

Suburbanization Historic Context Addendum (1961–1980), Montgomery and Prince George's Counties, Maryland

Prepared by



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May 2019

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A. INTRODUCTION

A.1. Purpose and Background

This document serves as an addendum to the *Suburbanization Historic Context and Survey Methodology, I-495/I-95 Capital Beltway Corridor Transportation Study (Volumes I and II)* (referred to as Suburbanization Historic Context in this document) written by KCI Technologies, Inc., in November 1999, prepared at the request of the Maryland Department of Transportation State Highway Administration (MDOT SHA). The 1999 context described suburban development between 1815 and 1960. This addendum, which addresses suburbanization between 1961 and 1980, was prepared by MDOT SHA, Dovetail Cultural Resource Group (Dovetail), and RK&K as part of the I-495/I-270 Managed Lanes Study (MLS) for the Federal Highway Administration (FHWA) and MDOT SHA. Therefore, the addendum focuses on suburban development in Montgomery and Prince George's counties.

The period of study, from 1961 to 1980, is referred to throughout this document as the Suburban Diversification Period. The purpose of the addendum is to aid in the identification and evaluation of architectural resources constructed during this period within the framework of the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). This addendum traces the evolution of suburbanization after 1960, the events and trends that shaped this period of development, and the architectural patterns that illustrate the suburban movement. It also includes physical descriptions of development and building types that emerged during this period, identifying character-defining elements and providing guidelines for evaluating their NRHP eligibility and integrity.

Like the 1999 Suburbanization Historic Context, this addendum will be a tool for environmental compliance projects in the future and for evaluating resources built during this period. It is expected that this document also will serve as an asset in the preparation of future compliance reports for other agencies, NRHP nominations, and various research projects related to the growth and development of suburban properties across the state.¹

This document was designed in keeping with the Suburbanization Historic Context's general organization of the 1999 context and builds upon its previously defined trends and property types. Most importantly, the goal was to provide a compendium document that includes research completed on suburbs since the completion of the 1999 document and to use these theoretical approaches to inform the study of suburbanization in Maryland from 1961 to 1980.

A.2. Suburbanization Studies, 1999–Present

Research included review of various publications covering national, state, and local suburban development between 1961 and 1980, as well as primary sources and archival documents pertaining to the evolution of suburban areas in the Washington, DC, region and beyond. General observations

¹ MDOT SHA 2018

and definitions from the most relevant sources are presented in the following section to provide perspective on the ways in which writers have approached the complexity of the suburban landscape.

A.2.1. National Perspective

In 2002, representatives of the U.S. Department of the Interior and the National Park Service (NPS), including Linda McClelland, collaborated with David L. Ames to produce a NRHP bulletin entitled, *Historic Residential Suburbs, Guidelines for Evaluation and Documentation for the National Register of Historic Places*. This document provides federal NRHP guidance on “historic residential suburbs,” detailing historic trends and important themes that influenced suburban development in America as well as the physical evolution of this resource type in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.² The bulletin was augmented by a Multiple Property Documentation (MPD) form entitled, *Historic Residential Suburbs in the United States from 1830 to 1960*, which created a thematic framework for such resources to be nominated for, and listed in, the NRHP.³ Together, these two documents specifically address the potential for residential suburbs to be eligible for the NRHP. Particular attention in these publications was paid to NRHP eligibility Criteria A (association with events contributing to the broad patterns of history) and C (embodying distinct design and construction qualities) with an emphasis on examining postwar residential groupings or historic districts, though it was noted that some individual properties with special justification for historic significance could qualify for individual listing under Criteria A, B, or C. Discussion of Criterion B (association with a notable individual) also was generally limited in the document, emphasizing the importance of property-specific research to render an evaluation under this category. Except for parks, Criterion D (associated with properties that have or may yield information important to history or prehistory) was not included in the NPS study as it, in general, does not apply to resources discussed.

In 2012, the Transportation Research Board (TRB) of the National Academies funded a study entitled *A Model for Identifying and Evaluating the Historic Significance of Post-World War II Housing* (National Cooperative Highway Research Program [NCHRP] Report 723), which closely analyzed the NRHP guidance in the Historic Residential Suburbs NRHP bulletin.⁴ The NCHRP report put forth a process to enable the efficient identification and NRHP evaluation of postwar housing, describing methods for researching, surveying, and analyzing the single-family dwelling.⁵ The report also contained a national historic context for postwar development from 1946 to 1975, a sizable bibliography, an example outline for a local or regional historic context, and a field test of their model effort in three distinct geographic locations.⁶

A.2.2. State Perspective

Several states have studied postwar architectural resources within the NRHP framework in greater depth in recent decades; these types of resources present a challenge because of the sheer size and

² Ames and McClelland 2002

³ Ames and McClelland 2004

⁴ Pettis et al. 2012

⁵ Pettis et al. 2012, 2

⁶ Pettis et al. 2012, 1

scale of suburban development. Most of these studies have focused on common types of single-family dwellings, but a few have included specific non-residential suburban property types.

Two such studies produced for the Georgia and Pennsylvania State Historic Preservation Offices (SHPO) inform evaluation of such properties within the state of Maryland. Georgia's efforts included a thorough examination of Ranch house types, located primarily around Atlanta. This study identified 15 models differing in form and style.⁷ Pennsylvania's SHPO developed a historic context for postwar subdivisions built between 1945 and 1965. This context identified three types of residential suburbs: single-family dwelling subdivisions, multi-family dwelling subdivisions, and multi-family rental dwelling subdivisions. The Pennsylvania context also includes information on religious architecture, schools, and shopping centers as potential resources within these developments.⁸

Within Maryland, Gournay and Corbin Sies produced a context essay entitled "The Modern Movement in Maryland," on behalf of the Maryland Historical Trust (MHT), the Maryland SHPO.⁹ This essay was the first of a three-part project examining the architectural legacy of the Modern era from 1930 to 1972, and identified significant themes, persons, architectural trends, and architects that shaped the state. Many of the state's cultural trends identified in Gournay and Corbin Sies' essay build upon historian George H. Callcott's book, *Maryland & America: 1940 to 1980*, published in 1985. Other important works relevant to the postwar landscape of Montgomery and Prince George's counties include Clare Lise Kelly's 2015 book, *Montgomery Modern*, as well as the Maryland National Capital Park and Planning Commission's (M-NCPPC) *Prince George's Modern: Midcentury Architecture 1941–1978*.

A.2.3. Defining the Period

The title for the period between 1961 and 1980, Suburban Diversification, is based upon the ways in which the suburban landscape became diversified in the decades after the peak of the baby boom. Between 1961 and 1980, several overarching patterns emerged in the growth of suburban development, many of which were an extension of trends established in the early twentieth century. The most notable of these trends was the dispersion and decentralization of urban forms and activities. Beginning with Americans' embrace of the automobile in the 1910s and 1920s, unchecked suburban growth trended towards a pattern known as dispersion. Residential developments and enterprising commercial businesses followed transportation routes out of the city centers, creating a strong correlation between automobile use and suburban sprawl that contrasted sharply with traditionally compact urban centers. This pattern was enhanced by the construction and expansion of highways in the Modern Period (1930–1960), further encouraging the dispersion of suburban growth and drawing many of the traditional urban activities out from the city centers.

In the 1960s and 1970s, the suburban landscape matured and diversified to include a wide array of land uses, building types, services, and people of all incomes and backgrounds. Federal, state, and local governments took greater roles in controlling development to improve the quality of life for their

⁷ The 15 types of Ranch houses in Georgia are were defined as compact, linear, linear with clusters, courtyard, half-courtyard, bungalow ranch, rambling ranch, alphabet ranch, contemporary, Wright-influenced, Eichleresque, colonial revival, plain (no style), rustic (western), and Spanish colonial. Cloues 2011

⁸ Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission (PHMC) 2015

⁹ Gournay and Corbin Sies 2002

constituencies, particularly addressing environmental, social, and economic problems resulting from decades of unchecked growth. As a result, a greater diversity of activities, people, and places materialized throughout the suburbs.

A.3 Methodology

Based on recent theoretical approaches to suburbanization, and an evaluation of the 1999 Suburbanization Historic Context and its widespread use, this addendum combines several methods for the post-1960 context. Research on suburbanization trends in Maryland was conducted at numerous repositories including the Montgomery and Prince George's county planning office, various regional and university-based libraries, the Library of Congress, the archives of *The Washington Post*, the Urban Land Institute (ULI) archives, and the Maryland Historical Society.

In addition to consulting these resources, MDOT SHA consultants analyzed publicly accessible Geographic Information System (GIS) data in the state of Maryland, using the State Department of Assessment and Taxation (SDAT) data, filtering parcel data by construction date and zoning classifications. Local planning offices and GIS staff in Montgomery and Prince George's counties were contacted to obtain the shapefiles and identifying data from all properties constructed between 1961 and 1980. It should be noted that in many cases, when the GIS data provided a "build date" for a property, the construction year was an estimate and not always accurate. In a more detailed study of any architectural resource, archival data should be gathered to verify its date of construction through the examination of local deed and tax records, and other relevant primary sources.

Research was followed by a field study to identify samples of building styles, forms, and types discussed in this addendum. During the fieldwork, architectural historians examined the plans, materials, and attributes of a multitude of resources, documenting each through written notes, digital photographs, and mapping. In some instances, individuals with knowledge of building design and construction were briefly interviewed to clarify details such as construction dates and building evolution. The data derived from the fieldwork was then filtered through the research themes, as well as a brief contextual comparison with similar resources in adjacent states.

B. HISTORY OF SUBURBANIZATION 1961–1980

This section will introduce and discuss the most significant trends that affected suburban development between 1961 and 1980 across the country, in the state of Maryland, and in Montgomery and Prince George’s counties specifically. Five notable trends are explored at the national and state/county level: expanded transportation networks, changing demographics, expansion of the federal government, the environmental and preservation movement, and local and regional planning. These trends set the stage for an evaluation of the physical development of communities, neighborhoods, districts, and individual buildings in the Maryland/DC suburbs in subsequent sections.

B.1. Suburban Development in Montgomery and Prince George’s Counties

Suburban development patterns established in the Modern Period (1930–1960) fundamentally altered the ways in which many Americans lived, worked, and traveled. “The owner-occupied single-family home, surrounded by a yard, and set in a neighborhood outside the urban core came to define everyday experience for most American households [...] In short, suburbia was a key setting for postwar American life.”¹⁰ Similar trends that led to an increase in suburbanization in the Modern Period continued over the following 20 years. Referred to here as the Suburbanization Diversification Period and spanning from 1961 through 1980, this two-decade era was profoundly influenced by a myriad of social, economic, and physical trends.

In 1960, residential subdivisions dominated the suburban area around Washington, DC. Small single-family houses, composed of Two-Story Massed, Minimal Traditional, and the increasingly popular Ranch and Split-level forms, housed nuclear families. Separate garden apartment complexes provided affordable suburban living for those priced out of a single-family house. Nearby, residents could shop at large strip shopping centers, where downtown department stores had begun opening their first suburban branch stores. Traffic concentrated on local roads as men commuted to work downtown, leaving their wives at home with the children. These communities were largely white and middle to upper class, as exclusionary housing laws prevented African Americans from entering the suburban housing market or isolated them in segregated communities. Although schools, parks, and other services were available, suburbanites still relied on downtown for many of their needs.

By 1980, the suburban landscape was dramatically transformed. Large, two-story, single-family houses were predominant, and a diversity of housing types had entered the suburbs, as townhouses and high-rise apartment buildings increased suburban density. The Capital Beltway encircled all of Washington, DC, driving expansive new growth beyond the previous urban boundary. Office and industrial parks appeared in the suburbs, as government and private businesses followed workers out of the city, taking advantage of new transportation networks. Enclosed shopping malls dotted the landscape, dwarfing the strip malls of two decades prior. Women, minorities, and the elderly held increasing sway over the suburban environment, which was accessible to a greater diversity of people. What led to these changes, and how did these events influence development in the Maryland suburbs?

Although growth driven by the baby boom began to slowly taper off after peaking in 1957, the number of residents in Maryland continued to expand into the 1960s and 1970s. Maryland’s population doubled

¹⁰ Nicolaidis and Wiese 2017, electronic document

between 1951 and 1961, and it doubled again from 1961 to 1981. Not only did the general quantity of individuals living in the state increase, but physical settlement and development patterns changed. By 1970, more residents lived in the suburbs (37.6 percent) than central cities (31.4 percent) or rural areas (31.0 percent).¹¹ The majority of the population growth occurred in the two counties surrounding Washington, DC—Montgomery and Prince George’s (Figure 1).

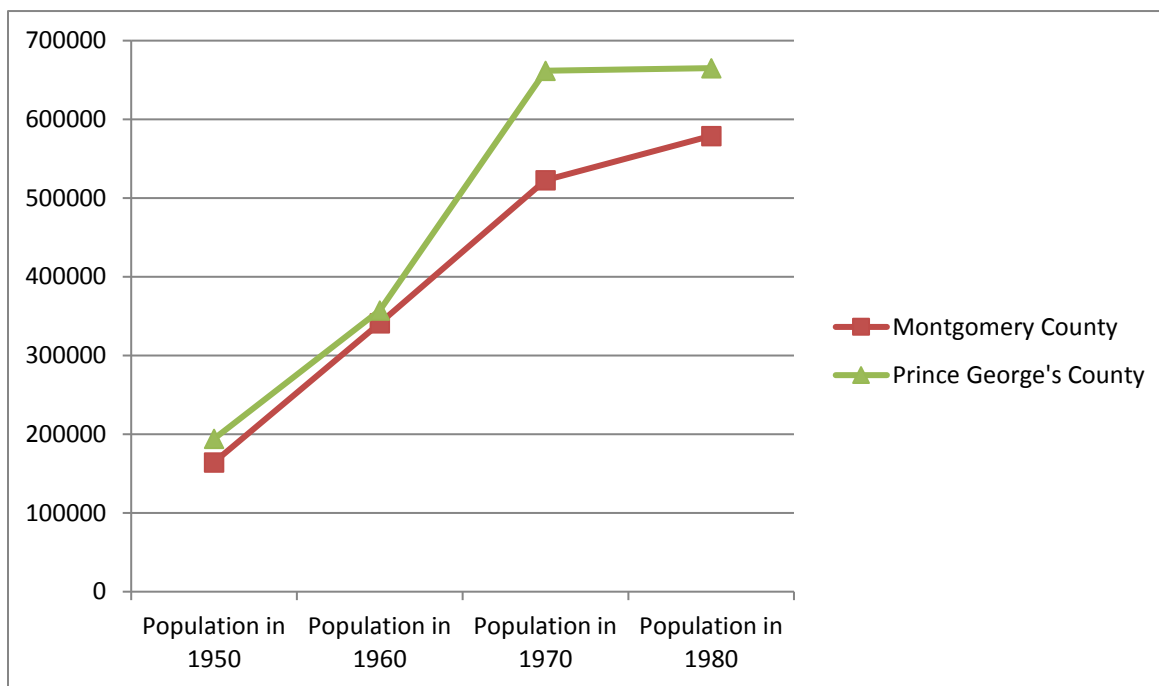


Figure 1: Montgomery and Prince George’s Counties’ population, 1950–1980.

Montgomery County’s population increased from 340,928 in 1960 to 579,053 in 1980, a jump of 70 percent. Prince George’s population expanded even more, from a population of 357,395 to 665,071 during the same period—an increase of 86 percent. To place this information within statewide population data, these two counties comprised 22 percent of the overall state population in 1960 with an increase to over 30 percent by 1980; almost one third of all state residents lived in the Washington, DC, suburbs at this time.

The rise in population and expansion of businesses rendered incredible physical changes throughout both counties. The built landscape grew exponentially, including new residences, community buildings, commercial structures, and more. Residential building development, in particular, reflected not only a move to the suburbs but also a distinct change in household ideology as more and more people elected to live outside of a family or group home environment. According to the U.S. census, the average number of persons per household decreased from four in 1930 to 3.3 in 1960 to only 2.8 in 1980.¹² This shift was reflected in the need for more residential units and an increase in multi-family dwellings. By 1970,

¹¹ Pettis et al. 2012, 59

¹² Sumichrast and Willman 1971a, C1

apartment buildings comprised 33 percent of suburban housing in Maryland, and this boom continued into the 1980s.¹³

Driven by economic forces, the average price of new houses in the Washington, DC, suburbs grew from \$11,800 in 1957 to \$34,000 in 1965.¹⁴ The rise in the median sale price of homes grew 102 percent between 1950 and 1970 in both Montgomery and Prince George's counties (valued in 1970 at \$32,700 and \$23,700, respectively).¹⁵ These values, however, rose even more during the rapid inflation of the 1970s, with the average house in Montgomery County selling for more than \$70,000 in 1978.¹⁶ This upward growth of housing costs in the area can be partially attributed to the larger size of new homes, as the median living space of homes within the Washington metropolitan area increased from 1,700 square feet in 1960 to 3,280 square feet in 1970.¹⁷

In 1968, Montgomery County became a County Executive-Council government form, with an elected council representing seven districts and an elected county executive. The County government operating budget increased from \$66.2 million in 1970 to \$598.5 million in 1980, just 10 years later.¹⁸ Prince George's adopted the County Executive-Council government form in 1970, two years after Montgomery County; the county was divided into nine districts, each with their own elected official.¹⁹

Public and private development flocked to the Maryland/DC suburban area, changing the physical landscape. In Montgomery County alone, office building construction exploded. Between 1950 and 1959, 1.5 million square feet of office space was completed within the county; between 1960 and 1969, this number increased to 5.7 million square feet of newly built office space; and between 1970 and 1979, over 12.1 million square feet of office space was completed.²⁰ Commercial headquarters occupying new office space in the county included Lockheed Martin, Marriott International, and GEICO. Educational facilities, such as Montgomery College and Prince George's Community College, also opened new campuses in the suburbs.

Median household income increased from \$6,309 in 1959 to \$11,057 in 1969.²¹ Incomes in Maryland were roughly 10 percent above the national average during this period, with the highest increase seen in Montgomery and Prince George's counties. The increase in per capita income spurred new consumer spending patterns which led to an increase in commercial businesses. The success of James Rouse's 1958 Harundale Mall in Glen Burnie, the first enclosed shopping mall in the state, led to a rush of similar developments. "By the 1970s dozens of malls were competing in size and glitter, including Rouse's Columbia Mall (1972), which won architectural awards, and White Flint Mall, which opened outside of Washington in 1978 and featured several of the country's most expensive shops."²² Additional business growth came in the form of hotels, restaurants, bars, and other similar establishments. The increase in

¹³ Callcott 1985, 69; Pendall 2011

¹⁴ Callcott 1985, 64

¹⁵ Sumichrast and Willmann 1971b, E1

¹⁶ Hall 1978, E1

¹⁷ Sumichrast and Willmann 1971c, D1

¹⁸ Harrigan and von Hoffman 2002, 11

¹⁹ Prince George's County Council 2018

²⁰ Harrigan and von Hoffman 2002, 15

²¹ Callcott 1985, 177

²² Callcott 1985, 69

expendable household income, in part, brought about an increased demand for eateries. This was aided by a 1964 change in Montgomery County's liquor law that finally repealed prohibition-era limitations on liquor licenses.²³ Tourism, especially focused on the 1976 Bicentennial, further increased business along the area's numerous roadways.

All these physical changes left an indelible mark on the landscape of Montgomery and Prince George's counties between 1961 and 1980. What started as a cluster of small suburban enclaves in 1960 ended as robust, thriving communities. As discussed in the next section, the trends that created these changes were broad and nuanced.

B.2. Trends that Influenced Growth and Development

B.2.1. Expanded Transportation Networks

B.2.1.1. National Perspective

As the number of residences and jobs in the suburbs grew, so did traffic congestion along roads on the urban fringe, and "by 1980, most commuting was actually done among suburbs and not between suburbs and central cities."²⁴ In an effort to contain the ills of suburban sprawl, transportation planning evolved to include larger geographical regions and a wider array of land use plans, with changes rendered at both the federal and state/local levels.

Transportation modes and networks had the most direct impact on the growth and development patterns in suburbs across the country. The affordability of automobiles created congestion on the nation's existing road network and increased political pressure to improve conditions. Several transportation bills approved by Congress in the 1950s provided federal funding to offset the costs of new roads throughout the country.²⁵ Most notable of these acts was the Federal Highway Act of 1956, called "the greatest peacetime public works project in the history of the world."²⁶ This act, which funded 90 percent of construction costs, enabled an expansion of existing roads and the creation of a national highway system, including the development of over 41,000 miles of roadway across the nation.²⁷ These new roads fostered the growth of urban areas into the countryside. Highway interchanges became a critical element in the larger pattern of suburban development. "Interchange locations and access roads that paralleled the freeway lanes were carefully studied not only by transportation engineers but also by developers who often used these new roadway components as entrances to their housing projects or shopping centers."²⁸

By the 1960s, most localities with sizable populations were working with transportation officials to direct regional planning of roads, bridges, and other infrastructure. In 1966, the creation of federally mandated Metropolitan Planning Organizations (MPOs) in urbanized areas with more than 50,000 residents sought

²³ Kendrick 1964, B1

²⁴ Nelson and Dueker 1990, 97

²⁵ Pettis et al. 2012, 52

²⁶ Kay 1997, 231

²⁷ Harrigan and von Hoffman 2002, 7

²⁸ Pettis et al. 2012, 51

“to ensure that existing and future expenditure of federal funds for transportation projects and programs are based on a continuing, cooperative, and comprehensive planning process.”²⁹ In these MPOs, local elected officials, and government transportation employees developed long-term and short-term plans to account for the regional impacts of growth and development on its transportation network. Developers and real estate speculators often used these projections to guide their efforts, thereby institutionalizing many of the federal and state planning initiatives.

As a result of increased traffic congestion in the 1960s, legislators began to reconsider mass transit initiatives across America. In 1964, Congress passed the Urban Mass Transportation Act, enabling grants from the federal government “to cover a maximum of two-thirds the capital costs of equipment and facilities for transit systems.” The 1965 Highway Beautification Act also had a direct impact on suburban viewsheds, presenting strict standards for billboards, stand-alone signage, and other highway-related landscape elements. Over the next decade, Washington provided more than \$3 billion, which cities used to purchase new transportation right-of-way like rail corridors and county roads, improve existing infrastructure, and build new transportation routes.³⁰ The fuel crises of the 1970s encouraged further spending on mass transit.

B.2.1.2. Maryland and the DC Suburbs

Government-led transportation initiatives, both at the federal and state levels, encouraged suburban development in Maryland, particularly in the greater Baltimore and Washington, DC, regions and the corridor between these two urban centers. Although the federal government did not fully fund the interstate highway system until passing the Federal Highway Act in 1956, state agencies like the Maryland State Roads Commission (predecessor of the Maryland Department of Transportation State Highway Administration) made significant improvements to regional road networks during the first half of the twentieth century.

The planning and development of new highways proliferated in Maryland after World War II. Fifteen major highways were built in the state between 1952 and 1972.³¹ Many of these roadways were part of the new interstate highway system. The Baltimore Beltway (I-695)—the 51.5-mile long roadway that encircles downtown Baltimore—was the first beltway in the nation to be completed under the 1956 legislation.

Statewide, the Baltimore-Washington Parkway (MD 295) (completed in 1954) and John Hanson Highway (US 50) (completed in 1961) provided linear connectivity within suburban and urban areas of Maryland and reinforced continued development, while I-83, I-70, I-270, and I-95 extended the region’s road network further north, south, and west and into the neighboring states of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and West Virginia through the 1970s.³²

While these new highways improved transportation throughout the state, none spurred suburban development in Montgomery and Prince George’s counties more than the construction of I-495, known

²⁹ MDOT SHA n.d.

³⁰ Young 2015, electronic document

³¹ KCI 1999, B-20

³² Gournay and Corbin Sies 2002, 41

as the Capital Beltway. The Capital Beltway forms a loop around Washington, DC, designed to route traffic around the DC urban core. The Beltway traverses Montgomery and Prince George's counties in Maryland and Fairfax County and the City of Alexandria in Virginia, crossing the Potomac River on both the east and west sides of DC. Forty-two miles of this 64-mile long beltway are in Maryland. The route was first proposed in 1944, but plans were not finalized until 1952.³³ Construction of the Capital Beltway in Maryland began in 1955, with most of the work done in the late 1950s and early 1960s; it was mostly completed by 1964 (Figure 2).³⁴ The new road improved access to parts of Montgomery and Prince George's counties, increasing suburban development in the far corners of these localities and connecting to major roadways leading into Howard, Frederick, and Baltimore counties by the 1960s, with additional highways leading to Carroll and Charles counties by the 1980s.³⁵

While the new roadway was hailed for its traffic-calming effects in the region, it also had its downsides, like many new highways built in the middle of the twentieth century. Constructed before environmental and preservation laws were developed, these new highways "...inevitably displaced hundreds of households and [initially] caused property values to plummet."³⁶ In Prince George's County, the Capital Beltway traversed agricultural land and other undeveloped swaths with little removal of extant buildings. In Montgomery County, which had more development, the roadway displaced dozens of homes and businesses in its path.³⁷ In addition, the new highway cut through 2 miles of Rock Creek Park—a controversial decision but a better alternative than other routes which would have resulted in large-scale displacement.

The completion of the Capital Beltway had a profound effect on suburban development in Montgomery and Prince George's counties. Expanding transportation networks encouraged the decentralization of the city-based workplace and increased accessibility to jobs in both urban and suburban areas. With limited access and higher speed limits, these new roads shortened the travel time between commuters' homes, workplaces, and recreational facilities. It also opened new areas for the creation of all types of development, including residential properties, office space, community buildings, and most notably commercial venues who valued land near the highway for its easy accessibility and high visibility.³⁸ The beltway, once envisioned as a bypass for those traveling through DC, became the preferred route for locals commuting within the suburbs. As more businesses and employers located outside the city, the suburbs grew increasingly independent.

³³ McDevitt 1944, 1; McDade 1952, 17

³⁴ McDade 1952, 17

³⁵ KCI 1999

³⁶ Gournay and Corbin Sies 2002, 42

³⁷ Korr 2002

³⁸ Gournay and Corbin Sies 2002, 41–42

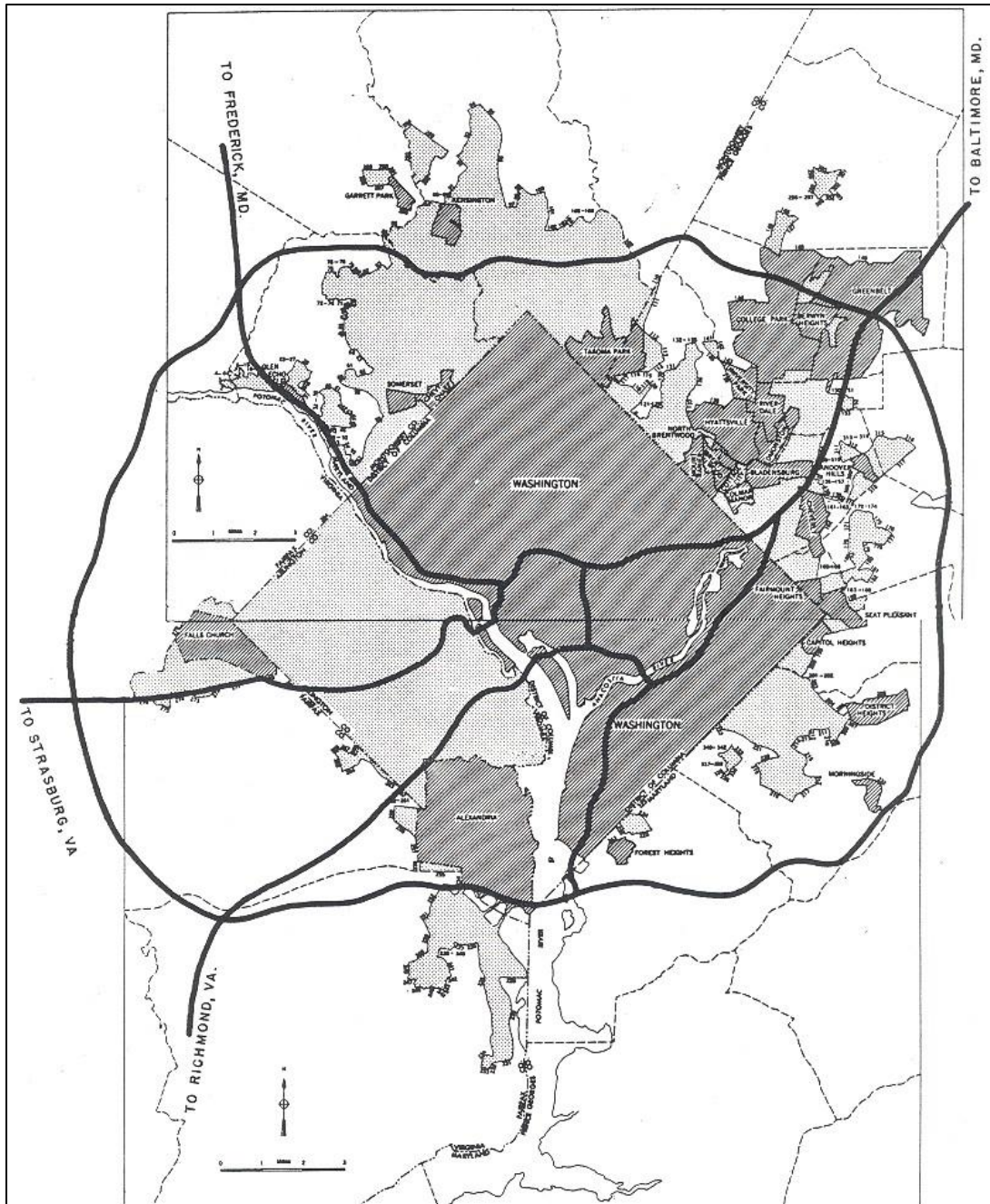


Figure 2: Washington, DC, as depicted in the 1955 “Yellow Book,” the preliminary planning guide for the national highway system.³⁹ The final design for the Capital Beltway closely mirrored this initial plan.

The expansion of the area’s transportation network did not just involve roads. In 1966, Congress created the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority (WMATA), commonly known as Metro, and tasked the agency with executing plans for a regional rail network consisting of both above-ground and subway systems, as well as maintaining a regional bus network. Plans for a modest regional rail system took shape

³⁹ Yellow Book 1955

in the mid-1960s; the new rapid rail-based transit system, called Metrorail, was to be constructed in phases with room for future expansion. While Metrorail design in Virginia was based on population centers and ease of access, Maryland planners took a different approach and sought to generally follow existing transportation corridors to maximize existing easements and avoid excessive demolition of buildings, such as the placement of the line along the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in Montgomery County.⁴⁰ This planning directly affected construction along the new Metrorail lines, as much of the corridor had previously been developed and was a nucleus of population growth due to the long-standing association with regional transportation. Opening in 1976 within DC and expanding to Silver Spring in Montgomery County and New Carrollton in Prince George's County in 1978, Metrorail ridership grew over the following decades to become an integral part of the DC area's transportation network.⁴¹ The Metrorail's arrival in suburban Maryland near the end of the 1970s meant it had little effect on suburban development during the Suburban Diversification Period. However, the system's expansion set the stage for new patterns of growth in the suburbs after 1980.

B.2.2. Changing Demographics

B.2.2.1. National Perspective

The suburbs transitioned between 1961 and 1980 from an economically and racially segregated, homogenous landscape to a more diverse cross-section of the country. Transformative events in the 1960s, particularly the accomplishments of the Civil Rights movement and the decline of inner cities, fundamentally reshaped the government's role in subsidizing suburban growth and development. Aided by an economic boom in the 1960s and the movement of manufacturing and service sector jobs to the suburbs, the suburban ideal became increasingly attainable to a broader population.⁴² The suburbs slowly shifted from being predominantly filled with young families to include more divorced and single adults, the elderly, blue- and white-collar workers, the poor, same-sex partners, and a greater number of racial and ethnic minorities.⁴³

Achieving the suburban demographic diversification of the 1960s and 1970s, though, was a slow process. Most development continued to be racially and economically segregated in the first half of the 1960s, especially within residential areas. Prior to 1950, Federal Housing Administration (FHA) policies required protective covenants, most notably racial and religious restrictions, to ensure the financial stability of projects backed by the federal government. Although the FHA formally denounced the practice of using restrictive covenants to discriminate in selling and renting houses in 1950, it was continued by real estate professionals for the next 18 years, prompting protests and public demonstrations at suburban sales offices into the 1960s.⁴⁴

The goal of the Civil Rights movement was to end legalized racial segregation and curtail racial discrimination in the United States. Marches, sit-ins, speeches, and other public events, including the 1960 Greensboro, North Carolina, Woolworth's sit-in, the 1962 Freedom Ride, and the 1963 March on

⁴⁰ Harrigan and von Hoffman 2002, 8

⁴¹ Washington Metropolitan Transit Authority n.d.

⁴² Short et al. 2007

⁴³ Nicolaides and Wiese 2017

⁴⁴ Pettis et al. 2012, 61

Washington raised awareness of social issues. While most protests were non-violent, riots and other physical disturbances also took place, primarily in the second half of the 1960s.⁴⁵ Collectively, these events brought about legislative action to address civil rights issues, culminating in the passing of the Civil Rights Act of 1968. This seminal act banned discriminatory housing practices associated with selling, renting, or financing based on race, national origin, and religion. It also stated that threats, discrimination, or intimidation based on race, color, religion, or national origin were a federal crime.⁴⁶ Practices that allowed real estate discrimination were outlawed nationally, thus opening the suburbs to all residents.

