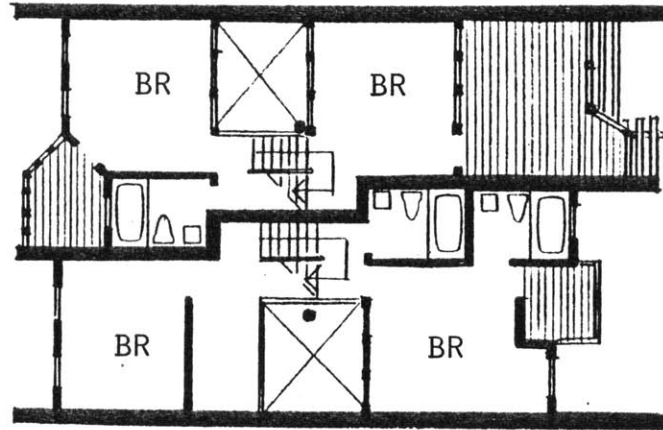
PARK-SIDE

STREET-SIDE 115

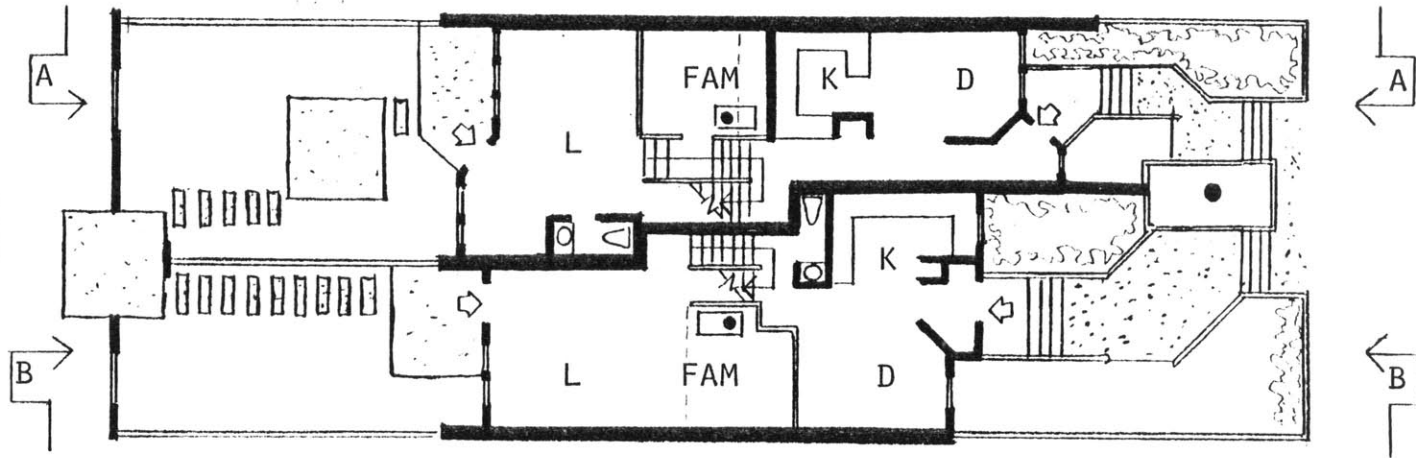
# 3 BEDROOMS ON 2 1/2 FLOORS

2 1/2 BATHS

SECOND FLOOR



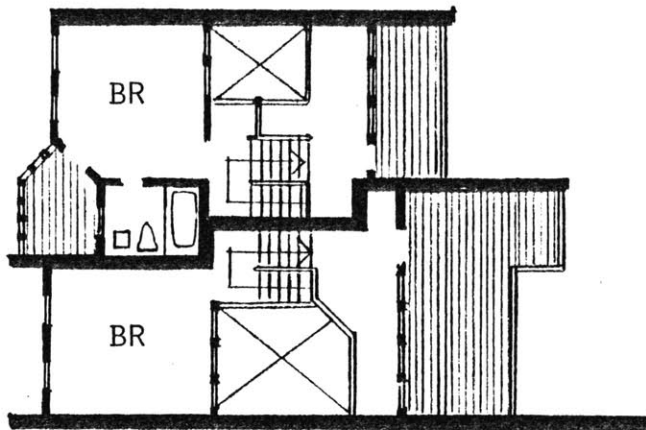
FIRST FLOOR



# 3 BEDROOMS ON 2 1/2 FLOORS

2 1/2 BATHS

THIRD  
FLOOR

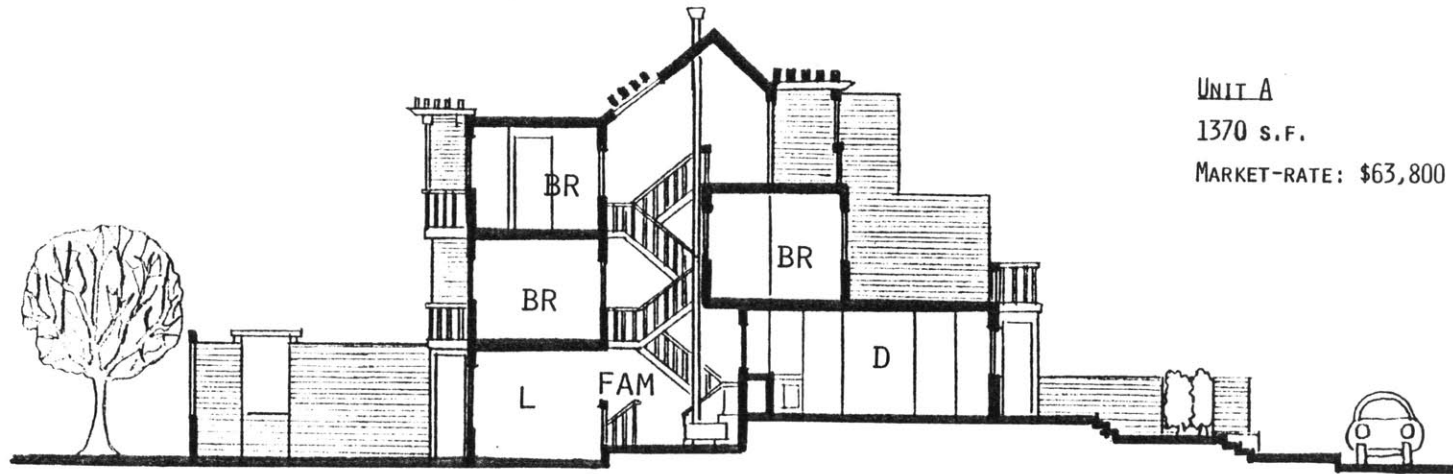


PARK-SIDE

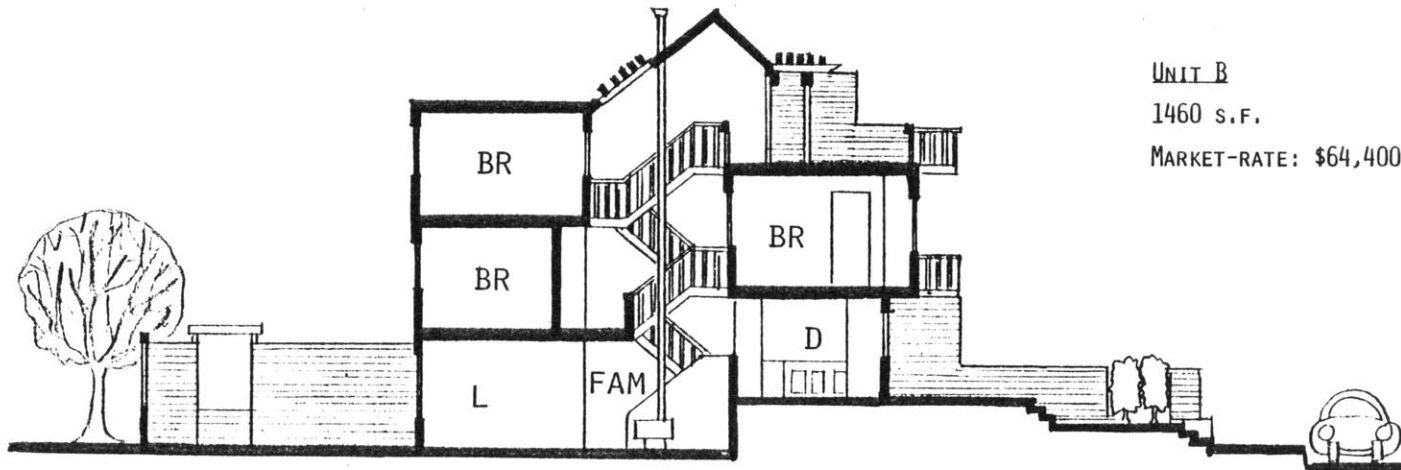
STREET-SIDE 117

# 3 BEDROOMS ON 2 1/2 FLOORS

2 1/2 BATHS



UNIT A  
1370 s.f.  
MARKET-RATE: \$63,800



UNIT B  
1460 s.f.  
MARKET-RATE: \$64,400

118 PARK-SIDE

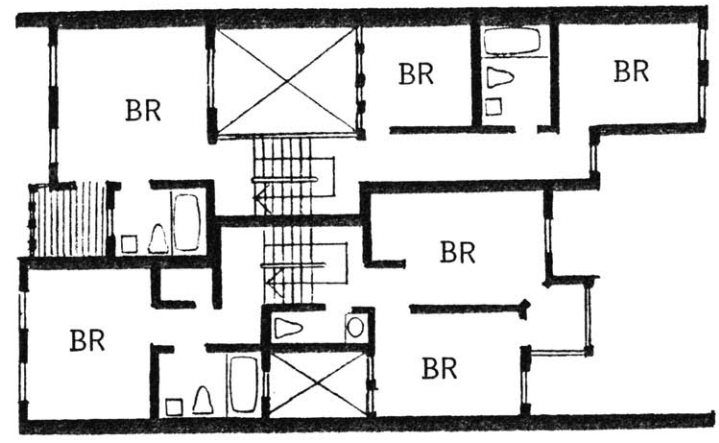
STREET-SIDE



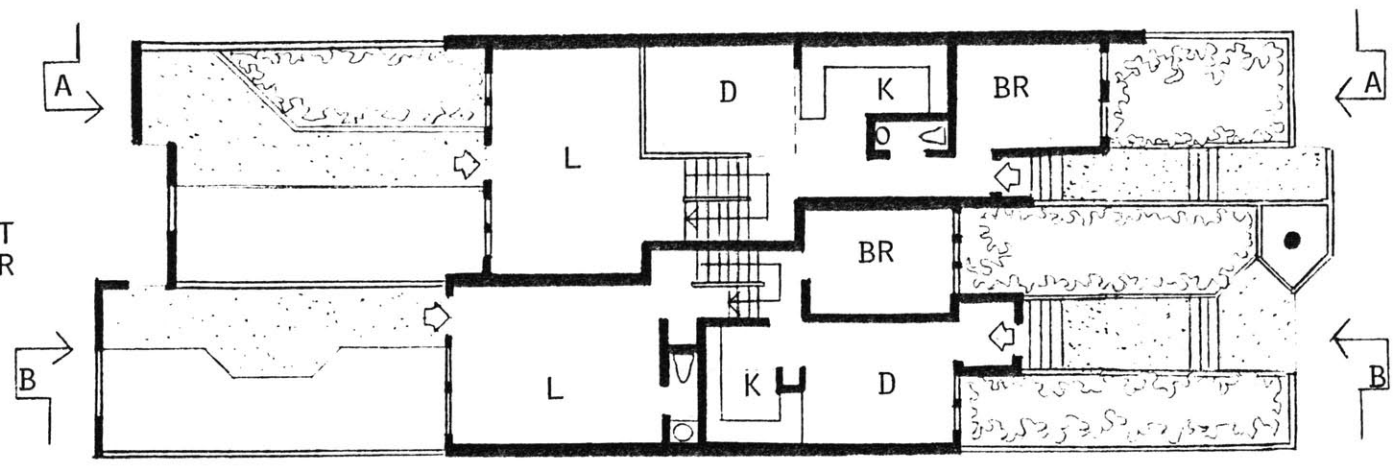
# 4 BEDROOMS ON 2 FLOORS

2 1/2 BATHS

SECOND FLOOR