The composition of the suburbs changed as the baby boom subsided and an increasing number of American households reflected the growing divorce rate and evolving family dynamics. By 1980, women comprised 42.3 percent of the nation's workforce, and the average family size had decreased from its 1965 peak at 3.7 people to 3.29 people per nucleated family.⁴⁷ The number of school-age children in American households was at an all-time high in the mid-1960s following the postwar baby boom. Children of all ages attended school for a longer period, often from kindergarten through the 12th grade. Due in part to a greater cultural emphasis on education and the modernization of America's workforce, by 1970, enrollment rates at America's schools had reached roughly 90 percent (ages 5–17) in both the white and black populations.⁴⁸ Although the enrollment rate remained steady, student population totals declined from 45.5 million in 1970 to 41.6 million in 1980.⁴⁹

As communities dealt with baby boomer-related population increases, they faced an additional demographic challenge: an increase in retirees as the "Greatest Generation" aged. In the United States, the average life expectancy in 1961 was 69 years. By 1980, life expectancy reached 74 years.⁵⁰ In addition to living longer, a new trend in the Suburban Diversification Period was for retired individuals to live independently rather than cohabitating with family. This led to an increased need for smaller residences requiring less maintenance, as retirees sought to live close to relatives but not within the same household. For those who could not live independently, assisted living and nursing care facilities were available. These facilities offered inconsistent levels of care prior the 1960s, and the US Senate held a series of hearings between 1963 and 1974 to explore the problems facing the nation's health facilities for the aging.⁵¹ These hearings brought about nationwide reform and acceptance of nursing care facilities as an option for aging individuals, leading to an increase in construction.

B.2.2.2. Maryland and the DC Suburbs

In the 1960s, social upheaval in the state was similar to that across the country, initially focused on the Civil Rights movement and then the Vietnam conflict into the 1970s. From the mid-1950s until the late 1960s, increasing numbers of Marylanders fought to end segregation and discrimination against African Americans and other ethnic minorities; sit-ins and picketing protestors successfully pressured businesses to integrate their workforces as well as customer spaces.

⁴⁵ Haines 1995

⁴⁶ Haines 1995

⁴⁷ U.S. Census Bureau 2004; U.S. Department of Labor 2016

⁴⁸ U.S. Department of Education 1993, 6

⁴⁹ U.S. Department of Education 1993, 34

⁵⁰ The World Bank 2018

⁵¹ Vladeck 1980

In 1963, the state legislature passed Governor J. Millard Tawes' (1959–1967) open accommodations bill which outlawed segregation in restaurants, hotels, theaters, stores, beaches, and recreational facilities in 12 of the state's 24 counties; by March 1964, the law had been expanded to cover the entire state. Civil Rights protests and demonstrations turned violent in the mid-1960s, beginning in Maryland with the two-year military occupation of the small town of Cambridge in 1963 and ending after the Baltimore riots following the assassination of Martin Luther King in 1968.

As elsewhere across the country, Maryland's suburbs remained overwhelmingly populated by whites in the postwar years with most of the new inhabitants moving from Washington, DC, to the surrounding suburbs—residing in the counties and commuting into the city. Between 1950 and 1960, the white population of Washington, DC, dropped from 64.6 percent of overall residents to 45.2 percent. By 1970, this number decreased to 27.7 percent. In 1980, at the end of the Diversification Period and apex of the white flight movement, the white population of Washington, DC, hit an all-time low of 25.8 percent.⁵² The majority of the population did not leave the region but rather moved to the burgeoning suburbs in Maryland and Virginia, with the Maryland suburbs experiencing the greatest growth. Montgomery County's population increased from 340,928 in 1960 to 579,053 in 1980, and Prince George's population expanded from 357,395 to 665,071 during the same time frame. While the populations of the next most-populous locality, Baltimore County, also increased during this period, the scale was much less dramatic. Baltimore County's population of 492,428 in 1960 increased to 655,615 by 1980.

While the population of the DC suburbs exploded after World War II, the cadence of the movement was extremely different between white and black populations. Although the quantity of people employed in the city rose each year after World War II, white workers elected to move to the suburbs soon after the war while black residents maintained their urban presence for another two decades (Figure 3). It was not until the mid-1960s and 1970s that African Americans began the same urban exodus from the city center. Between 1970 and 1974, the overall population of African Americans in the Washington suburbs rose by 61 percent.

The migration of African American families to the suburbs in the late 1960s and especially the 1970s was, in large part, due to the elimination of segregation and deed restrictions by federal and local governments, most notably through the Civil Rights Act of 1968. In 1966, Montgomery County became the first county in Maryland to outlaw racial and religious discrimination in public places, a move that was two years ahead of the federal government.⁵³ This was followed by the County's 1967 Open Housing Law and 1968 Amendment to the Open Housing Law. These practices, when combined with the federal housing changes, made housing accessible throughout the county. No county-specific legislation was enacted in Prince George's County, although the County did comply with federal law such as the Civil Rights Act of 1968. It was not until 1973 that the county schools, among other facilities, officially began to desegregate. Students were bussed to other schools outside of their neighborhood in an attempt to integrate, creating an 8 percent increase in school bus usage in less than a month.⁵⁴

⁵² U.S. Census Bureau 1950–1980

⁵³ Consumer Health Foundation 2018a

⁵⁴ Charlton 1973, 13

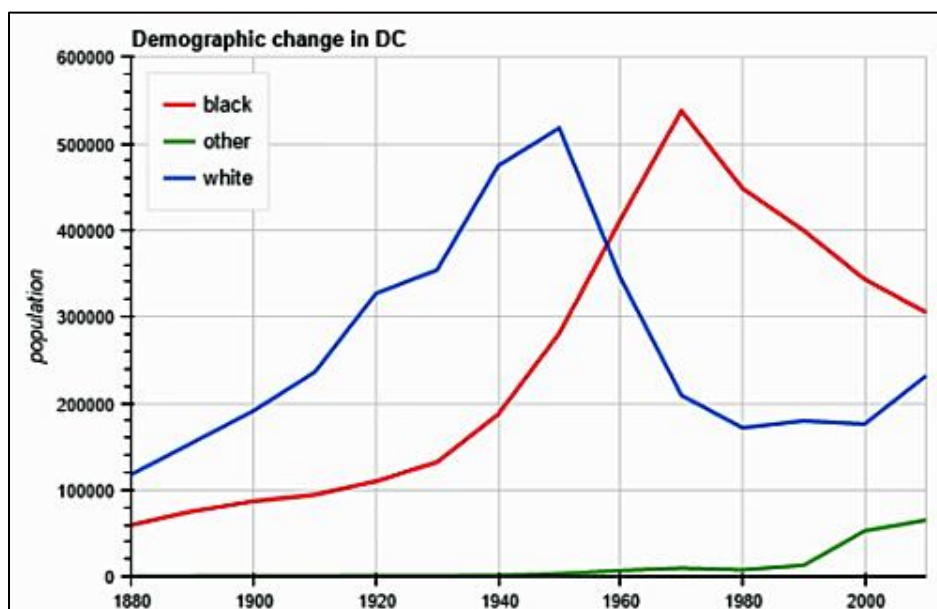


Figure 3: Changing population of Washington, DC, showing the peaks in white and black occupancy and the drop denoting the move to the suburbs. There is a 20-year lag between the two movements.⁵⁵

The flight to the suburbs rendered notable changes in overall county population ratios. In Montgomery County, the black population was 8,049 in 1960 (2.4 percent of the population); the total increased to 21,551 in 1970 (4.1 percent) and 50,756 in 1980 (8.8 percent). The increase was even more dramatic in Prince George's County. In 1960, 30,817 black residents were in the county (8.6 percent of the population), increasing to 91,808 (13.9 percent) in 1970 and quadrupling to 391,427 (37.3 percent of the overall population) in 1980 (Table 1). The reason that the percentages were so much higher in Prince George's County included lower land cost (which in turn led to less expensive housing costs), fewer neighborhood covenants restricting habitation by African Americans, and ease of mass transit to the urban core for employment,

When the same data is put in terms of the household, a poll completed by real estate professionals indicates that 200 African American households moved to the Maryland suburbs (including both DC and Baltimore) in 1965. Between 1965 and 1970, another 2,000 moved to the suburbs, and between 1970 and 1980, 20,000 African Americans and their households moved to the suburbs each year.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Hogle, 2016, electronic document

⁵⁶ Callcott 1985, 71

Table 1: Population Ratios Per County, 1960–1980.⁵⁷

		Montgomery	%	Prince George's	%
1960	TOTAL	336658	100.0%	357395	100.0%
	White	331216	98.4%	324991	90.9%
	Black	3779	1.1%	30754	8.6%
	Native Am	unk	–	unk	–
	Asian	unk	–	unk	–
	Hawaiian	unk	–	unk	–
	Other	1663	0.5%	1650	0.5%
1970	TOTAL	522809	100.0%	660567	100.0%
	White	493934	94.5%	561476	85.0%
	Black	21551	4.1%	91808	13.9%
	Native Am	413	0.1%	904	0.1%
	Asian	4533	0.9%	4478	0.7%
	Hawaiian	unk	–	unk	–
	Other	2378	0.5%	1901	0.3%
1980	TOTAL	579053	100.0%	665071	100.0%
	White	495485	85.6%	391427	58.9%
	Black	50756	8.8%	247860	37.3%
	Native Am	31	0.0%	31	0.0%
	Asian	22638	3.9%	16211	2.4%
	Hawaiian	135	0.0%	287	0.0%
	Other	10008	1.7%	9255	1.4%

Other ethnicities were part of Maryland’s suburban population during this period, but federal census categories do not easily quantify other minority groups (see Table 1). Early attempts at identifying minority residents gathered information on parental origins and mother tongues but were often limited to a small sample of residents in urban centers. This was especially true for people of Hispanic descent, who were not directly identified as an ethnic group until the U.S. Census of 1970, and then, only in a 5-percent sampling of all households.⁵⁸ Despite the paucity of detailed data on marginalized populations, the census records do reveal that a similar suburban movement was occurring amongst other immigrant groups during the Suburbanization Diversification Period. The population of individuals who ascribed to an Asian background, for instance, rose from 4,533 (0.9 percent of the population) in Montgomery County and 4,478 (0.7 percent) in Prince George’s County in 1970—the first year Asians were included as a category in census data—to 22,638 (3.9 percent) in Montgomery County and 16,211 (2.4 percent) in Prince George’s in 1980. In total, the 1970s population of those who did not ascribe to being white or black quadrupled in Montgomery County and tripled in Prince George’s County, another indicator of the increasing social diversity in the Maryland suburbs during this era.

⁵⁷ U.S. Census Bureau, 1960–1980

⁵⁸ Hobbs and Stoops 2002, 73

Religious diversity also expanded in suburban Maryland during this period, resulting in a variety of denominations constructing new places of worship. Montgomery County had a large number of Catholics, including six new parishes that opened between 1959 and 1962.⁵⁹ In 1974, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints completed construction of its first temple on the east coast in Kensington, which remains the denomination's tallest and third largest temple in the world.⁶⁰ Another large religious facility in the area is the Sri Siva Vishnu temple in Prince George's County, one of the largest Hindu houses of worship in the region. Although the current temple was constructed in 1988, the worship center was established in this area in the 1960s.⁶¹

The Jewish population of the Washington, DC suburbs also notably increased during this period. Although some restrictive covenants barred Jewish families from moving into certain suburban neighborhoods, Jewish entrepreneurs established developments without such restrictions in the 1940s, including Abraham S. Kay's Indian Springs Club Estate.⁶² Mixed religious and racial settlements such as this, though, were relatively rare until the mid-1950s. As restrictive doctrines were relaxed during the post war years, more and more Jewish people moved to the area. By the late 1950s, the Washington suburbs became the sixth largest Jewish community in the country, with most of the residents in Montgomery and Prince George's counties (Figure 4).⁶³ By 1979, another 50,000 Jewish individuals who once resided in DC moved to Montgomery and Prince George's counties, making the DC suburbs Maryland's largest Jewish population center.⁶⁴ This increase in practitioners of Judaism resulted in synagogue construction boom. The area's first Jewish-based community center and synagogue, the Montgomery Jewish Community Center, was built in 1958. By 1965, the number of synagogues in Montgomery County alone had grown to 23.⁶⁵

Data on other religions in the suburbs at this time is more challenging to capture, but a sample of congregations practicing in the region include the Latvian Evangelical Lutheran Church, Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church, and Armenian Apostolic Church. The counties also contained several Quaker congregations.⁶⁶

Age diversity also followed national trends. In Maryland, the percentage of the population over 65 increased steadily between 1960 and 1980, rising from 7.3 percent of the population to 9.4 percent.⁶⁷ Due to this growth, local leaders leveraged federal grants to develop elderly and low-income housing for residents and expand public facilities, leading to a proliferation of nursing care facilities.⁶⁸ Numerous private enterprises also catered to the aging population in this area. In 1968, brothers Stewart and Robert Bainum founded their chain of nursing care facilities called Manor Care, Inc. What started as a collection of eight facilities has grown to 171 today.⁶⁹ For those who preferred more independent living, several

⁵⁹ Gournay and Corbin Sies 2002, 60

⁶⁰ Wilcox 1995

⁶¹ Wiggins et al. 2011

⁶² Diehlmann 2019, 11

⁶³ Hogle 2016

⁶⁴ Virtual Jewish Library 2019

⁶⁵ Kelly 2015, 83, 150

⁶⁶ The Association of Religious Data Archives 1980a, 1980b

⁶⁷ Maryland Health Care Community 2013

⁶⁸ Longstreth 2018, 1–2

⁶⁹ Manor Care, Inc. 1999

retirement enclaves were founded in this area during this period, including Leisure World in 1963 and Asbury Methodist Village in 1973.

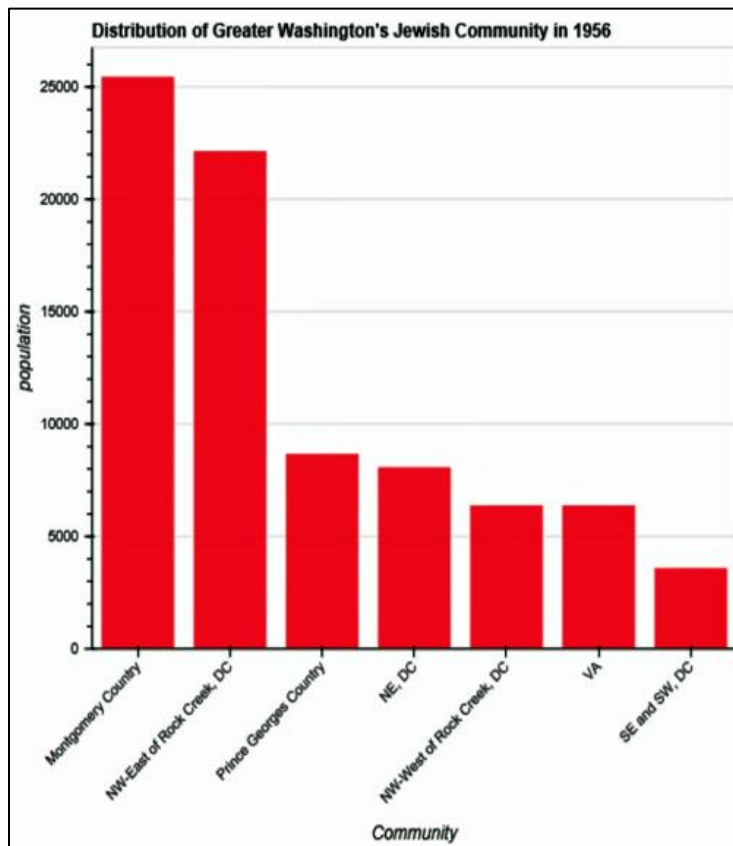


Figure 4: Distribution of Jewish Individuals in Greater Washington.⁷⁰

The increase in the population of marginalized populations in the Maryland suburbs—including African Americans, Asian Americans, Jewish individuals, other immigrant and religious-based groups, and people over 65—had an incredible impact on the development of these areas, especially in the 1960s as real estate-based segregation laws were ruled unconstitutional. The number of housing units in Montgomery and Prince George’s counties more than quadrupled between 1950 and 1980 (Figure 5). Many changes were also spurred by federal, state, and local legislation aimed to improve the housing stock of low- to moderate-income residents. One of the earliest social movements to create housing improvements for marginalized populations occurred in Scotland in Potomac. Scotland was originally established just after the Civil War as an African American enclave. In 1965, Scotland Community Development, Inc. was founded to form a cooperative program to build affordable housing through the use of a United States Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) grant. The complex was completed in 1969, and a clubhouse was added in 1976.⁷¹ Similarly, the site of another post-Civil War black community—Tobytown—was improved through a similar HUD-funded initiative in 1972. What was a small cluster of 15 houses with no indoor plumbing or electricity became a thriving community with a community center

⁷⁰ Hogle 2016

⁷¹ Kelly 2015, 159–160

and playground.⁷² Some other primarily African American communities, particularly those in Prince George's, saw extensive growth in this period, including the communities of Lakeland, North Brentwood, and Fairmount Heights.⁷³ Glenarden, one of the largest and earliest predominately black areas of settlement, used urban renewal funds to control and improve its development.

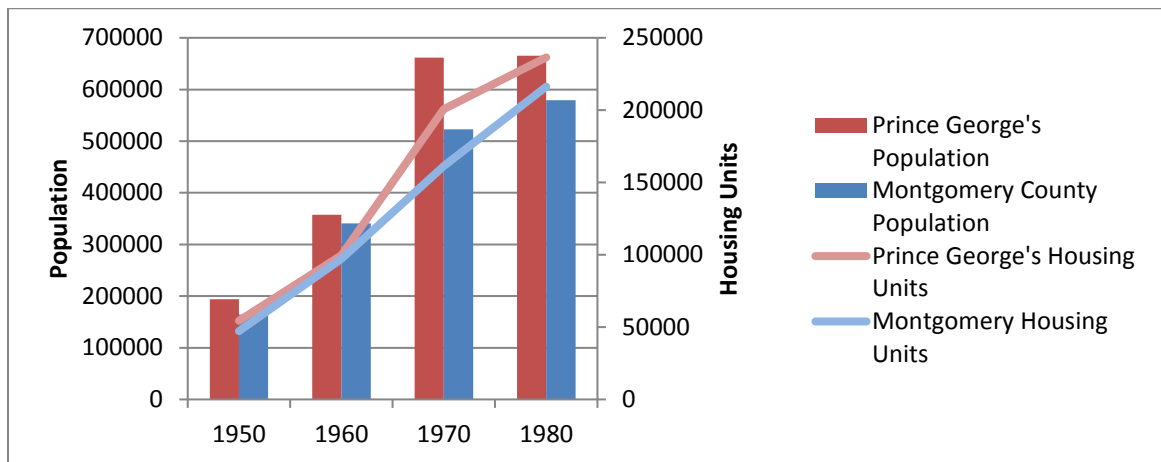


Figure 5: Population and housing growth in Prince George's and Montgomery counties, 1950–1980.

Racial desegregation began slowly in Montgomery and Prince George's counties in the 1960s, and the area did not see notable increase until the 1970s. Glen Echo Park, for example, was one of the earliest communities to desegregate in 1961 but the change in nearby areas was slow.⁷⁴ One of the more successful integrated communities was Laytonia. Through the use of Federal Housing Administration CHOICE program funds (Cost-Effective Home Ownership in an Improved Contemporary Environment), developers of this planned community created 139 housing units for a mixed population base.

The Jewish community also gained new access to housing in the suburbs. From the first Jewish-focused housing development—Kay's Indian Spring Club Estate—numerous additional Jewish-friendly communities were established in the counties. Albert Small, Fred S. Kogod and others built commercial venues, recreational facilities and neighborhoods that were open to all residents.⁷⁵ Like other groups, as the area's transportation system improved, the distance of Jewish settlement from the city center increased. Between 1960 and 1980, the average distance of habitation for greater Washington, DC, Jewish populations increased from approximately 7 miles to 14 miles (Figure 6).⁷⁶

The Jewish community also helped to increase the number of residential units for low-income individuals. Through the use of federal-based grants and donations from local civic leaders and the B'nai B'rith Lodges, facilities for low-income individuals were constructed throughout the Washington, DC, suburbs.

⁷² Kelly 2015, 160

⁷³ Gournay and Corbin Sies 2002, 53

⁷⁴ Consumer Health Foundation 2018a

⁷⁵ Diehlmann 2019, 11

⁷⁶ Hogle 2016

Homecrest House, for example, was developed through the support of members of the B’nai B’rith Lodges in Silver Springs. It opened in 1979 and continues to grow.⁷⁷

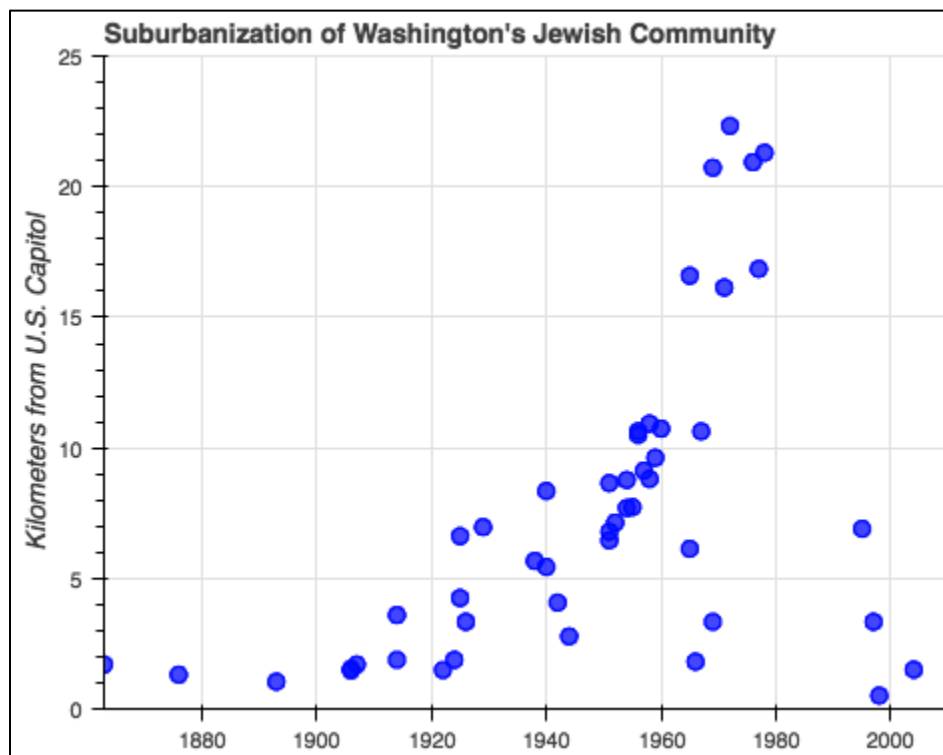


Figure 6: Distance of the Jewish Population from the DC Center by Year.⁷⁸

B.2.3. Expansion of Federal Government

B.2.3.1. National Perspective

The expansion of the federal government during the Suburbanization Diversification Period occurred in both the political/legislative realm and its physical growth and extension out of the Capital. The period spans two markedly different decades, though, in terms of the extent and magnitude of these changes.

The 1960s continued an era of government expansion that began with the New Deal. Commencing with John F. Kennedy’s “New Frontier” ideology in 1960, federally sponsored initiatives improved American scientific, technological, economic, and social standing in the world. The federal workforce increased by almost 50 percent during these years, from just over 2 million in 1950 to just under 3 million in 1970.⁷⁹ The founding of the General Services Administration (GSA) in 1949 and President Kennedy’s Ad Hoc Committee of Federal Office Space in 1962 led to the construction of new federal buildings in the 1950s

⁷⁷ Homecrest House 2019

⁷⁸ Hogle 2016

⁷⁹ Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis 2018

and 1960s,⁸⁰ many of which were in the Washington, DC, suburbs. Between 1960 and 1976, GSA undertook more than 700 building projects.⁸¹

While much of the population experienced financial prosperity during this period, the segment of Americans in poverty in the suburbs also notably increased. In 1966, 41 percent of nonwhite Americans were below the poverty line; a sharp contrast to the 12 percent of white Americans falling into this category.⁸² Female heads of household often could not work outside the home due to child-rearing duties, and 11 million such families lived below the poverty line at this time.⁸³ Such conditions led Presidents Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson to declare a “war on poverty” as they sought to create what Johnson termed a Great Society. Congress enacted a number of social reform laws in the 1960s, establishing Medicare and Medicaid in 1965, and other initiatives, including food stamps, work study programs, the head start program, and revisions to the student loan program to encourage secondary education.⁸⁴

The federal legislative agenda also extended to housing policy. In the 1950s and 1960s, several acts expanded and revised FHA programs.⁸⁵ One such expansion came through the Housing Act of 1954, which included provisions to subsidize urban renewal projects. Many localities used renewal funding for “code enforcement or other municipal efforts and expenditures for the improvement of streets, public utilities, parks, and other facilities.”⁸⁶

The Housing Act of 1959 provided indirect subsidies for housing projects that specifically targeted disadvantaged populations—initially, those displaced by urban renewal projects, the elderly, and later, to low- and moderate-income families—to improve the standard of living for America’s most vulnerable citizens.⁸⁷ Nursing care facilities and multi-family units were constructed in conjunction with local planning agencies as part of this federal program and later through the HUD, created in 1965.

In contrast to the boom of the 1960s, the 1970s were a time of economic recession that periodically stifled growth and development across the country. Known to economists as the Great Inflation, the period from 1965 to 1982 underwent a series of boom-and-bust cycles, felt most acutely during the 1973 and 1979 energy crises.⁸⁸ The tumultuous economy of the 1970s, combined with improvements in transportation, brought about an expanded period of decentralization of the federal government in this decade. In another effort to curtail federal spending, the government embarked on a new way of business, creating what became known as “privatization,” wherein government services were turned over to the private sector in an attempt to streamline processes.⁸⁹ The idea was that those who specialized in a particular task could achieve it with less labor, funds, and time than the disparate staff of the federal government. This practice encouraged private development, especially in the suburbs around DC.

⁸⁰ Marks 2018

⁸¹ Marks 2018

⁸² Marx 2017

⁸³ Marx 2017

⁸⁴ Ehrenreich 1985

⁸⁵ Pettis et al. 2012, 57

⁸⁶ HUD 1974, 12

⁸⁷ HUD 1974, 14–16

⁸⁸ Bryan 2013

⁸⁹ U.S. Department of State 2018

Along with high unemployment and high inflation, the cost of housing continued to rise throughout the 1970s despite the new FHA regulations, “driven by growing suburban land-use restrictions, a shortage of buildable land in many metro areas, and increased supplies of mortgage capital.”⁹⁰ Faced with a crisis of affordability, many Americans found cheaper housing at greater distances from metropolitan areas, leading to a rise in exurban development. This pattern was especially evident in Montgomery and Prince George’s counties.

B.2.3.2. Maryland and the DC Suburbs

The 1960s were the beginning of a prolonged period of prosperity in Maryland that created a booming economy. Much of this prosperity can be attributed to a significant expansion of local, state, and federal government offices and the service industries that depended on them. In general, Maryland embodied a “Culture of Bureaucracy” that supported its own growth and development. As Governor Tawes’ administration recruited new companies and corporations, expansion of commercial and industrial business in the state had a direct impact on suburban areas.⁹¹

Expanding into Maryland’s suburbs in the 1960s, federal agencies built new facilities and leased new office towers. Numerous headquarters, including NASA’s Goddard Space Flight Center in Greenbelt (1959), the National Institutes of Health in Bethesda (1967), the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration in Silver Spring (1970), the Smithsonian Museum Support Center in Suitland (1971), the Consumer Product Safety Commission in Bethesda (1972), and the Department of Energy in Germantown (1977), moved to Montgomery and Prince George’s counties, where land was less expensive, parking was plentiful, and worker housing was nearby.

As the government itself was physically expanding into the suburbs, Congress increased spending, drawing a greater number of public and private enterprises to the Washington, DC, suburbs. The growth of industrial properties was particularly strong in Montgomery County, where industrial facilities, primarily defense-industry contractors, flourished in the 1950s and 1960s. By 1967, Montgomery County had 23 large-scale industrial facilities employing more than 100 people each, which was two times more than other counties in the DC metro area.⁹² In Prince George’s County, easy access to the Capital Beltway was one reason light industry and distribution services proliferated in the late 1960s.⁹³

The decentralization of the federal government outside Washington, DC, also caused an exodus of employees. In 1950, 57 percent of those employed by the federal government lived in the city; by 1990, only 37 percent resided there.⁹⁴

The new jobs created by the federal government and private industries in Montgomery and Prince George’s brought higher-waged positions to these areas and an associated increase in consumer spending. Housing costs, on average, more than doubled between 1950 and 1970 in both Montgomery

⁹⁰ Nicolaidis and Wiese 2017, electronic document

⁹¹ Gournay and Corbin Sies 2002, 38

⁹² Kelly 2015, 233

⁹³ Moreau 1967, L2

⁹⁴ Harrigan and von Hoffman 2002, 9

and Prince George's counties.⁹⁵ They doubled again between 1970 and 1980 in Montgomery County; the cost increase in Prince George's was notable but not as dramatic with a greater than 50 percent rise.⁹⁶

On the policy front, new social agendas improved the lives of those living below the median income in both localities. Services such as Medicare and Medicaid, as well as policies like the Public Welfare Act and various work programs, brought new opportunities for the area's lower class. The biggest change in this area brought about by federal social programs related to housing. Despite a dramatic increase in house value across the nation in the 1970s, FHA loans and other federal programs increased the number of low-income housing units, especially in Prince George's County, where six separate programs were organized to find housing for all area residents regardless of income.⁹⁷

B.2.4. Environmental Movement

B.2.4.1. National Perspective

As the amount of land being stripped, regraded, and paved for roadways and suburban development expanded in the postwar period, an increasing awareness of the toll on the environment and loss of "open space" emerged from many sides. By the mid-1950s urban planners, architects, park advocates, civic groups, and government officials had begun intensely debating the loss of farmland, wetlands, and general lack of green space in both urban and suburban areas.⁹⁸ William Whyte's 1959 article in *Life* magazine, "A Plan to Save Vanishing U.S. Countryside," lamented this change, particularly in the suburbs.⁹⁹ The article detailed "a new kind of conservation effort—a multi-faceted campaign to save the nation's 'open space.'"¹⁰⁰ In his plan, Whyte put the burden of responsibility on citizens to do the right thing, specifically calling on locally elected officials to buy and conserve open space with public funds; on homebuyers and builders to choose what became known as cluster development where the conservation of open space was a priority; and on local planning officials to loosen restrictive regulations that forced standard lot sizes and low-density development.¹⁰¹

This push for open space became part of a larger environmental movement in America during the Suburban Diversification Period. Serious environmental problems, such as air pollution, water pollution, and evidence of wildlife destruction, emerged in the 1950s and 1960s, bringing greater attention to the effects of unchecked growth and industrial forces on the health and well-being of citizens and the natural landscape. An early nationally known advocate in the fight against air and water pollution, Montgomery County resident Rachel Carson railed against the harmful effects of chemicals, particularly new pesticides, on wildlife, garnering national attention for her seminal book, *Silent Spring*, published in 1962. The book is often credited with launching the environmental movement in America.¹⁰²

⁹⁵ Sumichrast and Willmann 1971b, E1

⁹⁶ Hall 1978, E1

⁹⁷ Levey 1978, MD 1

⁹⁸ Rome 2001, 122

⁹⁹ Whyte 1959, 88–102

¹⁰⁰ Rome 2001, 120

¹⁰¹ Rome 2001, 136

¹⁰² Hynes 1989

The federal government created new regulatory laws and agencies to curb negative impacts on the environment. Among the most notable were the Clean Air Act of 1963, National Emissions Standards Act of 1965, National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA) of 1969, the Endangered Species Act of 1973, and the Fish and Wildlife Conservation Act of 1980. NEPA, in particular, changed the way many development projects were completed across the U.S. Its basic tenets ensure the federal government considers the environment prior to completing federal projects.

A more focused environmental action that had national effect was the Highway Beautification Act of 1965. Championed by Lady Bird Johnson, this legislation limited billboards and other forms of outdoor advertising, as well as unattractive businesses and activities, along America's interstate highways. "I want to make sure that the America we see from these major highways," President Johnson stated, "is a beautiful America."¹⁰³

The environmental movement exposed many flaws in the practice of allowing private interests to put profit above the health of the community. The failure of the free market and private developers to resolve many suburban environmental ills led to an abundance of land-use regulations at the federal, state, and local levels:

[...] the 1970s and 1980s saw an explosion of codes, regulations and guidelines intended to limit the use of septic tanks; ensure the provision of open space; restrict the development of hillsides, wetlands, and floodplains; control erosion during construction; preserve trees in subdivisions; retain natural systems of drainage; protect wildlife; and encourage energy-efficient design of houses and neighborhoods.¹⁰⁴

Other notable events in the national environmental movement were the energy crises of the 1970s. Petroleum production and consumption worldwide reached an all-time high in the early 1970s. This led to a product shortage and skyrocketing oil and gas prices, slowing new construction.¹⁰⁵ The crisis raised awareness of the need for alternative forms of transportation, which helped spur expansions to the Metro, new bus routes, and eventually high-occupancy toll lanes and bus rapid transit systems.

The same philosophies and driving factors behind the environmental movement brought about the recognition of another area of concern during this period: historic preservation. The organized historic preservation movement of the 1960s emerged in response to the large-scale destruction caused by rapid suburban and urban expansion and the grand designs of Modernists in favor of remaking traditional urban cores and corridors in this period. On the east coast, Colonial-era historic sites were increasingly under threat. The National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966 formalized the federal government's commitment to protect important historic sites and buildings.¹⁰⁶ As with NEPA, the NHPA requires that federal agencies consider their impact on significant historic properties prior to funding decisions. In suburban areas, the NHPA resulted in the identification of buildings, bridges, historic districts, and archaeological sites eligible for the NRHP and redesigned roadways, new developments, schools, and other projects to avoid impacts to important properties.¹⁰⁷ The 1976 Bicentennial provided further impetus for the historic preservation movement, as many Americans fondly reflected on their Colonial

¹⁰³ FHWA 2017, electronic document

¹⁰⁴ Rome 2001, 263

¹⁰⁵ U.S. Department of Energy 2011

¹⁰⁶ Stipe 1987

¹⁰⁷ Howard 1987

past. Communities across the country sought rehabilitation and educational projects to highlight their history.

B.2.4.2. Maryland and the DC Suburbs

Addressing problems of pollution in the state's air and waterways, Maryland became an environmental leader in the 1950s and 1960s as it increased regulation of sewage plants and industrial waste. In 1967, the Maryland General Assembly passed one of the country's most aggressive laws combating air pollution, enabling the state to set its own air quality standards and shut down factories that failed to meet these new requirements.¹⁰⁸ From 1970 to 1976, the Maryland Assembly passed numerous state laws that also transformed the management of the water and air conditions in the state, including the Maryland Environmental Policy Act (MEPA) enacted in 1973.¹⁰⁹ These new regulations were managed by the Maryland Department of Natural Resources. This legislation mirrors many of the concepts presented in NEPA and requires that state-level actions take potential environmental impacts into account during project design and implementation.