FIRST FLOOR

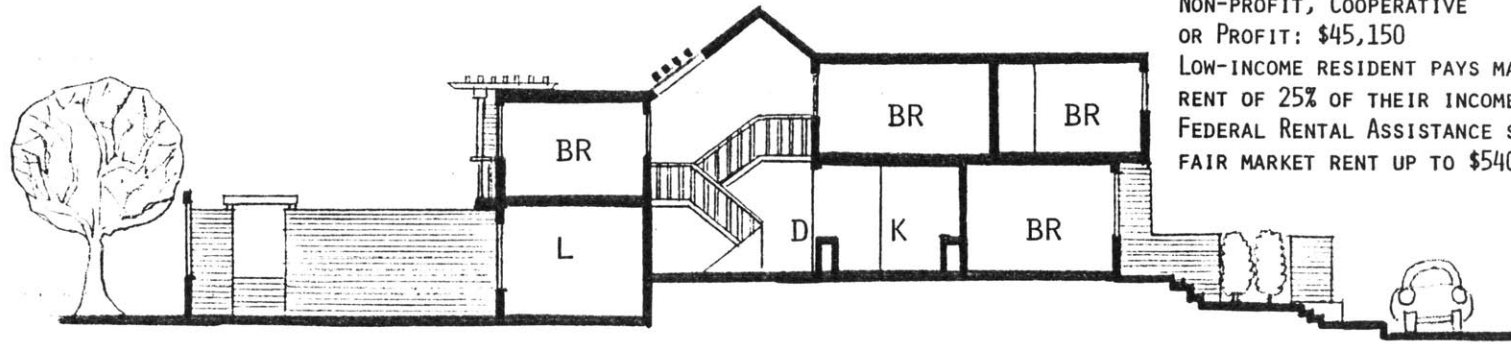


PARK-SIDE

STREET-SIDE

# 4 BEDROOMS ON 2 FLOORS

2 1/2 BATHS



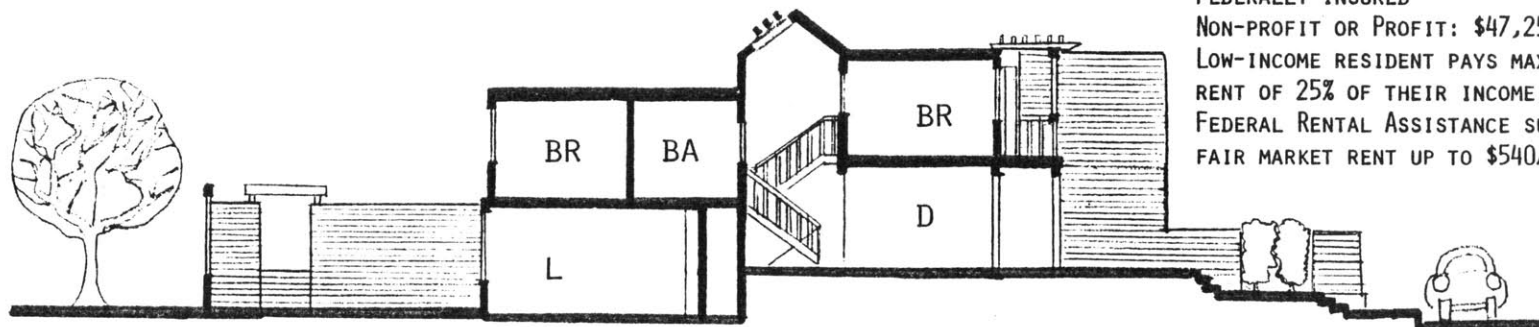
## UNIT A

1230 S.F.

MARKET-RATE: 51,600

FEDERALLY-INSURED  
NON-PROFIT, COOPERATIVE  
OR PROFIT: \$45,150

LOW-INCOME RESIDENT PAYS MAXIMUM  
RENT OF 25% OF THEIR INCOME.  
FEDERAL RENTAL ASSISTANCE SUPPORTS  
FAIR MARKET RENT UP TO \$540/MONTH



## UNIT B

1270 S.F.

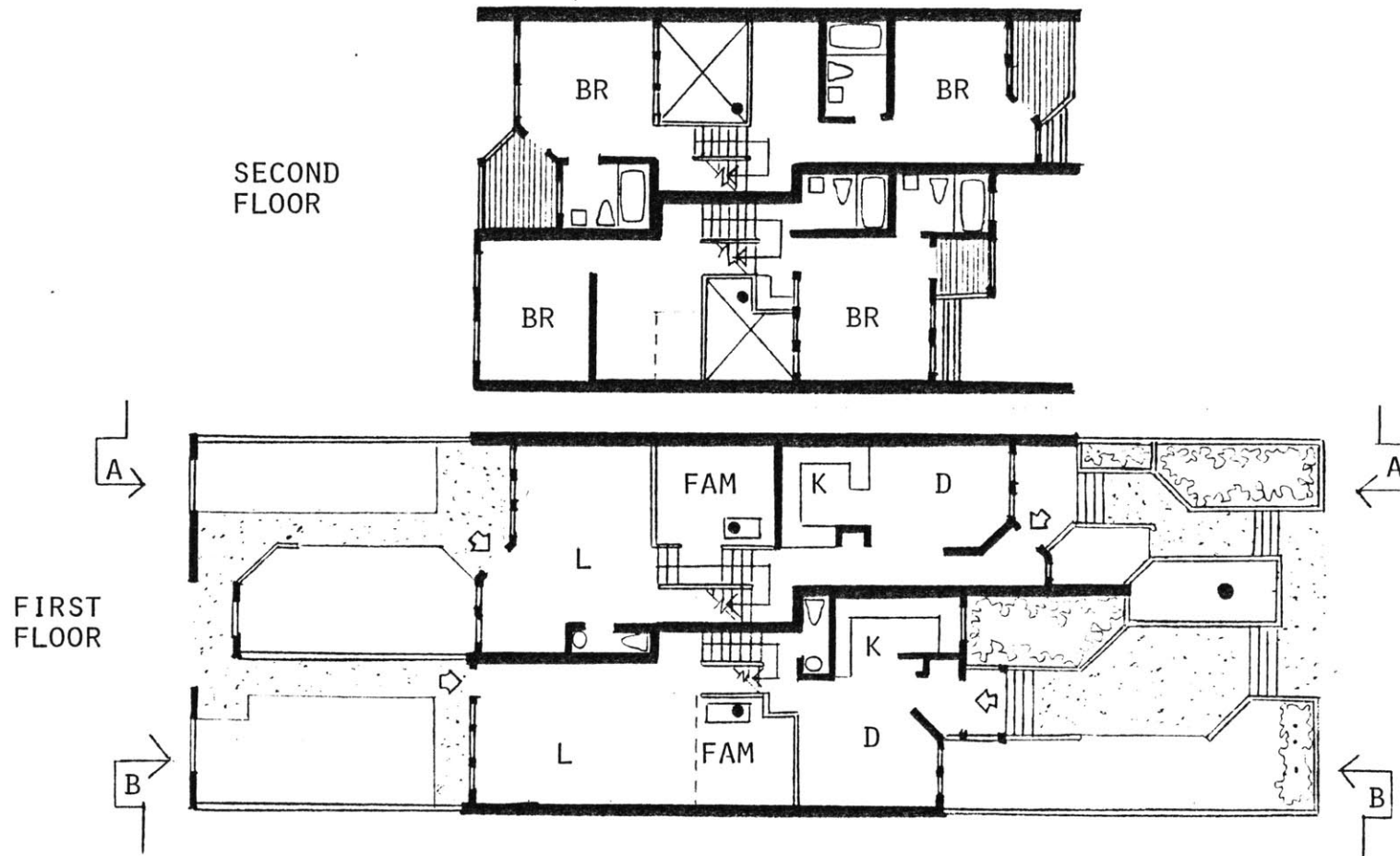
MARKET-RATE: \$54,000

FEDERALLY-INSURED  
NON-PROFIT OR PROFIT: \$47,250

LOW-INCOME RESIDENT PAYS MAXIMUM  
RENT OF 25% OF THEIR INCOME.  
FEDERAL RENTAL ASSISTANCE SUPPORTS  
FAIR MARKET RENT UP TO \$540/MONTH

# 4 BEDROOMS ON 3 FLOORS

3 1/2 BATHS



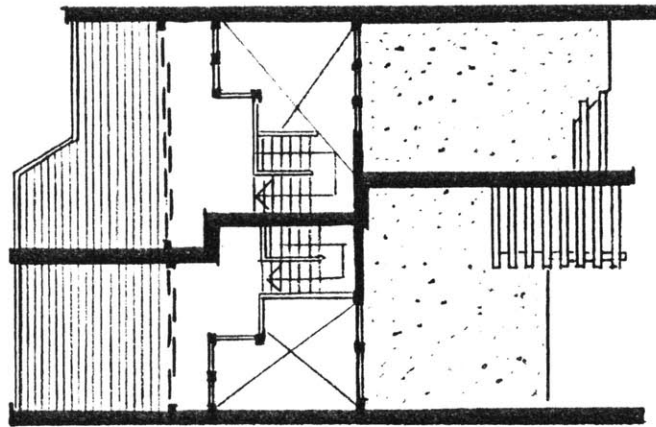
PARK-SIDE

STREET-SIDE

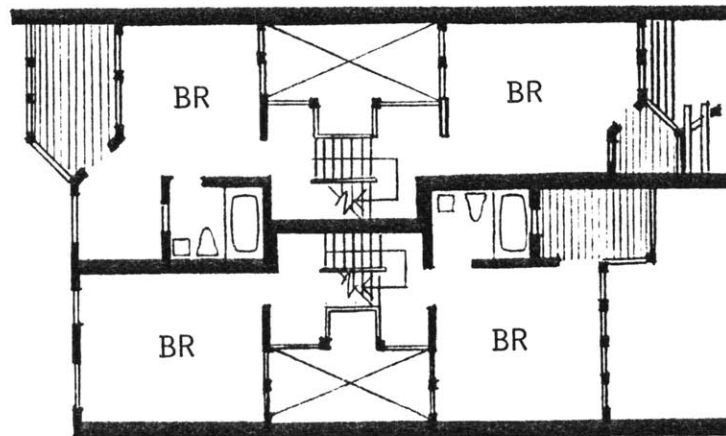
# 4 BEDROOMS ON 3 FLOORS

3 1/2 BATHS

ROOF  
TERRACE



THIRD  
FLOOR

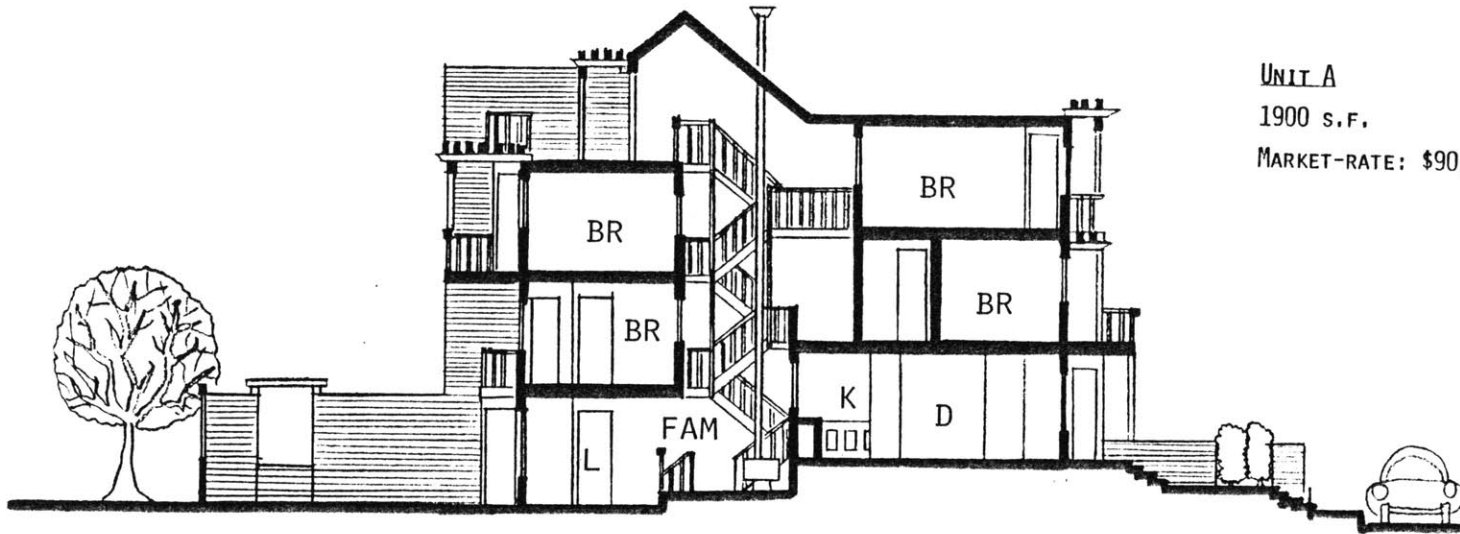


122 PARK-SIDE

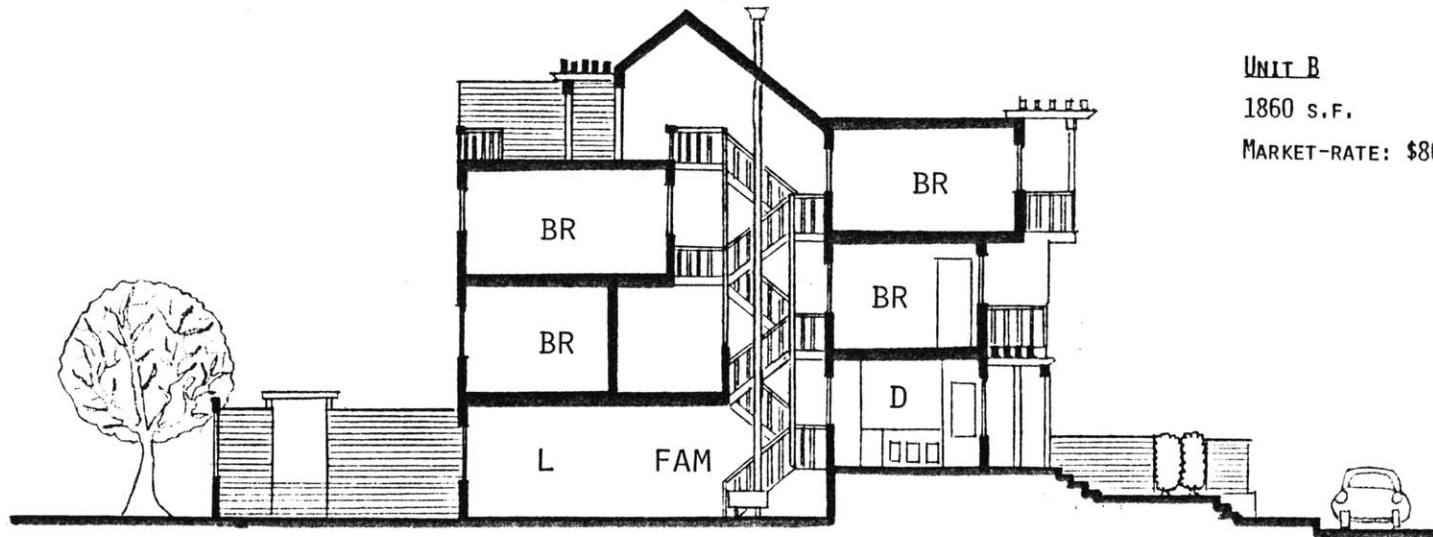
STREET-SIDE

# 4 BEDROOMS ON 3 FLOORS

3 1/2 BATHS



UNIT A  
1900 s.f.  
MARKET-RATE: \$90,000



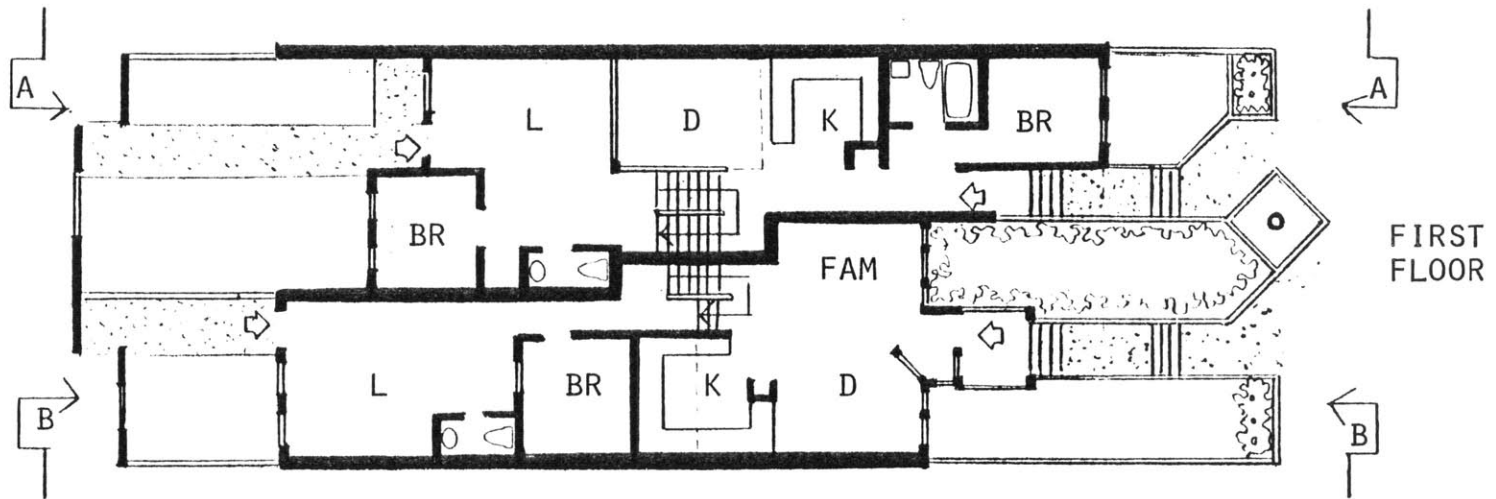
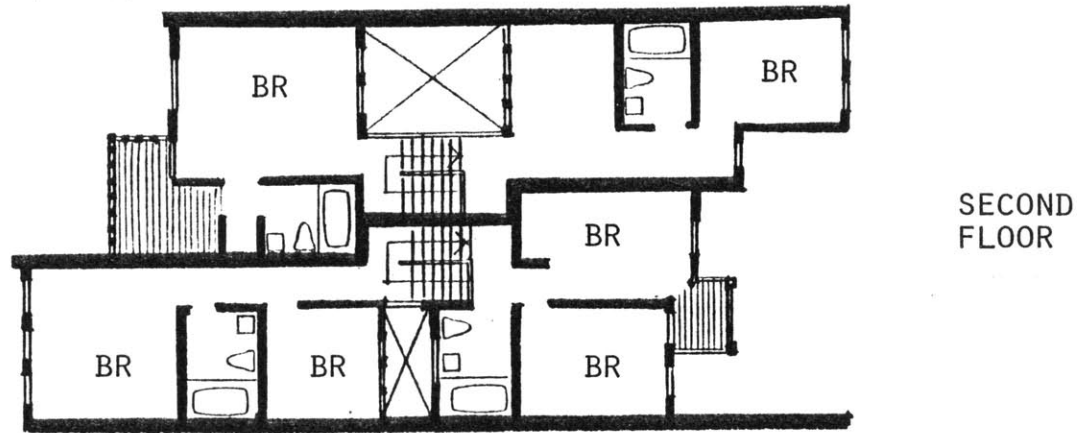
UNIT B  
1860 s.f.  
MARKET-RATE: \$86,100

PARK-SIDE

STREET-SIDE 123

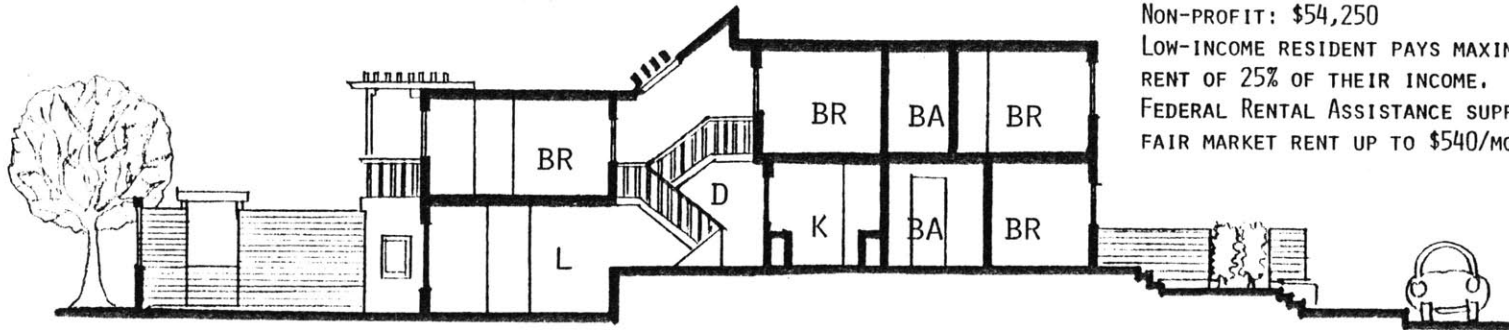
# 5 BEDROOMS ON 2 FLOORS

3 1/2 BATHS



# 5 BEDROOMS ON 2 FLOORS

3 1/2 BATHS



## UNIT A

1460 s.f.

MARKET-RATE: \$62,000

FEDERALLY-INSURED

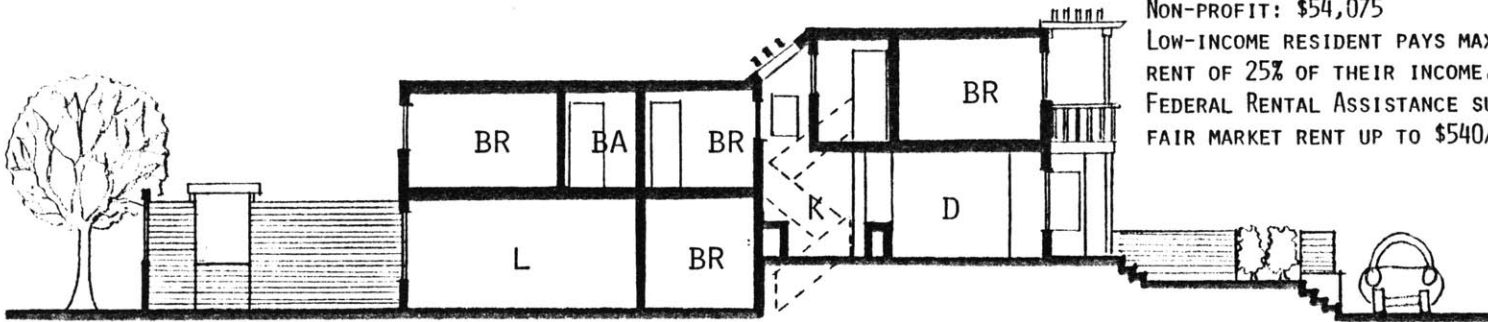
NON-PROFIT: \$54,250

LOW-INCOME RESIDENT PAYS MAXIMUM

RENT OF 25% OF THEIR INCOME.

FEDERAL RENTAL ASSISTANCE SUPPORTS

FAIR MARKET RENT UP TO \$540/MONTH



## UNIT B

1480 s.f.

MARKET-RATE: \$61,800

FEDERALLY-INSURED

NON-PROFIT: \$54,075

LOW-INCOME RESIDENT PAYS MAXIMUM

RENT OF 25% OF THEIR INCOME.