Local governments also enacted planning legislation aimed to protect the environment. In Baltimore County, for example, planners established the Urban-Rural Demarcation Line in 1967. The goal was to focus development on urban areas and transportation corridors while limiting development in natural and rural parts of the county.¹¹⁰ As development persisted, the line was redrawn to maintain green space and rural vistas in growing suburban areas. Closer to DC, Montgomery County also enacted stringent development regulations to maintain open space. Two prominent pieces of legislation, both developed during the Suburbanization Diversification Period, have led to the preservation of thousands of acres of land. The establishment of the Agricultural Reserve in 1980 protected over 93,000 acres of land, equaling more than a quarter of the county's 324,000 total acres.¹¹¹ Several zoning policies and easement programs have been enacted in the reserve to ensure limitations on development and the protection of important vistas. A second landmark initiative in the county was the establishment of strict traffic mitigation policies. Planners can require developers to put in place measures to limit impacts on the environment, such as developing carpooling programs or requesting subsidies for mass transit.¹¹²

The development boom of the 1950s and 1960s in Montgomery and Prince George's counties created additional environmental problems that local governments struggled to resolve. One of the main environmental issues was water quality, as overloaded sewage treatment plants and poor septic tank planning left area waterways polluted and existing government services overburdened. The cost of building new sewerage systems and water treatment facilities was high despite federal subsidies. The problem was so pronounced that Montgomery County put a moratorium on the construction of new subdivisions in the early 1970s because of a lack of adequate sewage capacity.¹¹³ New local agencies such as the Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission (WSSC) aided in the process of developing new systems but the pronounced problem persisted for years. Through these efforts, environmental conditions,

¹⁰⁸ Callcott 1985, 271

¹⁰⁹ Callcott 1985, 273

¹¹⁰ Baltimore County 2016

¹¹¹ Harrigan and von Hoffman 2002, 2

¹¹² Harrigan and von Hoffman 2002, 4

¹¹³ Harrigan and von Hoffman 2002, 62

particularly water quality in residents' pipes, in the state's waterways and the Chesapeake Bay, was notably improved by 1980.

Beyond the natural environment, Marylanders also took a greater interest in their cultural environment in this period. The movement to preserve and protect historic properties had strong roots in the state of Maryland, and in 1961, the state became the first in the country to create a department, the Maryland Historical Trust, dedicated to recording important historic buildings and sites. This agency became the official State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) after the passage of the NHPA in 1966. The 1970s also saw increased government support for the creation of museums, concert halls, and art galleries as Marylanders sought avenues for cultural expression.¹¹⁴

In Montgomery and Prince George's counties, local governments followed the state government's protocols by establishing their own preservation programs. Montgomery County established their *Master Plan for Historic Preservation* in 1979 and enacted a Historic Preservation Ordinance to provide tools to help protect and preserve historic resources. In Prince George's County, the Historical and Cultural Trust and the Historic Preservation Commission help apply the county's Historic Preservation Ordinance, enacted in 1981.¹¹⁵

B.2.5. Local and Regional Planning

B.2.5.1. National Perspective

The explosion of suburban development after World War II brought about significant changes in local and regional planning across the nation. Recognizing the need for large-scale guidance to help smaller localities, the non-profit Urban Land Institute (ULI) was founded in this era to help promote good planning practices across the country. Based on the success of their urban planning models, a number of influential community builders established the Community Builders' Council at the ULI in 1944 with the goal of "addressing the issues that American cities would face during the post-World War II suburban building boom."¹¹⁶ The group published the first edition of the *Community Builders Handbook* in 1947 with revised editions following in 1954, 1960, and 1968. Design and land planning professionals promoted the community builders' approach to development in the late 1950s and into the 1960s as a solution to the problems of suburban sprawl.¹¹⁷ The ULI *Community Builders Handbook* came at a critical time as suburban growth during this period was unparalleled. The ULI estimated that more than 90 percent of new urban-area growth between 1954 and 1964 occurred "on open land in the outer fringes of metropolitan areas", thus highlighting the need for planning guidance in suburban areas near growing cities.¹¹⁸

Other suburban ills included traffic congestion, polluted air, and indebtedness brought on by the cost of new schools. Urban planning studies in the 1960s increasingly blamed the insufficiency of tax revenue generated by the abundance of low-density residential development to address such issues, particularly

¹¹⁴ Callcott 1985, 303

¹¹⁵ Prince George's County Historic Preservation Program 2008

¹¹⁶ ULI 2011

¹¹⁷ Eichler and Kaplan 1967

¹¹⁸ ULI 1968, 99

in exurban areas of each county.¹¹⁹ As a result, localities began to advocate for government-led planning strategies that concentrated growth in areas where government services could be expanded to support such development. They also looked to diversify land uses in these areas, including increasing commercial and industrial zoning, to generate additional tax income.

While many local and regional planning initiatives during this time focused on managing suburban sprawl, many tenets addressed traditional planning concerns, including the development of new local roadways, establishment of schools and other community buildings, installation of sidewalks and lighting, and improvement of suburban utilities. The postwar population boom also led to an increased interest in recreation facilities at the local level as “towns and counties established tennis courts, golf courses, swimming pools, and skating rinks and employed recreational directors to organize basketball and softball leagues.”¹²⁰ Construction of services and amenities to accommodate a growing population often left local governments millions of dollars in debt as they attempted to keep up with demand.¹²¹ The financial strain of the suburbs on local government led to an increased understanding of tax revenues generated by specific types of development and how localities could implement planning and zoning regulations to remain financially stable.

B.2.5.2. Maryland and the DC Suburbs

The use of coordinated planning principles and zoning regulations to curtail the worst offenses of suburban sprawl was an accepted role of government by the late 1950s. In 1959, the Maryland State Planning Department was established to guide development of what historians call the “five modernizations” of the mid-twentieth century—the construction of highways, strengthening of public education, healthcare, environmental programs, and increased regional industrial development.¹²² In addition to this state planning agency, regional and local planning departments obtained greater control over the function of government-operated community services and facilities as well as greater legal control over the types of suburban development occurring within their boundaries throughout the Suburban Diversification Period.

As “home rule” entities, local politics shaped each county in its own way despite regular collaboration on planning matters like sewer, water, parks, and transportation systems. Although various overarching planning efforts had been shaping development in Prince George’s and Montgomery counties since the late 1920s, the resulting work often looked at specific components or limited geographic spaces within the region. By the early 1960s, government officials began consolidating efforts to produce broader and more encompassing planning documents to guide all types of development, including transportation, and the built and natural environments, within metropolitan areas. In 1961, the National Capital Planning Commission (NCPC), the federal government’s central planning agency for the DC area, recommended concentrating high-density growth along six corridors (I-270, U.S. 50, and MD 5 in Maryland, I-66 in Virginia, and I-95 in both states), reserving open space in the wedges between for preservation as farmland, woods, or “wilderness.”

¹¹⁹ Bredemeier 1974, A1

¹²⁰ Callcott 1985, 267

¹²¹ U.S. Department of Education 1993, 26

¹²² Callcott 1985, 179; Gournary and Corbin Sies 2002, 40

One of the most influential planning bodies guiding the development of these two counties is the Maryland-National Capital Park and Planning Commission (M-NCPPC). The commission was formed in 1927 and helped create a unified planning approach to suburban development and conservation in Montgomery and Prince George's counties. The commission's 1964 General Plan was particularly important. At the time, M-NCPPC authors described the 1964 General Plan as "an ambitious program which includes the development of planning area and watershed plans, the acquisition and development of park areas, the design of transportation facilities, and the search for new plan effectuation measures."¹²³ The guide brought many modern urban forms to the suburbs and embraced progressive planning policies that sought to guide development in the region through the year 1999.

The 1964 plan embodied many of the leading planning policies of the time, reflecting M-NCPPC's embrace of progressive ideas promoted by organizations like the ULI, but it did not please local residents. Soon after its publication, Montgomery County residents elected a slate of pro-development candidates to County Council who pushed back against growth restrictions.¹²⁴ Some Prince George's County officials also pushed back against the "red tape" of zoning regulations in the 1970s, but County staff were, in general, more committed to maintaining the zoning strategies outlined in the General Plan.

Partially in response to the M-NCPPC plan, the two counties passed additional legislation helped to guide area planning. In 1967, both Montgomery and Prince George's County appointed an impartial hearing examiner to rule on zoning cases. Prior to this time, zoning cases were heard directly by elected officials who were, at times, under political pressure to render a particular decision.¹²⁵ Prince George's planning created the Prince George's County Planning Board, which instituted a complex set of zoning regulations in the late 1960s—zoning that is still being implemented today to guide suburban growth.

Additional Montgomery County legislation that aided fair planning included the Adequate Public Facility Ordinance of 1973 and the establishment of the Moderately Priced Dwelling Unit (MPDU) program in 1974. The MPDU program was one of the first in the nation to create inclusionary zoning practices by requiring subdivision plans, site plan, and building permit applications associated with the construction of 50 or more residential units to include a minimum of 15 percent MPDUs in the plans.¹²⁶ One of the first developers to announce compliance with the measure was Kettler Brothers, Inc., who planned to construct more than 200 "moderately priced" townhouses at Montgomery Village. By early 1978, 250 houses had been constructed under the law in Damascus, Gaithersburg, Darnestown, and Bethesda. More than 600 people competed through a lottery system to purchase 12 such townhouses for sale in a development known as Bethesda Court in March 1978.¹²⁷ Modified slightly since 1974, the law continues to shape new residential developments to the present day.

Planning laws at this time on the local level sought to not only monitor development, but also to help plan areas where development was prohibited. One notable side effect of suburban sprawl and unchecked growth, as seen on a national level and in the DC suburbs, included the loss of farmland and open space. In Maryland, 50,000 acres of farmland succumbed to suburban development each year between 1959 and

¹²³ M-NCPPC 1964, 4

¹²⁴ Kelly 2012

¹²⁵ Harrigan and von Hoffman 2002, 22

¹²⁶ Bonner 1973, A24

¹²⁷ Hall 1978, E1

1964.¹²⁸ Efforts to retain some of the state's natural beauty and increase recreational open space during Governor Tawes' administration included a sizable investment in parkland. During the 1960s, the number of state parks grew from 17 to 34 and the land within them from 17,000 to 38,000 acres.¹²⁹ The Maryland Open Space Program, a state grant fund, and local initiatives put in place by the M-NCPPC, Montgomery County, and Prince George's County ensure that area land is set aside for the creation of public parks and open space.

¹²⁸ Gournay and Corbin Sies 2002, 38

¹²⁹ Callcott 1985, 182

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C. DEVELOPMENT PATTERNS IN THE SUBURBS

Social, economic, environmental, and transportation trends all had a physical effect on suburban development. By the 1960s, nearly all functional elements of the historic urban core were present in the suburbs, including residential enclaves, community facilities to cater to the growing population, new commercial centers for shopping and other household needs, offices and industrial complexes to provide employment, and a host of recreational and leisure activities to promote family unity and offer ways to escape the daily grind. Each of these physical developments saw their impetus in federal legislation, regional planning, and developer needs.

In addition, suburban architecture was influenced by trends at the national and local level as well as new standards and guidelines of FHA and industry organizations like the ULI and National Association of Home Builders (NAHB). These organizations advocated for new types of planning and zoning regulations to comply with new housing laws, preserve more green space and historic buildings, and maximize access to transportation routes, all while providing development projects with greater financial stability. Professional planning organizations also affected suburban growth and development, including the American Society of Planning Officials and American Institute of Planners who merged in 1978 to form the American Planning Association (APA). The emergence of groups such as these, combined with new legislation and building practices, brought about a change in the ideology of development. This section builds on the national, state, and local events outlined in Section B to highlight specific trends in suburban development during the Suburbanization Diversification Period.

C.1. Residential Development

The defining principle of residential subdivision development in the mid- to late-twentieth century was a concept known as the “neighborhood unit.” American planner and sociologist Clarence A. Perry promoted the neighborhood unit in the 1920s and early 1930s as “the family-life community,” a residential neighborhood ideal.¹³⁰ Perry advocated for the central placement of a multipurpose, walkable school building to be used as a community center after school hours; for locating commercial resources at the perimeter or main entrance to discourage non-local traffic; for dedicating land to parks and open space; and for establishing a hierarchy of peripheral arterial roadways and interior curvilinear streets (Figure 7).¹³¹ Several communities of the 1930s and 1940s were developed based on Perry's concept, including Greenbelt, Maryland.¹³² Formally endorsed by the FHA in the 1940s, the neighborhood unit influenced residential design throughout the latter half of the twentieth century.

Although Perry's neighborhood unit included multi-family dwellings, his emphasis on the family unit and financial well-being “insured [sic] the homogeneity and similarity of economic background of residents.”¹³³ When combined with assembly line principles of building, Perry's design became a highly

¹³⁰ Lawhorn 2009, 112

¹³¹ Lawhorn 2009, 114

¹³² KCI 1999, C-13

¹³³ Lawhorn 2009, 123

profitable tool for real estate investors, home financing groups, and builders and was repeated on an industrial scale across the country.



Figure 7: The Neighborhood unit as defined by the ULI in 1968: 1) Neighborhoods bounded by major streets; 2) Neighborhoods bounded by planning elements; 3) Neighborhoods bounded by natural features; 4) Neighborhoods bounded by artificial features.¹³⁴


While Perry's neighborhood unit remained the primary model for residential development during the Suburbanization Diversification Period, advances in transportation, demographic shifts, and federal legislation led to changing notions of "family" and "neighborhood." What had been physically and socially homogenous areas became diversified in the wake of FHA regulations and Civil Rights reforms that provided new financing options and banned housing discrimination (Figure 8).

¹³⁴ ULI 1968, 93

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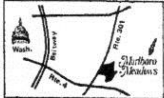
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Builder Pays Closing Costs - FHA
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*Example of typical VA loan: Cash price of the "Marlboro" model, \$32,800. VA — No down payment. Payor 7% annual percentage rate loan, 360 payments of \$177.00 including principal and interest. Subject to VA valuation.

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Figure 8: 1971 ad for Marlboro Meadows in Upper Marlboro, highlighting new loan programs.¹³⁵

To meet the needs of a growing, diverse, suburban population, local governments and planning organizations encouraged developments with mixed housing types. Initially created under a new zoning classification, the planned residential community (PRC), these developments could include a mix of single- and multi-family dwellings, including rental units, within the same subdivision. Although they were overwhelmingly residential in character, some developments incorporated commercial properties, typically a small strip mall designed to support the development's residents, and community facilities like neighborhood parks and schools.

¹³⁵ The Washington Post 1971, D8

Following the open space and environmental movements of the 1960s, greater attention was given to cluster development and the conservation of natural areas. Cluster development was promoted in the 1964 M-NCPPC plan as a way to provide adequate housing while assuring a greener and more bucolic environment for residents. In this design, tree-lined streets were the sites of grouped dwellings nestled within expanses of natural areas (Figure 9). While the homes were, on average, closer than their historic counterparts that utilized a standardized lot size, the proximities seemed more distant due to the inclusion of visual barriers such as trees and waterways. Many of these neighborhoods also included parks, recreational spaces, and human-made water features like lakes and ponds. Through both of these design protocols, environmental features provided a respite from the surrounding landscape of sprawl, and community developers recognized open space as an additional amenity that could be promoted as part of their neighborhood experience.

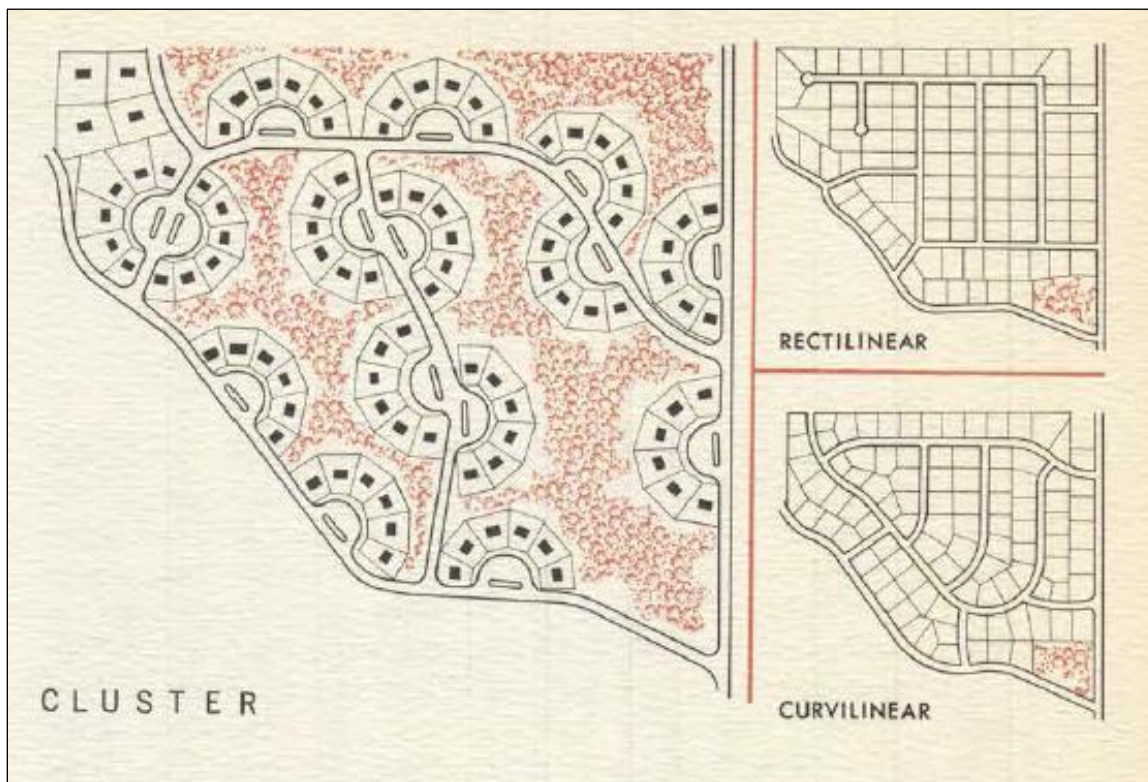


Figure 9: Detail of “Three possible subdivisions with ninety-four lots...” showing cluster pattern of development compared to traditional patterns of residential development as promoted in M-NCPPC’s 1964 plan.¹³⁶

During the Suburban Diversification Period, the DC suburbs experienced a boom in apartment construction. In 1960, there were 6,841 apartment units started in the Washington, DC, suburbs. By 1963, that number had increased to 19,686, following a national trend. The 1960s apartment boom contributed 50,000 garden apartment units to Prince George's County, accounting for nearly 50 percent of the county's total housing supply. As early as 1965, the Prince George's County Planning

¹³⁶ M-NCPPC 1964, 83

Board was rejecting new zoning requests for garden apartments in the Forestville area.¹³⁷ In 1968, permits for new apartments in Montgomery County, outnumbered those for single-family houses.

As housing construction continued into the 1960s, available land in the immediate vicinity of the District of Columbia grew scarce, but demand for suburban living remained high. House prices in existing suburban neighborhoods increased, and new single-family housing was gradually pushed farther from the District line. Many people wanted the convenience of suburban living but did not want to care for a house and large lawn. Others could not afford the down payment necessary to secure a home loan. An increase in rental-aged population, primarily people in their early twenties and late fifties, created additional demand for apartment housing. Not only was this population already accustomed to suburban living, but at this time, these groups frequently had higher incomes and more money to spend on housing than previous generations did at the same points in their lives.

Searching for revenue, local governments worked with developers to encourage more high-density development, and these policies began to make a difference. In 1960, 78 percent of the housing stock in Montgomery and Prince George's counties comprised detached, single-family houses. Apartment units accounted for 15 percent, and the remaining 7 percent were townhouses, duplexes, or two-family dwellings.¹³⁸ By 1980, the overall percentage of single-family houses decreased to just over 60 percent, while the number of apartments and other multi-family dwellings increased to comprise almost 40 percent of the housing stock.

During the 1970s, condominium conversions became a slowly growing trend as would-be homeowners were priced out of single-family houses close to Washington. The difference between apartments, condominiums, and cooperatives is a legal distinction based on the property's ownership: an apartment building is composed of rental units owned by a single entity, whereas condominiums consist of residential units owned by a variety of individuals who then share ownership of all common areas and maintain the property as group, typically through a homeowner's association. In a cooperative, residents purchase a share of property, with the right to live in one of the units.

In 1963, Governor Tawes signed legislation permitting the development of condominiums throughout Maryland,¹³⁹ but the first condominium project in Maryland's DC suburbs, the Sudbury House, wasn't completed until 1968.¹⁴⁰ Condominium development soon picked up speed, with developers applying the concept to new townhouses, garden apartments, and high-rise elevator apartments and converting existing properties to an ownership model. As affordable rental units dwindled, Montgomery County instituted restrictions on the conversion of apartments into condominiums. Prince George's officials, however, encouraged condominium conversion, hoping to build a stronger and more stable tax base.¹⁴¹

As density increased, houses once at the edge of the city became surrounded by it. Those not dependent on city services took advantage of their mobility to move out beyond the landscape of

¹³⁷ *The Washington Post* 1965, F1

¹³⁸ Gournay and Corbin Sies 2002, 56

¹³⁹ *The Washington Post* 1963, D14

¹⁴⁰ Willmann 1968, D1

¹⁴¹ Manning 2014, 5

sprawl. “By the 1970s variety was becoming a new theme of suburban migration. Far out, northwest of Washington and Baltimore, the very rich built homes that rivaled the 1920s estates, and close in, southeast of the cities, the poor were taking up the modest housing of the 1940s that was growing older.”¹⁴² This pattern was identified by regional planners in M-NCPPC’s 1964 General Plan as they noted a rise in large-lot residential subdivisions consisting of “estate” lots with single-family dwellings on “one or more acres.” The M-NCPPC noted higher concentrations of such developments in the Potomac, Upper Rock Creek, and Upper Northwest Branch areas of Montgomery County and the Moyaone section of Prince George’s County.¹⁴³

With the rising cost of land and construction in urbanized areas, more development appeared at greater distances from city centers; these places became known as “exurban” areas. The term “exurban development” was used as early as 1955 to describe residential enclaves beyond the suburban fringe, up to the limits of commuting distance, set amid rural pastoral landscapes.¹⁴⁴ These areas are located near large cities but have population densities more like nearby rural areas. They are largely residential, with fewer commercial areas than traditional suburbs.¹⁴⁵ They are often separated from suburban areas by undeveloped rural land. Partially due to easier access by the growing number of regional highways, exurban communities in America grew at a faster rate than all other areas between 1960 and 1985, increasing by more than 17 million people.¹⁴⁶ These areas were occupied by two types of exurbanites: the wealthy seeking a semi-rural lifestyle away from the city, and moderate-income homeowners priced out of suburban areas closer to the city.

Less common than other forms of single-family or multi-family housing, mobile home parks became an affordable housing option in underdeveloped and exurban areas. Although mobile home parks expanded across the nation in the decades after World War II, they saw limited growth in the Washington, DC, suburbs due to restrictive zoning regulations and a negative stigma. However, some Maryland mobile home park managers fought this bias by offering amenities, like pools, community centers, picnic areas, and other communal spaces, similar to apartment complexes.

C.2. Mixed-Use and New Town Development

A mixed-used development contains an array of functional uses within a larger property as the result of a master plan. It attempts to provide housing, employment, shopping, and recreation all within a walkable community, wherein residential units are located near community services and commerce. Although the term “mixed-use” is a more recently coined phrase in the building industry, the concept and application reflect organic growth common before the widespread use of the automobile and restrictive zoning. In the 1960s and 1970s, planning professionals reframed this historic pattern of development into a movement against single-use zoning and suburban homogeneity.

Some developers advocated for a slightly modified version of this idea called “complete communities,” better known as new town developments. The new town concept looked to the Garden City movement of the 1930s, advocating for more inclusive communities that would provide all the

¹⁴² Callcott 1985, 68

¹⁴³ M-NCPPC 1964, 41

¹⁴⁴ Nelson and Dueker 1990, 92–93

¹⁴⁵ Berube et al. 2006, 2

¹⁴⁶ Nelson and Dueker 1990, 93

necessary components of a city in their isolated, large-scale developments. New town developments sought to address social and demographic issues that sometimes plagued suburban communities. Despite federal, state, and local legislation that addressed racial, economic, and age-related biases in housing, both intentional and unintentional segregation often occurred in the suburbs due to home prices, availability of amenities, and types of nearby employment. By creating a diverse dwelling stock in a walkable community, mixed-use and new towns provided a way to blend inhabitants of different races/ethnicities, unique family compositions, disparate incomes, and varying access to consumer goods, such as personal automobiles.

New town developments also reflected the environmental movement, using various techniques to protect ecosystems and create recreational areas for residents, including clustering buildings to preserve open space, constructing mixed residential types and mixed-use properties, and retaining the natural topography of the site to avoid mass environmental degradation. The latter often allowed designers to include curvilinear trails, pocket parks, and other efforts to provide natural amenities.

In the early 1960s, James W. Rouse purchased more than 14,000 acres in Howard County for a new town development he called Columbia. Rouse, a Maryland native, sought to a solution to the problems he witnessed in the Baltimore and DC suburbs, promoting Columbia as “an opportunity for the growth of America to change course away from needless waste of the land, sprawl, disorder, congestion, and mounting taxes to a direction of order, beauty, financial stability, and sincere concern for the growth of people.”¹⁴⁷ In planning his community, he engaged an assortment of professionals he dubbed the “Work Group” from the fields of architecture, landscape architecture, engineering, and more.¹⁴⁸ Columbia was composed of 10 villages arranged around a town center. Each village contained a village center accompanied by residential neighborhoods containing a mix of housing types catering to various income levels. Village centers contained schools, shopping, and community space for the surrounding neighborhoods. Shopping was hidden from the street, a stark contrast to traditional suburban retail corridors. The largest village center, Town Center, included an enclosed mall and office buildings. Educational, commercial, and recreational facilities were arranged along curvilinear streets with old-growth trees, public art, and signage to shape a distinct sense of place.¹⁴⁹ Construction in Columbia began in 1966 and opened to residents in 1967.¹⁵⁰ The last village in Columbia was completed in 1990, and today the town boasts a population of over 100,000 people (Figure 10).¹⁵¹

Montgomery County’s first new town development was Montgomery Village, created by Kettler Brothers, Inc., in the mid-1960s. The development included more than 1,700 acres of land north of Gaithersburg.¹⁵² Relying upon the 1964 M-NCPPC General Plan calling for “controlled growth in a wedges and corridors concept,” the Kettler Brothers’ development sought to establish housing for roughly 30,000 people along with “schools, churches, recreational centers, medical offices, and a shopping center” while reserving nearly one third of the property for open space.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁷ Jacobs 2012a

¹⁴⁸ Jacobs 2012a, electronic document

¹⁴⁹ Jacobs 2012a

¹⁵⁰ Howard Research and Development Corporation 1965

¹⁵¹ Jacobs 2012a

¹⁵² Douglas 1965, F3

¹⁵³ Kelly 2015, 212



Figure 10: The original model for Columbia (top) and an aerial image of Columbia in 2018.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ Macht 2018

In Prince George’s County, one of the earliest attempts at creating a new town development was Hershel and Marvin Blumberg’s mixed-use, high-density project now known as “University Town Center.”¹⁵⁵ Differing from other new town projects, the Blumberg brothers’ plans centered on office buildings designed for the federal government and did not include any single-family houses. Rather, the project proposed several high-rise apartment buildings, underground parking and shopping areas, a theater, an ice rink, a sculptural garden, a cultural center, and a pedestrian mall.¹⁵⁶ Designed by architect Edward Durell Stone, with the first improvements made in 1962, only a small portion of this mixed-use complex was ultimately constructed as planned, in part because of the amount of negative press given to the height of the proposed high-rise towers.¹⁵⁷ Although four towers, each 295 feet tall, were approved by the local planning commission, these buildings were not built.¹⁵⁸

C.3. Community Development

To accompany the dramatic growth of residential properties during this period, fire and police stations, libraries, schools, hospitals, and other types of community buildings were constructed in suburban areas to cater to the growing populations. Many such public facilities were supported by the local tax base. “Suburbanites made a direct connection between their role as taxpayers and their right to a particular quality of life, delivered through services like good schools, and safe streets.”¹⁵⁹ While most community facilities were funded by the local municipality, developers occasionally contributed to their creations through dedicated funding, donation of land, or commitment of services. In Montgomery County, for example, some developers were asked to provide public amenities such as pools, community halls, libraries, and parks in exchange for zoning variances to build at increased densities.¹⁶⁰

Worship facilities also followed their congregations to the suburbs. Some of the first community buildings to be constructed in the suburbs during the 1960s were associated with worship. The large number of religious groups in the counties resulted in an abundance of facilities. In 1980, 43.5 percent of Montgomery County’s population adhered to one of 39 reported religious denominations.¹⁶¹ Catholicism was the most popular, comprising 134,000 residents and 30 congregations. The next closest was Methodist with 38,000 worshippers divided among 63 active congregations. In comparison, there were 13 Jewish congregations with 7,500 practitioners.¹⁶²

In Prince George’s County, despite a higher population, only 35.8 percent of the population stated that they adhered to a particular religion in 1980.¹⁶³ While fewer people had a religious adherence, the total quantity of religious affiliations in the county was higher than Montgomery, with 45 religions represented by active congregations. Catholicism in Prince George’s was also the most populous

¹⁵⁵ Weishar 2010

¹⁵⁶ Barnes 1965; Weishar 2010

¹⁵⁷ Barnes 1965; Weishar 2010

¹⁵⁸ Barnes 1965

¹⁵⁹ Nicolaidis and Wiese 217, electronic document

¹⁶⁰ Harrigan and von Hoffman 2002, 2

¹⁶¹ ARDA 1980a

¹⁶² ARDA 1980a

¹⁶³ ARDA 1980b

religion, with 132,000 people in 36 congregations stating adherence. The next most populous was Methodist with 27,000 practitioners in 47 congregations.¹⁶⁴ The quantity of congregations and the number of practitioners suggests Catholic churches and associated facilities were much larger than those of other denominations in Montgomery and Prince George's counties (Figure 11). Whereas earlier churches were located in the nucleus of residential areas, these new churches were located on the periphery of residential areas where more space for parking and facilities was available. They often provided both a physical and ideological buffer between homes and commercial centers.



Figure 11: St. Edward the Confessor Catholic Church in Bowie, a sprawling facility built in 1972 to accommodate increasing numbers of Catholics in the DC suburbs.¹⁶⁵

Other early community buildings in Maryland's suburbs were public schools. Baby boomers, newcomers moving to Maryland, and other factors resulted in an increase of 30,000 students entering public schools each year from 1959 through the early 1970s, a number equivalent to needing 20 new large schools per year.¹⁶⁶ Most of these new schools were located within or directly adjacent to planned suburban neighborhoods to minimize travel times for students and teachers. The surge in school-age children in Montgomery and Prince George's counties peaked around 1972 and declined into the 1980s. During this decline, shifting patterns of enrollment compounded municipalities' difficulty in providing adequate facilities in fast-growing areas, as many older and smaller neighborhood schools were closed to reduce costs.¹⁶⁷ As a result, children were bused greater distances to fill vacancies and meet legal integration ratios.

The burgeoning population also amplified need for additional community services, such as libraries, municipal offices, and courthouses. Prince George's County hired permanent firefighters rather than volunteers and enacted Maryland's first 9-1-1 Emergency Reporting System in 1973, resulting in the creation of additional safety facilities.¹⁶⁸ These new community safety services, including fire, rescue, and police stations, were located near, but often not within, residential subdivisions and along

¹⁶⁴ ARDA 1980b

¹⁶⁵ St. Edwards the Confessor 2018

¹⁶⁶ Callcott 1985, 178

¹⁶⁷ Baker 1974, C1

¹⁶⁸ Prince George's County Fire and Rescue Operations 2018

primary roadways. This position provided the greatest access to area inhabitants while limiting their exposure to sirens and other noise affiliated with these services.

Community services extended to hospitals and other health care facilities as well. As part of Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty and Medicare for seniors and Medicaid for the poor, the availability of health care for more Americans resulted in a dramatic increase in the number and size of suburban health care facilities. The National Bureau of Economic Research estimated that the introduction of these bills resulted in a 23 percent increase in total hospital construction expenditures between 1965 and 1970. The expenditure increased another 20 percent in the next two decades.¹⁶⁹ These new programs also increased the availability of funding for building specialized health facilities apart from hospitals, such as rehabilitation centers and nursing care facilities.¹⁷⁰ These new accommodations were often clustered in the suburbs near growing populations but not within residential areas.

C.4. Commercial Development

As the population rose in the Suburban Diversification Period, so did income levels. The median household income in 1960, for both suburban and urban Americans, was around \$9,241. By 1980, there was a dramatic difference in income levels between urban and suburban households. Urban households earned, on average, \$14,967 per year in 1980; their suburban counterparts earned an average of \$20,158.¹⁷¹ At the same time, the average number of people per household supported by this income decreased by almost 20 percent, from 3.3 to 2.8.¹⁷² Greater buying power, the increased availability of consumer goods through transportation improvements and mass production, and advertisements on television and in magazines.¹⁷³ pushed Americans' desire for material goods to new highs, leading to a proliferation of commercial enterprises.

To satisfy increased demand and improve profitability of both residential and commercial developments, designated retail space was more often incorporated into new planned developments. In accordance with the neighborhood unit, commercial businesses were located along primary roadways and residences were on nearby secondary streets. Commercial developments were often key components to address the new challenges faced by suburban communities in need of funding to support good schools, libraries, and emergency services, and other amenities. To help raise capital, suburban localities often employed "fiscal zones," areas where income-producing businesses could be clustered to raise tax revenue. One of the most prominent targets for these fiscal zones were department stores and early big box retailers, which could satisfy community commercial needs and be a boon for local tax coffers.¹⁷⁴

One of the most influential events affecting commercial development was a 1954 change to the Internal Revenue Code regarding depreciation for income producing properties on previously undeveloped, or "greenfield" sites. Instead of 40-year, straight-line depreciation, the code allowed

¹⁶⁹ Nesvisky n.d.