FEDERAL RENTAL ASSISTANCE SUPPORTS

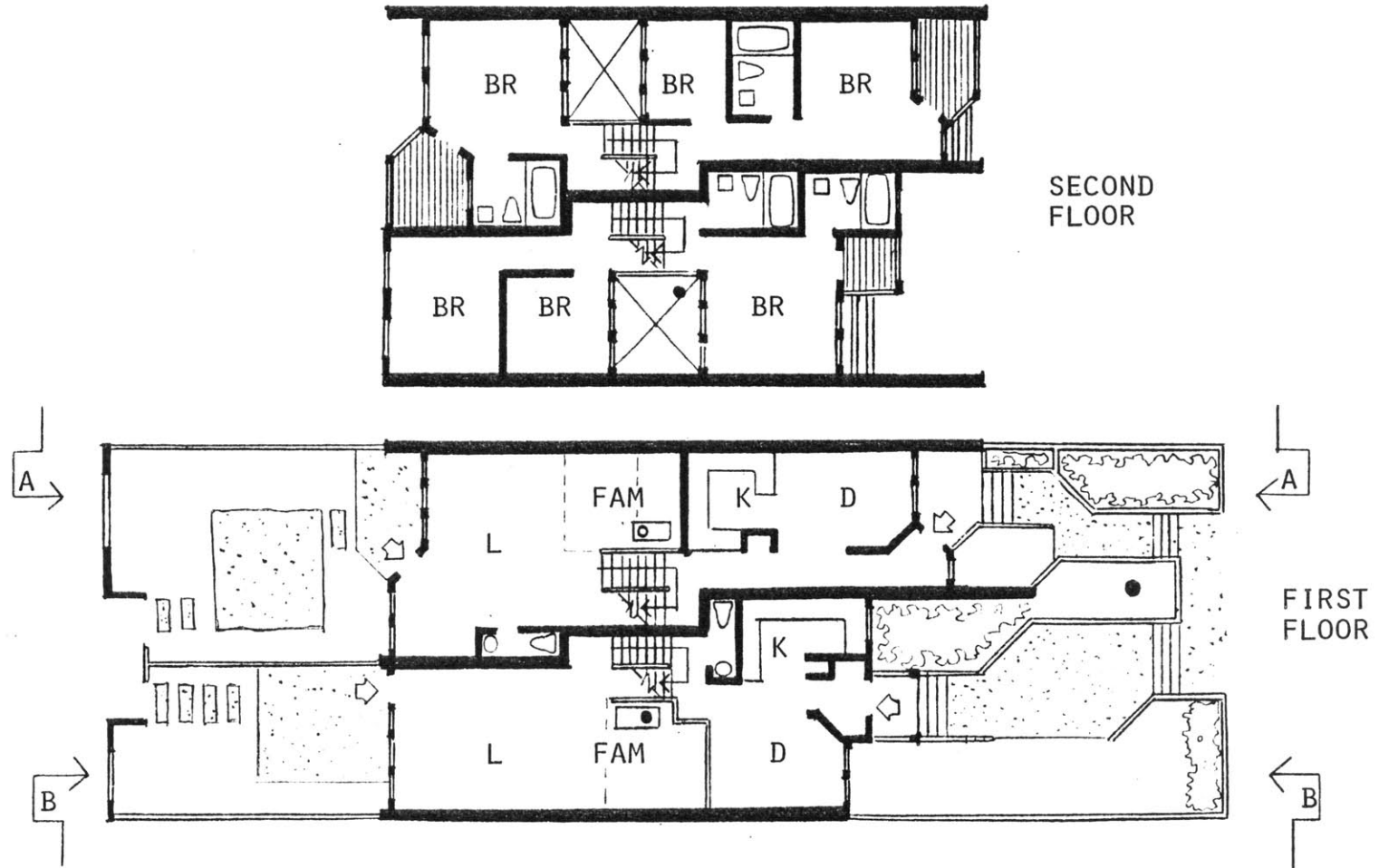
FAIR MARKET RENT UP TO \$540/MONTH

PARK-SIDE

STREET-SIDE 125

# 5 BEDROOMS ON 3 FLOORS

3 1/2 BATHS



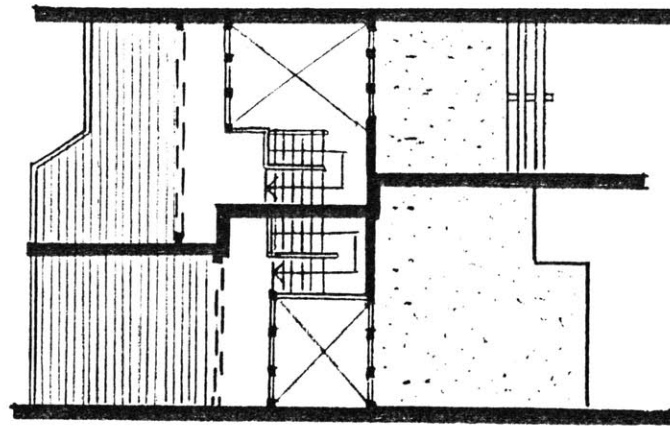
126 PARK-SIDE

STREET-SIDE

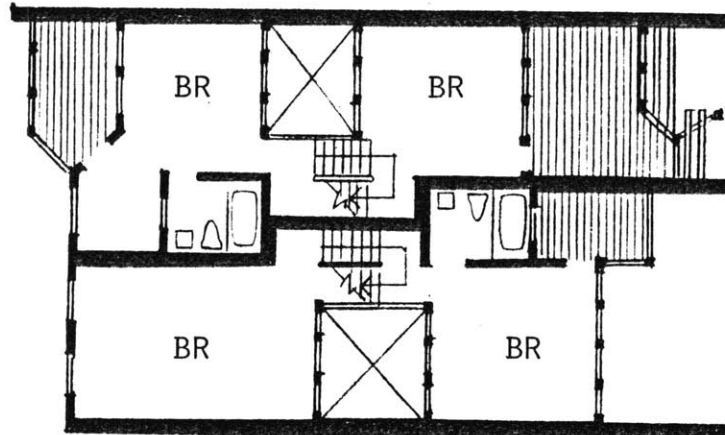


# 5 BEDROOMS ON 3 FLOORS

3 1/2 BATHS



ROOF  
TERRACE



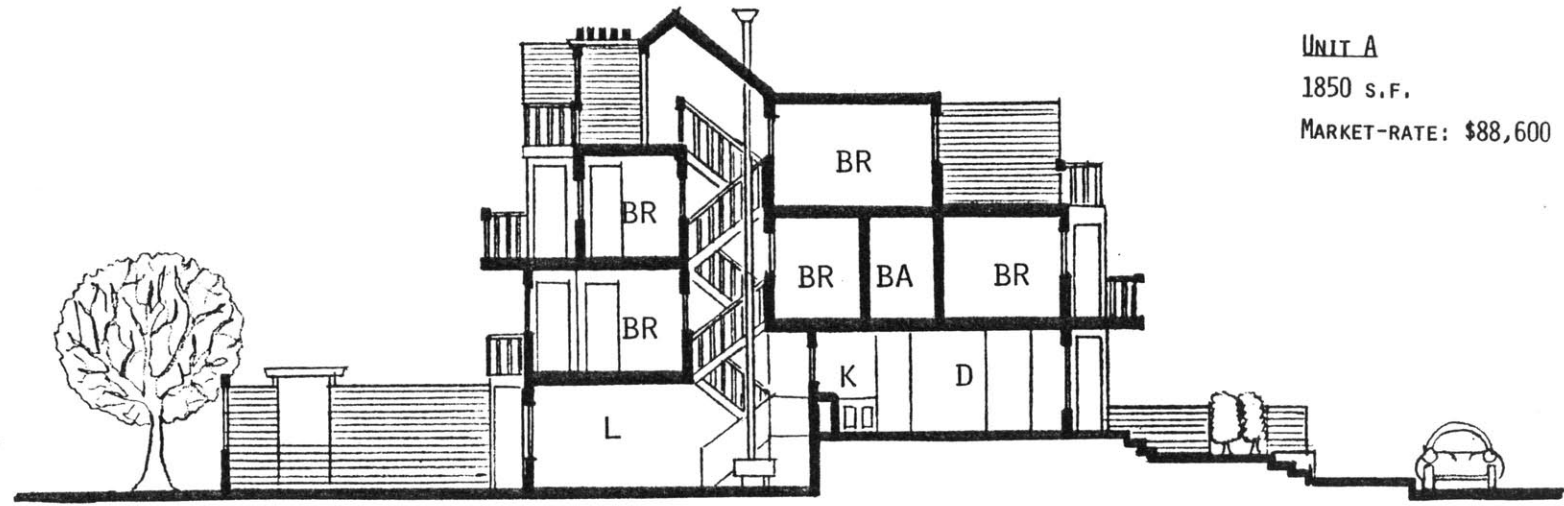
THIRD  
FLOOR

PARK-SIDE

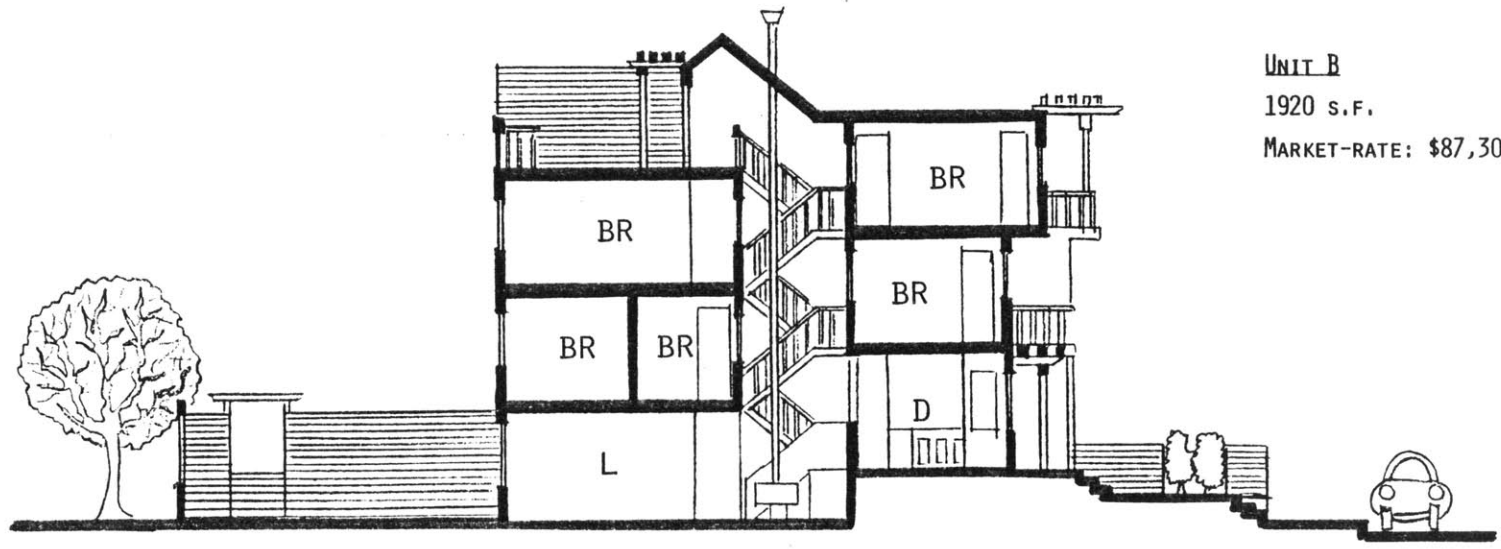
STREET-SIDE 127

# 5 BEDROOMS ON 3 FLOORS

3 1/2 BATHS



UNIT A  
1850 S.F.  
MARKET-RATE: \$88,600



UNIT B  
1920 S.F.  
MARKET-RATE: \$87,300

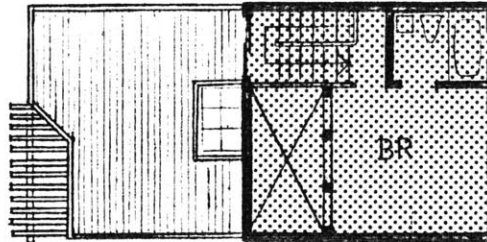
128 PARK-SIDE

STREET-SIDE

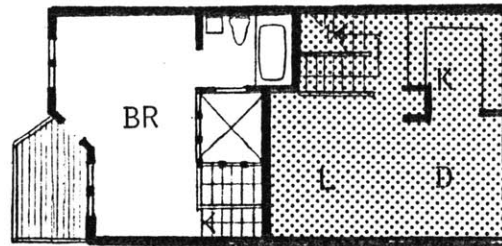
# 1 BEDROOM ABOVE/1 BELOW

1 BATH

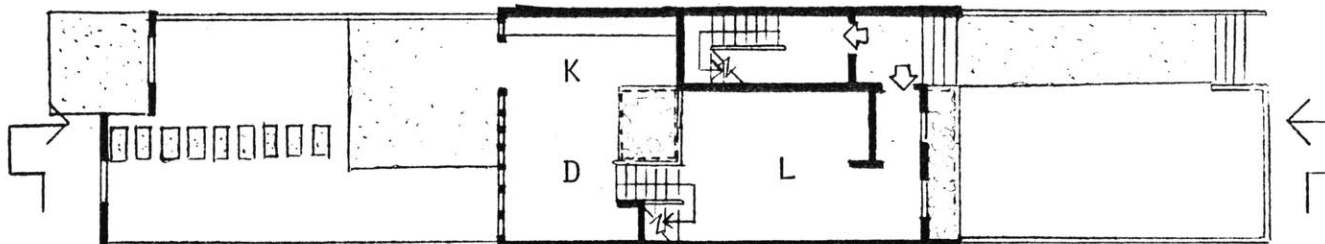
THIRD  
FLOOR



SECOND  
FLOOR



FIRST  
FLOOR



PARK-SIDE

STREET-SIDE

129

# 1 BEDROOM ABOVE/1 BELOW

1 BATH

## LOWER UNIT

710 S.F.

MARKET-RATE: \$31,000

FEDERALLY-INSURED  
NON-PROFIT, COOPERATIVE  
OR PROFIT: \$27,125

LOW-INCOME RESIDENT PAYS MAXIMUM  
RENT OF 25% OF THEIR INCOME.  
FEDERAL RENTAL ASSISTANCE SUPPORTS  
FAIR MARKET RENT UP TO \$327/MONTH

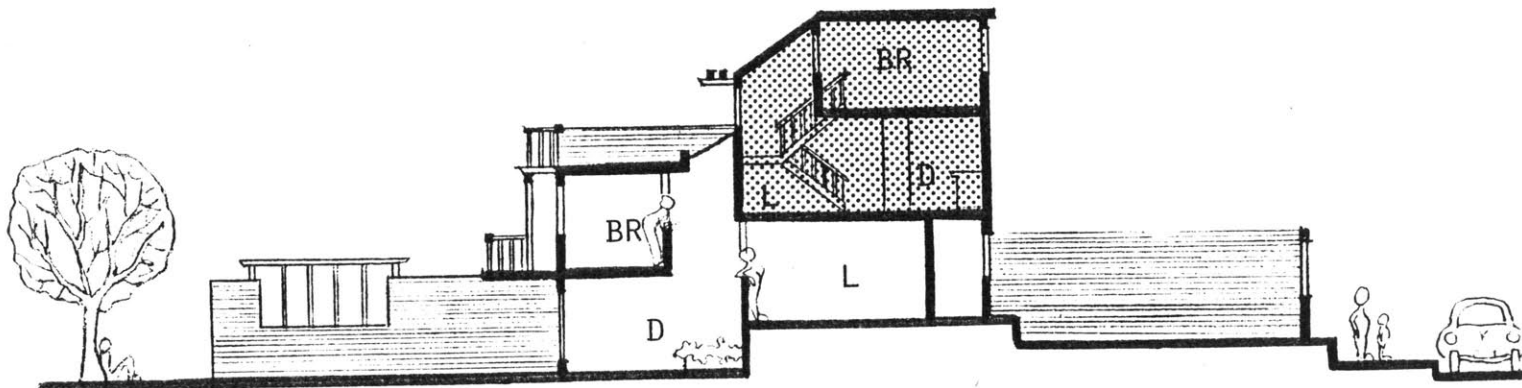
## UPPER UNIT

620 S.F.

MARKET-RATE; \$30,000

FEDERALLY-INSURED  
NON-PROFIT, COOPERATIVE  
OR PROFIT: \$26,250

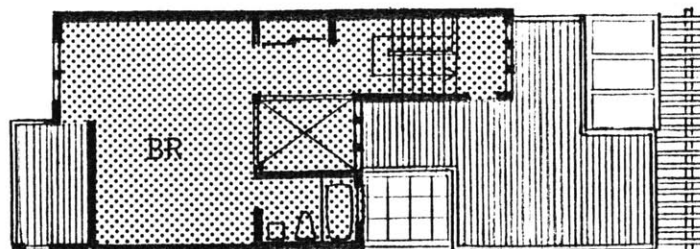
LOW-INCOME RESIDENT PAYS MAXIMUM  
RENT OF 25% OF THEIR INCOME.  
FEDERAL RENTAL ASSISTANCE SUPPORTS  
FAIR MARKET RENT UP TO \$327/MONTH



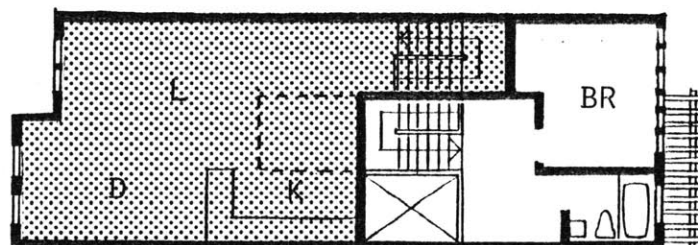
# 1 BEDROOM ABOVE/2 BELOW

1 BATH

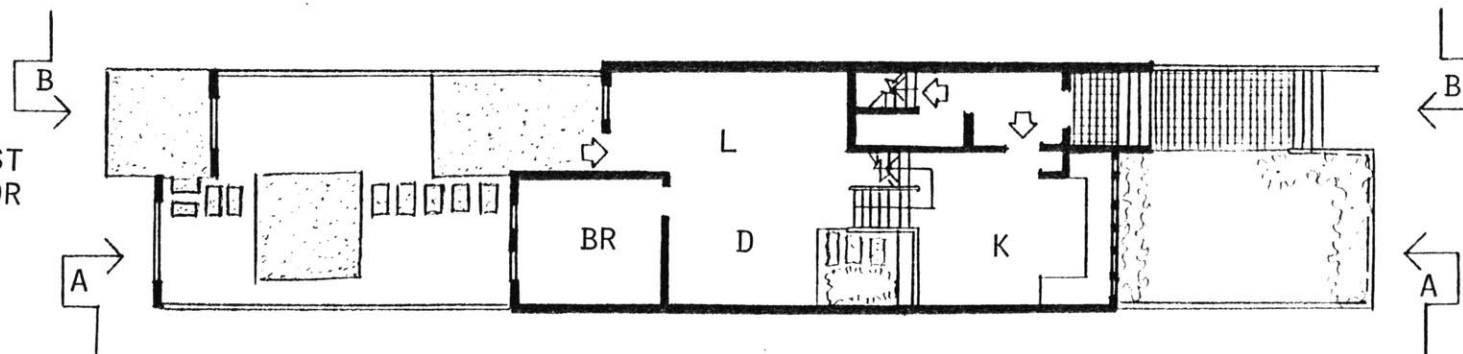
THIRD FLOOR



SECOND FLOOR



FIRST FLOOR



PARK-SIDE

STREET-SIDE

# 1 BEDROOM ABOVE/2 BELOW

1 BATH

UPPER UNIT

900 s.f.

MARKET-RATE: \$38,600

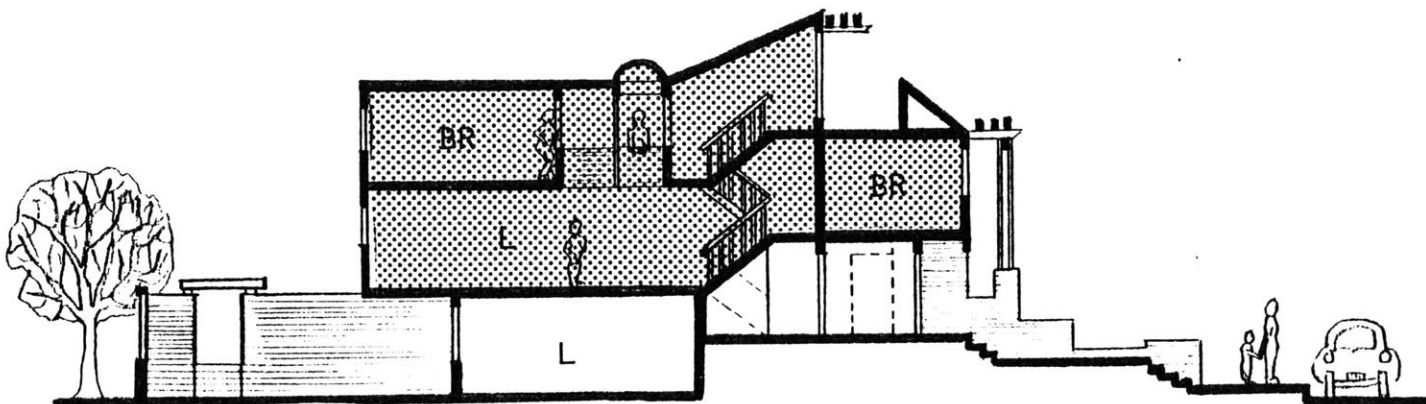
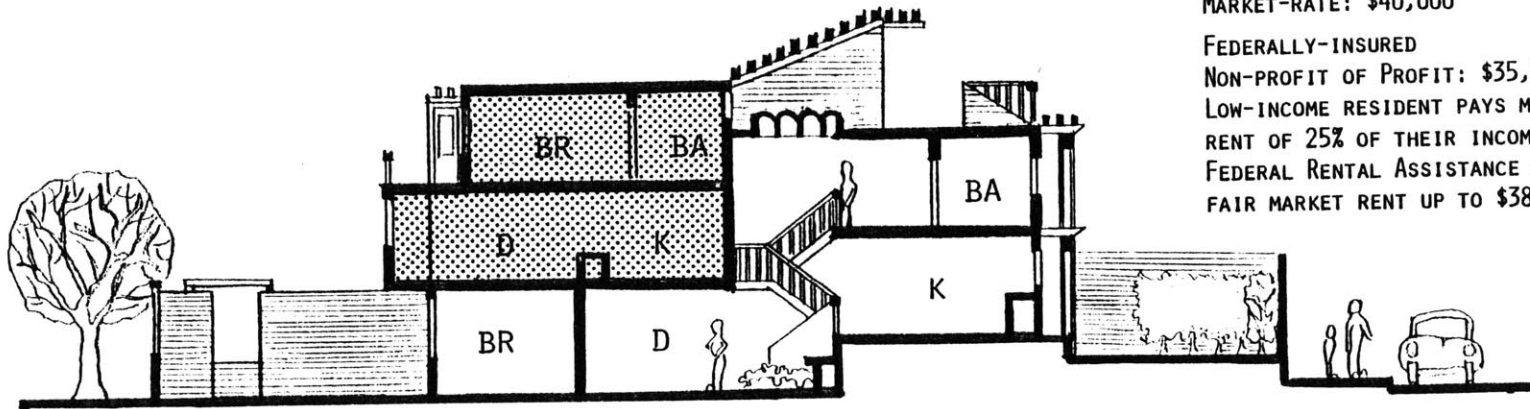
LOWER UNIT

900 s.f.

MARKET-RATE: \$40,000

FEDERALLY-INSURED  
NON-PROFIT OF PROFIT: \$35,000

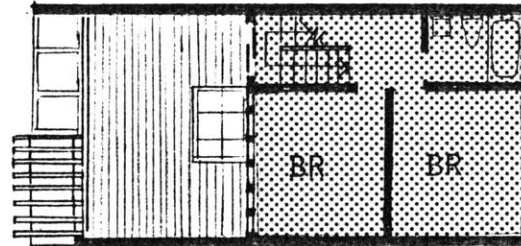
LOW-INCOME RESIDENT PAYS MAXIMUM  
RENT OF 25% OF THEIR INCOME.  
FEDERAL RENTAL ASSISTANCE SUPPORTS  
FAIR MARKET RENT UP TO \$381/MONTH



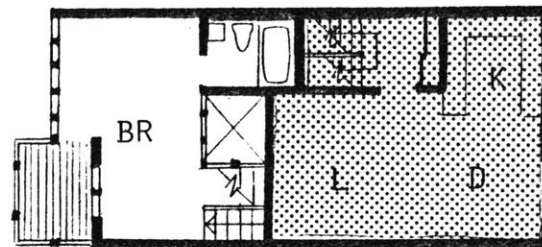
# 2 BEDROOMS ABOVE/1 BELOW

1 BATH

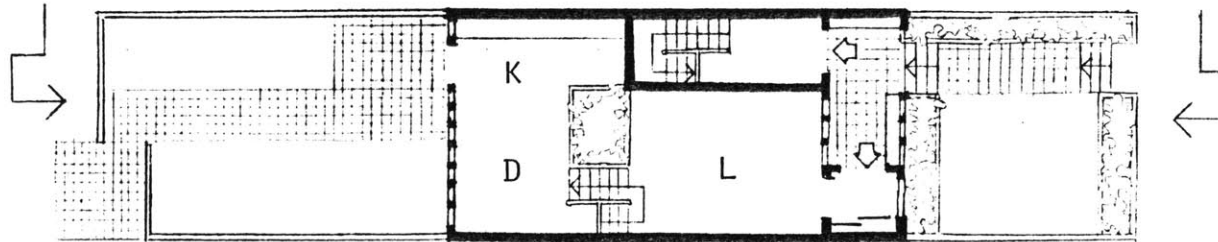
THIRD  
FLOOR



SECOND  
FLOOR



FIRST  
FLOOR



PARK-SIDE

STREET-SIDE 133

# 2 BEDROOMS ABOVE/1 BELOW

1 BATH

## LOWER UNIT

710 S.F.

MARKET-RATE: \$31,000

FEDERALLY-INSURED  
NON-PROFIT, COOPERATIVE  
OR PROFIT: \$27,125

LOW-INCOME RESIDENT PAYS MAXIMUM  
RENT OF 25% OF THEIR INCOME.  
FEDERAL RENTAL ASSISTANCE SUPPORTS  
FAIR MARKET RENT UP TO \$327/MONTH

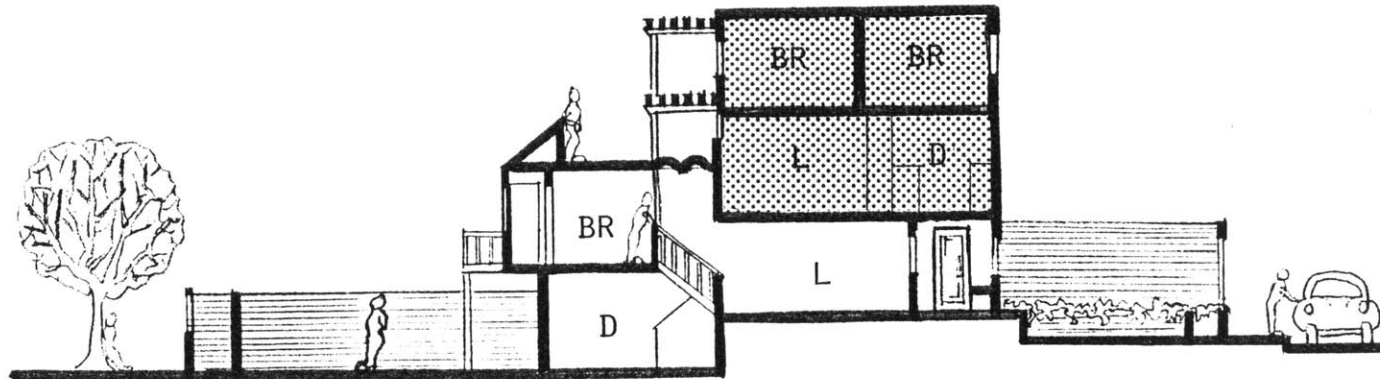
## UPPER UNIT

620 S.F.

MARKET-RATE: \$29,700

FEDERALLY-INSURED  
NON-PROFIT, COOPERATIVE  
OR PROFIT: \$25,987

LOW-INCOME RESIDENT PAYS MAXIMUM  
RENT OF 25% OF THEIR INCOME.  
FEDERAL RENTAL ASSISTANCE SUPPORTS  
FAIR MARKET RENT UP TO \$381/MONTH