¹⁷⁰ Mausolf 2012, 15

¹⁷¹ Herbster 1983

¹⁷² Sumicrast and Willman 1971a, C1; Herbster 1983

¹⁷³ Nicolaides and Wiese 2017

¹⁷⁴ Nicolaides and Wiese 2017

“accelerated depreciation” with tax benefits front-loaded over the first seven years. This change amounted to a subsidy for new commercial properties, encouraging developers to locate projects beyond the edges of existing growth, rather than finding sites within existing populated areas. As tax benefits leveled off, developers would sell their properties after seven years to construct new buildings beyond the latest edges of growth. This cycle continued until the tax code was revised in 1986, long after the landscape of the “commercial strip” was well established.¹⁷⁵

Local zoning practices and the federal tax code combined to fuel the development of what became known as “edge cities” or “edge nodes.” Clustered around interstate and highway interchanges, these developments emerged in the 1970s and early 1980s as places with at least 600,000 or more square feet of retail space for lease.¹⁷⁶ Expanding with super-regional shopping malls and containing “more jobs than bedrooms,” edge nodes formed in unincorporated areas where the cost of land was low and zoning permitted low-cost sprawling buildings with oversized parking lots.¹⁷⁷ Nothing like the city center, edge nodes lacked pedestrian infrastructure and were constructed “at densities too low for the effective provision of public transport, yet high enough to cause traffic gridlock.”¹⁷⁸ Despite these access issues, the use of such commercial nodes at transit intersections continued.

As growing national and regional corporations gained a greater understanding of general marketing principals, many companies established branding that extended beyond their logo to the buildings they occupied and all physical products associated with their brand. This practice, known as place-product-packaging, emerged in the first half of the twentieth century, but became commonplace in the postwar period. Place-product-packaging involved standardization of buildings, landscapes, services, and products to promote a consistent experience across different locations. Each element of a consumer’s experience became part of a distinct product. Exterior signage, building forms, colors, shapes, and even food wrappers combined to promote a brand and assure the customer of the same experience at every location along the highway.¹⁷⁹

The practice was particularly effective for corporate buildings. Chain companies outcompeted small local businesses, creating consistent corporate designs and logos to provide a sense of familiarity and comfort. Using the same form, massing, and general site layout, this practice resulted in buildings that were easy to construct, as many of the materials were prefabricated offsite, and created a sense of familiarity on the American landscape.¹⁸⁰ Standardized building plans emerged in gas stations, lodging facilities, chain restaurants, and retail stores. McDonald’s, perhaps the most well-known example, even extended to their branding to their food wrappers, which portrayed a consistent theme that mirrored their architecture and signage (Figure 12).

Accelerated depreciation also brought about physical changes in commercial architecture. The tax code led to the construction of many buildings that were designed to be replaced, using materials and methods not intended to last much beyond seven years. Tax incentives encouraged the construction of new buildings and disinvestment in the old. As a result, a boom in the private development of

¹⁷⁵ Hayden 2003, 162-163

¹⁷⁶ Hayden 2003, 154-155

¹⁷⁷ Hayden 2003, 155, 173; Nelson and Dueker 1990, 94

¹⁷⁸ Hayden 2003, 175

¹⁷⁹ Jakle and Sculle 1994, 18-19

¹⁸⁰ Jakle and Sculle 1994, 18

shopping malls, commercial strips, gas stations, fast-food restaurants, motels, supermarkets, and other commercial venues changed the suburban landscape.

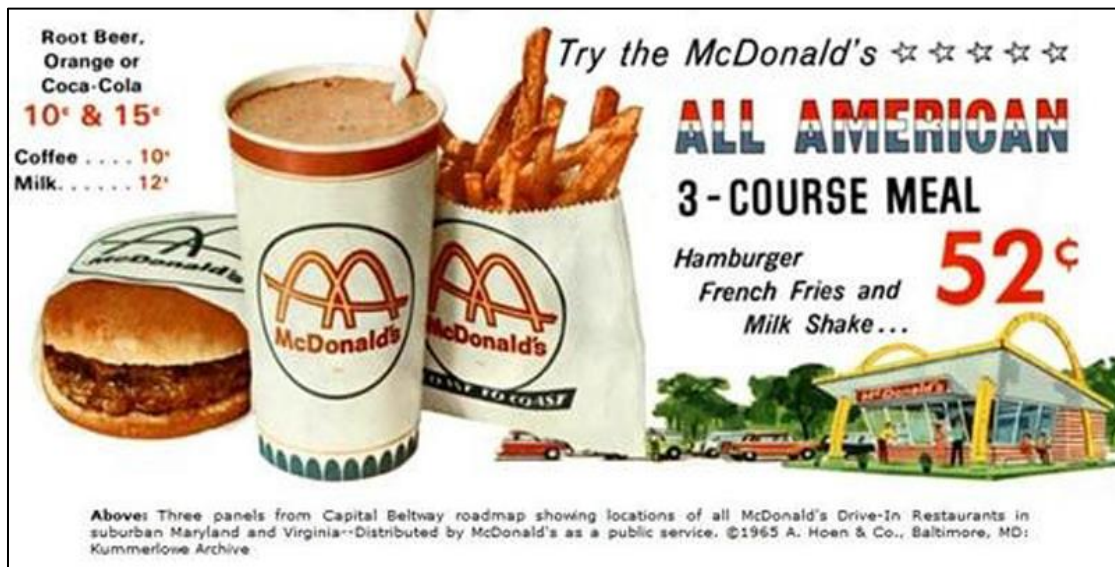


Figure 12: McDonald's ad from a 1965 Capital Beltway Map which highlighted the locations of area restaurants.¹⁸¹ Note the place-product-packaging reflected in the connection of the architecture to the food wrappers.

As the economy strengthened and the quantity of stores increased, many families came to see shopping as an activity rather than as a necessity. Improvements in product development brought decreased prices, encouraging purchases beyond household needs. Moreover, changing family dynamics, such as the increase in females entering the workforce, brought about a desire for expedited shopping experiences. These factors drove demand for new consumer outlets, notably the shopping center, many of which were anchored by department stores.

Shopping centers were one of the earliest commercial property types to emerge in the suburbs. Shopping centers were originally marketed as a sort of community where "people would converge for shopping, cultural activity, and social interaction."¹⁸² Many adopted the same name as nearby residential communities, thus creating both a geographic closeness and a perceived common identity with nearby residents to encourage patronage. Restaurant development during this time grew in popularity as the desire for eating out increased. More women were employed outside of the household, which distinctly changed the daily pattern of home life, and families were engaged in more extracurricular activities that resulted in less time at home to prepare meals. Concurrently, families took more vacations, and the traveling public sought fast meals on the go.

Other commercial venues that proliferated during this period were banks, hotels/motels, and auto-related industries like gas and service stations and auto dealerships. Like shopping centers, most of these businesses were located along primary transportation routes for ease of access and increased visibility. Recreation-based and food-based industries, in particular, thrived during this period. Not

¹⁸¹ Live Journal 2015

¹⁸² Feinberg and Meoli 1991

only did suburban residents have a higher household income, but the movement of jobs to the suburbs, increased transit options, and better planned communities allowed commuters to run errands during lunch or on the way home from work. The availability of these services in the suburbs made residents even less reliant on urban downtowns. In 1970, the estimated average commute time for urban residents was 22 minutes. The average commute time for suburban residents was 23 minutes, despite living farther from metropolitan areas and often traveling longer distances.¹⁸³ With shopping and retail in the suburbs increasingly comparable to that available downtown, the advantages of urban living began to fade.

C.5. Office Development

The relocation of corporate offices to custom-built campuses in the suburbs began in the period following World War II but hastened in the 1960s as city centers entered a period of decline. Offices associated with a host of employers followed this path, including private industries, county governments, and state agencies. This movement was the result of several concurrent trends. The first and foremost was the dramatic improvement to area transportation networks that occurred in the 1960s and 1970s throughout the country and especially in the Maryland/DC suburbs. The Federal Highway Act of 1956 and other legislation brought about the construction of the Capital Beltway and several additional new roadways. These new roads cut down on travel time and opened previously inaccessible areas to office development.

Accompanying these transportation improvements was a change in corporate culture, as business leaders recognized the importance of a good work-life balance. The physical work environment played an important role in this new corporate philosophy. Placing an office complex within a pastoral landscape provided employees a healthier atmosphere for the mind and body. Employers also recognized that suburban locations closer not only to nature, but to employees' homes as well, could increase productivity and be a powerful recruiting tool.¹⁸⁴

New offices of all kinds embraced the changes in office design and tax incentives during this period. At the high end of the scale, corporate suburban headquarters—including those of federal headquarters, local governments, and private enterprises—began to include “low-rise modernist buildings centrally set within sites of 200 acres or more, grand entry drives culminating at reception lobbies, prominent water features, parking lots invisible to passing motorists and executive offices, and an encompassing pastoral landscape replete with sweeping vistas.”¹⁸⁵ (Figure 13) This provided bucolic respite for employees, an impressive-looking “neighbor” for area residents, and often notable tax benefits for the municipality. These new office complexes were located along primary transportation routes near, but not within, residential or mixed-use developments due to their extensive size.

In addition to single-company corporate campuses, the first large-scale, multi-business commercial developments appeared during this period, influenced in part by the same trend driving new commercial development on the outskirts of the city: accelerated depreciation. These office parks

¹⁸³ Herbster 1983

¹⁸⁴ Mozingo 2011, 2

¹⁸⁵ Mozingo 2011, 102

emerged in the 1950s as “a lower-cost, flexible alternative to the corporate campus.”¹⁸⁶ Office parks operated through one of several approaches: tenants rented space in existing buildings; developers constructed a new building to suit the needs of a tenant; or tenants purchased land or obtained a long-term lease and constructed their own facility on site. In most cases, maintenance and overall management of the office park remained in the hands of the developer or an assigned management company. In this way, developers could ensure a consistent appearance and experience, which helped to protect real estate values.¹⁸⁷ In 1968, ULI published the first office park guidelines, which helped structure these new developments at the federal, state, and local levels.¹⁸⁸ By that time, suburban municipalities struggling to pull in sufficient tax revenue to support expanding community needs like schools and fire stations were eager to accommodate clustered office development. With restrictive covenants and deep setbacks, they made for a sympathetic land use for nearby residential neighborhoods.¹⁸⁹



Figure 13: The National Institutes of Health headquarters in Bethesda was redesigned in the early 1960s in accordance with corporate design philosophies, with tree-lined access roads, visible parking lots, large signage, and high-rise buildings, as shown in this 1963 image.¹⁹⁰

C.6. Industrial Development

Similar to the postwar pattern of corporate offices relocating to the suburbs, industrial facilities also vacated the urban core. This move provided more space at a lower cost and allowed companies to tap into a larger pool of employees in increasingly diversified suburban areas. The federal government

¹⁸⁶ Mozingo 2011, 151

¹⁸⁷ Mozingo 2011, 157

¹⁸⁸ Mozingo 2011, 179

¹⁸⁹ Mozingo, 2011 156–157

¹⁹⁰ Leffler 1963

also supported the decentralization of industries, especially during the Cold War, as some industries in metropolitan areas could be targets of a nuclear attack.¹⁹¹

Technological advances during the postwar years revolutionized industrial transportation and production. As the national road system grew in the 1940s and 1950s, trucks became an increasingly important mode of freight transport. Initially, truck freight supplemented existing transportation modes, but as highways improved throughout the 1950s, and with the passage of the Federal Highway Act of 1956, industries once dependent on proximity to waterways or railroads were suddenly freed to locate anywhere with truck access. As trucks grew larger, they could haul greater quantities of goods, crossing the country on new highways and bridges. The truck freight industry grew so large so fast that Congress passed the Federal-Aid Highway Amendments of 1974, which limited truck size and weight to ensure highway safety.¹⁹²

Improvements in manufacturing technology and assembly-line production, such as single-use manufacturing, in which plants produced a single product and required fewer machines, less land, and less staff than a multi-product operation,¹⁹³ meant industrial buildings could be smaller, and large multistory buildings in existing urban areas became obsolete. Compounding the issue, environmental regulations of the late 1960s and early 1970s, such as the Clean Water Act and the Clean Air Act, also required modifications to facilities. Many businesses found that building new complexes to meet environmental regulations was less expensive than retrofitting urban facilities (Figure 14).



Figure 14: Posner, shown above, was one of the hundreds of industries to move out of DC. This major distributor of steel products moved from their original 1960 DC location into a new corporate headquarters in Capitol Heights, Maryland, in 1975 for more space and to escape DC congestion and regulations.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹¹ Gourney and Corbin Sies 2002, 38

¹⁹² FHWA 2008

¹⁹³ Maryland Department of Business and Economic Development 2014, 1

¹⁹⁴ Posner 2018

Large, planned industrial parks on undeveloped land far outside the city began replacing traditional industrial areas. Suburban locations held the advantages of cheaper land, lower construction costs, and proximity to their employees' homes. Industrial parks incorporated suburban planning trends such as curvilinear streets, architectural harmony, and open landscaped space, offering an uncongested suburban atmosphere with abundant parking.

Developers subdivided large parcels of land, established restrictive covenants, and built roads and sometimes rail spurs leading to large, open lots. These parcels were sold or leased to industries for use as manufacturing centers and warehouses, allowing industrial parks to grow based on demand.¹⁹⁵ Developers of these new industrial parks sought areas with easy access to major transportation routes and used covenants to limit building density and provide buffer space between adjacent land uses and individual tenants.¹⁹⁶

Industrial research facilities with specialized scientific equipment and technologically advanced operation needs emerged in the same manner as corporate campuses and were associated with a host of institutions, including the federal government, colleges and universities, and private industries. In particular, as the federal government constructed new research facilities in suburban Maryland, defense contractors and high-tech industries followed them. Many such facilities were high-employment centers along large transportation corridors, such as I-270 near Gaithersburg. These new industrial labs mirrored their factory-based counterparts as they often required easy access for large transport vehicles, large interior spaces for conducting experiments of all sizes, and sometimes particular environmental containment or safety systems. Placing these new industrial labs in the suburbs allowed them to grow as needed and be close to their respective pool of workers.

C.7. Recreational Development

Part of the growing environmental movement, the campaign to preserve open space in the 1960s and 1970s was driven by three concerns: conservation, amenities, and recreation. For engineers and conservationists, the loss of undeveloped areas that prevented flooding and absorbed runoff was upsetting a critical ecological balance across the country. This created a pragmatic problem that could be addressed through the creation of more open space. On the personal and cultural level, those seeking open space as an aesthetic amenity advocated for the "visual relief" that greenspace provided in sprawling suburbs as well as the spiritual benefits that came from directly experiencing nature. A broad range of recreational areas were also considered necessary to fight juvenile delinquency and support healthy family activities.

The growth of parks began at the federal level. The Mission 66 program was formally established in 1956 as a 10-year planning initiative to increase park visitation, modify existing parks to accommodate increasing auto traffic, repair deteriorating park facilities, create new parks, and establish long-term funding for park maintenance and staffing.¹⁹⁷ The Mission 66 program was so successful that similar initiatives extended into subsequent decades.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁵ Mozingo 2011, 151

¹⁹⁶ Mozingo 2011, 152

¹⁹⁷ Robinson et al. 2012

¹⁹⁸ National Park Service 2005

The Mission 66 initiative also had a notable impact on park architecture. Parks developed in the 1920s and 1930s, and later from the mid-1970s through the 1990s, relied on architectural styles with historical precedent. However, parks established from the mid-1950s through the mid-1970s reflected the tenets of modern architecture. Using open plans, exposed raw materials, and glass to allow natural light, architects created affordable buildings that could accommodate more people and blend with the natural environment.¹⁹⁹

One of the challenges of the NPS' initiatives of this era were to balance increased attendance with improved conservation. Public facilities established in the early decades of park development were in places of specific interest to tourists. These same areas, though, were often the most sensitive in terms of ecosystems and cultural fabric. New conservation and preservation philosophies in the 1960s and 1970s led to the relocation of numerous facilities outside the boundaries of sensitive zones, including visitor's centers, restrooms, parking lots, and roadways.²⁰⁰ Many parks also established systems to monitor attendance to allow a controlled number of visitors per day and limits on the quantity of overnight patrons, thus avoiding overcrowding and negative impacts to natural and cultural features.

Similar trends influenced park planning in Maryland. Championed by the M-NCPPC and guided by the 1964 General Plan, the quantity of parks increased dramatically in suburban Maryland in the Suburbanization Diversification Period. The M-NCPPC gained influence following the renewed environmental interest of the 1960s and 1970s. The primary focus of early planning and conservation efforts by the M-NCPPC was protection of vital watersheds from ongoing suburban development, which was accomplished via the creation of an extensive system of stream valley parks. During the latter part of the Suburban Diversification Period, the focus of M-NCPPC planning shifted to encompass larger regional parks and community recreation facilities for new suburban residents.²⁰¹

While the M-NCPPC and county-based planning offices ensured the establishment of parks at the local level, the State of Maryland also created two new parks in the region during this period. Patuxent River State Park, a portion of which is in Montgomery County, was founded in 1963 and contains 6,703 acres. Rosaryville State Park, established in 1976, comprises 1,039 acres.²⁰² Among other factors, these sites were chosen based on their natural landscape, proximity to the growing metropolitan population, and location near new interstate highways. Historic resources were also a consideration, as Rosaryville State Park encompassed the historic Mount Airy Mansion. In 1962, the state park system established a Division of Recreation and Leisure Services to increase public engagement and public offerings throughout their system, such as guided nature walks, concession stands, and interpretive programs.²⁰³

In 1957, Montgomery County had approximately 3,000 acres of parks and Prince George's had around 1,000 acres.²⁰⁴ By 1977, following strict regulations limiting development in the late 1960s, together

¹⁹⁹ Robinson et al. 2012

²⁰⁰ Carr et al. 2015, E6–E8

²⁰¹ M-NCPPC and Montgomery County 2017

²⁰² Maryland Department of Natural Resources 2017, 20

²⁰³ Callcott 1985, 267

²⁰⁴ Hodge and Antigone 1977, MD1

these two counties had more than 70,000 acres of public park land and preserved open space.²⁰⁵ Over 75 percent of this acreage includes federal, state, and county parks, while the remaining acreage is operated by towns, local agencies, and private groups.²⁰⁶

Beyond parks, other recreational property types appeared in the suburbs, including country clubs, swim and tennis clubs, and public golf courses. Both public and private clubs were created throughout the country and the Maryland/DC suburbs during this period. By the early 1960s there were 3,300 country clubs in the United States with a total of 1.7 million members.²⁰⁷ Although private clubs catered to those with disposable income and were thus economically segregated, the social and religious makeup of these facilities became more diverse during the Suburbanization Diversification Period. In 1962, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith surveyed 803 country clubs nationwide to examine membership practices. They found 224 to be nondiscriminatory, 505 clubs to be predominantly Christian (of which 416 had no Jews at all and 89 had quota systems), and 74 to be predominantly Jewish (with 71 exclusively Jewish and three with quotas).²⁰⁸ These relative ratios remained constant for the remainder of the twentieth century.

The patterns of development of these recreational facilities were based on available land, quantity of residents, natural conditions, and regional economics. Country clubs and golf courses required an extensive amount of land. A small par 3 or 4 course requires between 75 and 100 acres, and a standard course, with a full 72 circuit, requires 120 to 200 acres.²⁰⁹ Moreover, the location of golf courses is dependent on slopes, soils, vegetation, climate, and water, as well as more the more pragmatic issues of locations of utilities and economic feasibility. For these reasons, some developers established a golf course as part of their residential plan from the outset, to ensure that large swaths of land were set aside in the beginning. This occurred at developments such as Fort Washington Estates in Montgomery County and Bay Hills in Prince George's. Swim and tennis clubs required the opposite conditions as a country club or golf course—they were often very near or even within residential communities and required much less space. These facilities offered access to exercise in areas where natural amenities were not as abundant. Each required a smaller parcel, often just a few acres, that contained a primary building and exterior amenities including tennis courts and pools.

²⁰⁵ Hodge and Antigone 1977

²⁰⁶ Horrigan and von Hoffman 2002, 2

²⁰⁷ Gordon 1990

²⁰⁸ Gordon 1990

²⁰⁹ Hurdzan 2005, 7

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D. DESIGN IN THE SUBURBS

Throughout the Suburban Diversification Period, numerous influences combined to drive the design of new development. These include standards established by governments and developers, the advent of new materials and building technologies, popular styles and public opinion, and the actual people, including developers and architects, that combined these factors to shape the suburban landscape between 1961 and 1980.

D.1. Planning Standards

From 1960 to 1970, the number of housing units in Prince George's County more than doubled, and the number came close to doubling in Montgomery County. Routinely discussed in ULI and NAHB publications during the 1960s, buildings were increasingly oriented in relation to light, air, winds, noise, traffic circulation patterns, and topography. Although most projects resulted in significant regrading to maximize the number of buildable lots, many developers consciously retained natural landscape features to ensure proper drainage, but also used these elements to create scenic vistas to enhance the appeal of their properties.²¹⁰ Local architect Carl Freeman, for example, became known for working with the natural setting of his developments, creating a "comprehensive, ecological plan to fit buildings into the land, preserve mature trees, and promote outdoor recreation."²¹¹

Within typical residential subdivisions of the period, the size and configuration of blocks were subject to specific zoning regulations but ranged between 1,000 to 1,800 feet in length. Longer blocks lessened the area needed for streets, thereby reducing costs and increasing safety.²¹² Minimum lot sizes were also established by local zoning ordinances, although the industry's "old rule of thumb," maintained that "the depth of the lot should be about twice its width."²¹³

Zoning regulations and planning specifications for community, commercial, industrial, and recreational facilities also followed prescribed local parameters. It was often formulaic and based on percentages of the land to be developed. ULI's 1968 guidelines, for example, state: "Non-residential uses within the neighborhood tract should not exceed 35 percent; 20 percent is a norm for the area devoted to streets; 10 percent in public open space, including schools and churches and 5 percent in commercial use."²¹⁴ To take advantage of existing semi-public and private institutions, developers typically located new residential subdivisions in proximity to established community resources like police and fire protection as well as landfills. In the 1960s, construction of new neighborhood schools was on the rise, but by the 1970s, busing programs had been established to consolidate educational facilities and conserve resources.

²¹⁰ Pettis et al. 2012, 74

²¹¹ Kelly 2012, 8-9.

²¹² ULI 1968, 133

²¹³ ULI 1968, 136

²¹⁴ ULI 1968, 130-131

All forms of development included specifications for roads, lighting, and sidewalks as part of the design plan. In single-family residential subdivisions of the Suburban Diversification Period, street networks predominantly consisted of cul-de-sacs and loop streets for internal circulation.²¹⁵ Sidewalks and streetlights were a discretionary feature of roadway planning determined by the developer, with streetlights commonly only on one side of the street and sidewalk width varying between 3 and 5 feet.²¹⁶ Street trees were used to beautify residential developments in this period, often lining one or both sides of neighborhood roadways. In multi-family developments, ULI recommended grouping trees at the ends of garden apartment buildings to preserve open space and planting low-branching trees along any area that needed screening.²¹⁷ In addition to trees, shrubs, hedges, and vines were commonly used in planting schemes to enhance all types of development, particularly around main points of entry and other common areas.

D.2. Construction Materials and Methods

After World War II, the federal government stimulated innovation in the building industry by providing subsidies to boost housing construction. Considerable experimentation was conducted on structural systems, such as steel and wood panel construction, which provided an alternative to balloon and platform framing using pre-cut lumber.²¹⁸ These innovations resulted in increased use of mass-production methods and uniform industry standards, fueling suburban growth and standardizing development.

Aluminum, which was an important component of glass and metal curtain wall systems regularly found in commercial construction, became commonplace. The metal was also used to produce doors, window frames, and siding.²¹⁹ Following the energy crises in the 1970s, the significant amounts of energy and raw materials necessary to produce aluminum led to a decline in use for residential construction.

For a time, simulated masonry products like “Perma-Stone,” “Formstone,” and “Rostone” were popular as exterior cladding during the 1950s, but by the 1980s, vinyl siding had achieved market dominance.²²⁰ Vinyl siding grew to become “the most commonly used siding product in the United States, as it surpassed aluminum siding in the early 1980s.”²²¹ Residential construction in the 1960s and 1970s was also affected by innovations in concrete technology. Decorative perforated precast concrete blocks were commonly used for residential interiors and exteriors as screens, particularly in Ranch houses. Although these new materials were used extensively in new construction, brick remained the preferred exterior cladding material for new residential construction in Maryland during

²¹⁵ ULI 1968, 145

²¹⁶ ULI 1968, 150

²¹⁷ ULI 1968, 173

²¹⁸ Pettis et al. 2012, 79

²¹⁹ Pettis et al. 2012, 80

²²⁰ Pettis et al. 2012, 83

²²¹ Pettis et al. 2012, 88

the 1970s. The use of brick, usually as a veneer, peaked in 1974 when it was used in 65 percent of single-family houses before falling to 30 percent in 1988 and 1989.²²²

Synthetic stucco, also known as Exterior Insulation and Finishing System (EIFS), originated in Europe after World War II as a way of repairing damaged buildings. It consists of an insulating base, most often polystyrene foam, affixed to a substrate such as plywood sheathing and overlaid with a basecoat and protective topcoat that give the appearance of masonry or real stucco.²²³ In 1969, the Dryvit Corporation introduced the system in the United States, where it was used primarily for commercial buildings until the 1980s, when it began to be used in residential construction.²²⁴ Energy efficient, the material was popular during the 1970s energy shortage and has often been used to retrofit older buildings, providing additional insulation and giving them an updated appearance. Unlike traditional stucco, the material is susceptible to damage from impacts and may also be identified by dents or holes and the hollow sound it makes when knocked on.

Innovations in wood, glass, and plastic materials also made their way into American homes during this period. In the 1960s, subflooring and sheathing were commonly made of plywood and particle board, including T1-11, manufactured to imitate vertical shiplap siding. With the availability of cheaper, and lower maintenance imitation materials, wood and wood-composite siding became less common in Maryland during the Suburban Diversification Period, but its use increased from 15 percent in 1974 to a high of 38 percent in 1986 and 1988.²²⁵

The Anderson Corporation began efforts to standardize the size of windows and launched the first prefabricated unit in 1932, later introducing the “Pressure Seal” unit that eliminated the weight-and-pulley system and welded insulating glass in its “Flexivent” awning window that was said to preclude the need for storm windows.²²⁶ In the 1960s, Anderson produced a “Perma-shield system” that used “a low-maintenance vinyl cladding to protect wood sashes from exposure to the elements,” which soon became industry standard.²²⁷ Window types and materials varied greatly in this period, but in residential construction—particularly traditional and Contemporary-styled houses—wood-framed, double-hung sashes remained popular. Steel- and aluminum-framed hopper, awning, and casement sashes were also common in residential construction, especially in the early half of the period. Aluminum-framed, fixed-sash windows were common in commercial buildings throughout the 1960s and 1970s.

Another technological advance that affected buildings of all types in this period was the widespread adoption of air conditioning. Introduced in commercial buildings in the 1920s, one of the first residential window air conditioning units was developed by Henry Glason in the mid-1940s. By 1947, manufacturers were producing 43,000 units annually.²²⁸ Window units were much more common by the late 1960s, where even in the south, fewer than half of new houses included whole-house air

²²² Bradtmueller and Foley 2014

²²³ The Hartford Loss Control Department 1997, 3

²²⁴ Eisenhart 2002

²²⁵ Bradtmueller and Foley 2014

²²⁶ Pettis et al. 2012, 87

²²⁷ Pettis et al. 2012, 87–88

²²⁸ U.S. Department of Energy 2015

conditioning systems.²²⁹ The use of central air conditioning dramatically altered building construction in the second half of the twentieth century, resulting in “a new kind of architecture, one in which traditional hot-climate devices such as porches, cross-ventilation or pools of water, which create both layers and permeability between inside and out, [gave] way to sealed boxes.”²³⁰

D.3. Architectural Styles

In general, architectural stylistic preferences established in the Modern Period (1930–1960) continued into the 1980s (Table 2). However, broad variations on these styles emerged in each region of the country through preferred forms, stylistic features, and material selection.²³¹ New styles, including Contemporary, Googie, Modernist, New Formalist, Brutalist, Postmodernist, Shed, Mansard, and Neo-Expressionist emerged in the mid-twentieth century as technology advanced and societal preferences changed. Along with established styles such as the Colonial Revival and Tudor Revival, these new styles reflected evolving public sentiment throughout the 1960s and 1970s, as optimism about the future gave way to caution, and concerns grew about human impacts to the environment. By 1980, Postmodernist architects were again looking to the past, referencing historical styles and combining traditional elements in new, sometimes playful, ways.

New Formalist, Brutalist, Googie, and Neo-Expressionist styles were commonly used for community, commercial, industrial, office, and recreational spaces, where this new wave of modern architecture and design often exhibited transparent building systems that visually united exterior and interior spaces, smaller offices and workrooms, larger common and social spaces, and a focus on bringing outdoor elements into interior spaces.²³² Many apartments and non-residential buildings drew more generally upon the architectural precedent of the Modern Movement. This “Modernist” style incorporated elements of many different styles, including Art Deco, Art Moderne, and the International Style, with the influence of architects such as Walter Gropius, Le Corbusier, and Mies van der Rohe. A less expressive version of Modern Movement styles, it is characterized by straight lines, simple surfaces, minimal ornament, large or ribbon windows, and flat roofs. As the environmental movement grew and oil shortages encouraged energy conservation, some Modernist buildings gained a more horizontal emphasis with smaller windows suggestive of Brutalism. Later Modernist examples demonstrate Postmodernist influences, emphasizing volume and shape by the expansive use of reflective glass and smooth exteriors.²³³

Styles incorporated in commercial architecture were frequently simplified versions of those established on other building types. Rather than adapt commercial forms to fit a particular style, stylistic elements were applied to existing building types. Typically, readily identifiable features or ornament were used to convey ideals associated with a style. Early in the Suburban Diversification Period, commercial properties drew on the Colonial Revival style, incorporating elements such as gabled roofs, cupolas and multi-light windows. The Googie style was less common in Maryland, but appeared on gas stations, restaurants, and shopping centers, most often through expressive signage. By the end of the period, Postmodernist ornament became popular on commercial buildings, where

²²⁹ Jacobs 2015

²³⁰ Moore 2018, electronic document

²³¹ Pettis et al. 2012, 50

²³² Robinson & Associates, Inc. 2010, 30







²³³ Gerlenter 1999, 279






the bold, simple geometry lent itself well to affordable applied ornament. These commercialized versions rarely represented the full stylistic expression seen in residential or public architecture.





The Contemporary style, derived from California Ranch houses and featuring flat or angled roofs, overhanging eaves, and windows to bring the outdoors in, became popular during this period both for residential architecture and for giving other building types a modern, yet approachable, appearance. However, for most residential buildings, designers and architects chose to use traditional or updated versions of historical styles. Buildings constructed in historical styles evoked permanence, stability, and traditional social values. Styles such as Colonial Revival and Tudor Revival remained popular throughout the Suburbanization Diversification Period, especially in the years surrounding the celebration of the Bicentennial, when they were viewed as a tribute to America's past. Some architectural historians term these styles "eclectic," as each marries elements of historically based architectural styles to form a new cohesive whole.²³⁴ The Shed style, an outgrowth of Postmodernism, became closely tied to the environmental movement, in part because it evoked simple, utilitarian building forms and emphasized natural materials. Similarly, as the environmental movement gained momentum, the muted Mansard style was easily expressed by the application of a simple mansard parapet to new or existing buildings. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, historical styles were common in residential construction, but could also be seen in community, commercial, office, industrial, and recreational facilities.







²³⁴ McAlester 2013, 407

Table 2: Common architectural styles, 1961–1980.

Style	Common Building Types	Common Characteristics	Residential Example	Non-Residential Example
Brutalist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Residential • Office • Commercial • Community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Heavy use of concrete as a structural and decorative material (brick and stucco were more commonly used to the same effect, use of wood is rare) • Angular geometric forms in massing • Blocky, heavy appearance • Narrow, recessed window openings 		
Colonial Revival	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Residential • Commercial • Community • Recreational 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Generally balanced and symmetrical façade (excluding attached garage) • Side-gabled, gambrel, and hipped roofs • Brick, stone, or horizontal siding • Double-hung windows with shutters • Decorative door surrounds that can include pediments, side-lights and/or fanlights • Porches, porticos, or arcades • Wood cornice that may feature dentils • May include water tables, belt courses, dormers, or symmetrical chimneys 		
Contemporary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Residential • Commercial • Community • Industrial 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low-pitched roof with wide overhanging eaves, often with exposed beams; • Natural cladding like wood, brick, or stone; • Indoor-outdoor connection • Asymmetrical façade • Obscured primary entry; • Large or ribbon windows 		

Style	Common Building Types	Common Characteristics	Residential Example	Non-Residential Example
Googie	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Commercial 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Emphasis on dramatic angles and bright colors Use of exaggerated shapes Steel and plastic materials common Bold signs with neon lighting 	N/A	
International Style	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Residential Commercial Community Industrial Office 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Unornamented wall surfaces, sometimes clad in white stucco, metal, or glass Rational organization Structural system expressed on exterior Strong sense of geometry often with asymmetrical elevations Flat roof 		
Mansard	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Residential Commercial Community Office 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dominant mansard roof, often featuring dormers May feature pavilion or "double mansard" roof with low-pitched hipped section topped by steeper mansard Horizontal emphasis; hugs the ground Natural materials and neutral tones Lower level commonly clad in brick or stone Double-leaf primary entry door common, some topped by segmental arches 		

Style	Common Building Types	Common Characteristics	Residential Example	Non-Residential Example
Modernist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multi-family • Commercial • Community • Office • Industrial 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Flat roofs • Simple geometry • Minimal ornament • May incorporate a variety of Modern Movement styles 		
Neo-Expressionist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use of sculptural forms, avoiding sharp angles and rectangles • Emphasis on continuity of form with curved dramatic lines • Heavy use of laminate wood framing members, moldable plastics, and concrete 	N/A	
New Formalist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recreational • Office • Commercial • Community 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Symmetrical façade with column-like supports, often arched like an arcade • Classical influence • Rectangular massing; flat roof slab often overhanging • Smooth exterior surfaces, commonly stucco or stone panels; may also use grills or patterned screens • First floor often differentiated from upper levels, can be open for parking, adding to sense of monumentality 	N/A	

Style	Common Building Types	Common Characteristics	Residential Example	Non-Residential Example
Postmodernist	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Residential • Commercial • Community • Industrial 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Architectural designs may present ironic combinations of forms that can be exaggerated or distorted • Simple or oversized geometric shapes • Applied ornament • Historical references are playful, not literal 		
Shed	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Residential • Commercial • Community • Office 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multi-directional shed roofs • Asymmetrical form • Wood cladding (frequently vertical boards but also diagonal, horizontal, or shingles) • Smooth wall and roof junctions with little to no overhang at the eaves • Clerestory windows common • Inconspicuous primary entrance 		
Tudor Revival	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Residential • Commercial 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Typically feature casement windows • Some faux half-timbering and stucco present at the façade along with a front-gabled roof section • Some windows or decorative features with diamond lights • Occasional use of dovecotes at gable peak, decorative planters, and bargeboard 		

D.4. Developers

Residential, community, commercial, and industrial development in suburban Maryland was undertaken by an array of individuals and firms (Table 3). Most of the residential subdivisions created after 1960 were planned and constructed by large development or homebuilder companies and associated professionals, often in phases or sections over time. “By 1959 it was estimated that 1 percent of builders were responsible for one-third of the new houses built, and the top 10 percent of builders were responsible for two-thirds of the houses built”²³⁵ throughout the country. The quantity of developers expanded dramatically during the Suburban Diversification Period. In 1967, for example, over 50 home developers within 77 communities were advertising in *The Washington Post* with developments underway in the Maryland and Virginia suburbs and ready for sales (Figure 15).

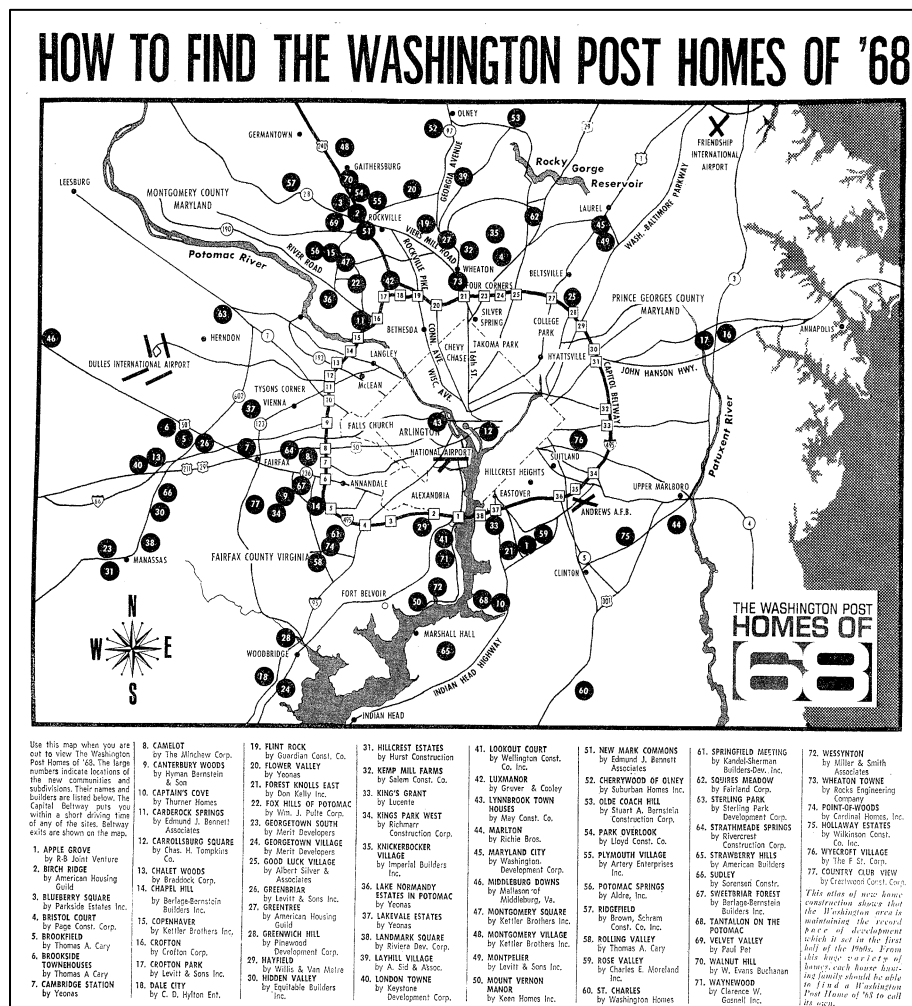


Figure 15: “Homes of 68” showing developers and communities in *The Washington Post* on September 16, 1967.²³⁶

²³⁵ Pettis et al. 2012, 67

²³⁶ *The Washington Post* 1967, E14

Some of the largest companies, known as “merchant builders,” had been in the business for decades, perfecting mass-production techniques to build inexpensive houses of similar design in a short amount of time. These companies oversaw the purchase, division, plan, and design of entire neighborhoods.²³⁷ They often even involved with the financing of home sales (Figure 16).

Figure 16: Woodcrest in Prince George's County ad from 1971.²³⁸
Developers Lewis & Silverman offered their own financing.

Levitt and Sons may be the most well-known merchant builder. After their success with Levittowns in New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, Belair at Bowie was the fourth and final “mega-community” built by Levitt and Sons.²³⁹ Purchasing land in 1957 and beginning construction in the early 1960s, Levitt and Sons planned for a “complete” community containing more than 4,500 houses around activity nodes composed of educational, commercial, religious, and recreation facilities in Belair at Bowie. Ultimately, these nodes were not fully realized, and the final version of Belair was a bedroom community that resembled much of the Levitts’ other work. In the end, Belair at Bowie contained nearly 7,500 single-family dwellings; the Levittowns of Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey each contained more than 17,000 houses.²⁴⁰

²³⁷ Pettis et al. 2012, 67

²³⁸ *The Washington Post* 1971, D18

²³⁹ Jacobs 2012b, electronic document

²⁴⁰ Jacobs 2012b

Small-scale developers and builders also continued to work in this period, typically constructing speculative housing using popular residential prototypes for single-family dwellings as isolated residences or infill in older neighborhoods.²⁴¹ Combating the poor reputation of small-scale developers and real estate speculators, a class of developers known as “community builders,” advocated for innovative urban planning concepts and public-private partnerships to create well-planned development. Originally coined in the early 1900s, the term “community builder” described select developers who purchased large tracts of land and sought to develop them in accordance to a master plan, “often with the professional expertise of site planners, landscape architects, architects, and engineers.”²⁴² These developments included residential units, commercial centers, community amenities, and more. Examples of community builders in the Maryland/DC suburbs include the Kettler Brothers, who created Montgomery Village (1962), Montgomery Square (1968), and Coperhaver (1972); Edmund Bennett, who created Potomac Overlook (1958), Flint Hill (1961), Carderock Spring (1962), and Newmark Commons (1967); and Lewis & Silverman who created Woodcrest (1970), Maple Walk (1971), and Village Overlook (1975).

Private financial and investment entities, encouraged by federal monetary policy, further supported construction and development in the suburbs in the 1960s, especially related to commercial development and large residential neighborhoods. Newly created real estate investment trusts (REITs) along with investment banks, Fortune 500 companies, and major pension and insurance funds heavily invested in metropolitan area real estate development.²⁴³

Flush with new capital, real estate firms dramatically increased the scale and scope of development after 1960. In places like California, development schemes reached gargantuan proportions that made even postwar developments like Levittown look small by comparison [...] The period saw the rise of the first truly national development firms, corporate real-estate enterprises such as Ryan and Pulte Homes, Kaufman and Broad, and Levitt, which had operations in multiple U.S.—and even international—markets.²⁴⁴

Increased land use regulation curtailed the most devastating environmental practices brought on by large-scale development but did little to alter the general format and scale of these new construction projects. As oversight and control of development ultimately fell to local planning commissions, the impacts of such legislation varied across the country. The political ramifications of stricter land-use regulations at the local level often resulted in a loss of developer interest. As a result, many counties made no effort to control development, with builders taking advantage of power scenarios wherein localities were desperate for tax-generating projects.²⁴⁵ Regardless of intentions, the “drive for profit pushed community planning to the back burner in much of postwar suburbia.”²⁴⁶ Developers continued to drive the construction and planning market into the 1980s and beyond.

²⁴¹ Pettis et al. 2012, 67

²⁴² Ames et al. 2004, E-9

²⁴³ Nicolaides and Wiese 2017

²⁴⁴ Nicolaides and Wiese 2017, electronic document

²⁴⁵ Rome 2001, 266

²⁴⁶ Nicolaides and Wiese 2017, electronic document

*Table 3: Representative list of key developers and builders active during the Suburbanization Diversification Period.
Maryland Inventory of Historic Property (MIHP) numbers included if applicable.*

Key Area	Developer/ Firm	Resource Type	Example Resource
Montgomery County	American Housing Guild	– Residential	– Birch Ridge, 1967 – Greentree, 1968
Montgomery County	Edmund J. Bennett	– Residential	– Potomac Overlook, 1958 (M: 35-157) – Flint Hill, 1961 (M: 35-158) – Carderock Springs, 1962 (M: 29-59) – New Mark Commons, 1967 (M: 26-40)
Montgomery County	Ross Cortese; Also affiliated with Rossmoor Construction Corporation	– Residential	– Leisure World, 1965
Montgomery County	F.O. Day	– Commercial	– Milestone Center, 1967
Montgomery County	Sam Eig; Also affiliated with Eig Enterprises	– Apartments – Country Club – Motel	– Washingtonian Towers apartments, 1966
Montgomery County	Carl M. Freeman	– Single-family – Apartments – Resorts	– Americana Finnmark, 1968 (M: 31-43)
Montgomery County	Isadore and Homer Gudelsky; Also affiliated with Contee Sand & Gravel and Percontee Inc.	– Commercial – Religious Institutions	– Montgomery Industrial Park, 1961 – Wheaton Plaza, 1960 – B’nai Israel School, 1967
Montgomery County	Nathan Landow; Also affiliated with Landow & Brandt	– Residential	– Colonnade Apartments, 1967 – Prospect Hill Apartments, 1968 – The Seasons, 1968 – Pooks Hill, 1972
Montgomery County	Lerner Company	– Residential – Commercial – Retail – Sports – Hospitality	– Wheaton Plaza, 1957 – Squire Meadow, 1967

Key Area	Developer/ Firm	Resource Type	Example Resource
Montgomery County	Lewis & Silverman Inc.	– Residential	– Woodcrest, 1970 – Maple Walk, 1971 – Village Overlook (1975)
Montgomery County	Matthews-Schwartz, Inc.	– Subdivision development	– Wynkoop Merchant Housing Subdivision, 1965 – Mohican Hills Square House, 1966 – Bradley Park, 1967
Montgomery County	Martin Seldeen	– Townhouse – Apartments	– Boulevard West Townhouses, 1963 – Montclair Manor North and South, 1967 – Georgetown Doctor's Park, 1965
Montgomery County	Yeonas Corporation	– Residential	– Lake Normandy Estates – Flower Valley
Montgomery/Prince George's Counties	Herschel and Marvin Blumberg; Also affiliated with Bancroft Construction	– Residential – Mixed-Use	– Rock Creek Woods in Kensington, 1958-1961 – University Town Center, 1962
Montgomery/Prince George's Counties	Clarence E. Kettler; Also affiliated with Kettler Brothers	– Planned communities – Religious Institutions	– Montgomery Village, 1962 – Montgomery Square, 1968 – Coperhaver, 1972 – St. Christopher's Episcopal Church, 1965
Montgomery/Prince George's Counties	Pulte Homes; Also affiliated with Pulte Corporation	– Residential	– Fox Hills of Potomac, 1963 – Countryside, 1971
Montgomery/Prince George's Counties	Ryland Homes	– Residential	– Bay Hills, 1970
Prince George's County	E.A. Baker	– Commercial	– Henry B. Gilpin Co. Drug Center, 1961 (PG:76A-56)
Prince George's County	Davis & Platt Corporation	– Commercial/Industrial	– Pepsi-Cola Plant, 1962 (PG:69-59)
Prince George's County	Demory Brothers	– Religious Institutions – Public Schools	– Hyattsville Presbyterian Church, 1960
Prince George's County	Eberlin and Eberlin, Inc.	– Religious Institutions – Residential	– Paint Branch Unitarian Church Instruction Units, 1965
Prince George's County	Robert Lee Gosnell	– Residential	– Odell House, 1976 (PG:83-48)

Key Area	Developer/ Firm	Resource Type	Example Resource
Prince George's County	Hylton Enterprises	– Residential	– Marlboro Meadows, 1970
Prince George's County	James Partello, Inc.	– Public	– Hyattsville Municipal Building, 1962
Prince George's County	John A. Sheibel, Inc.; Also affiliated with Scheibel Construction	– Public – Commercial – Gas Stations	– M-NCPPC Regional Headquarters, 1967 (PG:68-101) – Palmer Ford Showroom, 1960 (PG:68-41-16)
Prince George's County	John Tester & Son	– Public	– Kiplinger Editors Park, 1960 (PG:68-120)
Prince George's County	Levitt and Sons	– Residential	– Belair, 1957 (PG:71B-18) – Country Clubber Modern, 1965 (PG:71B-18-1) – Montpelier, 1968
Prince George's County	Lippert Construction	– Religious Institutions	– St. Bernard's Catholic Church, 1963 (PG:69-52)
Prince George's County	P & T Builders	– Apartments	– Salvatore Court Apartments, 1964 (PG:68-10-90)
Prince George's County	Alfonso and Raymond Procopio	– Residential	– Fort Washington Estates, circa 1965
Prince George's County	R. T Woodfield, Inc.	– Public	– M-NCPPC Youth Center, 1968 (PG:68-121)
Prince George's County	Orville and Mark Ritchie	– Residential	– Marlton, 1966
Prince George's County	Robert Silverman Company	– Office	– Hartwick Building, 1965
Prince George's County	Sidney V. Young & Sons	– Office – Commercial/Industrial	– North American Van Lines Offices and Warehouse, 1963
Prince George's County	Washington Homes, Inc.	– Residential	– Hyde Field, 1970 (PG:81B-14)
Prince George's County	Weiss Construction Inc.	– Public	– United States Park Police Station, 1966

D.5. Architects

The majority of single-family residential buildings constructed during the Suburbanization Diversification Period relied on developer-derived plans rather than the skills of a trained architect. The homebuilder or developer often relied on forms and styles recommended in FHA publications or copied pattern books to create designs that appealed to the broadest audience because unique designs brought risk, both in securing financing and attracting homebuyers. However, this method resulted in developments of cookie-cutter housing, often indistinguishable from one to the next. To separate their work from the competition, some national homebuilding companies formed collaborative partnerships with local or national architects to create unique designs marketed to a specific audience which could be marketed to middle-income buyers otherwise unable to afford a prestigious designer.²⁴⁷ Successful architect-designed developments, with architects such as Charles Goodman, Keyes Lethbridge & Condon, and Chloethiel Woodard Smith, gained national attention through magazines and trade publications, exposing them to a wider audience.

Professional architects in Montgomery and Prince George's counties were most frequently involved with individual buildings, such as single-family houses, churches, apartments, and office buildings (Table 4). During this period, upper-income homebuyers fueled the market for architect-designed houses and landscapes located outside of subdivisions, selecting architects who specialized in styles ranging from Modernist dwellings to Colonial-inspired estates. Similarly, government agencies and office developers differentiated themselves by hiring an architect to create a one-of-a-kind structure. Most preferred buildings designed in the Brutalist, International or Contemporary styles to focus attention on the future (Figure 17). Later designers tended to focus on Colonial Revival and other historical designs, which highlighted longevity, permanence and trust.



Figure 17: Among the most prolific architects in Maryland in the 1960s was Chloethiel Woodard Smith, who opened a design studio in Maryland in 1963, specializing in modern architecture.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁷ Kelly 2015, 118

²⁴⁸ AIA 2018

*Table 4: Representative list of key architects working in Montgomery and Prince George's counties, 1961–1980.
Maryland Inventory of Historic Property (MIHP) numbers included if applicable.*

Regional Area	Architect or Firm	Practice Established	Key Resource Type	Example Resource
Montgomery County	Arthur L. Anderson, AIA	1933	– Commercial – Schools	– Wheaton Plaza, designed 1958/opened 1960 – Forest Knolls School, 1960- first to accommodate students with disabilities
Montgomery County	Stanley H. Arthur, AIA	ca. 1940s	– Schools – Worship Facilities – Retail – Community	– Rockville Civic Center Auditorium, 1960 – Calvary Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1962 (M: 36-37) – Davis Library, 1964 (M: 30-31)
Montgomery County	Firm of Bagley-Soule Associates	1958	– Schools – Residential	– Poolesville Elementary School, 1960 – Woodley Gardens, 1962
Montgomery County	Stewart Bainum	ca. 1940s	– Residential – Office – Motels – Nursing Homes	– Manor Care, 1961 (M: 35-169) – Park University Motel, 1962 – White Oak Apartments, circa 1965
Montgomery County	Firm of Berla, Abel, & Weinstein, later Abel & Weinstein	ca. 1930s	– Apartments	– Rock Creek Terrace Apartments, 1971
Montgomery/Prince George's Counties	Firm of Bucher-Meyers & Associates	1964	– Residential – Schools – Worship Facilities – Banks – State Office Building	– Beth Tikva Synagogue, 1965 – Montclair Manor Apartments, 1967 – Bells Mill Elementary School, 1968 – Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints' Temple, 1968 – Americana Finnmark Apartments, 1974 (M: 31-43) – State National Bank, circa 1970
Montgomery County	Rhees Burket, AIA; Also affiliated with firm of Burket-Tilghman & Associates	1936	– Schools	– Robert E. Peary High School, 1960 – Parkland and Randolph Middle Schools, 1963
Montgomery County	Grosvenor Chapman, FAIA	ca. 1940s	– Residential – Schools	– Bel Preschool, 1969 – Cold Spring School, 1972
Montgomery County	Lester A. Collins, FASLA	ca. 1940s	– Landscape Architecture	– Tager House, 1960 – Smernoff House, 1969 – COMSAT Laboratories, 1969 (M: 13-59)

Regional Area	Architect or Firm	Practice Established	Key Resource Type	Example Resource
Montgomery County	Firm of Collins & Kronstadt	1958	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Residential – Motel – Commercial 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Forest Park, 1961 – Fairview Apartments, 1964 – 111 Spring Street, 1966 – Rossmoor Leisure World, 1966 – Cabin John Shopping Center, 1967 – Americana Center, 1972 – Georgian Motel, circa 1973
Montgomery County	Eason Cross, Jr., FAIA; Also affiliated with firm of Cross & Adreon	1952	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Residential 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Wynkoop Merchant Housing subdivision, 1965 – Wynkoop Barn House, 1965 – Mohican Hills Square House, 1966 – Bradley Park, 1967
Montgomery County	Firm of Deigert & Yerkes	1947	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Schools – Office – Residential 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Bushey Drive Elementary School, 1961
Montgomery County	Eugene Delmar, FAIA	1959	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Commercial 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Realty Investment Building, 1965 – Metropolitan National Bank, 1966
Montgomery County	Andrew V. Donnally, AIA; Also affiliated with firm of Soule & Donnally	ca. 1940s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Public 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Bethesda Fire Station #6, 1969
Montgomery County	Thurman Donovan; Also affiliates with firms of T.D. Donovan and Associates, Donovan, Feola, Balderson & Associates, and DFB & Associates	1955	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Landscape Architecture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Carderock Springs Historic District (M: 29-59) – Carderock Springs South (M: 35-194) – The Promenade, 1972 (M: 35-193) – Martin Marietta Headquarters, 1976
Montgomery County	Donald H. Drayer, AIA	1941	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Residential – Commercial 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Grosvenor Park Apartments, 1962 – Park Sutton Apartments and Shopping Center, 1963 – Landow Building, 1971 – Promenade, 1971
Montgomery County	Edmund W. Dreyfuss, AIA	1936	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Residential – Office 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Summit Hill, 1961 (M: 32-28) – Claridge House, 1965 – Clearview Towers, 1965 – 8200 Wisconsin Avenue, 1965
Montgomery County	Rurik F. Ekstrom, AIA	1965	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Residential 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Stanley Tempchin House, 1967 – Tobytown, 1972

Regional Area	Architect or Firm	Practice Established	Key Resource Type	Example Resource
Montgomery County	Ted Englehardt, AIA	1928	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Schools – Commercial – Office – Fire Station 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Weller’s Dry Cleaning, 1960 – NIH, Biologics and Dental Research Laboratory, 1960-1961 (M: 35-9-11) – Operations Research Institute, 1963
Montgomery County	Firm of Faulkner, Kingsbury & Stenhouse	1946	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Hospitals – Schools 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Holton-Arms School, 1963 (M: 35-17) – Holy Cross Hospital, 1964
Montgomery County	Bernard Lyon Frishman, AIA	1939	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Clubhouses – Worship Facilities – Restaurants – Commercial – Hotels 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – 8120 Wisconsin Ave Holiday Inn, 1971
Montgomery County	Firm of Goettelmann & Zepapas	1964	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Worship Facilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Our Lady of Sorrows Catholic Church, 1964
Montgomery County	Firm of Charles M. Goodman Associates	1946	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Residential 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Crest Park, 1960
Montgomery County	Neil Greene, AIA	1968	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Residential – Modular Communities – Public 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Edgevale Road, 1968 – Golden Gate East, 1972 – Long Branch Library, 1975
Montgomery County	Firm of Hartman-Cox	1965	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Residential 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Tager House, 1966 – Phillips-Brewer House, 1968
Montgomery County	Firm of Hellmuth, Obata + Kassabaum (HOK)	1955	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Commercial – Office 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Marriott Headquarters, 1979
Montgomery County	Hugh Newell Jacobsen, FAIA	1958	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Residential 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Shorb House, 1962 – Smernoff House, 1969 – Elliott House addition, 1977
Montgomery County	Firm of Johannes & Murray	1945	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Schools 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Springbrook High School, 1960 – Albert Einstein High School, 1962
Montgomery County	Donald S. Johnson, AIA	1930	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Worship Facilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – St. John the Evangelist Catholic Church, 1962 – St. Catherine Laboure Catholic Church, 1969 (M: 31-61)
Montgomery County	Firm of Keys, Lethbridge & Condon	ca. 1950s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Residential – Worship Facilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Carderock Springs, 1962 (M: 29-59) – River Road Unitarian Church, 1964
Montgomery County	Morris Lapidus, AIA	1943	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Hotels – Apartments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Blair House Apartments, 1961

Regional Area	Architect or Firm	Practice Established	Key Resource Type	Example Resource
Montgomery County	Stanley T. Lewis, AIA	1959	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Office – Commercial – Motel 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Phillips Building, 1961 – Chevy Chase Motor Lodge, 1963 – Air Rights Buildings I, II, III, 1964, 1968, 1970 – Jack Amatucci Chevrolet, 1967
Montgomery County	Firm of McLeod & Ferrara	1936	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Schools – Worship Facilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Montgomery College’s Rockville Campus, 1965
Montgomery County	Cesar Pelli, FAIA	ca. 1950s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Commercial – Transportation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – COMSAT Laboratories, 1969 (M: 13-59)
Montgomery County	Firm of Rogers Taliaferro Kostritsky Lamb (RTKL)	1969	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Community Planning – Commercial 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Courts of Whetstone, 1968 – Montgomery Village Shopping Center, 1970
Montgomery County	S.E. Sanders	ca. 1940s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Landscape Architecture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Grosvenor Park Apartments, 1964
Montgomery County	Ronald Sylvester Senseman, FAIA	1935	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Residential – Worship Facilities – Motels – Health Facilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Park University Motel, 1962 – Wheaton Nursing Home, 1962
Montgomery County	Robert Calhoun Smith, FAIA	1959	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Residential – Worship Facilities – Office 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Country Club Gardens, 1960 – Spring Lake, 1961 – Westchester West, 1971
Montgomery County	John H. Sullivan, Jr., AIA	1957	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Commercial – Public – Bank 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – National Sand & Gravel and Ready Mixed Concrete Associations, 1964 – M&T Bank Edmonston Rd, 1964 – Aspen Hill Library, 1967 (M: 27-29) – City of Rockville Municipal Building, 1968
Montgomery County	Boris Timchenko	ca. 1940s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Landscape Architecture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Friendship Village’s Village Park, 1970 – Chevy Chase Lake Office, 1972
Montgomery County	Firm of Vosbeck-Ward & Associates	1957	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Worship Facilities – Office 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Colesville Baptist Church, 1960 – First Baptist Church of Gaithersburg auditorium and education wing, 1961 – American Speech and Hearing, 1965
Montgomery/Prince George’s Counties	Leon Chatelain, Jr. FAIA; Also affiliated with the firms of Chatelain, Gauger, and Nolan and Chatelain, Samperton, and Nolan	1930	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Residential – Worship Facilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – C&P Financial Data Center, circa 1960 – Kiplinger Editors Park, 1960 – Henry B. Gilpin Co Drug Center, 1961 (PG:76A-56) – Marlboro Dial Center, 1963

Regional Area	Architect or Firm	Practice Established	Key Resource Type	Example Resource
Montgomery/Prince George's Counties	Voorhees, Walker, Smith, Smith & Haines/Haines, Lundberg & Whaehler/HLW International LLP	1885	– Government Facilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Atomic Energy Commission Building, Germantown (1958) M: 19-41 – National Institute of Standards and Technology, Gaithersburg (1961-1969) M:20-47 – Goddard Space Flight Center Main Campus, Greenbelt (1959-1969) PG:64-19
Montgomery/Prince George's Counties	Chloethiel Woodard Smith, AIA; Also affiliated with the firm of Chloethiel Woodard Smith & Associate	1963	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Residential – Worship Facilities – Public 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Addition to St. Andrews Episcopal Church, College Park, 1965 – Bindeman Residence, Bethesda, 1966 – Wilde Lake High Rise, Columbia, 1969 – Consolidated Federal Law Enforcement Training Center, Beltsville, 1969
Montgomery/Prince George's Counties	Firm of Cohen, Haft & Associates; Also known as CHK and CHHKK	1953	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Residential – Worship Facilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Eden House, 1960 – Temple Israel Synagogue, 1961 – Springhill Lake Apartments, 1962 (PG:67-40) – Marlborough House Apartments, 1962 – Wheaton House Apartments, 1962 (M: 31-27) – Potowmack Preserve, 1970 – Sumner Village, 1975 – B'nai Israel Synagogue, 1975
Montgomery/Prince George's Counties	Donald N. Coupard, AIA; Also affiliated with the firm of DNC Architects, Inc.	ca. 1950s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Commercial – Public 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Vitro Corporation Building, 1968 – Riverdale Theater, 1968 – County Employees Parking Garage, 1970
Montgomery/ Prince George's Counties	Harold Esten, FAIA	ca.1940s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Residential – Hotels – Industrial 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Katinas House, 1960 (M: 35-161) – I. Parker House, 1960 – Galblum House, 1961 – Landreth House, 1963 – Jasper House, 1966 – Chaplick-Duxbury House, 1971
Montgomery/Prince George's Counties	Edwin A. Weihe, AIA	ca. 1940s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Office – Bank 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – American National Bank Georgia Avenue, 1961 – Hartwick Building, 1965
Prince George's County	Edwin F. Ball	1956	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Commercial/Industrial – Residential – Public 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Wilkins Coffee Company Plant, 1966 – Arthur Lohrmann House, 1967 (PG:66-29-8) – M-NCPPC Regional Headquarters, 1967 (PG:68-101) – Mary Little House, 1969 (PG:69-66)

Regional Area	Architect or Firm	Practice Established	Key Resource Type	Example Resource
Prince George's County	Firm of Chapman and Miller	pre-1965	– Public	– M-NCPPC Youth Center, 1968 (PG:68-121)
Prince George's County	A. Hensel Fink	pre-1960	– Worship Facilities	– First United Methodist Church of Hyattsville, 1962
Prince George's County	Preston M. Geren	1934	– Office	– Southland Life Cheverly District Office, 1969 (PG:69-63)
Prince George's County	James Hilleary	ca. 1950s	– Residential	– Dr. and Mrs. Henry A. Wise Jr. House, 1969
Prince George's County	Firm of Paul H. Kea, David Shaw & Associates	ca. 1940	– Public	– Hyattsville Municipal Building, 1962
Prince George's County	Carl Koch	ca. 1940s	– Residential	– Carroll House, 1969
Prince George's County	Milton J. Prassas,	pre-1960	– Worship facilities	– Christ Methodist Church, 1960
Prince George's County	Clarence Reinhardt	ca. 1928	– Gas Stations	– Philips 66 Service Station Kenilworth Avenue, 1965 – Philips 66 Service Station Annapolis Road, 1967
Prince George's County	Firm of Safrata, Mills, Petticord & Mills	pre-1960	– Office	– Volkswagen Administrative Offices, 1965 (PG:70-95) – Capital Car Distribution Center, 1966
Prince George's County	Firm of Donald J. Scholz and Associates	1946	– Residential	– Scholz Mark '60 Best House, 1966 (PG:70-100) – Scholz Mark '58 Capt. Daniel Hunt Jr. House, 1968 (PG:80-59) – Scholz Mark '62 Peyton-Richeson House, 1972 (PG:80-60)
Prince George's County	Robert O. Scholz	ca. 1920s	– Bank	– Perpetual American Bank, 1965 (PG:68-115)
Prince George's County	Edward Durell Stone	1929	– Public	– Prince George's Center Metro 1-3, 1964, 1968, 1971
Prince George's County	Charles Wagner	ca. 1940s	– Residential	– Finney House, 1960 (PG:83-41) – Sandine House, 1961 (PG:83-42) – Robinson House, 1963 (PG:83-43) – Withers House, 1965 – Vanderslice House, 1966 (PG:83-44) – Odell House, 1976 (PG:83-48)
Prince George's County	Firm of Walton & Madden	1953	– Public	– Salvation Army Corps Community Center, 1963 (PG:69-65) – Hyattsville Branch Library, 1964 (PG:68-112) – Greenbelt Library, 1968
Prince George's County	Firm of Warner, Burns Toan & Lunde; Also known as WBTL	ca. 1960s	– Public – Worship Facilities	– St. Bernard's Catholic Church, 1963 (PG:69-52) – National Agricultural Library, 1965 (PG:61-78)
Prince George's County	Firm of Frederick C. Woods & Associates	ca. 1950s	– Residential	– House of Kleen, 1962 (PG:65-42)

E. SUBURBAN DEVELOPMENT SYSTEMS

Suburban development systems describe the ways in which suburban land was actively developed for human occupation and use. The 1999 Suburbanization Historic Context identified Unplanned Neighborhoods, Planned Neighborhoods, and Planned Developments as “community types,” with a focus on residential development.²⁴⁹ This section expands these categories to encompass the broader range of suburban land use during the Suburban Diversification Period, including commercial, office, and industrial development as well as parkland. For continuity, the names given to these community types in the 1999 Suburbanization Historic Context have been retained. The development systems outlined in this context addendum represent the most common types present in the suburbs; some developments may demonstrate characteristics of multiple systems or will span the Modern and Suburban Diversification periods defined in the context. As with building styles, it is not necessary or expected that each resource will fit neatly into defined categories. In such cases, the appropriate terminology and method of evaluation will depend on the character and history of the individual resource. Large-scale developments were the dominant force driving growth along the edges of cities during the Suburban Diversification Period. Booming populations and efficiencies of scale disrupted historical patterns of incremental growth over time, giving way to rapid development within a span of a few years, rather than a few decades. These development patterns, rather than individual buildings, are the best representations of suburban growth during the Suburban Diversification Period. The NRHP Bulletin No. 15 outlines the following Criteria for Evaluation to identify the significance of historic properties:

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

Most suburban development systems will be associated with the historical events and trends outlined in earlier sections. However, to be National Register eligible, development systems must demonstrate important associations with these trends; often this means that they are the earliest examples or were instrumental in shaping the trends themselves, such as altering the social composition or settlement patterns of the suburbs in a significant way. Examples significant under Criterion B will be uncommon. Neighborhoods, developments, and parks associated with individual developers or government officials should be the best representation or culmination of the individual’s work in the suburbs. These individuals must have played an important role in the formation of the suburbs, directing physical or demographic patterns of growth. Groups of important community leaders are typically evaluated under Criterion A, and architects, landscape architects, and site planners may qualify the development under Criterion C.

²⁴⁹ KCI 1999

Because of the ubiquity of suburban development between 1961 and 1980, development systems that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction under Criterion C must retain all character-defining elements and all aspects of integrity. Typically, these will be notable early examples or the one of the last intact examples that still clearly conveys significant associations with historical trends. Neighborhoods and developments that demonstrate features of different development systems, as noted above, will not be significant examples of a type, period, or method of construction, but may be eligible for other significant associations. Examples from the Suburban Diversification Period are numerous, and because they were constructed recently, they are unlikely to yield information important to history or prehistory and will not be significant under Criterion D. Regardless of association, these properties should be exceptional examples of their type with few alterations, a high degree of integrity, and all character-defining features intact.

Throughout this section, common examples are provided for how a suburban development system may be significant under each Criterion. These examples are intended as a guide and not as an exclusive list of how a resource type will be eligible. Research into the history of individual resources may reveal other associations with important suburban trends or with trends beyond the suburbanization context.

E.1. Unplanned Neighborhoods

An unplanned neighborhood is one constructed without developer involvement. Most unplanned developments grow over time as individual owners purchase and improve lots, resulting in a mix of forms and styles.²⁵⁰ These neighborhoods, whether primarily residential, commercial, industrial, or an unintentional mix of uses, comprise otherwise unrelated buildings constructed along existing roads. By 1961, with the broad application of zoning regulations, few areas of development could be considered truly “unplanned.” However, there remained parts of the suburbs that evolved independent of developer involvement. Whereas past unplanned neighborhoods grew organically, examples in the Suburban Diversification Period typically grew according to zoning designations. Sometimes, zoning reinforced existing patterns of development, specifying minimum lot sizes in rural areas, for example. Due in part to zoning, unplanned neighborhoods of this period demonstrated specialized uses, with residential development separate from commercial and industrial areas.