134 PARK-SIDE

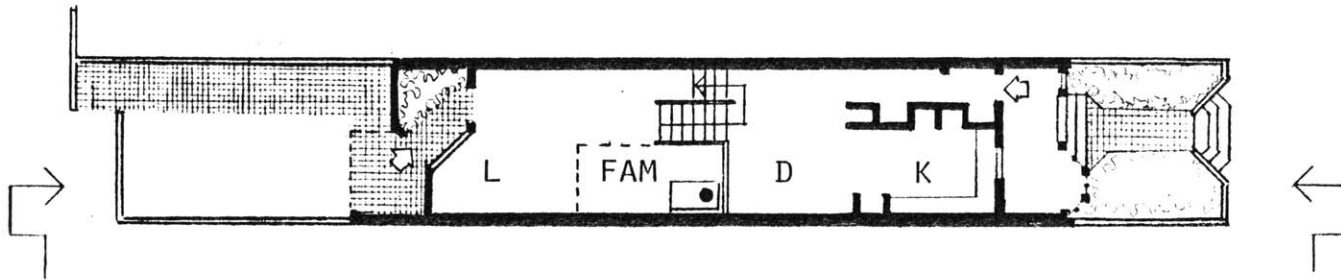
STREET-SIDE



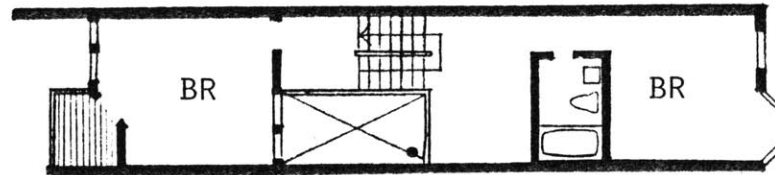
# 2 BEDROOMS ON 2 FLOORS

1 BATH

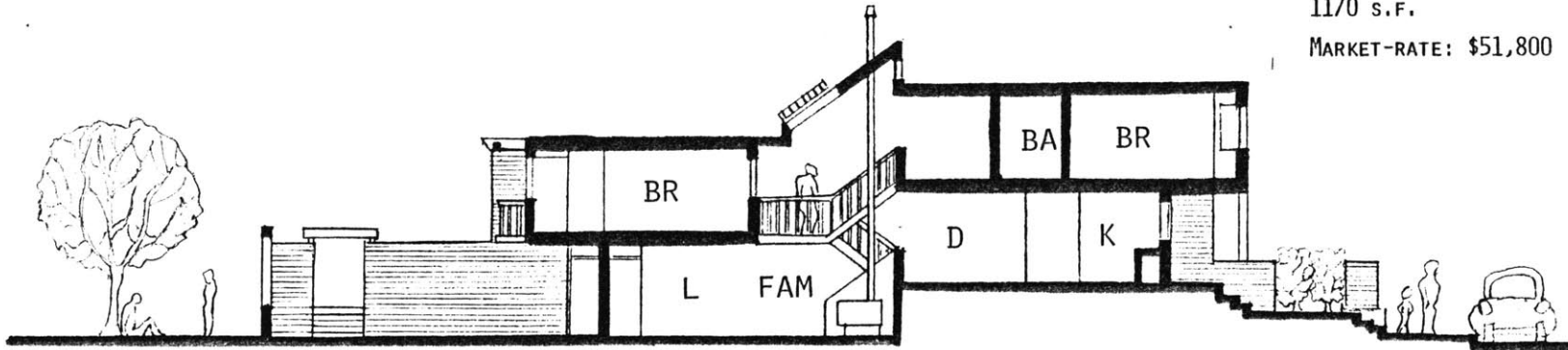
FIRST FLOOR



SECOND FLOOR



1170 s.f.  
MARKET-RATE: \$51,800

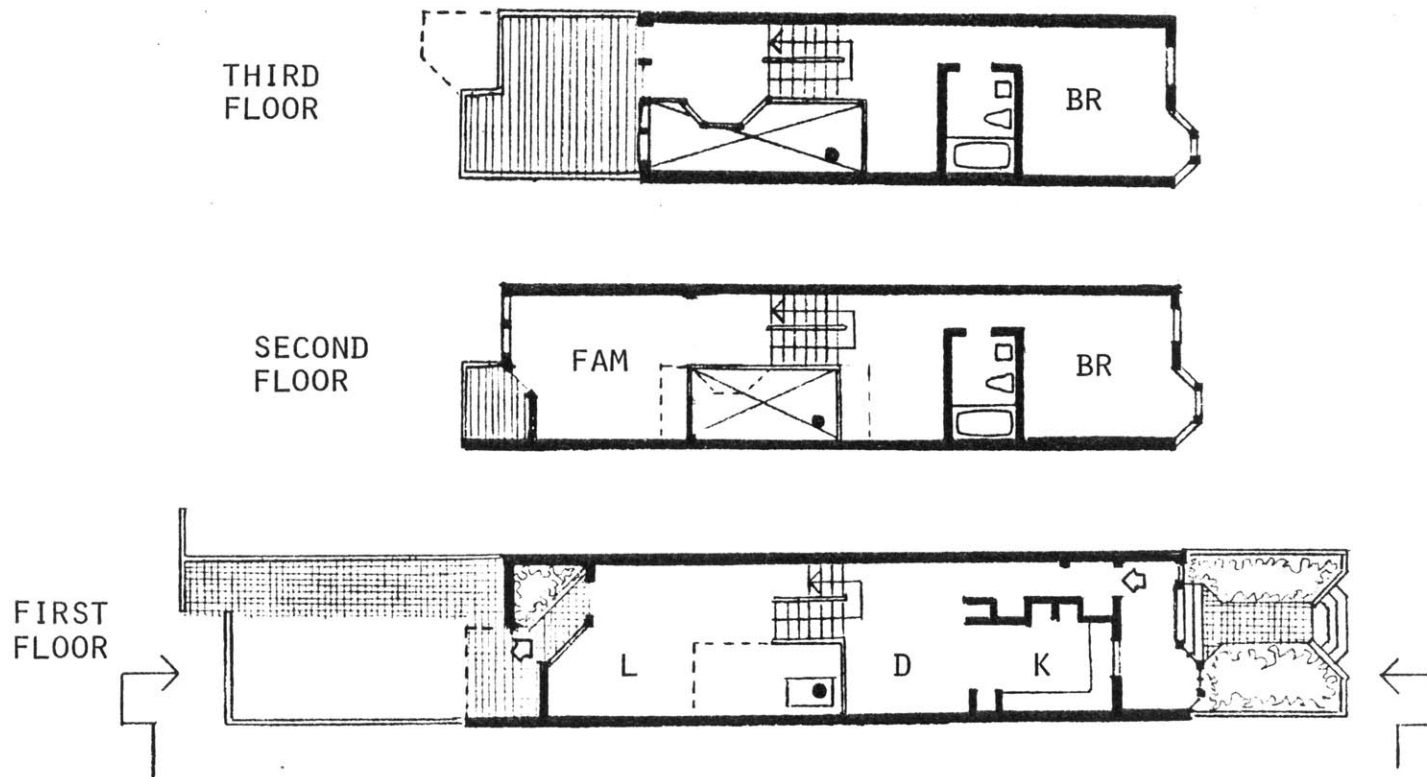


PARK-SIDE

STREET-SIDE 135

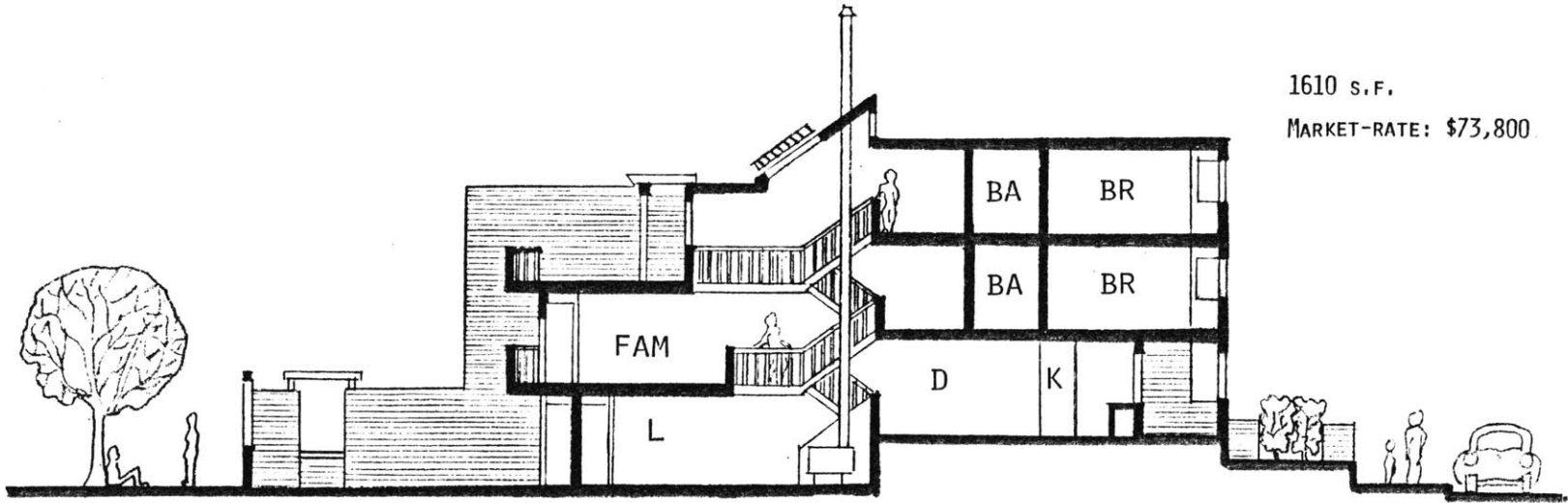
# 2 BEDROOMS ON 3 FLOORS

2 BATHS



# 2 BEDROOMS ON 3 FLOORS

2 BATHS



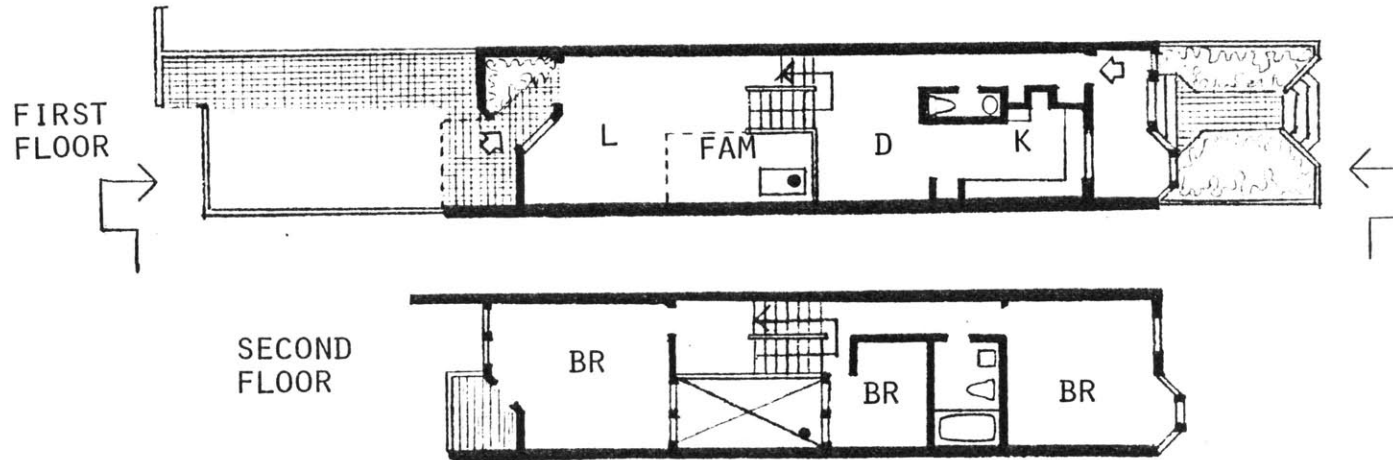
1610 s.f.  
MARKET-RATE: \$73,800

PARK-SIDE

STREET-SIDE 137

# 3 BEDROOMS ON 2 FLOORS

1 1/2 BATHS



1170 s.f.

MARKET-RATE: \$51,800

FEDERALLY-INSURED

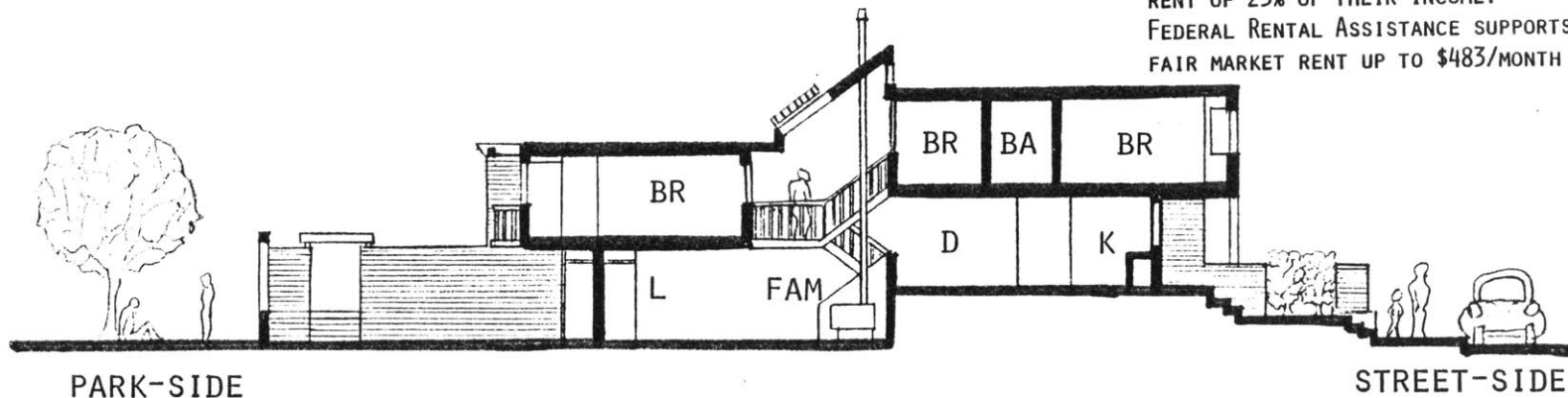
NON-PROFIT OR PROFIT: \$45,325

LOW-INCOME RESIDENT PAYS MAXIMUM

RENT OF 25% OF THEIR INCOME.

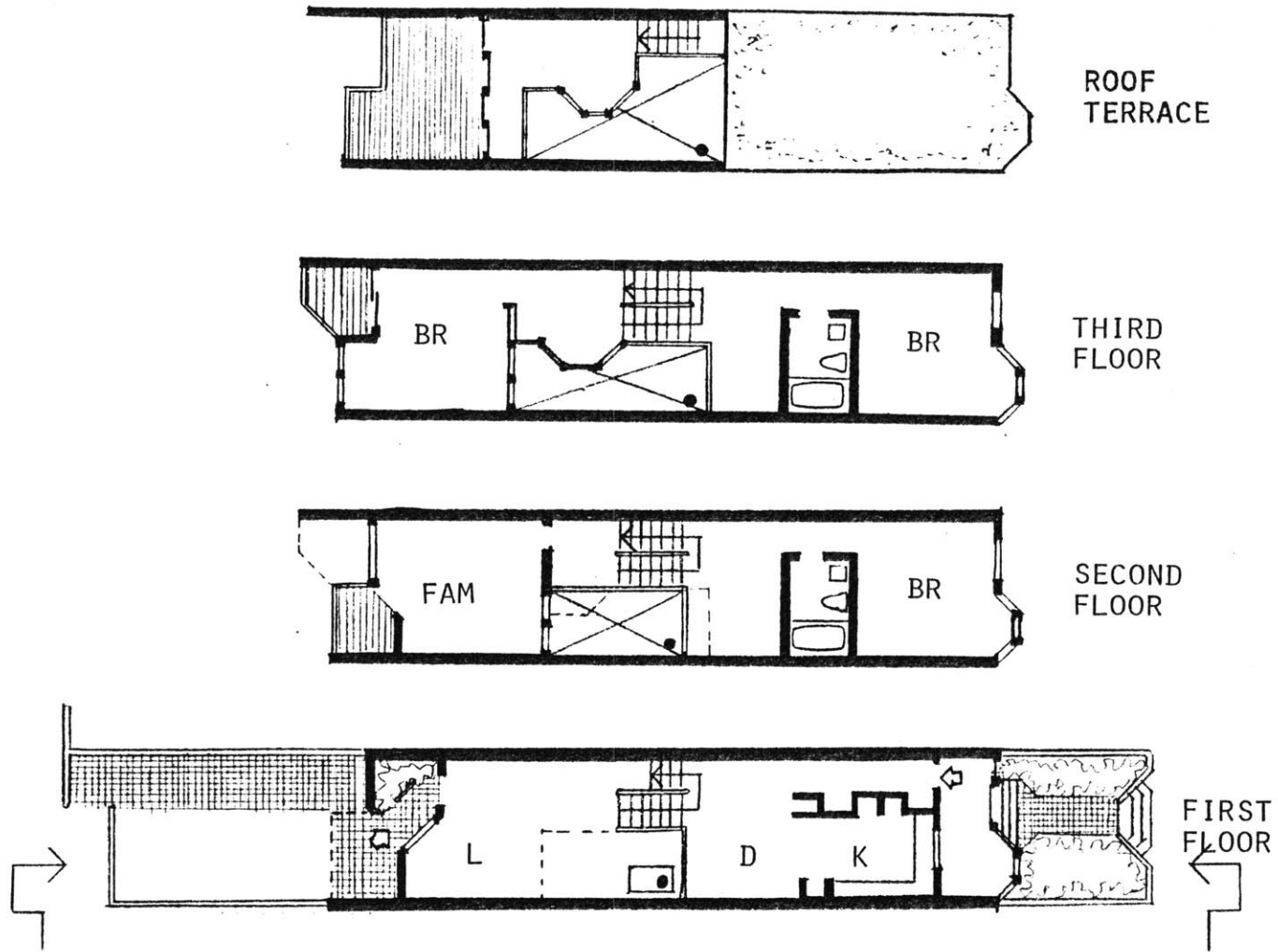
FEDERAL RENTAL ASSISTANCE SUPPORTS

FAIR MARKET RENT UP TO \$483/MONTH



# 3 BEDROOMS ON 3 FLOORS

2 BATHS

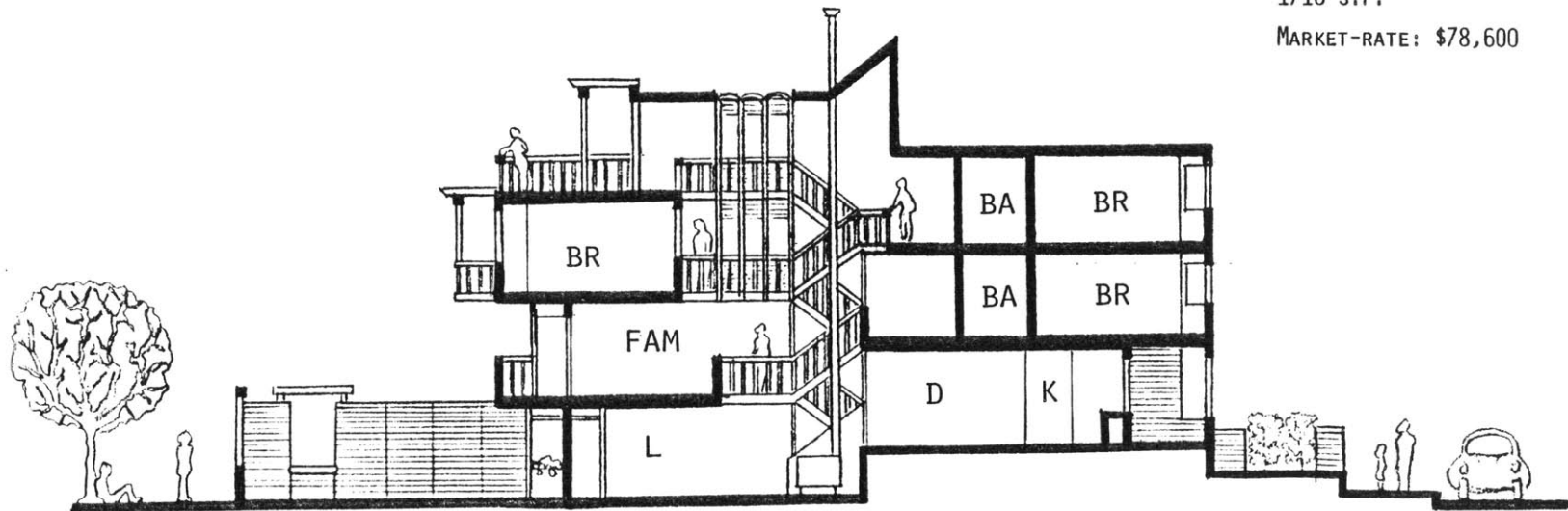


PARK-SIDE

STREET-SIDE

# 3 BEDROOMS ON 3 FLOORS

2 BATHS



1710 S.F.

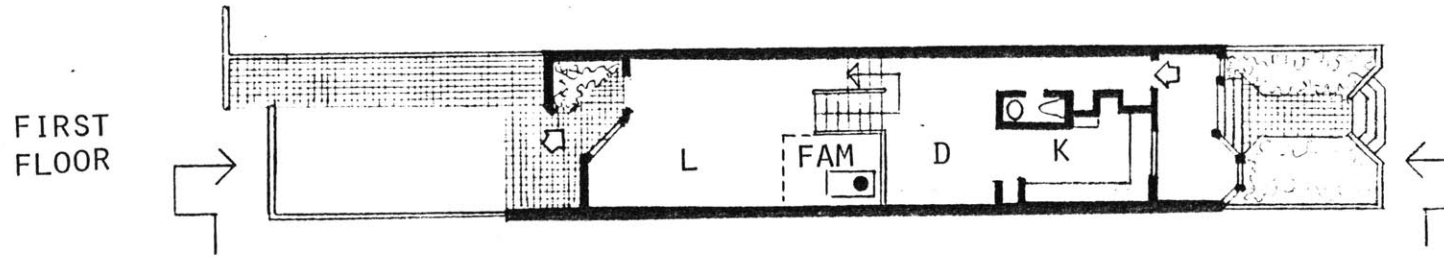
MARKET-RATE: \$78,600

140 PARK-SIDE

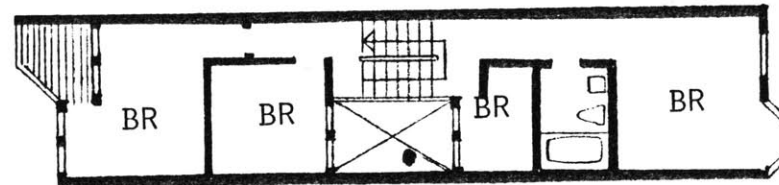
STREET-SIDE

# 4 BEDROOMS ON 2 FLOORS

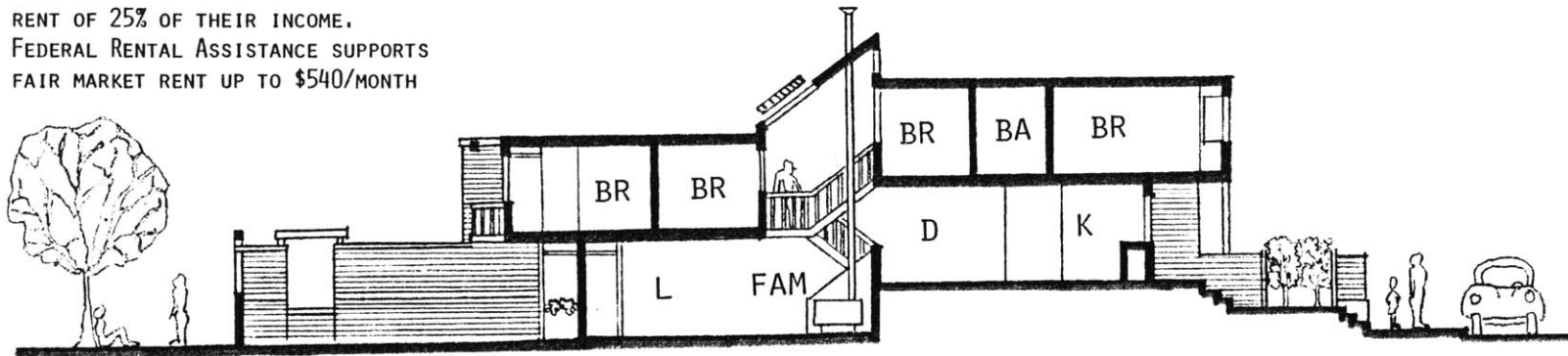
1 1/2 BATHS



1180 s.f.  
MARKET-RATE: \$52,000



FEDERALLY-INSURED  
NON-PROFIT, COOPERATIVE  
OR PROFIT: \$45,500  
LOW-INCOME RESIDENT PAYS MAXIMUM  
RENT OF 25% OF THEIR INCOME.  
FEDERAL RENTAL ASSISTANCE SUPPORTS  
FAIR MARKET RENT UP TO \$540/MONTH

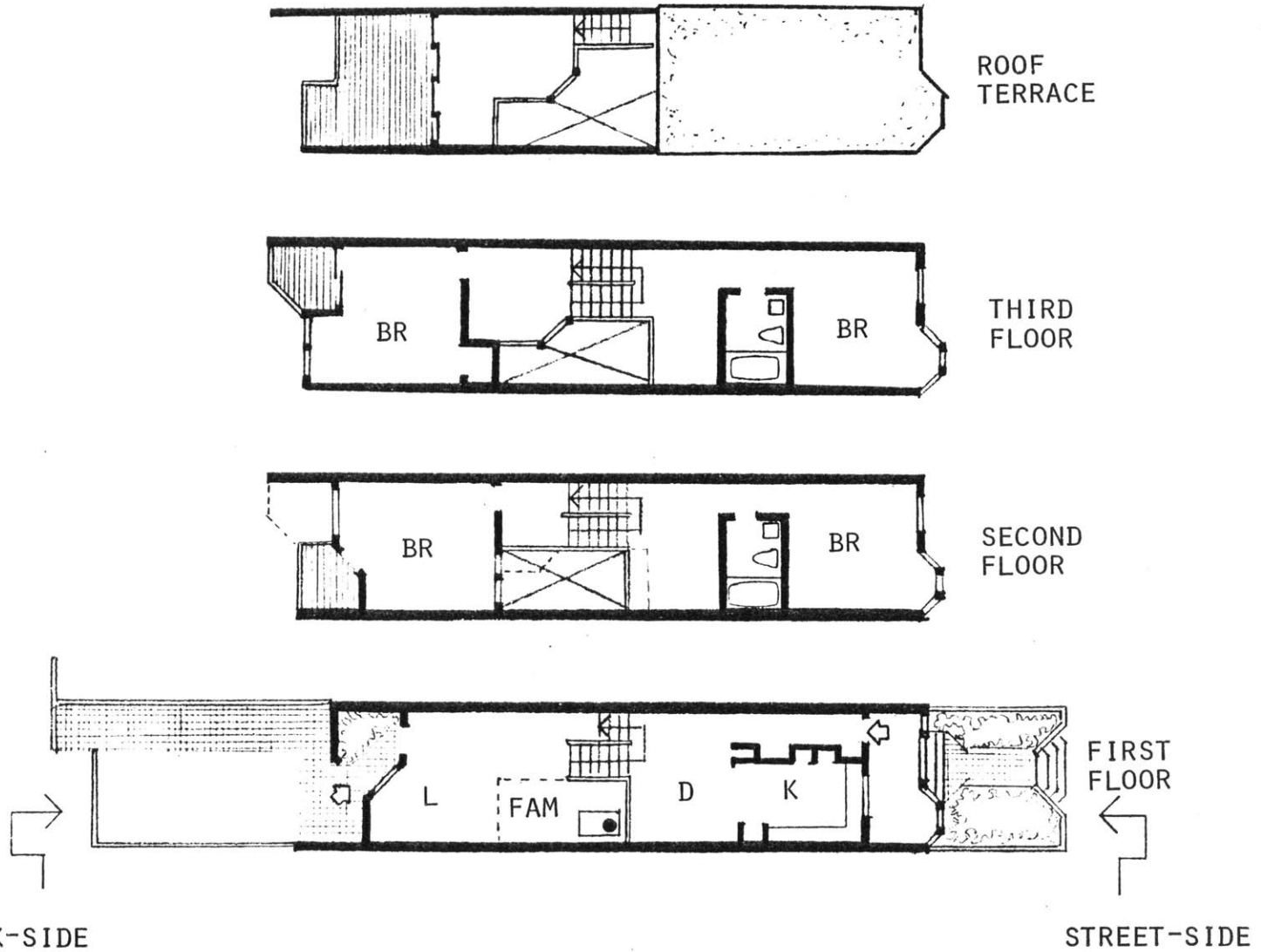


PARK-SIDE

STREET-SIDE

# 4 BEDROOMS ON 3 FLOORS

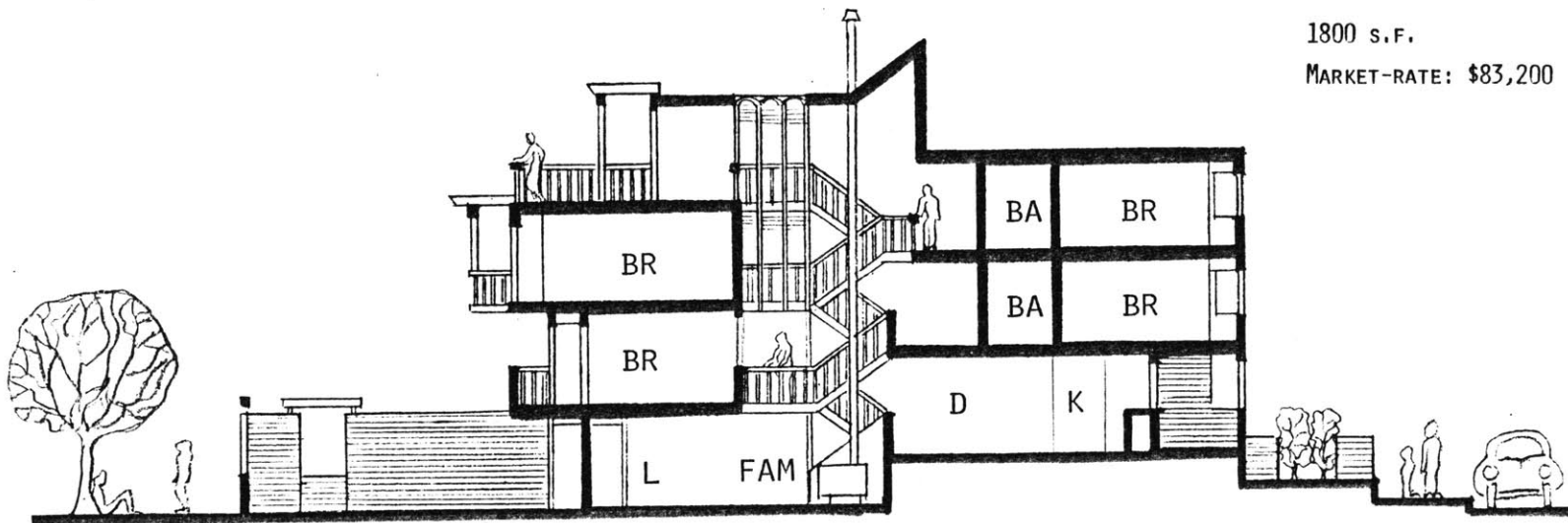
2 BATHS





# 4 BEDROOMS ON 3 FLOORS

2 BATHS



1800 s.f.