Single-family residences are the most common expression of unplanned development in the Suburban Diversification Period (Figure 18). These are found in what would have been exurban areas beyond the suburban fringe between 1961 and 1980. Amenities followed housing, as schools, churches, and parks arrived after a community became established. Auto dependent, these areas lacked sidewalks and provided space for car storage near the house. Driveways were typically gravel or asphalt.

Commercial, office, and industrial buildings were similarly constructed along existing highways but were closer to important intersections or major transportation networks such I-495. These unplanned neighborhoods frequently mixed commercial buildings with office space or office space with light industrial buildings. Despite similar functions, individual buildings were accessed directly from the highway and are disconnected, and parking lots and circulation spaces are not shared, giving paved

²⁵⁰ KCI 1999, D-2

areas a patchwork appearance. Because of the auto-oriented nature of these neighborhoods, amenities like sidewalks or landscaping are rare, and accessing an adjacent or nearby building may require reentering the highway. Signage is ubiquitous, often with a different sign advertising each business.



Figure 18: Isolated dwelling along South Frederick Avenue in Gaithersburg (1961).

E.1.1. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of unplanned neighborhoods include but are not limited to:

- Buildings accessed directly from an existing highway;
- Parking lots in non-residential examples;
- Buildings represent a range of construction dates and architectural styles;
- Individual buildings are in general orientation towards the roadway from which the property is accessed;
- Varied building arrangement and setbacks; and
- No coordinated streetscape design features (sidewalks, curbing, signage, lighting, and landscaping along roadways).

E.1.2. Significance Assessment – Unplanned Neighborhoods

To be considered for National Register eligibility, an unplanned neighborhood must be a cohesive cluster of buildings with a majority constructed during the Suburban Diversification Period. Unplanned residential neighborhoods that at the time of construction were not located in exurban areas or were adjacent to existing suburban development, such as such as infill or additions to preexisting subdivisions, are not representative of the type of development that occurred throughout the Suburban Diversification Period and are unlikely to be eligible.

Eligible examples of unplanned neighborhoods are rare. Under Criterion A, the neighborhood must convey an exceptional association with specific historical events. Because they arose without guided planning efforts and are often not well delineated, entire neighborhoods are unlikely to be associated with significant persons under Criterion B; any such persons will be better represented by individual resources. Unplanned neighborhoods lack distinctive characteristics and will not be significant under Criterion C unless the buildings collectively possess high artistic value. Eligible examples will demonstrate exceptional integrity, with clear historical associations conveyed by the structures and the setting, and all character-defining elements intact.

Constructed along existing roads, unplanned neighborhoods have been subject to incremental change since their inception. Examples that retain integrity of setting will be rare. The introduction of new features along a highway, such as sidewalks, guardrail, or utility lines, is unlikely to diminish integrity unless it removes physical characteristics of individual properties, such as designed landscaping, fencing, or signage. Significant modern intrusions or changes in use, such as conversion from residential to commercial, would most likely result in a loss of eligibility.

E.2. Planned Neighborhoods

A planned neighborhood “consists of tracts of land subdivided by real estate speculators and developers [...] that possess consistent design features and generally harmonious building types.”²⁵¹ Developers subdivided the lots and constructed the street network, made utility arrangements, and often established building setbacks and other restrictions guiding the subdivision’s design and composition (Figure 19).²⁵² Although the building types and spatial layout may be consistent, the design of the individual buildings within these neighborhoods was the product of the landowner’s efforts to choose a builder, plan, and style of a building or group of buildings.



Figure 19: Planned neighborhood comprising dwellings of different architectural styles along Virginia Drive near MD 355 in Montgomery County (built 1962 through 1970).

²⁵¹ KCI 1999, D-6

²⁵² KCI 1999, D-6, D-7

E.2.1. Planned Residential Neighborhoods

Planned Residential Neighborhoods of the Suburban Diversification Period most often emerged in the same locations as unplanned neighborhoods: exurban areas beyond the fringes of suburban development. Most often, these appeared as large-lot subdivisions of single-family houses organized along one or more cul-de-sac streets. Often, these planned neighborhoods are interspersed with unplanned single-family houses along existing state and county roads. Although homebuyers continued to purchase and develop individual lots in this period, independent contractors, homebuilding companies, and real-estate firms also acquired parcels within these neighborhoods to construct speculative housing. Without a single developer coordinating construction, amenities within planned neighborhoods are rare. Sidewalks are unusual, and grass-lined drainage ditches substitute for curb and gutter. These neighborhoods, far from the city and separated from other uses, are dependent on the car, and most houses include a carport or garage. With larger lots, driveways are longer and are most often asphalt.

E.2.1.1. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of planned residential neighborhoods include but are not limited to:

- Curvilinear streets with cul-de-sacs and loops;
- Consistent streetscape design, including sidewalks, curb and gutter, streetlights, and tree plantings (or lack thereof);
- Cohesive building groupings by function, style, and date of construction;
- Uniform building setbacks and consistent lot sizes;
- Lack of community amenities such as parks and community centers; and
- Location just off existing highways.

E.2.2. Planned Commercial, Office, and Industrial Neighborhoods

Planned Commercial, Industrial and Office Neighborhoods were more common near developed areas than residential neighborhoods of this period. These neighborhoods appeared along highways and at major intersections and were auto-oriented, with most of the parcels dedicated to parking and vehicular circulation. Landscaping was sparse and left to individual owners. Commercial examples, although infrequent, often included a mix of businesses and building types which did not necessarily complement each other, with disjointed parking lots and a variety of signage and building setbacks. In more common office and industrial examples, buildings were often organized around curvilinear streets and cul-de-sacs, much like residential neighborhoods. In industrial examples, wider streets accommodated truck traffic (Figure 20). Heavy industry was separated from other uses, but it was not uncommon for light industrial and small office buildings to locate in the same neighborhood or even within the same building. In office and industrial neighborhoods, developers more often included covenants that established setbacks and building restrictions, but without ongoing developer involvement, many non-residential planned neighborhoods suffer from lack of maintenance and improvements.²⁵³

²⁵³ ULI 1968, 508–509



Figure 20: Washington National Pike Industrial Park.

E.2.2.1. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of planned commercial, office, and industrial neighborhoods include but are not limited to:

- Grouped by use and oriented along major transportation routes;
- Interior system of interconnecting roadways for vehicular circulation;
- Cohesive building groupings by function, style, and date of construction;
- Consistent building setbacks, typically with parking lots along the road;
- Extensive parking lots and auto-oriented plan with few pedestrian facilities; and
- Consistent streetscape.

E.2.3. Significance Assessment – Planned Neighborhoods

Planned neighborhoods should retain streetscape design, setbacks and building scale characteristic of the original construction period. Because construction was the responsibility of the individual landowner and buildings lacked a cohesive design, limited alterations, additions, and replacements do not diminish integrity. Planned neighborhoods that at the time of construction were not located in exurban areas or were adjacent to existing suburban development, such as infill or additions to preexisting subdivisions, are not representative of the type of development that occurred throughout the Suburban Diversification Period and are unlikely to be eligible.

To be considered under Criterion A, planned neighborhoods must demonstrate clear and significant associations with important historical trends, such transportation improvements and demographic changes. Like unplanned neighborhoods, a planned neighborhood could be considered if it is an early and influential example of exurban residential expansion or businesses relocating to the suburbs in large numbers. Planned neighborhoods may also be considered for important associations with local zoning practices, such as an early attempt by local governments to increase revenue by encouraging business development.

Planned neighborhoods considered under Criterion B must exhibit direct associations with the life and career of an individual who made important contributions to the history of a locality or metropolitan area. Associations with significant architects, landscape architects, or site planners may qualify the development under Criterion C.

Planned neighborhoods considered under Criterion C that embody distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction should retain all aspects of integrity and will often be an early example or one of the last intact examples. A planned neighborhood considered under Criterion C might embody the distinctive characteristics of large lot subdivisions in exurban areas typical of the period. Because of their ubiquity, planned neighborhoods will more often be considered under Criterion C if they are the work of a master or they possess high artistic value. Eligible examples will demonstrate exceptional integrity, with clear historical associations conveyed by the structures and their surroundings, and all character-defining elements intact.

E.3. Planned Development

A planned development consists of all “developments that are comprehensively planned and constructed by developers.”²⁵⁴ In this development system, developers remained involved or vested after the construction of streets and extension of utilities. This development type represented most growth in the Suburban Diversification Period.

E.3.1. Planned Residential Development

A planned residential development comprises primarily single-family dwellings. Planned developments consisting exclusively of townhouses and/or apartment buildings are better understood in the context of multi-family residential types (see Section F.2.).

Planned residential developments remained the dominant type of single-family residential development throughout the Suburban Diversification Period. They include a network of curvilinear streets and cul-de-sacs lined with single-family dwellings from a selection of models provided by the developer. Consisting almost exclusively of single-family houses during the Modern Period, after 1960 these developments began to reflect the diversity of people and uses occupying the suburbs. In response to demand for suburban living by those outside the traditional nuclear family, developers introduced a mix of building types, including apartments and townhouses. Most frequently, this involved the inclusion of individually owned townhouses. Some developers attempted communities with a mix of owner-occupied units and rentals, but these were generally short-lived, as rental units were converted to condominiums. New zoning categories allowed the inclusion of retail space to serve the community. Environmental regulations inspired the use of cluster housing and the preservation of open space in the form of shared natural areas and parks. In larger developments, sites were reserved for schools and churches in coordination with local planning boards and in anticipation of future needs. Churches sometimes served to buffer residential areas from adjacent

²⁵⁴ KCI 1999, D-11

shopping areas.²⁵⁵ These developments, close to employment centers and near public transportation, are more racially and economically diverse than a typical planned residential neighborhood.

E.3.1.1. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of a planned residential development from the Suburban Diversification Period may include but are not limited to:

- Curvilinear streets and cul-de-sacs;
- Cohesive architectural styles from a single period of construction;
- Houses limited to models provided by the developer;
- Consistent building setbacks;
- Cluster housing;
- Accessible, shared open space (may be natural or a park);
- Integrated multi-family apartment buildings and townhouses;
- Retail space planned with the development and consistent in design;
- School(s) if planned with development; and
- Consistent streetscape design (may include streets, signage, sidewalks, pathways, public space, and lighting).

E.3.2. Planned Commercial Development

In residential developments, developers remained involved up until the end of construction, at which time their affiliation ends. The developer of a planned commercial development, however, continues to hold a stake in the property following its completion. These developments are planned by a single developer and incorporate multiple commercial building types organized around an internal circulation network. Limited access from the public road is provided at locations marked by consistent signage and landscaping. The most common expression in the Suburban Diversification Period consisted of a shopping center set behind a parking lot with adjoining outparcels, or pad sites, closer to the road. These outparcels were leased or sold to businesses such as gas stations, banks, or restaurants which constructed their own buildings on the site. In contrast to unplanned or planned commercial neighborhoods, planned commercial developments were created to be aesthetically pleasing, organized, and efficient.

E.3.2.1. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of a planned commercial development representative of the Suburban Diversification Period include but are not limited to:

- Internal roadway system designed for easy flow and access;
- Shopping center (strip center or enclosed mall) owned by developer;
- Perimeter outparcel or pad sites that are leased or sold;
- Unifying signage at entrances; and

²⁵⁵ ULI 1960 148-49

- Coordinated landscaping.

E.3.3. Planned Office and Industrial Development

As with commercial developments, the developer remained involved with planned office and industrial developments after construction was complete. A developer might own and lease the buildings or lease only the land, with tenants responsible for construction. In the Suburban Diversification Period, these developments included curvilinear streets and cul-de-sacs, a coordinated streetscape design, often with sidewalks and lighting, and buildings with consistent setbacks. Parking and loading areas were provided off-street. Landscaping was an important component, softening the edges of the roads and parking lots and providing space for employees to relax outside. Courtyards, ponds, and fountains were part of efforts to evoke the pastoral landscapes popular in major corporate campuses. These features contributed to the use of the term “park” to describe these developments. Most examples failed to live up to this standard, resulting in groups of minimally landscaped buildings surrounded by parking lots. In some developments, office and light industrial uses shared space, and could be referred to as business parks.

The largest planned office developments incorporated commercial businesses, such as banks, restaurants, or office supply stores, to serve captive employees. These could be freestanding or included on the ground floor of a large office building. Hotels and conference centers added to accommodate business travelers and provide meeting space. Sometimes, companies that could not afford a private corporate campus would construct an office building adjoined by smaller satellite buildings to be leased to other businesses, creating a small office park.

Industrial developments, unlike dedicated office parks, did not incorporate other uses. Because buildings were specialized, they were typically constructed by the tenant. In some cases, industrial developers constructed a building to suit the needs of a tenant, who then leased the property. This resulted in a phased approach to construction, with buildings added over time.

E.3.3.1. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of a planned industrial development representative of the Suburban Diversification Period include but are not limited to:

- Curvilinear streets and cul-de-sacs;
- Buildings of similar architectural design and materials from the same period;
- Designed landscapes that include street trees, courtyards, ponds, or fountains;
- Off-street parking lots and loading areas;
- Consistent signage and streetscape design; and
- Located near or along major transportation routes or arterial roads.

E.3.4. Planned Mixed-Use Development

A planned mixed-use development is one that contains three or more uses, including residential, commercial, and office or industrial, planned and constructed by a single developer (Figure 21). In

1976, the ULI defined mixed use as having “three or more significant revenue producing uses; significant functional and physical integration; and conformance to a coherent plan.”²⁵⁶



Figure 21: 1960s design plan for Columbia, Maryland, an early mixed-use development.²⁵⁷

Planned mixed-use developments first appeared in Maryland during the Suburban Diversification Period. The most common expression was the new town development. New towns employed a village concept with residential neighborhoods organized around commercial and community nodes. Although integrated within the community, industrial and residential spaces remained separate, with office and commercial sometimes mixing in village and town centers. The residential components of new towns in this period are similar to planned residential developments, with networks of curvilinear streets and cul-de-sacs and clustered houses selected from models provided by the developer.

Mixed-use developments of the Suburban Diversification Period are not common beyond their implementation as new towns, and the development of these large-scale planned communities in Maryland waned by the end of the 1970s.

E.3.4.1. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of a planned mixed-use development representative of the Suburban Diversification Period include but are not limited to:

²⁵⁶ ULI 1976

²⁵⁷ Stamp 2014

- Incorporates three or more uses within a single development;
- Multiple commercial or community nodes;
- Community buildings sited according to original plan;
- Cohesive architectural vocabulary;
- Network of curvilinear primary and secondary roads;
- Cul-de-sacs and cluster development in residential areas; and
- Consistent streetscape design (may include streets, signage, sidewalks, pathways, public space, and lighting).

E.3.5. Significance Assessment – Planned Developments

As the best and most common representations of suburban expansion between 1961 and 1980, planned developments should demonstrate a high degree of integrity. To be considered for eligibility, planned developments should retain streetscape design, setbacks, building scale, landscaping, and architectural design characteristic of the original construction period. Widespread modifications out of character with the original design intent, such as removal of landscaping or water features, alterations or additions to street patterns, and infill will diminish a development's integrity.

Planned residential and mixed-use developments considered under Criterion A must demonstrate strong associations with social and demographic changes, such as an early example of African Americans or other ethnic groups becoming established in the suburbs or a residential development targeted to a specific demographic. These developments might also have inspired new trends in environmental conservation or site planning. Developments that influenced changes in zoning regulations, as with Columbia in Howard County, also could be significant under Criterion A.

Planned industrial developments will most often be considered under Criterion A for associations with transportation improvements or for an association with government expansion, as industrial parks clustered around DC and near new suburban federal facilities. Planned office developments may be considered for similar associations under Criterion A. Separate from federal government expansion, planned office and industrial developments associated with specific notable events or achievements in industry or science may also derive significance under Criterion A. For example, a planned commercial development might have introduced new commercial types to a suburban location or served a civic role as an important community gathering place. It could also be considered under Criterion A if it featured a unique or influential tenant mix that exemplified efforts to target a new suburban demographic.

Planned developments considered under Criterion B must exhibit direct associations with the life and career of an individual who made important contributions to the history of a locality or metropolitan area. Associations with the designs of notable architects, landscape architects, or site planners may qualify the development under Criterion C.

Planned developments considered under Criterion C that embody distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction should retain all aspects of integrity and will often be an early example or one of the last intact examples. Because of their ubiquity, planned developments will more often be considered under Criterion C if they are the work of a master or they possess high artistic

value. Eligible examples will demonstrate exceptional integrity, with clear historical associations conveyed by the structures and their surroundings, and all character-defining elements intact.

To represent the property type within the Suburban Diversification Period, a planned residential development should include one or more of the innovations that appeared in the period. These include a mix of housing types, the use of clusters, or the inclusion of retail and parks in the planning of the development. The best examples will exhibit all three of these innovations. Planned residential developments that exhibit none of these features will not be significant under Criterion C unless they are the work of a master or possess high artistic value. Planned commercial developments in which pad sites are later additions to a stand-alone shopping center are not good examples of the type. These may be considered under C if part of a comprehensive shopping center redevelopment that reflects trends in planned commercial development design during the Suburban Diversification Period.

E.4. Parks

Parks are the primary way public-use recreational areas and open space are incorporated into the suburban fabric. Parks are created by government agencies, sometimes with assistance from private developers. They feature designed improvements such as maintained trail networks and recreational facilities. Parks range from small quarter-acre local parks to regional parks encompassing thousands of acres. Land reserved solely for conservation purposes without areas set aside for active engagement is not considered within this context. Parks fall into three categories: Local and Neighborhood Parks, Stream Valley Parks, and Regional Parks.

E.4.1. Local and Neighborhood Parks

Local and neighborhood parks are designed for use by communities in the vicinity. They may include conservation areas with short trails, but more typically involve amenities for recreational activities such as playing fields, sport courts, and playgrounds. Picnic shelters and restrooms are sometimes provided. Specific amenities often reflect the demographics of the surrounding neighborhood(s). They are accessible by foot or car from local streets and almost always include parking lots (Figure 22).

Most often, these parks are planned in conjunction with subdivision development, and developers set aside land for park use. They range from pocket parks, which can be as small as 0.25 acre,²⁵⁸ to neighborhood parks of several acres, depending on available space at the time of planning. Parks are typically owned by cities or counties, even though they are located within a larger subdivision. These parks may serve more than one neighborhood and are typically marked by signage. For example, M-NCPPC parks share a common sign motif, consisting of rustic wood boards with printed or incised lettering. Hollywood Neighborhood Park, at 9699 53rd Avenue in College Park, is an example of such a park in Prince George's County, owned by M-NCPPC department of Parks and Recreation.

²⁵⁸ National Parks and Recreation Association 2012, electronic document

E.4.1.1. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of local and neighborhood parks representative of the Suburban Diversification Period include but are not limited to:

- Adjacent to residential development;
- Passive areas including shaded lawns, picnic areas, and small pavilions;
- Active areas including short trails, playing fields, sports courts, or playgrounds;
- Walkways of poured concrete or paved asphalt;
- Perimeter parking areas accessed directly from local streets; and
- Cohesive signage.



Figure 22: Glenarden Martin Luther King, Jr. Park with community center.

E.4.2. Stream Valley Parks

Stream Valley Parks are conservation oriented, rather than interpretation/facility oriented.²⁵⁹ They follow landscape features and protect watersheds while providing suburban residents convenient and easy access to expansive trail networks. In the largest examples, these parks may also include vehicular transportation networks, typically a single road that functions like a parkway along the stream valley. Parking lots appear at regular intervals to provide access to park features, which may include picnic areas, restroom facilities, playgrounds, or exercise equipment. Often Stream Valley Parks connect to local and neighborhood parks with additional amenities. These parks encompass large stretches of land surrounded by suburban development and include over 12,000 acres in Montgomery County alone.²⁶⁰ Sligo Creek Parkway is a good example of a Stream Valley Park.

²⁵⁹ M-NCPPC and Montgomery County 2017

²⁶⁰ M-NCPPC and Montgomery County 2017

E.4.2.1. Character-Defining Elements

- Orientation along streambed;
- Multiple access points;
- Interior park road, including bridges, culverts, or other small structures, if present;
- Parking areas accessed directly from local streets or from interior road network;
- Connections to smaller local or neighborhood parks, creating a greenspace network;
- Passive areas including shaded lawns, picnic areas, and small pavilions;
- Active areas including trails and playgrounds; and
- Cohesive signage.

E.4.3. Regional Parks

Regional Parks are distinguished from other parks by their size and amenities. Typically more than 200 acres, they offer a wide range of recreational activities. They include extensive vehicular roadway networks with multiple activity nodes, and buildings designed for park functions beyond shelters, storage, or restrooms. In addition to amenities found in Local/Neighborhood and Stream Valley Parks, Regional Parks may include camping areas, nature centers, interpretive centers, and water access for boating. Some also include lighted athletic fields, ice rinks, carousels, golf courses, gardens, and historic or culturally significant resources. In most Regional Parks, up to one-third of the park acreage is dedicated to recreational facilities, while about two-thirds is reserved for conservation.²⁶¹ One of the first Regional Parks designated in Montgomery and Prince George's counties was Wheaton Park, which opened to the public in 1961 and offers expansive botanical gardens. Another notable example of a Regional Park is Rock Creek Regional Park (Figure 23).



Figure 23: Rock Creek Park offers a variety of amenities.

²⁶¹ M-NCPPC and Montgomery County 2017

E.4.3.1. Character-Defining Elements

- Serves a regional park with multiple nodes of activity;
- Multiple access points;
- Interior road network, including bridges, culverts, or other small structures;
- Parking areas accessed from internal roads and at multiple locations throughout the park;
- Active use areas including trails, camping, boating, athletic fields, or playground areas;
- Passive use areas including shaded lawns, picnic shelters, or pavilions;
- Special use areas including nature and event centers or amphitheaters; and
- Cohesive wayfinding and interpretative signage.

E.4.4. Significance Assessment – Parks

Local and neighborhood parks in Maryland are ubiquitous and demonstrate similar characteristics with other parks across the state. They were planned in conjunction with residential development or were created shortly thereafter. These common small parks are unlikely to be NRHP-eligible except as contributing resources to a larger neighborhood or group of neighborhoods.

Stream Valley and Regional Parks of this period were planned independently of specific residential development and some helped drive suburban growth. To be considered for the National Register, these parks should retain their original purpose, such as conservation of a stream valley, and functional uses, such as areas designated for water access, athletic fields, playgrounds, or camping. Incremental changes to or replacement of landscaping and equipment such as playgrounds will not diminish integrity if the use remains. Those parks considered under Criterion C should retain most original buildings; new park buildings should be in keeping with the original character, in scale and materials, and should not interrupt significant views or vistas. Roads and road structures should retain original designed features, such as stone bridge and culverts or wood guardrails.

Under Criterion A, parks demonstrate clear and significant associations with important historical trends, such as the environmental movement and local planning initiatives. Examples that could have significance under Criterion A include a park developed according to the M-NCPPC's 1964 General Plan or Maryland Governor Tawes' efforts in the 1960s to preserve open space across the state. National Parks from this period could also have significant associations with NPS's Mission 66 initiative. Parks considered under Criterion C that embody distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction should retain all aspects of integrity and will often be an early example or one of the last intact examples. Because of their ubiquity, parks will more likely be considered under Criterion C if they are the work of a master or they possess high artistic value. Eligible examples will demonstrate exceptional integrity, with clear historical associations conveyed by the park features, and all character-defining elements intact.

Parks significant under Criterion B must exhibit direct associations with the life and career of an individual who made important contributions to the history of a locality or metropolitan area. Significant associations with architects, landscape architects, or site planners may qualify the park under Criterion C.

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F. BUILDINGS IN THE SUBURBS

As in the rest of the country, the population continued to increase across Maryland during the Suburban Diversification Period, fueling a need for housing and associated non-residential amenities. Buildings for Marylanders to work, play, shop, govern, and facilitate the suburban lifestyle grew and developed as new subdivisions emerged. Office and industrial parks developed in response to the changing way Americans worked from the 1960s to 1980s. State, federal, and corporate campuses were built to accommodate commuters. Shops, restaurants, post offices, and libraries served a growing contingency of suburbanites and parking lots grew accordingly to allow for a higher volume of automobile access. The following section details the physical buildings constructed in the Maryland suburbs between 1961 and 1980.

Today, these buildings are ubiquitous in the suburban landscape. Because of this, individual buildings from this period must demonstrate a remarkable degree of significance and retain all aspects of integrity. The NRHP Bulletin No. 15 outlines the following Criteria for Evaluation to identify the significance of historic properties:

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

Individual buildings from this period will be eligible for the National Register only in rare circumstances. Historical trends identified in this context are best represented by the development systems included in Section E. Individual buildings, therefore, will usually be considered under Criterion A only as places where specific events took place that notably influenced suburban development. Properties considered under Criterion C will most often be the work of a master or possess high artistic value. Those properties representative of a type, period, or method of construction should be a notable early example or one of the last intact examples that still conveys significant associations with important historical trends. Regardless of association, these properties should be exceptional examples of their type with few alterations, a high degree of integrity, and all character-defining features intact.

Examples significant under Criterion B will be uncommon, although the possibility is greater than for neighborhoods and developments. Groups of important community leaders are typically evaluated under Criterion A. Neighborhoods and developments associated with individual developers or government officials should be the best representation or culmination of the individual's work in the suburbs. These individuals must have played an important role in the formation of the suburbs, directing physical or social growth patterns. Because properties from the Suburban Diversification Period are so numerous and were recently constructed, they are unlikely to yield information important to history or prehistory and will not be significant under Criterion D.

F.1. Single-Family Residential

Single-family dwellings make up an overwhelming majority of residential properties constructed in this period across the country and in the state of Maryland. Single-family dwellings comprise a residential building located on a single parcel of land, often featuring a front, back, and two side yards. Regardless of community type, single-family dwellings in this period are almost always oriented to the roadway by which they are accessed, feature front yards with driveways and off-street parking, often in the form of an attached carport or garage, and, when situated within a larger grouping, possess a similar architectural character to neighboring properties.

Single-family dwellings are the most common residential type in suburban Maryland. Between 1961 and 1980, such dwellings came in a variety of forms, the most common of which include Two-story Massed, Minimal Traditional, Transitional Ranch, Ranch, and Split-Level/Split-Foyer. These house forms often feature various stylistic ornament to provide distinguishing architectural features in a given neighborhood or development. The single-family dwelling architecture from this period can include elements of the Colonial Revival, International, Contemporary, Shed, Organic, Postmodernist, and Mansard styles. In particular, Colonial Revival attributes abound on dwellings of all forms. Although Marylanders quickly embraced the Ranch, Split-Level, and Split-Foyer forms, historical associations remained a selling point, particularly in the 1970s around the Bicentennial. Advertisements placed in *The Washington Post* often promoted these forms with floorplans named for historical Maryland figures.

F.1.1. Significance Assessment

Where possible, single-family dwellings of the Suburban Diversification Period should be evaluated as components of larger residential neighborhoods or developments. Outside of these larger developments, single-family dwellings will generally not be significant under Criterion A. As the most common representation of residential suburban expansion between 1961 and 1980, individual examples, including isolated infill, are unlikely to be eligible for the National Register unless they are associated with significant persons (Criterion B) or are the work of a master or possess high artistic value (Criterion C). To be considered under Criterion C, single-family dwellings should be exceptional examples of their type with a high degree of integrity and all character-defining elements intact. Examples that embody distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction will not be eligible unless few unaltered comparable examples exist. Minimal Traditional and Transitional Ranch house forms, whose popularities peaked early in the Modern Period, are not representative of the type of housing developed during the Suburban Diversification Period and are unlikely to be significant under Criterion C.

F.1.2. Two-Story Massed Form

The Two-Story Massed house fell out of favor in the postwar period, losing ground first to small and affordable Minimal Traditional forms, and later to Ranch and Split-Level houses. This trend was less pronounced in Maryland, where traditional Colonial Revival influences remained strong. A 1973 *The Washington Post* “House Plan of the Week” article stated: “Styles in houses may come and go, but for

enduring popularity it is hard to beat the familiar two-story colonial.” (Figure 24)²⁶² One advantage of the two-story form was its economical use of land; as families sought larger houses, and the price of land around DC and cities across the country increased in the 1960s and 1970s, the two-story house regained popularity.

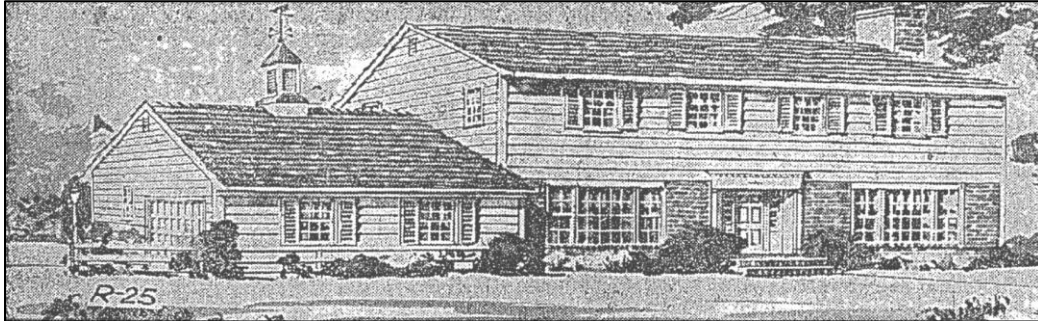


Figure 24: “Colonial Two-Story” massing in a 1973 *The Washington Post* house plan of the week.²⁶³

This form is commonly associated with the Colonial Revival architectural style, and traditional Colonial Revival-style houses remained popular, but between 1961 and 1980, many two-story houses reflect trends made popular by the Ranch and Split-Level forms: they have a horizontal emphasis reinforced by a low-pitched roof and frequent use of short or paired windows on both levels or bay or picture windows on the ground floor (Figure 25). Some examples “exhibit exaggerated horizontal massing with the rectangular house form extended by the addition of an attached one-story sunroom or garage on the side elevation.”²⁶⁴ Ornament tends to be reduced or limited to entrances. One popular expression incorporates a full-height porch or portico, typically with slender columns lacking proper historical proportions. Articles and advertisements in the *The Washington Post* throughout the 1960s and 1970s referred to this traditional house form, even with minimal Colonial Revival-style details, as a “colonial.” These colonials were presented in contrast to “contemporary” two-story houses popular by the 1970s and characterized by asymmetry, vertical casement and sliding-sash windows, and earth-tone materials such as T1-11 siding.

F.1.2.1. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of the Two-Story Massed form representative of the Suburban Diversification Period include but are not limited to:

- Two-story, double-pile massing;
- Rectangular plan;
- Horizontal emphasis;
- Low-pitched roof;
- Double-hung sash or picture windows; and
- Garage or carport, if attached.

²⁶² *The Washington Post* 1973, F42

²⁶³ *The Washington Post* 1973, F42

²⁶⁴ Pettis et al. 2012, 100



Figure 25: Example of a Two-Story Massed Modern Colonial in Derwood.

F.1.2.2. Popular Period Subforms

Garrison Colonial

- Features a small second story overhang, or jetty; and
- First and second floors distinguished by separate wall cladding for each.

Modern Colonial

- Attached garage (most common) or carport set forward of the main block;
- Shallow porch roof, often an extension of the garage roof, extends over the main entrance; and
- Often features different wall cladding on each story.

F.1.3. Split Forms

Split-Level and Split-Foyer houses were popular from 1950s into the 1970s. Like Two-Story Massed houses, they occupied a smaller footprint than the Ranch and, therefore, reduced construction costs, but maximized interior living space.²⁶⁵ As suburbs grew and land was at a premium, these dwellings could be constructed on uneven terrain due to their varying massing thus allowing development of otherwise unbuildable lots. One newspaper article referred to these dwellings as “typically American as baseball...from its handsome exterior to its neat and smartly designed interior [this] is the house that America wants...”²⁶⁶

The Split-Level features three or more living stories with the lower level containing the garage and recreational space, the mid-level featuring the main entrance and public spaces like the living room and kitchen, and the upper level allocated to bedrooms (Figure 26).²⁶⁷ This design separated the

²⁶⁵ McAlester 2013, 613

²⁶⁶ *The Washington Post* 1957, as quoted in Pettis et al. 2012, 105

²⁶⁷ McAlester 2013, 613–614; Pettis et al. 2012

formal, public areas of the house from the informal, private areas. The interior division of space is often visible on the exterior through the inclusion of a projecting bay representing the top floor.

Split-Foyers appeared slightly later than the Split-Level and were introduced and popularized in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Figure 27).²⁶⁸ They often feature two full stories above ground with the main entrance between the two floors. One entered a central, open foyer and was immediately presented with two half stairways—one leading upstairs and one downstairs. Due to the presence of two uniform floors, the massing of Split-Foyers was less complex than Split-Level homes, thus allowing for a standard roof form and a more conventional appearance.



Figure 26: Example of a Split-Level house in Silver Spring.



Figure 27: Example of a Colonial Revival-style, Split-Foyer house in Silver Spring.

²⁶⁸ Pettis et al. 2012, 106

Contemporary and Colonial Revival styles are most common when ornament is present. Colonial Revival details are more common on Split-Foyer houses. Split houses frequently exhibit two different exterior materials at the façade, differentiating interior levels. Ribbon windows and picture windows are common, and windows at ground level are often shorter than those on the upper floors. Garages are frequently present at ground level, approached either from the front or side.

F.1.3.1. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of Split Forms representative of the Suburban Diversification Period include but are not limited to:

Split-Level

- Interior levels accessed by half-flight stairs;
- Asymmetrical façade with two-story mass intersected at mid-level by a one-story wing;
- Rectangular or L-shaped plan;
- Low- to moderate-pitched roof;
- Moderate to wide rake and eaves;
- Picture windows; and
- Incorporated garage, when present.

Split-Foyer

- Central entrance raised above ground and enters on stair landing;
- Rectangular plan;
- Low- to moderate-pitched roof;
- Moderate to wide rake and eaves;
- Picture windows; and
- Incorporated garage, when present.