MARKET-RATE: \$83,200

PARK-SIDE

STREET-SIDE 143

**Conclusion:**

**THE MYTH OF  
THE PHOENIX  
AND THE  
REALITY OF A  
NEIGHBORHOOD**



In Egyptian mythology, the Phoenix was a mysterious bird that lived for five hundred years and then consumed itself by fire only to rise renewed in youthful freshness from its own ashes. That same kind of miraculous transformation can take place in the Phoenix Hill neighborhood. Quite like the mythical bird, Phoenix Hill's future must be related to its unique past as well as present day realities: the renewal of the neighborhood must be carefully and sensitively tailored to the existing and historic physical and social context. Only then can the restructured Phoenix Hill become a "paragon of unsurpassed excellence and beauty"<sup>13</sup> like its feathered namesake.

## NOTES ON THE CHAPTERS

### Chapter 1: The Destructure-Restructure Concept

1. See, for example, his ideas on this in Lotus 18...

The concept was also lucidly explained at the 1978 Residential Course of the International Laboratory for Architecture and Urban Design in Urbino, Italy.

2. Documentation on the School of Education is reprinted from Architectural Record.
3. Giancarlo de Carlo, "The Reconciliation of Architectural and Political Contexts," Architecture Au'jourd'hui: Team 10 & 20, January - February 1975, page 33.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. More information on Villa Victoria can be found in Architectural Record, February 1978, page 88.
7. When the residents did talk to the architect about their ideas about the way they wanted to live, the institutional context put up the barrier to its realization: the architect John Sharatt faithfully represented the community's need for large units with many bedrooms in order to accommodate the traditional Puerto Rican extended family, but the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development refused. The bureaucratic institution, in its concern for its financial investment of providing mortgage insurance and rent subsidies, proved insensitive to the community's desired way of life.

## Chapter 2: Reading the Context

1. The terminology and methodology of reading environments has been developed by the faculty and students of the International Laboratory for Architecture and Urban Design in Urbino, Italy under the directorship of Giancarlo de Carlo since 1976. Methodologically, it is not unlike the examinations of material culture offered by Siegfried Giedion in Mechanization Takes Command or perhaps more precisely, Lenis Mumford's The City in History.
2. Frederick Jackson Turner powerfully argued the thesis of the frontier as the driving force behind American history in his book The Frontier in American History, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, New York, 1962.
3. John W. Reps, The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1965, page 216.
4. Ibid.
5. Francis Baily, Journal of a Tour in Unsettled Parts of North America in 1796 and 1797, London, 1856, page 121; as quoted in John W. Reps, Cities of the American West: A History of Frontier Urban Planning, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1979, page 17.
6. Ruben T. Durrett, The Centenary of Louisville, Filson Club Publication Number 8, Louisville, 1893, page 34n; as quoted in Reps, 1965, op. cit., page 212.
7. This was a mere illusion of egalitarianism as there was not a strict democratic distribution of real estate: General Clark and his officers were given 150,000 acres altogether for their military feat of capturing the Northwest Territory from the British. In effect, this enforced a two-class society not unlike that of colonial Virginia: there were landed gentry with large plantations and other speculative land holdings and there were small farmers who owned enough land on which to produce a living, but would rarely earn enough to buy more land or profit from speculation. However, one must also recognize that Clark's payment of land to common soldiers was a relatively

easy way for a propertyless person to establish himself as a small farmer. Louisville's land resolution gave Clark's men the land they truly wanted, but it also kept them from ever achieving the same social or economic status as the gentry. The gentleman's plantation also implied a labor hierarchy, inevitably requiring sharecroppers or slaves to work the land; by contrast, the small farmer owned just enough land that the entire family could work.

8. Reps, 1965, op. cit., page 214.
9. Reps, 1979, op. cit., page 17.
10. Reps, 1965, op. cit., page 361.
11. Ibid., page 214.
12. Rear service alleys generally run north-south in these blocks, but sometimes the blocks were subdivided by an east-west thoroughfare such as Magazine Street. Nevertheless, the long length of these blocks (Chestnut to Prather is over two and one-half times the length of one of Clark's original blocks!) continues to present a planning problem for center city access from the east and west even today. See, for example, the 1979 Louisville Central Area Broadway Plan by Zucchelli and Hunter Associates.
13. William Morris, ed., The American Herigage Dictionary of the English Language, Houghton-Mifflin Company, Boston, 1978, page 985.
14. Carl Kramer, Louisville Survey Central and South Report, City of Louisville Community Development. Cabinet, Historic Landmarks and Preservation Districts Commission, May 1978, page 60.
15. "How They Spend Sunday," The Courier-Journal, April 8, 1888 as quoted in Old Louisville: The Victorian Era by Samuel W. Thomas and William Morgan, Data Corner, Inc., Louisville, 1975, page 120.
16. Ibid., pages 120-122.
17. Ibid., page 120.

18. Kramer, op. cit., page 61.
19. Ibid., page 60.
20. "The Exposition of '87," The Courier-Journal, March 19, 1887, as quoted in Thomas and Morgan, op. cit., page 112.
21. Harper's Weekly, April 5, 1890, as quoted in Thomas, op. cit., page 42.
22. Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Volume 77, 1888, as quoted in Thomas, op. cit., page 42.
23. The Courier-Journal, August 2, 1883, as quoted in Thomas and Morgan, op. cit., page 26.
24. Ibid.
25. Thomas and Morgan, op. cit., page 30.
26. Ibid., page 16.
27. "First in the Hearts of Her Citizens--Louisville's Homes," The Louisville Times, December 31, 1909, as quoted in Thomas and Morgan, op. cit., page 149.
28. "Architecture," The Courier-Journal, March 19, 1887, as quoted in Thomas and Morgan, op. cit., pages 86-87.
29. Louisville Directory (1888), as quoted in Thomas and Morgan, op. cit., page 36.
30. Ibid.
31. Louisville Directory (1889), as quoted in Thomas and Morgan, op. cit., page 41.
- 148 32. Louisville Directory (1888), op. cit.

33. Grady Clay, Alleys: A Hidden Resource, G. Clay and Company, Louisville, 1978, page 11.
34. "A Home Paradise," The Courier-Journal, March 19, 1887, as quoted in Thomas and Morgan, op. cit., pages 103-104.
35. Louisville Board of Trade Journal, April 1917, as quoted in Samuel W. Thomas, Louisville Since the Twenties, Pinaire Lithographing Corporation, Louisville, 1978, page 236.
36. "First in the Hearts of Her Citizens--Louisville's Homes," The Louisville Times, op. cit.
37. Louisville Directory (1888), as quoted in Thomas and Morgan, op. cit., page 36.
38. Clay, op. cit., page 9.
39. Courier-Journal and Times Magazine, September 18, 1938, as quoted in Thomas, op. cit., page 140.
40. United States Housing Authority, Unit Plans: Suggestions for the Interior Arrangements of Low-Rent Dwellings, Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C., August 1983, page 1.
41. Ibid., page 4.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid., page 1.
44. Richard Wade, Courier-Journal and Louisville Times, March 31, 1940, as quoted in Thomas, op. cit., page 141.
45. Thomas, op. cit., page 147.
46. Ibid.
47. Marion Porter, Courier-Journal, July 29, 1945, as quoted in Thomas, op. cit., page 199.

48. Ibid.
49. Courier-Journal, October 6, 1949, as quoted in Thomas, op. cit., page 240.
50. Architect Brenton Darris, quoted in the Courier-Journal, December 28, 1948, as quoted in Thomas, op. cit., page 194.
51. Thomas, op. cit., page 171.
52. Thomas, op. cit., page 209.
53. Louisville Directory (1888), as quoted in Thomas and Morgan, op. cit., page 36.
54. These figures come from the Phoenix Hill Small Area Study undertaken by the Louisville and Jefferson County Planning Commission, November 17, 1977.
55. The Medical Center: Closeout Report on the East Downtown Urban Renewal Project, Urban Renewal and Community Development Agency, 1975.

### Chapter 3: The Urban Renewal Plan

1. Courier-Journal "Editorial," June 16, 1977, as quoted in Thomas, op. cit.
2. These demographic trends are taken from William Alonzo, "The Population Factor and Urban Structure," Working Paper Number 102, Center for Population Studies, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1977, and Dowell Myers, "Population Processes and Neighborhoods," Harvard-M.I.T. Joint Center for Urban Studies, February 1979.
3. Louisville magazine, August 1959, as quoted in Thomas, op. cit., page 59.



4. "HBAL Committee Meets with City to Discuss Redevelopment," Louisville Housing Industry Report, Volume 18, Number 5 (April 26, 1978), page 3.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., page 4.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., page 5.
11. Ibid., page 4.
12. Ibid.
13. Comment by Phoenix Hill businessman at Phoenix Hill Association meeting, April 16, 1980.
14. Larry Mead, "Phoenix Hill: Where Goes the Neighborhood?," Louisville Today, September 1979, page 33.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Small Area Study for Phoenix Hill - Phase II, Louisville and Jefferson County Planning Commission.
18. Louisville Housing Newsletter, op. cit.
19. Ibid.
20. Colloredo Associates, Inc., Feasibility Study and Comprehensive Strategy for Phoenix Hill, January 31, 1980.

21. Louisville Housing Newsletter, *op. cit.*
22. Coloredo Associates, Inc., "Basic Planning Rationale for Development of Land-Use Plan Concepts," April 24, 1979.
23. Mead, *op. cit.*, page 31.

#### Chapter 4: Restructuring the Urban Neighborhood

1. This is part of the Coloredo Associates' planning guidelines developed with the Phoenix Hill Association and Task Force.
2. These are part of the requirements for eligibility as an Urban Renewal Area under Kentucky Revised Statute 99.
3. Mary E. Osman, "Savannah's Victorian District: Attempting Restoration Without Wholesale Dislocation," *AIA Journal*, Volume 67, Number 2 (February 1978), page 53.
4. Ibid.
5. Citizens' Housing and Planning Association, Inc., Planning for the Future of HUD-Owned Housing: A Resident's Guide, May 1980, page 44.
6. Ibid., page 43.
7. "In Minneapolis, Three Acres Accommodates Eighty-Nine Houses," *Architectural Record*, March 1980, pages 110-111.
8. Ed Marchant, Greater Boston Community Development, personal communication and "First Lynn: Private Housing Replaces Public," Boston Herald-American, June 11, 1978.
9. These were provided by the Multi-Family Housing Development section of the HUD Area Office, Louisville, Kentucky.
10. Programs of HUD, United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, page 33.

11. These and subsequent figures were provided by the Multi-Family Housing Development section of the HUD Area Office, Louisville, Kentucky.
12. Building Costs: The July-September 1979 edition of the Dodge Building Cost Calculator and Valuation Guide (McGraw-Hill Information Systems Company, New York) presents figures of \$23.59, \$27.78, and \$34.70 per square foot for low, average and high costs respectively for multi-story houses based upon a twenty-city average.

To find the low, average and high costs for Louisville specifically, these figures are multiplied by an inflation multiplier and a factor to represent that Louisville's construction costs are eighty-five percent of those of New York City's:

$$\begin{array}{r}
 \$23.59 \text{ low} \\
 27.78 \text{ average} \\
 34.70 \text{ high}
 \end{array}
 \times 1.2 \text{ inflation multiplier}
 \times 85\% \text{ of NYC cost}$$

However, these figures would represent construction costs current up to September 1979 only. Let us assume twenty-percent inflation from September 1979 to September 1980. Let us project into the future to estimate ten-percent inflation of building costs in the six months from September 1980 through March 1981 with construction to be underway by that time. Thus the inflation multiplier should be changed to 1.5 (1.2 + .2 + .1) to yield current cost estimates.

$$\begin{array}{r}
 \$23.59 \text{ low} \\
 27.78 \text{ average} \\
 34.70 \text{ high}
 \end{array}
 \times 1.5 \text{ inflation multiplier}
 \times 85\% \text{ of NYC cost}$$

Equals final cost estimates of \$30.08, \$35.42, and \$44.24 per square foot for low, average and high multi-story housing costs for Louisville, Kentucky.

This study assumes costs per square foot of \$35.00 for new subsidized housing and \$40.00 for market-rate housing--well within the range of Dodge estimates. This also reflects the cost differences in finish materials between market-rate and subsidized units.

13. Land Costs: The Colloredo Associates Feasibility Study and Comprehensive Strategy for Phoenix Hill of January 31, 1980 mentioned that the City of Louisville could pay part of the redevelopment costs of Phoenix Hill through the sale of development property acquired under the Urban Renewal effort. This recapture value of land was estimated by Harry Lewman and Company, Realtors and Appraisers, at \$.50 to \$1.50 per square foot for single-family residential land uses. For the purposes of this study, let us assume an average of \$1.00 per square foot of land utilized in the development of the target block.

There are two different assumptions one can make about how much of the blocks land will actually be sold to private developers. One is that the entire block will be sold off: its approximate 179,975 square feet will mean average land costs of \$2,117 for each of the eighty-five units developed on the block. The money the City recaptures would help pay for public site improvements on the block.

The alternative is that the City retains formal ownership of the interior park commons (through arrangements for its day-to-day use may remain under the control of the Block Association). The block's developers would then pay for an area approximating the zone of build (the square footage area in plan of the maximum building envelope): this would be about 115,700 square feet which would add an average of \$1,316 to each of the eighty-five units. Further study is required to provide a full cash flow statement with discounted rate of return.

14. Webster's New International Dictionary, op. cit.