F.1.4. Ranch Form

Constructed in Maryland as early as 1939 with increasing popularity from 1947 onward, the Ranch house takes its name and form from the southwestern United States with its Spanish-influenced architecture. In Maryland, the terms “rambler” and “rancher” were frequently used in real estate ads to describe Ranch houses through the 1970s. The term Ranch house grew in popularity through the early 1950s and has remained the most common name for a single-story, rectangular house.”²⁶⁹

During the Suburban Diversification Period, Ranch houses in Maryland are most frequently found in large-lot subdivisions or as isolated residences farther from cities. The high cost of land in suburban areas of Baltimore and Washington, DC, limited the number of Ranch houses in planned developments. Ranch houses encompass numerous variations, but all are one-story with low-pitched roofs (Figure 28). Most are asymmetrical, with varying footprints, roof types, and projecting and recessed elements along the façade.

²⁶⁹ Butler 2017, 35



Figure 28: Example of a Ranch house in Colesville.

Inside, Ranch house floor plans were arranged into zones based on activity within a single story. This primarily included private zones, with bedrooms and bathrooms, and public zones, such as the kitchen and living room, which were integrated with the outdoors through large windows and sliding glass doors.²⁷⁰ Many Ranch houses have intermediate zones like patios and courtyards to further merge indoor and outdoor living. Ornamental features of Ranch houses can include built-in planter boxes and decorative cutouts in eave overhangs. Ranch houses most often appear in the Contemporary and Colonial Revival styles, but most lack applied ornamentation or historical styling.

F.1.4.1. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of the Ranch form representative of the Suburban Diversification Period include but are not limited to:

- Single story;
- Horizontal emphasis;
- Asymmetrical façade;
- Double-massed plan;
- Low pitched gabled and hipped rooflines with moderate to wide eaves;
- Picture windows;
- Garage or carport; and
- Prominent brick or stone-veneered chimneys common.

F.1.5. Transitional Ranch Form

This house type exhibits architectural features of both the Minimal Traditional and Ranch forms and was most popular in the late 1940s and early 1950s but continued to be constructed into the 1960s.²⁷¹ The Transitional Ranch (Figure 29) has a horizontal emphasis but is more compact than later, “linear” Ranch forms.²⁷² It exhibits more contemporary styling than Minimal Traditional houses, which more

²⁷⁰ Pettis et al. 2012, 103

²⁷¹ Pettis et al. 2012, 102

²⁷² Cloues 2011, electronic document

often reflected historical styles. False cross gabled highlight entrances or picture windows. Garages and carports on these examples are unusual and may be later additions.



Figure 29: Transitional Ranch dwelling in Glenarden.

F.1.5.1. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of the Transitional Ranch form representative of the Suburban Diversification Period include but are not limited to:

- Single story;
- Horizontal emphasis;
- Rectangular footprint;
- Asymmetrical fenestration;
- Picture windows common along with double-hung or casement sashes;
- Intermediate or low-pitched, side-gabled roof most common, though some are hipped;
- May include low-pitched, cross-gabled roof above bay or picture window;
- Moderate to wide eaves; and
- Lacks attached garage or carport.

F.1.6. Minimal Traditional Form

Minimal Traditional dwellings were popular in the 1940s as they complied with FHA size and design guidelines. “In the 1940s the FHA developed a standardized compact plan for a small, single-family house that embodied major elements of the Minimal Traditional form. As a result, it is sometimes

referred to as an FHA house.”²⁷³ The form was at the height of popularity after World War II and continued into the early 1960s. The size of Minimal Traditional house was commonly 1,000 square feet or less (Figure 30). Its small-scale reduced construction and development costs, which made it a popular house form in moderate-income neighborhoods.²⁷⁴ Examples continued into the Suburban Diversification Period and the form was well suited to smaller lot sizes. These houses had limited architectural ornament but often borrowed elements from the Colonial Revival and Tudor Revival styles. The Cape Cod subform remained popular throughout the period, in large part because of its association with colonial history. Cape Cod houses constructed near the end of the period are noticeably larger than those constructed in the early 1960s, in keeping with trends toward larger houses.



Figure 30: Example of a Minimal Traditional dwelling in Frederick.

F.1.6.1. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of the Minimal Traditional form representative of the Suburban Diversification Period include but are not limited to:

- One- or one-and-a-half stories tall;
- Rectangular or L-shaped plan;
- Moderate to high-pitched roof;
- Varied roof form with at least one front-facing gable; and
- Close-set rake and eaves.

F.1.6.2. Popular Period Subforms

Cape Cod

- One-and-a-half stories;
- Three bays, typically with central entrance; and
- High-pitched roof with dormers.

²⁷³ Pettis et al. 2012, 99

²⁷⁴ Pettis et al. 2012, 99

F.2. Multi-Family Residential

Multi-family dwellings were constructed throughout the Suburban Diversification Period, particularly in areas of high population growth to provide housing options to a variety of income levels and family types (Figure 31). They comprised almost 40 percent of the housing stock in suburban Maryland by 1980.²⁷⁵ Common multi-family building types constructed during this period include garden apartments, townhouses, high-rise elevator apartments, and mobile home parks. Mobile home parks are included as a multi-family type because they function much like apartment complexes, with similar amenities and management. The category also encompasses condominiums and cooperatives, which are physically identical to apartments of the period.



Figure 31: New retirement villages like Leisure World in Montgomery County allowed for independent living for seniors, as shown in this 1971 image.²⁷⁶

F.2.1. Significance Assessment

Multi-family dwellings of the Suburban Diversification Period are most often found as multi-family developments, large complexes of multiple buildings. Such developments often included amenities such as swimming pools, recreational spaces, and designed landscaping. A mix of building types became more common later in the period. Individual examples, other than high-rise elevator apartments, are not representative of the type of multi-family housing constructed during the

²⁷⁵ Pendall 2011

²⁷⁶ Leffler 1971

Suburban Diversification Period and are unlikely to be significant under Criteria A or C unless they convey clear and direct ties to important events such as the Civil Rights movement or are the work of a master or possess high artistic value.

To be considered under Criterion A, multi-family dwellings and developments must demonstrate significant associations with historical suburban trends, such as demographic changes or local planning initiatives. Examples include the first communities targeted to a specific demographic, such as adults-only or the elderly, one of the first complexes to incorporate low-income housing in accordance with local regulations, or one of the first examples of a condominium apartment or conversion. To be considered under Criterion C as a type, period, or method of construction, a multi-family dwelling or development will often be an early example or one of the last intact examples.

To represent the property type within the Suburban Diversification Period, multi-family dwellings and developments should include landscaped parks or shared open space along with additional amenities such as swimming pools or sports courts. The best examples will also include a mix of multi-family building types or retail space. Because of their ubiquity, multi-family dwellings and developments that exhibit none of these features will not be significant under Criterion C unless they are the work of a master or possess high artistic value.

Multi-family buildings undergo frequent change as they are updated to attract tenants; similarly, condominium conversion may result in buildings with piecemeal alterations to individual units. Features such as balconies, windows, and doors are often replaced, and unaltered examples are rare. Complexes should retain streetscape design, signage, natural or designed landscaping, and shared common areas. Eligible examples will demonstrate exceptional integrity, with clear historical associations conveyed by the structures and the complex, and all character-defining elements intact.

F.2.2. Garden Apartments

Garden apartments have their roots in the Garden City Movement of the early twentieth century. Early efforts to remove the stigma of city apartments involved the incorporation of open space, resulting in small apartment buildings arranged around landscaped courtyards. Housing shortages during the Great Depression and the establishment of the FHA in 1934 led to the standardization of two- to three-story apartment complexes arranged to follow a site's topography and preserve open space. The FHA encouraged new garden apartments through government backed loans, and successful projects led more developers to construct apartment complexes without government backing. Hundreds of new garden apartment buildings appeared in Washington, DC, and the surrounding counties by 1955.²⁷⁷

Developer Carl Freeman played an important role in popularizing the garden apartment concept in Montgomery and Prince George's counties. Planning professionals praised the work of the architect-turned-developer, whose "park-like garden apartments as well as his mixed-use apartment communities," brought him local and national attention in the late 1950s into the 1970s.²⁷⁸ Freeman's version of the "modernist apartment complex—branded Americana apartments [...] had a

²⁷⁷ Kuhn et al. 2005, E5–E18

²⁷⁸ Kelly 2012, 8-5

comprehensive, ecological plan to fit buildings into the land, preserve mature trees, and promote outdoor recreation.”²⁷⁹ More than a buffer between single-family dwellings and commercial properties, Freeman saw “apartments as integral elements in community centers, which included shopping centers, churches, and schools,” and became “a trendsetter in building luxury apartments in this era, such as Americana Finnmark (1968), and converting garden and high-rise apartments into condominium sale units, a venture he began in 1971.”²⁸⁰ Through his Americana-branded apartment projects, starting with Americana Riggs in 1954, Freeman introduced a modern appearance to the garden apartment, with buildings featuring bands of windows, balconies, and terraces in a natural setting.²⁸¹ These design concepts influenced garden apartment design throughout the Suburban Diversification Period.

F.2.2.1. Form and Appearance

Garden apartment buildings were typically two and no more than three stories tall (Figure 32). Each building comprised at least four dwelling units, and individual apartments were accessible through a single public entrance. The buildings had no elevators; interior stairwells led to the upper-level apartments. Although individual garden apartment buildings were constructed in established, higher-density neighborhoods, larger garden apartment complexes commonly included at least three buildings sited on a large suburban parcel. The buildings did not conform to existing street grids but were oriented to the surrounding topography, allowing for greater exposure to light and views. Automobile access was generally limited to the perimeter, leaving open spaces between buildings that were not penetrated by vehicular traffic. Instead, the buildings formed landscaped courtyards planted with grass, trees, small shrubs, and flowers. With landscaped open space, views, and a degree of privacy, the garden apartment complex provided many advantages of a suburban lifestyle but was a low-cost alternative to purchasing a home. In addition, many apartment complexes included recreational facilities and other amenities as an enticement for renters.

The need for cost-efficient construction limited most apartment complexes to reserved stylistic expressions. With standardized, identical units, variety was achieved through the layout of the buildings on the site. Staggered rooflines and interlocking units formed a range of exterior spaces and avoided a monotonous appearance. The buildings were unified through simple stylistic elements such as cornices, doorways, windows and transoms, moldings, and roof forms. Most early apartment complexes were built in the Colonial Revival style, but by the 1960s Modernist styles were prevalent.

Modern apartment complexes in suburban Washington, DC, were characterized by contemporary building materials and a lack of applied ornament. Architectural expression was incorporated using form and material. The apartment buildings often reflected contemporary trends in single-family residential design by combining brick veneers and vertical wood siding, metal awning windows, and low-pitched, side-gabled roofs. Flat and mansard roofs were popular by the 1970s. A relationship between indoor and outdoor space was emphasized through the inclusion of patios and balconies with large picture windows and views to outdoor common areas. Windows included metal double-hung-sash, casement, and, at times, large fixed units. Mechanical stacks serving the apartments were

²⁷⁹ Kelly 2012, 8-9

²⁸⁰ Kelly 2012, 8-6

²⁸¹ Kelly 2015, 91

often distinguished by perforated brick or decorative concrete block screens. Colonial Revival, Contemporary, International, Mansard, and Brutalist styles were most popular.



Figure 32: Garden (foreground) and High-Rise (background) apartment buildings at the Americana Center in Rockville.

F.2.2.2. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of garden apartments representative of the Suburban Diversification Period include but are not limited to:

- Complex contains a minimum of three stand-alone buildings;
- Single-story living units;
- Central stairwell (sometimes open-air) providing access to apartments;
- Patios at ground-floor units and balconies for upper-level apartments;
- Buildings oriented to the topography and arranged around shared outdoor space;
- Parking lots adjacent to buildings; and
- Consistent streetscape design (may include streets, signage, sidewalks, pathways, public space, and lighting).

F.2.3. Townhouses

During the Suburban Diversification Period, backlash against sprawl created renewed interest in historic living patterns and the city in general. While many areas of Washington, DC, witnessed the migration of upper- and middle-class families to the suburbs, home prices in the Georgetown area, one of the oldest parts of the city, continued to rise. The dwellings consisted of shared-wall rowhouses with heterogeneous appearances. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the area experienced a renaissance as older homes were rehabilitated, and modern rowhouses filled the spaces between.

Washington-area developers took note of Georgetown's popularity and exported the historic rowhouse design ideals to the suburbs as the new townhouse.²⁸²

The townhouse concept was a viable housing alternative that appealed to a market desiring home ownership but uninterested in traditional single-family houses. For the developer, both land and construction costs were less than for detached single-family communities, and properties could include amenities more common in luxury apartment complexes, such as pools, shopping areas, tennis courts, and playgrounds. For buyers, a townhouse offered a convenient first step to home ownership or a comfortable retirement, without the responsibility of lawn care and other maintenance.²⁸³ The townhouse arrangement was not limited to individual ownership, and many communities were available as rentals or involved cooperative or condominium ownership.

One of the earliest townhouse developments in Maryland was the Colonial Revival-style Preston Place community in Chevy Chase, designed by architect Marion L. Bagley of Bagley and Soulé in 1958. In 1964, Bagley recreated the Preston Place community in a price range more appealing to middle-income buyers. The result was the 80-acre Georgetown South development in Manassas, Virginia. Georgetown South quickly garnered national attention for its unique design and successful revival of the low-cost housing market in Washington's suburbs, and similar developments began to appear throughout the country and the Maryland and Virginia suburbs.²⁸⁴ Colonial Revival remained the most popular style, and most new townhouse communities conformed to the precedent established by Bagley at Preston Place and Georgetown South.

F.2.3.1. Form and Appearance

Suburban townhouse developments were composed of clustered rows of multi-story attached dwellings (Figure 33). Each townhouse was typically two to three stories and had an individual entrance. Unlike earlier apartment complexes, which featured a unified appearance, townhouses maintained a common stylistic theme while incorporating a variety of facade treatments among individual units. Material changes, along with varying roof forms, setbacks, and fenestration patterns, helped achieve an individuality and diversity of appearance lacking in many post-war housing developments. The earliest townhouse developments closely followed historic patterns, relying heavily on the colonial influence of Georgetown. In their relationship to the site, suburban townhouses were more like garden apartment complexes than traditional row houses. They were sited at angles or oriented to the landscape amid shared courtyards and other open space. Although common outdoor areas were included, private yard space was frequently incorporated through screened or fenced backyards. Curving drives and off-street parking were common features. Colonial Revival and Contemporary styles were most common.

²⁸² Willmann 1963, C1

²⁸³ Willmann 1964, C1

²⁸⁴ Manning, Preston Place 2011, 3-5



Figure 33: Townhouses within Leisure World in Montgomery County.

F.2.3.2. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of townhouses representative of the Suburban Diversification Period include but are not limited to:

- Two or more stories per unit;
- Shared walls;
- Individual entrances;
- Variety of façade treatments and setbacks among units;
- Parking in front of the unit;
- Shared landscaped areas with private yard space at the front or rear; and
- Consistent streetscape design (may include streets, signage, sidewalks, pathways, public space, and lighting).

F.2.4. High-Rise Elevator Apartments

High-rise apartments were promoted in the early 1960s as a way to reduce suburban sprawl, increase local tax revenue, and create diverse residential communities at a variety of price points (Figure 34). In the more densely developed areas of Silver Spring, Bethesda, and College Park, high-rise apartments, along with high-rise office buildings and shopping centers, emerged near important transportation corridors throughout the 1960s.

Developers searching for a way to meet the demand for suburban housing close to the District turned their attention to smaller tracts of land still available near the city. With the increased land prices, higher construction costs, and higher taxes associated with such parcels, the low-rise, low-rent garden apartments popular in Montgomery and Prince George's counties after World War II were no longer economically viable. Changing social, land-use, and economic factors resulted in an increased preference for high-rise elevator apartments. Some of the earliest elevator apartments appeared in Washington, DC, before spreading to the Virginia and Maryland suburbs in the 1950s. The first example in Montgomery County, Pooks Hill, was constructed in 1950 with 181 units.²⁸⁵ Located at 3

²⁸⁵ *The Washington Post* 1950, R1

Pooks Hill Road in Bethesda, the nine-story building is known as Pooks Hill Towers. Early examples in Prince George's County include the 1963 Marlborough House at 3001 Branch Avenue and the Plaza Tower Apartments at 6700 Belcrest Road in Hyattsville, also constructed in 1963.

You can afford Montgomery County!

\$4,000 price cut plus a \$2,000* tax credit!

There's never been a better time to buy a Village Overlook home than right now! *First of all, 5% of the purchase price of your new home will be credited to your next year's tax return (up to \$2,000)! Second, we've cut our prices \$4,000! And Village Overlook is built better than the competition... solid brick and masonry construction for lasting value and total privacy.

1, 2 or 3 bedrooms, all with family rooms and many with dens too. Right in the heart of Montgomery County. From the Beltway, out Rte. 1-270 (formerly 70-S) to second Gaithersburg exit (Montgomery Village Ave.), straight to Rte. 355. Left at Holiday Inn on Rte. 355, 1 block to Christopher St., right to Village Overlook.

Phone (301) 640-1410.

Typical terms: Price \$23,990. \$1,200 down. Mortgage \$22,790 payable in 360 equal monthly principal and interest installments of \$178.59 each for 30 years at 8 1/4% annual percentage rate. NO CLOSING COSTS except prepaid items.

VILLAGE OVERLOOK

One bedroom floorplan is perfect with exciting decorator touches!

Two bedrooms... or use the second bedroom for an at-home office

Bigger than many single family homes... and take a look at the closed spaces!

Figure 34: 1975 ad for the high-rise Village Overlook Apartments in Gaithersburg, highlighting accessibility.²⁸⁶

²⁸⁶ The Washington Post 1975, E17

A study by the ULI in 1961 suggested high-rise apartments were good revenue producers for municipalities. Community services could be concentrated and were less expensive to provide than for sprawling single-family neighborhoods. With a demographic consisting of childless or small families, the elderly, and high-income individuals, high-rise apartments generally had a smaller impact on area schools. The study also found that high-rent apartment dwellers were frequent shoppers and more likely to make charitable donations. The economic impact of denser development, combined with changing demographics and social values, made the elevator apartment a common component of suburban housing and the dominant form of apartment construction in Montgomery County in the 1960s.²⁸⁷

F.2.4.1. Form and Appearance

The design of elevator apartment buildings was heavily influenced by the mid-century tenets of Modern design, which eschewed ornamentation and resulted in buildings that could be constructed quickly and economically. Most notably, apartment buildings were built in the International Style using modern building techniques advocated by European architects such as Le Corbusier. Le Corbusier called for the development of "Towers in the Park," large, multi-story apartment buildings surrounded by garden-like parkland. The idea was readily adopted for new public housing projects as part of urban renewal efforts across the United States. Private apartment complexes tended to eliminate the park while retaining the architectural design philosophy.

Buildings feature public, ground-floor entrances, often approached via a driveway sheltered by a porte cochère. Entrances include glass windows and doors and lead to a lobby with a welcome desk or security guard and elevators. As the introduction to the apartment building, lobbies are often opulently decorated to showcase the building to visitors and prospective tenants. Apartments are arranged along the perimeter of the building, accessed from interior hallways, with windows and sometimes balconies to the outside. Most have fixed, single-pane windows, although some have small casement windows in bathrooms and other areas. Individual apartments range from studios to multi-bedroom units. Apartments competed for tenants with amenities such as pools, saunas, fitness rooms, and social rooms for private parties and events. Retail space, often incorporated on the ground floor, became common in large complexes. Some include underground parking. Most buildings have ground-floor service areas at the rear for maintenance and deliveries. Overall, buildings are characterized by simple shapes, a lack of ornament, large expanses of windows. Contemporary, International, and Brutalist styles are most popular.

F.2.4.2. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of high-rise elevator apartments representative of the Suburban Diversification Period include but are not limited to:

- Usually a single building or a small complex of multiple buildings;
- Building has a single main entrance with lobby;
- Apartments along internal hallways accessed via elevator;
- Curtain wall construction;

²⁸⁷ Manning 2011, 2–3

- Flat roofs, often with a screen used to mask mechanical equipment;
- Lobby access may be public or private;
- Parking surrounds building;
- Minimal landscaping surrounding the buildings with a focus on parking and access; and
- Consistent streetscape design (may include streets, signage, sidewalks, pathways, public space, and lighting).

F.2.5. Mobile Home Parks

Mobile home communities began as early as the 1930s in Maryland as both temporary recreational and permanent living facilities. Nationwide, during and immediately after World War II, the need for affordable housing for defense and industrial workers resulted in growth of the mobile home industry. Initially referred to as trailers, mobile housing became attractive as an inexpensive alternative to frame housing. The first 10-foot wide trailer (ten-wide) was built in 1954, an improvement on the typical 8-foot width (eight-wide). The ten-wide introduced a longitudinal corridor, allowed for separate bedrooms, and increased privacy. In 1962, manufacturers produced the first experimental twelve-wides (12 feet wide), double-wides (20–24 feet), and expandable units.²⁸⁸ The average trailer length had doubled from 27 feet in 1950 to 56 feet by 1967. During the mid to late 1960s, the aesthetics of mobile homes shifted away from the slick metallic styles of trailers and campers, emulating traditional houses with features such as side-gabled roofs and porches.

The first mobile home parks were established in the mid-1950s, an outgrowth of the trailer communities and automobile camps of the second quarter of the twentieth century. Residents of mobile home parks purchased their mobile home, renting their lot and paying for utilities provided by the park. Although mobile homes were single-family dwelling units, mobile home parks were mainly classified as multi-family housing because of the housing density per acre. Sometimes referred to as the “horizontal apartment house,” mobile home parks differed from other multi-family housing types because residents had full ownership of their homes, but without common interest, ownership, or management of park facilities.²⁸⁹

F.2.5.1. Form and Appearance

In 1960, the Trailer Coach Association identified two distinct types of park: the service-oriented park and the housing-oriented park. Service-oriented parks offered amenities and planned activities, catering to vacationers and retired persons. In contrast, housing-oriented parks offered more limited amenities. These parks focused on selling housing spaces, since residents typically worked and spent more time away.²⁹⁰ These housing-oriented parks are common in Maryland, particularly in its suburban areas.

Early mobile home parks were typified by linear streets, a unified design with minimal landscaping, and community spaces with amenities such as a community center, pool, and/or playground (Figure 35). The earliest parks followed automobile camp layouts, with mobile homes placed perpendicular

²⁸⁸ Bair, Jr 1967, 288

²⁸⁹ Bair, Jr. 1967, 291

²⁹⁰ Fowler et al. 2016, 10–11

to internal roads. Although this orientation continued to be used in Maryland through subsequent decades, in the late 1950s and early 1960s, parks began orienting homes at a 30-degree angle from the road, allowing for greater privacy from neighbors and increasing the park's housing capacity.²⁹¹



Figure 35: Fernwood Mobile Park in Prince George's County.

As the number of mobile homes grew, FHA issued a bulletin in 1952 with lot size recommendations and distances between mobile homes. The Mobile Home Manufacturer's Association created a model code and provided sample site plans and consulting services to developers, introducing curvilinear streets and cul-de-sacs to mobile home park design.²⁹² These standards also recommended greenbelts or landscaping to create visual buffers that would screen views to and from the parks.

Mobile home production increased exponentially in the decades following World War II, from 63,000 in 1950 to 103,700 in 1960, and 415,000 new homes built in 1970.²⁹³ By the late 1960s, mobile homes represented one-third of America's single-family housing stock. In 1976, the term mobile home was replaced with "manufactured homes" as HUD standards clarified the term's definition and created construction and design standards.²⁹⁴

F.2.5.2. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of mobile home parks representative of the Suburban Diversification Period include but are not limited to:

- Large property, originally under the ownership of a single person, company, or co-op;
- Internal network of roads and sidewalks;
- Small lots with individual parking spaces;
- Housing is predominately mobile homes;
- Community space;
- Uniform orientation of mobile homes; and
- Minimal landscaping, usually along perimeters of the park.

²⁹¹ Lawrence 2014, 29–30

²⁹² Lawrence 2014, 32–33

²⁹³ Kneeland 1971

²⁹⁴ Fowler et al. 2016, 12

F.3. Community Buildings

Community-based resources inherently followed residential development in the suburbs. This property type includes schools and libraries, houses of worship, healthcare facilities including both hospitals and nursing homes, and public services such as police and fire stations, among others. Due to their disparate uses, the buildings associated with each of these categories vary greatly in preliminary planning, form, massing, materials, and style. While many of these resources employed similar design philosophies and architectural features as those seen in residential properties, such as the move towards expedient construction materials and minimal exterior decoration, the general forms were modified to focus on performance and access as paramount considerations.

F.3.1. Significance Assessment

To be considered under Criterion A, community buildings of the Suburban Diversification Period must have significant associations with historical trends, including social and demographic changes, transportation, and local and regional planning. Examples include a building constructed as part of a targeted campaign to accommodate growing suburban populations, a school instrumental to integration efforts, a fire department that housed the first permanent fire fighters in a county, a church that was the primary gathering place for a growing ethnic group, or a hospital that provided a type of specialized care not available downtown, showcasing the growing independence of the suburbs.

Schools that were planned as part of a larger development are best understood within the context of the surrounding residential area and should be evaluated as part of an associated residential development unless the school has unique historical associations apart from the development, such as with desegregation or busing.

Municipal buildings served growing populations and underwent frequent change to accommodate new needs. Many schools, healthcare facilities, and police and fire stations feature additions and alterations that diminish their integrity of design; these buildings will most likely derive significance from Criteria A or B, but intact examples that convey significance are uncommon. Churches and public libraries, which often showcased unique architectural designs, are more likely to be considered under Criterion C. To be considered under Criterion C as a type, period, or method of construction, a community building should be an early example or one of the last intact examples. Because of their ubiquity, these buildings will more likely demonstrate significance under Criterion C if they are the work of a master or they possess high artistic value. Eligible examples must retain exceptional integrity, with clear historical associations conveyed by the structures, and all character-defining elements intact.

F.3.2. Schools

New schools were constructed in Montgomery and Prince George's counties and nationwide during the 1960s and early 1970s due to increased enrollment of baby boomers. Though some suburban schools were converted for other uses, roughly 84 of the 200 extant primary, middle, and high schools in Montgomery County were constructed during this period, and 32 of the 47 middle and high schools in Prince George's County were built at this time. By 1970, there were 1,300 public schools in the

state.²⁹⁵ By the beginning of the Suburban Diversification Period, Montgomery County had voluntarily started desegregation efforts by 1958.²⁹⁶ Prince George's County did not have a comprehensive desegregation plan until 1973.²⁹⁷

New suburban schools in Maryland differed markedly from their predecessors in the city center, featuring one- or two-story sprawling forms with classrooms, administrative rooms, cafeteria, gymnasiums, auditoriums, and multiuse spaces. The building(s) stood within campus settings with recreational areas and playing fields. School interiors became flexible and informal; for example, classroom and cafeteria spaces were divided into smaller spaces.²⁹⁸

However, the costs of construction and staffing of neighborhood schools and decline in enrollment during the 1970s left many nationwide schools, including those in Maryland, with a significant debt load, resulting in the shuttering, selling, or leasing of many facilities and the construction of few new schools. Between 1976 and 1979, Montgomery County closed 18 schools; 10 Prince George's County schools closed during that time, with 15 more anticipated.²⁹⁹ In addition, school buildings changed after the 1973 energy crisis, resulting in fewer windows during a time when artificial light and HVAC systems became widespread.³⁰⁰

F.3.2.1. Form and Appearance

From the late 1940s to the mid-1960s, "schools represented perhaps the principal vehicle for structural modernization that disseminated modern architecture to every county in the State." Maryland schools during the first half of the 1960s were often designed in the International, Googie, and Contemporary styles (Figure 36). Schools often had horizontal streamlined profiles with flat roofs balanced by vertical markers.³⁰¹ These buildings had non-load bearing walls, allowing for glass walls and spandrel panels. These panels were often in colors, an important aspect of modern design.³⁰² While air conditioning was introduced into schools during the post-World War II years, many still relied on large operable window sashes within continuous fenestration to take advantage of ventilation and natural light.³⁰³ Brick was the most common exterior building material, although field stone and concrete were also applied. Googie elements included whimsical architectural details such as accordion roofs, which could be used as canopies running either perpendicular or parallel to the primary entrance. Metal letters spelling out the school name were mounted on an exterior wall near the entrance.³⁰⁴

²⁹⁵ Gournay and Corbin Sies 2002, 53

²⁹⁶ Eaton and Crutcher 1994, 2

²⁹⁷ Cozzens 1996

²⁹⁸ Perkins and Cocking 1949, 42

²⁹⁹ Saperstein and Diehl 1979, C1

³⁰⁰ Baker 2012, 18

³⁰¹ Gournay and Corbin Sies 2002, 56-57

³⁰² Kelly 2015, Location 956

³⁰³ Kelly 2015, Location 957; Nelson 2014

³⁰⁴ Gournay and Corbin Sies 2002, 57



Figure 36: International Style Sligo Adventist School with Googie element in Takoma Park (1964).

By the late 1960s and into the 1970s, there were New Formalist schools and minimalist designs in the Mansard and Brutalist styles, where concrete and brick surfaces, ideal building materials during the energy crisis, dominated exterior walls. School designs of the 1970s increasingly became masonry boxes with fewer design features (Figure 37).



Figure 37: Clarksville Middle School (Circa Late 1970s).³⁰⁵

F.3.2.2. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of schools representative of the Suburban Diversification Period include but are not limited to:

³⁰⁵ Lean 2018

- One to two stories;
- Flat roof;
- Brick and/or concrete exterior walls;
- Bus and pick-up/drop-off lanes;
- Outdoor athletic fields or playgrounds;
- Entrance to parking; and
- Fixed windows, including ribbon windows with spandrel panels.

F.3.3. Public Libraries

The automobile culture and the development of the suburbs reduced trips to downtown libraries in the 1960s and 1970s. While a primary service center may have remained in an urban core, libraries developed branches located in suburban neighborhoods after World War II to cater to families and other patrons living in these areas. This approach became even more popular in the Suburbanization Diversification Period as residents clamored for urban amenities in their suburban settings. These branch libraries carried fewer books and other media items than the core facility but, because of more available space and a larger population, they offered a variety of services beyond lending books such as story hours and tutoring. In Montgomery County, the Department of Public Libraries and M-NCPPC adopted a Master Plan of Libraries in 1959 to strategize library construction over the next sixteen years. By 1965, the county had 14 branch libraries.³⁰⁶ Prince George's County libraries continue to operate under the Memorial Library System founded in 1946.³⁰⁷

Libraries in suburban areas took on a very different form than their urban counterparts. Whereas urban libraries were often multi-storied structures decorated with stylized architectural elements to promote their position in the community as a place of respect and learning, suburban libraries had the exact opposite architectural design. Most were one story in height, although some were two stories, such as the Davis Library in Bethesda that included administrative offices for the Department of Public Libraries.³⁰⁸ The interiors accommodated offices for librarians, and community spaces such as reading rooms, auditoriums, and meeting rooms. In addition, buildings changed after the 1973 energy crisis, resulting in fewer windows during a time when artificial light and HVAC systems became widespread.³⁰⁹

F.3.3.1. Form and Appearance

Many libraries in Maryland were designed to be a cohesive part of the surrounding neighborhood. As such, their styles reflected the buildings around them, such as adopting Colonial Revival or Shed-style attributes of nearby residential neighborhoods, as well as blending with the local environment. During the 1960s, Maryland libraries were often designed in the International, Mansard, and Contemporary styles. At least one example in Hyattsville incorporated Googie design features with its concrete flying saucer entrance canopy (Figure 38). These buildings were characterized by glass walls and spandrel panels, as well as the use of brick, field stone, and concrete.

³⁰⁶ Kelly 2015, Location 1017

³⁰⁷ Sams 2015, 5

³⁰⁸ Kelly 2015, Location 1040

³⁰⁹ Baker 2012, 18

New Formalist, Mansard, and Brutalist styles appeared in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Figure 39). As the period continued, libraries increasingly shed design features to save on costs during the energy crisis.



Figure 38: International Style Hyattsville Branch Public Library with Googie element, Hyattsville (1964).³¹⁰



Figure 39: Mansard-style Greenbelt Branch Public Library in Greenbelt (1968).

³¹⁰ Prince George's County Library System 2018

F.3.3.2. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of public libraries representative of the Suburban Diversification Period include but are not limited to:

- One to two stories;
- Horizontal emphasis;
- Flat roof;
- Brick and/or concrete exterior walls;
- Entrance oriented toward parking and possibly to road; and
- Fixed windows, including ribbon windows with spandrel panels.

F.3.4. Worship Facilities

Post-World War II churches and synagogues undertook significant building campaigns to keep up with their growing congregations.³¹¹ Major religious groups had doubled in the Washington, DC, area between 1945 and the early 1960s, with significant growth in the suburbs, where congregants typically arrived at their worship facilities by automobile. By 1963, the 11 synagogues in the Maryland and Virginia suburbs were still not enough to house all local Jewish congregants. Twenty-five African American churches were already present in Maryland's Washington suburbs the same year.³¹²

Places of worship were designed to be landmarks on the suburban landscape.³¹³ While the architectural fabric of many other commercial and community buildings blended with surrounding neighborhoods during this period, worship facilities generally adhered to popular architectural styles to stand out on the suburban landscape. Especially with Christian faiths, this was accomplished by orienting the sanctuary, usually the most ornamented part of the church, towards the primary road while making room for large parking lots at the side or rear of the property. This allowed congregants to enter from the rear of the church and provided easy access to auxiliary buildings or wings.³¹⁴ While the exteriors and interiors contained Modernist designs, the interiors still often used traditional layouts. Jewish Synagogues, for example, maintained a floorplan comprising a main sanctuary, study rooms, offices, and classrooms; some also maintained a separate Torah study room. In the 1960s, the rectangular basilica plan, consisting of a narthex, center-aisle nave, and sanctuary with altar, remained popular for churches.³¹⁵

Some worship facilities turned to experimental forms in the 1960s and 1970s to attract younger members and reflect a new informality emerging in their patterns of worship. Architects formed new groups, like the American Institute of Architects' (AIA's) Committee on Religious Architecture and the American Society for Church Architecture, advocating for new designs and showcasing their work at

³¹¹ Gournay and Corbin Sies 2002, 53

³¹² Maffre 1963, E2

³¹³ Gournay and Corbin Sies 2002, 59

³¹⁴ Gournay and Corbin Sies 2002, 59

³¹⁵ Gournay and Corbin Sies 2002, 60; Price 2004, 5-13

national theological conferences and submitting articles to religious journals.³¹⁶ More experimental sanctuaries in this period de-emphasized the traditional hierarchy, creating layouts with the altar or pulpit at the center of the room or in a corner, with rows of pews radiating outward.³¹⁷ Church building slowed in the early 1970s after peaking in 1965.³¹⁸

F.3.4.1. Form and Appearance

With strong connections to tradition and historical precedent, some congregations favored traditional designs and were less willing to experiment with Modernist architectural styles.³¹⁹ These included Episcopalian, Protestant, and larger Baptist denominations³²⁰ where Colonial Revival and Georgian Revival were popular styles, as seen in the Montgomery Hills Baptist Church (1965) in Silver Spring. These suburban examples often spread out horizontally with multiple buildings, taking advantage of the abundance of land. Other worship facilities adopted traditional building forms and materials but incorporated Modernist elements (Figure 40). Such buildings had steeply pitched front gable roofs and extensive use of brick or stone, but were topped by a stylized, Modernist steeple.



Figure 40: Transfiguration Episcopal-Anglican Church in Colesville (1962).

³¹⁶ Young 2017, 98

³¹⁷ Price 2004, 11

³¹⁸ Religious News Service 1970, C9

³¹⁹ Gournay and Corbin Sies 2002, 60; Price 2004, 5-13

³²⁰ Maffre 1963, E2

Other congregations, including Jewish, Lutheran, Unitarian, and Roman Catholic, fully embraced Modernist designs³²¹ and attempted to stay relevant by conforming to popular contemporary styles.³²² New styles allowed for greater flexibility and were often more economical to build.³²³ Architects often best expressed their creativity with roof designs, some with adaptations of the gambrel roof, and others with graceful, sweeping curves, making for soaring interiors.³²⁴ In the 1960s and 1970s, the A-frame was inexpensive to construct and provided space for an entire window wall as a focal point from both the nearby road and within the sanctuary as the altar location. Patterned and textured brick was a prevalent building material in Maryland; a notable exception is The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints' Temple in Kensington, clad with white marble. Some churches featured a prominent single steeple in a lateral or central position.³²⁵ Stained glass windows remained an important characteristic for Christian churches, although abstract designs became common. A striking example of Modernist worship facilities is the Neo-Expressionist 1969 St. Catherine Labouré Catholic Church in Kensington (Figure 41).³²⁶



Figure 41: New Formalist St. Catherine Labouré Catholic Church in Wheaton (1969).³²⁷

³²¹ Gournay and Corbin Sies 2002, 59

³²² Proctor 2014, 47

³²³ Maffre 1963 E2

³²⁴ Price 2004, 8

³²⁵ Gournay and Corbin Sies 2002, 60

³²⁶ Gournay and Corbin Sies 2002, 53

³²⁷ Kelly 2015, Location 2292

F.3.4.2. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of worship facilities representative of the Suburban Diversification Period include but are not limited to:

- Vertical emphasis;
- Prominent siting for visibility;
- Building oriented around a focal point, usually a windowed sanctuary;
- Entrance to parking and possibly to road;
- Stained glass or decorative windows; and
- Steeples on traditional examples.

F.3.5. Healthcare Facilities

Healthcare facilities expanded rapidly during the Suburban Diversification Period, as healthcare providers adopted a regional focus and the federal government introduced new healthcare programs to accommodate a rapidly growing population.³²⁸ The architectural fabric directly reflected changing health care needs and public tastes, as these facilities were quickly constructed and austere when compared to the detailed ornament of many pre-World War II hospitals.

Hospital buildings also grew in size, due to new medical advances and expanded services. Medical wards that once housed eight or more patients were replaced by semi-private rooms during the 1950s, and hospitals added space for social services, in-house psychiatric facilities, operating rooms, surgical care units, and advanced x-ray machines.³²⁹ Smaller medical buildings, providing walk-in service for urgent care, started to appear in the 1970s, sometimes conveniently located in shopping areas near growing residential developments.³³⁰

The number of elderly individuals skyrocketed as America's population grew and healthcare improved. The federal Hill-Burton Act expanded in 1954 to not only support hospital construction, but to provide funds for medical care at nursing care facilities.³³¹ Thanks to the Medicare and Medicaid programs, nursing care facilities became firmly established in the United States after 1965, providing a home, regular medical care, and daily meals for their patients.³³² Most nursing care facilities were privately operated.

In Montgomery and Prince George's counties, the popularity of nursing care and similar facilities grew by 140 percent during the 1960s and 1970s.³³³ The Potomac Valley Nursing and Wellness Center (1964) and Rockville Nursing Home (1976), both in Rockville, are examples of such facilities constructed near the Capital Beltway area.

³²⁸ Mausolf 2012, 15

³²⁹ Mausolf 2012, 15; Wall

³³⁰ McNeeley 2012, 80

³³¹ Schwarz 1997, 346

³³² AMFM 2018

³³³ Foundation Aiding the Elderly 2018

F.3.5.1. Form and Appearance

Hospitals and other healthcare facilities constructed during this period were routinely designed in the latest architectural styles to emphasize science and technology.³³⁴ For multi-story hospital buildings constructed in the 1960s, modern architectural styles such as International Style remained popular, followed by Brutalism in the 1970s (Figure 42). A driveway at the façade allowed patient drop off, and typically included an entry portico or awning to provide shelter from the elements. Landscaping was used to accent the main entrance, and parking lots surrounded the building. An emergency room entrance and access for the ambulances and paramedics was often at the rear.

Like hospitals, most nursing care facilities included a driveway and porte cochère or canopy at the façade for patient drop off. In addition to a parking lot, facilities typically have landscaping comparable to an apartment complex, including garden areas for residents. Inside are rooms for residents, as well as a dining room, activity and social spaces, and a nursing station. Smaller medical centers and nursing care facilities were often designed in more traditional and regional architectural styles like Colonial Revival. International, Contemporary and Mansard were also popular, particularly for nursing care facilities (Figure 43). Such styles helped project a warm and approachable setting and fit in with the surrounding suburban residences.



Figure 42: Modernist Suburban Hospital in Bethesda (1970).



Figure 43: Collingswood Nursing Facilities in Gaithersburg (1972).

³³⁴ KCI 1999, D-57

F.3.5.2. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of healthcare facilities representative of the Suburban Diversification Period include but are not limited to:

Hospitals

- Multi-story;
- Flat roof;
- Concrete- or steel-frame structural system with masonry/stucco cladding;
- Entry portico or awning at primary entrance;
- Emergency room entrance and ambulances/paramedics;
- Large fixed windows;
- Interiors arranged by function, with specialized wards; and
- Signage on building at street entrances.

Nursing Care Facilities

- One-story;
- Rectangular, L-, T- or U-form;
- Flat, gable, hipped, or mansard roof;
- Stone or brick exterior cladding;
- Entry portico or awning at primary entrance; and
- Ribbon windows for International style.

F.3.6. Police and Fire Stations

With the increase in population and proliferation of new buildings in the suburbs came the need for additional police and fire stations to service these areas. Although many suburban communities, and even some planned neighborhoods, had developed volunteer or part-time police and fire services by this time, many locations lacked sufficient staff, equipment, or facilities. As a result of growth during the Suburban Diversification Period, smaller branch stations were constructed throughout many suburban areas.³³⁵ In Montgomery County, the first professional fire and rescue workers were hired during the 1960s, and local volunteer departments like Rockville and Kensington grew to include several support stations due to increased demand.³³⁶ In Prince George's County, sudden and expansive growth led to safety concerns during this period, and the Department of Fire Protection was created on June 14, 1968 to organize and control fire and rescue stations throughout the county³³⁷—a department that is still active today. Meanwhile smaller communities like Chevy Chase Village increased their full-time police staff from one to six between 1970 and 1980.³³⁸

³³⁵ Montgomery County 2018

³³⁶ Fleischer 2003

³³⁷ Prince George's County 2018

³³⁸ Chevy Chase Village 2018

F.3.6.1. Form and Appearance

Although they house different activities, suburban police and fire stations built between 1961 and 1980 have similar architectural profiles. They are often rectangular or L-shaped in plan. The simple massing allowed for combined human occupancy, and vehicular and equipment storage under one roof; fire, rescue, and police vehicles were easily accessible via a series of garage doors at the façade. The name of the station was typically mounted on the building and on a street-adjacent sign, accompanied by a flagpole and generally minimal landscaping. Unlike their taller urban counterparts, these suburban police and fire stations were most often one-story buildings. However, examples like the Silver Spring Fire Station #19 (1959) and West Lanham Hills Fire Department (1970s) had two-story portion to house public, office, and meeting/social spaces. Also, due to technological advancements, modern fire stations no longer needed hose-drying tower elements.³³⁹

Common styles include Colonial Revival, International, Contemporary, Shed, Postmodernist, or Brutalist, with Montgomery County implementing Modernist styles for both police and fire stations in the 1960s.³⁴⁰ Fire stations, with straightforward massing and openings required by their function, were particularly suited to Modernist designs.³⁴¹ Often, the designs reflected the surrounding neighborhoods to promote unity and a visual relationship between residents and the people who protected them. The Prince George's County District 5 Clinton Police Station (1965) and Rockville Volunteer Fire Department, Station 3 (1966) are examples of International-style police and fire services buildings (Figure 44). The Hillandale Volunteer Fire Department, Station 24 in Colesville (1961) is an example of Ranch-influenced building. The Washington Grove Volunteer Fire Department, Station 8 in Gaithersburg (1975) is an example of a later Shed-style building from this period (Figure 45).



Figure 44: International Style Prince George's County District 5 Police Station in Clinton (1965).

³³⁹ Kelly 2015, Location 2009

³⁴⁰ Kelly 2015, Location 1999-2011

³⁴¹ Gourney and Corbin Sies 2002, 59



Figure 45: Shed-style Washington Grove Volunteer Fire Department, Station 8 in Gaithersburg (1975).

F.3.6.2. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of police and fire stations representative of the Suburban Diversification Period include but are not limited to:

- Interior divided into public, office, meeting/social, and equipment storage space;
- Typically one story (tall one-story in vehicular portion), but public, office, and meeting/social spaces can account for a second story;
- Rectangular or L-shaped plan;
- Primary entrance at the façade into a public office portion;
- Fixed or double-hung sash windows at the public, office, and meeting/social spaces; and
- Multiple vehicular bays.

F.4. Commercial Buildings

Throughout the Suburban Diversification Period, many types of commercial properties employed similar design philosophies and architectural features as those seen in residential properties; however, the forms differed greatly. Changing trends in transportation had a direct effect on settlement and suburbanization. The rise of private automobile ownership, increase in road construction, and unparalleled residential growth in suburban areas led to a dramatic change in land-use patterns as well as the design of individual commercial buildings. Just as single-family detached and semi-detached dwellings made more room for cars with garages and carports, commercial resources also catered to the automobile. Seeking to catch the attention of passing drivers, parking lots, drive-thru windows, large and well-lit signs by the street, and other changes to roadside architecture emerged, further signaling Americans' adaptation to life on the road and expedient lifestyles.

F.4.1. Significance Assessment

To be considered under Criterion A, commercial buildings of the Suburban Diversification Period must have significant associations with historical trends such as transportation improvements, demographic changes, or the environmental movement. Examples include the first buildings constructed with drive-thru windows to accommodate commerce from the automobile, one of the first examples of a building type to locate in the suburbs, the site of an important protest or sit-in, or buildings constructed or redesigned in a style reflective of the environmental movement, using earth tones, natural materials, low profiles, or mansard roofs.

Commercial buildings representing national chains with standardized designs, most commonly restaurants, hotels, gas stations, and some auto dealerships, are unlikely to be eligible unless they are one of the last remaining examples or retain all aspects of integrity, inclusive of original branding. Regional chains from this period could be significant as early examples but must retain sufficient integrity to convey their historic association. Under Criterion B, buildings that are part of standardized national or regional chains with multiple identical examples are unlikely to convey significant associations with notable individuals, such as company founders or influential executives.

Commercial buildings significant under Criterion C must be intact, excellent examples of the type and should retain all character-defining elements. Such examples will be unusual, as commercial buildings demonstrate frequent change due to turnover and changing tastes. Additionally, accelerated depreciation resulted in buildings constructed with a focus on short-term use. Furthermore, because of the ubiquity of commercial buildings, those that derive significance under Criterion C will most often be the work of a master or possess high artistic value.

F.4.2. Shopping Centers

Shopping centers emerged in the 1950s as developers responded to the disarray of unplanned commercial corridors. By the 1960s, retail sales in the suburbs increased 165% over the previous decade, as new stores were completed and shoppers increasingly favored shopping in the suburbs over city centers.³⁴² In contrast to a collection of stores grouped together in different buildings, the shopping center gathered retailers into a building or group of buildings owned by a single entity. The ULI highlighted the organization and aesthetics of these centers, noting features like weather protection and pedestrian walkways, consistent landscaping, and signage standards.³⁴³ Located primarily along popular transportation routes, these resources provided ample off-street customer parking and separated service areas from the public.

F.4.2.1. Strip Center

The most common type of shopping center in 1960s was the strip center, also called a strip mall (Figure 46). These centers comprise one or more long rectangular forms, sometimes angled to create an L- or U-shape.³⁴⁴ The buildings were oriented toward the road, with the parking lot clearly visible

³⁴² Gournay and Corbin Sies 2002, 61

³⁴³ ULI 1960, 279

³⁴⁴ ULI 1960, 277

in between. The ULI recommended storefronts be kept in one straight line,³⁴⁵ guidance shopping center developers often followed. Initially, they provided daily convenience needs, such as foods, drugs, hardware, and personal services, a tenant mix the ULI identified as the neighborhood center. While in 1960 the ULI notes the typical anchor store would be a supermarket or drugstore, the latter drops off by 1972.³⁴⁶



Figure 46: Colesville Strip Center in Colesville (1963).

Larger strip centers included a variety or junior department store as an anchor. Termed “community centers” by the ULI, they offered daily convenience needs, shopping goods such as apparel and furniture and sometimes banking or other professional services. The ULI recommended a U-shape for these larger centers.³⁴⁷ By the early 1980s, anchors sometimes included discount stores.³⁴⁸

F.4.2.1.1. Form and Appearance

Strip centers were designed to attract attention from fast moving cars along the highway. As a result, small-scale, detailed ornament was rarely present. Early stylistic expressions were bold statements often incorporated into the structure of the building itself, such as a tall pylon or exaggerated sidewalk canopy. The visual focus was placed on signage featuring the name of the strip center or the logos and trademarks of the tenants. In the 1960s, buildings took on elements of the International, Contemporary, and Googie styles. During the environmental movement of the 1970s, many centers were remodeled in shingles and earth tones, with mansard rooflines applied as sidewalk canopies. Colonial Revival-style centers occurred throughout the Suburban Diversification Period.

³⁴⁵ ULI 1960, 334

³⁴⁶ ULI 1960, 217; ULI 1972, 12

³⁴⁷ ULI 1960, 278

³⁴⁸ Casazza 1985, 6

F.4.2.1.2. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of strip centers representative of the Suburban Diversification Period include but are not limited to:

- One story;
- Linear, L- or U-form;
- Flat roof most prevalent; may include parapets or faux mansard at the façade;
- Sidewalk canopy at storefronts;
- Separate entrances to individual stores;
- Separate rear entrances for utility and delivery;
- Display windows facing the parking lot;
- Street sign and individual signage at storefronts; and
- Parking lot between building and the road.

F.4.2.2. Mall

The earliest malls were open air shopping centers with separate or “interlocking” rectangular plan buildings organized around a central pedestrian mall. Storefronts faced the mall, with covered walkways, planters, seating, water features, and lighting in between. These shopping centers were located at the center of their parcel, surrounded on all sides by extensive surface parking lots, to reduce walking distances for consumers.³⁴⁹ Referred to as regional centers by the ULI, they offered a variety of shopping goods and services, including recreational facilities, comparable to the traditional Main Street. They typically included one or two anchor department stores, or even a supermarket.

The first climate-controlled enclosed mall on the east coast opened in 1958 in Glen Burnie, Maryland. Developed by James Rouse, Harundale Mall was anchored by Hochschild Kohn and Food Fair, alongside 45 smaller retailers.³⁵⁰ Afterward, similar malls quickly spread across the state (Figure 47). The Montgomery Mall (today Westfield Montgomery) in Bethesda opened in 1968 as an enclosed mall with three anchor department stores. A ULI publication in 1972 noted the enclosed mall was considered to be the most far-reaching innovation in shopping center development.³⁵¹ Existing open-air shopping centers were enclosed by constructing roofs over the pedestrian malls, like Prince George’s Plaza (1958) in the late 1970s. Enclosed malls were comparable to their open-air counterparts, with rows of facing storefronts organized around a pedestrian mall anchored by department stores and sometimes, movie theaters. Enclosed malls featured multiple entrances but could also be accessed through the anchor stores, which had their own entryways that sometimes included display windows. Over time, malls grew larger, with multiple stories and food courts designed to encourage customers to stay and shop. In 1967, the average gross square footage for a regional shopping center was 652,000, and by 1978 it had grown to 729,000.³⁵² Multi-story malls showcased sky lit galleries with water features, interior landscaping, and prominent staircases, elevators and escalators. By the end of the Suburban Diversification Period, malls had grown to

³⁴⁹ ULI 1960, 273

³⁵⁰ Dinsick 2018

³⁵¹ ULI 1972, 199

³⁵² Sternlieb and Hughes 1981, 181

include the super-regional shopping center which had three or more anchor department stores.³⁵³ Parking structures also became popular on mall properties.

F.4.2.2.1. Form and Appearance

The mall, with little need to compete for attention along the highway, gave even less consideration to exterior ornament beyond large corporate signage (Figure 47). Instead, the focus was on interior attractions and amenities and the spaces lining the pedestrian mall, where individual storefronts reflected corporate brands. More distinct architectural styles can be seen with the anchor stores. Their corporate forms and signage varied widely. Common styles, however, are comparable to those mentioned above, although department stores were also designed in the Brutalist style.



Figure 47: Lakeforest Mall in Montgomery Village (1978).

The relevant lifespan of a suburban shopping center has been noted to be about 15 years before they are significantly altered and expanded.³⁵⁴ Therefore, it is rare to find examples that retain architectural integrity.

F.4.2.2.2. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of malls representative of the Suburban Diversification Period include but are not limited to:

- Anchor store(s) with direct access from parking;
- Irregular form;
- Flat roof;
- Limited customer entrances;
- Delivery and maintenance areas screened from view;
- Minimal windows;
- Shops entered from interior pedestrian mall;
- Cohesive landscaping and signage along street and at buildings; and
- Parking lots surround building.

³⁵³ Casazza 1985, 6

³⁵⁴ Gournay and Corbin Sies 2002, 61

F.4.3. Restaurants

During the Suburban Diversification Period, chain restaurants dominated, particularly franchise fast-food and casual dining establishments.³⁵⁵ In fast-food restaurants, customers placed an order at a counter and carried their food to a table or via a drive through. At casual dining restaurants, customers were provided service at a table. Companies applied place-product-packaging to sell familiarity and comfort to the public.³⁵⁶ With the use of prefabricated building materials, standardized restaurants became quick and easy to construct.³⁵⁷ Chain restaurants were often incorporated into planned commercial developments.

The building's corporate design and signage advertised a familiar establishment to passing motorists. The signs were mounted on the building itself and on a double-sided business street sign typically adjacent to the road. Signs during the early Suburban Diversification Period were generally still exuberant, made of metal, neon, and increasingly plastic. Restaurant signage became increasingly subdued by the 1970s. The industry was facing 1965 Highway Beautification Act regulations and public backlash to excesses in roadside visual clutter.³⁵⁸ In addition, as television began to carry the bulk of advertising, these corporate restaurants no longer needed to be as eye catching.³⁵⁹

Fast-food restaurants competed to provide lower prices through mechanized food preparation and service processes.³⁶⁰ By the mid-1960s, most restaurants had indoor walk-up counters and dining areas, although outdoor seating was still provided. Throughout the Suburban Diversification Period, interiors were visible from the street through large windows. Casual dining restaurants provided more privacy with smaller windows and darker interiors.

Fast-food drive-thru windows became ubiquitous by the second half of the period. In-N-Out, a California burger chain that started in 1948, pioneered chain drive-thrus. Although adopted by other chains like Jack in the Box in the 1950s, McDonald's in the 1960s, and Wendy's, founded in 1969,³⁶¹ the industry did not embrace drive-thru windows until the 1970s.

F.4.3.1. Form and Appearance

Googie was a popular style for franchise restaurants during the 1960s. Metal, stucco, plastic, and ceramic tiles were common building materials, with glass a dominant wall surface. McDonald's, perhaps the best-known example of a Googie fast-food restaurant, started out the decade by continuing to use architect Stanley Clark Meston's 1950s parabolic golden arches, shed roof, and canted windows,³⁶² although the metal and neon arches were replaced by backlit plastic panels by the 1960s.³⁶³ During the latter part of the 1960s, wood, brick, and stone became increasingly common for franchise restaurants. Chain restaurants of this period also included elements reflecting the

³⁵⁵ Jakle 1982, 76

³⁵⁶ POSitive Magazine 2018

³⁵⁷ Jakle and Sculle 1999, 57–58

³⁵⁸ Jakle and Sculle 1999, 59

³⁵⁹ Hess 1985, 106

³⁶⁰ Jakle and Sculle 1999, 57, 65

³⁶¹ Barksdale 2014

³⁶² Hess 1986

³⁶³ Hess 1985, 106

restaurant's theme. The Ponderosa Steak House had a western false front form, and the Red Barn design reflected its name. Arby's was a Googie interpretation of a covered wagon building accompanied by a ten-gallon hat-shaped neon street sign. The Heap Big Beef and the International House of Pancakes were examples of the A-frame form, the latter designed in the Storybook style. Other styles could include Colonial Revival and Tudor Revival.

As a reaction to the environmental movement and a backlash against the cacophony of the commercial strip, in the 1970s, restaurants adopted more landscaping, a horizontal emphasis, and muted designs that attempted to blend with their surroundings (Figure 48). Mansard roofs with shingles and earth tones became popular, and buildings had more solid surfaces and a subdued appearance, although fast-food restaurants continued to have large windows at the dining areas (Figure 49). McDonald's introduced a new Mansard style design in 1968 that would become their corporate look for the rest of the period. The building featured a double-mansard roof with walls clad in brown brick and shingle veneers.

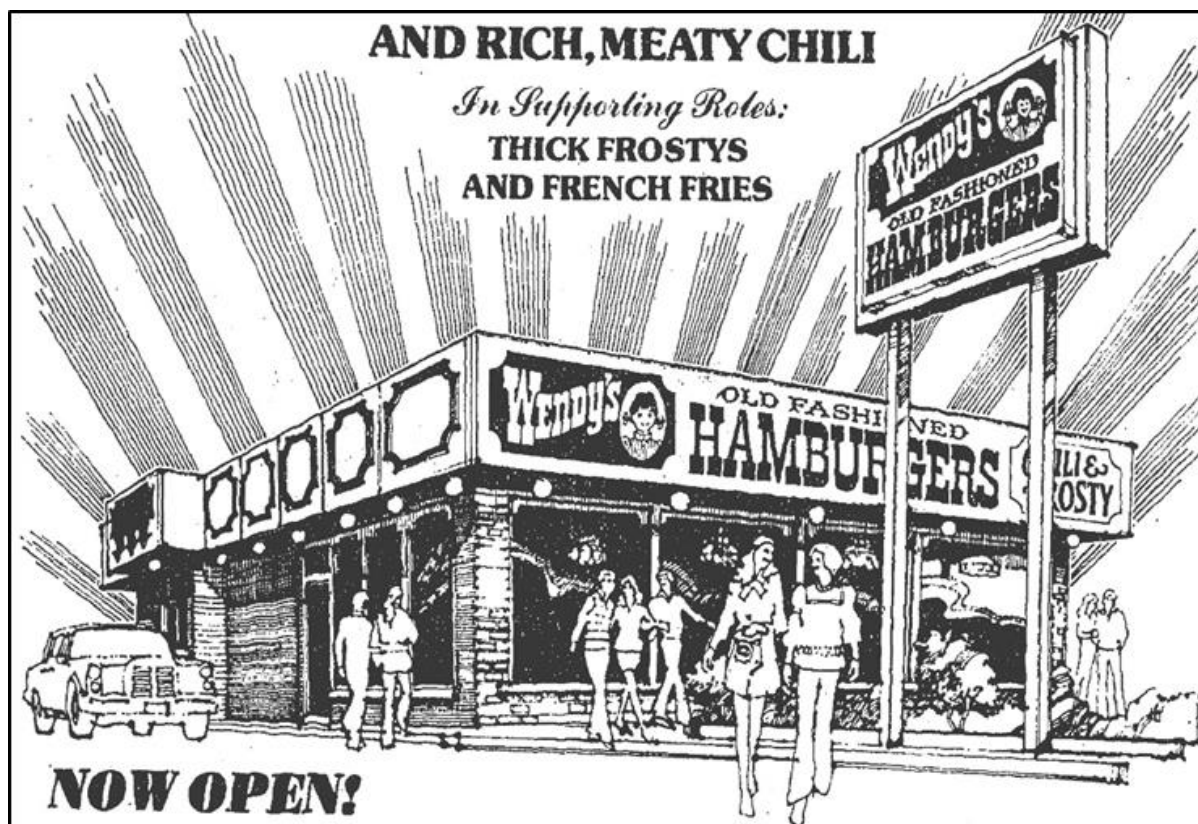


Figure 48: 1976 Wendy's advertisement for the Waldorf, Maryland location.³⁶⁴

³⁶⁴ The Washington Post 1976, MD8



Figure 49: Mansard-style Pizza Hut within the Shops at Potomac Valley in Gaithersburg (1980).

F.4.3.2. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of restaurants representative of the Suburban Diversification Period include but are not limited to:

- One story;
- Rectangular plan;
- Corporate branding including building shape, colors, and signage;
- Parking surrounds building;
- Drive-thru window for fast-food examples in the 1970s;
- Large dining area windows;
- Open interior; and
- Street signage.

F.4.4. Banks

By the Suburban Diversification Period, banks and savings and loans regularly served the suburbs and fully embraced a post-World War II approach of open and friendly banking to an expanded clientele. Banks capitalized on the increased spending power of many working and middle-class Americans at the time, providing a wide array of services to developers and homeowners, such as mortgages, car and appliance loans, and business loans, that made the expanding suburbs possible.³⁶⁵

Both the building design and its siting reflected a casual approach to banking, based on the retail model focusing on service. This approach had its roots in the Banking Act of 1935 that provided Federal bank insurance, meaning banks no longer focused heavily on promoting security. The teller counters were open; long gone were the teller cages that were part of the cavernous interiors earlier

³⁶⁵ Belfoure 2005, 244

in the century. The loan department was out on the floor and visible.³⁶⁶ As in retail, the idea was to provide service in an attractive and welcoming environment.³⁶⁷ Also, like retail, banks of this period were oriented to automobile traffic rather than walk-in service. They were often part of shopping centers, whether freestanding or attached, and easily accessible by automobile with their expansive and shared parking lot. While the façade may face the street and have a formal entrance, the more frequently used entrances came off the parking lot.

Drive-thru teller lanes, whether incorporated into the bank or freestanding, were another means of bank access. This convenience began before World War II, initially as a solution for downtown banks where parking could be challenging.³⁶⁸ By the Suburban Diversification Period, drive-thru lanes in suburban locations were for customer convenience, rather than parking issues.³⁶⁹ By the 1970s, service changed with the 24-hour automated teller machines (ATMs).³⁷⁰ These machines were also built in non-bank suburban locations such as supermarkets and drug stores.³⁷¹ This began a trend that continues today, prioritizing automation over personal interaction. Banks also started to establish branches inside stores, mostly supermarkets, in the late 1970s that became popular by the 1980s.³⁷² Both innovations helped deemphasize the prominence of the bank building.

F.4.4.1. Form and Appearance

Throughout the Suburban Diversification Period in Maryland, banks constructed traditional and regional architectural styles like Colonial Revival (Figure 50). Such styles reflected the conservative and trust-worthy image banks wanted to convey and fit in with the surrounding suburban residences which often used traditional architectural styles.

Nationwide, the glass and steel International style was popular with banks of the 1950s and early 1960s. The glass walls made the bank interior open and bright, helped by fluorescent lights and dropped ceilings. By the 1960s, architects continued using International style-inspired designs for banks, but began applying concrete, stone or brick alongside glass walls.³⁷³

By the end of the 1960s and throughout the 1970s, banks were designed in New Formalist and Brutalist styles (Figure 51). Particularly with Brutalism, banks seemed to once again be an enclosed place. Banks in other architectural styles such as Contemporary and Neo-Expressionist may exist in the region. Even as architectural styles changed during the Suburban Diversification Period, banks continued to have an open interior layout.

³⁶⁶ Belfoure 2005, 245

³⁶⁷ Belfoure 2005, 250

³⁶⁸ Belfoure 2005, 263

³⁶⁹ Belfoure 2005, 264

³⁷⁰ Jones 1973, D19

³⁷¹ Jones 1978, D10

³⁷² Council 2015

³⁷³ Belfoure 2005, 259



Figure 50: Colonial Revival-style bank in Colesville (1971).



Figure 51: A New Formalist bank in Chevy Chase (1968).

F.4.4.2. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of banks representative of the Suburban Diversification Period include but are not limited to:

- One to two stories;
- Typically rectangular form;
- Roof form varied including flat, gable, hipped, and shed;
- Concrete- or steel-frame structural system with masonry cladding or rusticated veneers;
- Entrance from parking lot;
- Drive-thru teller window/canopy;
- Open interior; and
- Signage at street and on building.

F.4.5. Lodging Facilities

Motels and hotels evolved in the suburbs during this period and continued to be popular, becoming increasingly predictable in design and service with corporate-based chain establishments. The Marriott and Choice Hotels chains were headquarters in Montgomery County and had popular motel and hotel brands throughout Maryland.³⁷⁴ Other corporations with lodgings in Maryland include Howard Johnson, Holiday Inn, Travelodge, Sheraton, and Hilton. Franchising became increasingly popular in the 1960s. Holiday Inn was the largest lodgings franchiser at that time, having sold its first motel franchise in 1953.³⁷⁵ Googie and the International style were popular for hotels and motels, particularly during the first half of the 1960s (Figure 52). These buildings often incorporated glass surfaces in their designs, giving a bright and modern, and lightweight appearance.³⁷⁶



Figure 52: The Satelllite Motel (today Howard Johnson by Wyndam) in Ocean City (1961).³⁷⁷

By the 1970s, with the environmental movement in full swing, darker earth tones became popular, and heavier concrete, stucco, and brick replaced the soaring glass surfaces of the previous decade. The Mansard style was frequently use, and Brutalism became popular with hotels.

F.4.5.1. Motels

Motels in the 1950s were larger than their predecessors, with 50 rooms considered the minimum for efficient operation.³⁷⁸ The 250 room Sheraton Inn in New Carrollton was described in 1976 as having the most motel rooms along the Capital Beltway.³⁷⁹ Motel guestrooms were accessed from exterior

³⁷⁴ Sween and Offutt 1999, 204, 227

³⁷⁵ Hammer 1966, 121

³⁷⁶ Jakle et al. 1996, 269

³⁷⁷ Strohl 2014

³⁷⁸ ULI 1960, 178

³⁷⁹ Levey 1976, MD2

doors, by way of open balconies and stairways in two- to three-story building(s), either rectangular, L- or U-shaped and sometimes organized around a courtyard. In addition to a swimming pool, these motels could have a restaurant with an adjacent cocktail lounge, as well as banquet and meeting rooms.³⁸⁰ The 68-unit Holiday Inn (1967) in College Park near Capital Beltway and Sheraton Motor Inn (1969) in Hagerstown had such amenities, including a restaurant and banquet rooms.³⁸¹ Facing the road, a distinctive lobby and/or restaurant welcomed guests, often with a porte cochère where customers could temporarily park to register before moving their car closer to their assigned room.

In addition to signage on the building, a two-sided business sign would typically be adjacent to the road, often emulating the design of the building and perhaps mounted into a planter bed. Signage at the beginning of this period reflected the exuberant designs of the 1950s, but was more conservative by 1980, commonly consisting of back-lit plastic signs mounted on metal poles.

F.4.5.1.1. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of motels representative of the Suburban Diversification Period include but are not limited to:

- Two to three stories;
- Rectangular, L-, or U-form;
- Typically flat roof;
- Rooms with individual exterior entrances accessed from stairs or parking lot;
- Central common space with registration desk, lobby, and other amenities like a swimming pool and restaurant; and
- Street and building signage.

F.4.5.2. Hotels

The highway hotel appeared in the 1960s. They most often demonstrated a rectangular plan, but could be cruciform, round or curvilinear.³⁸² Unlike motels, guestrooms were accessed from the interior, where a central lobby provided access to stairs and elevators (Figure 53). The primary entrance, typically sheltered by a porte cochère, was oriented to the automobile. Signage with corporate logos would be located at the primary entrance, but also near the top of the building faced towards freeways and prominent roads.

Taller than their motel predecessors, highway hotels could also have low-rise wings containing amenities such as swimming pools, meeting space, and ball rooms.³⁸³ These hotels often catered to business, creating “assembly-line hostelries with carefully metered luxuries,” as the Hilton hotel chain was described in a 1963 *Time* magazine article.³⁸⁴ Marriott began building hotels in the Maryland

³⁸⁰ Jakle et al. 1996, 49

³⁸¹ *The Baltimore Sun* 1969; *The Washington Post* 1967, E6

³⁸² Jakle et al. 1996, 51

³⁸³ Jakle et al., 1996, 51

³⁸⁴ Jakle et al., 1996, 127

suburbs during the 1970s, one in Bethesda and another in Gaithersburg, both nearly identical in design.³⁸⁵



Figure 53: Bethesda Marriott in Bethesda (1979).³⁸⁶

F.4.5.2.1. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of hotels representative of the Suburban Diversification Period include but are not limited to:

- Multi-story;
- Rectangular form, possibly with low wings;
- Flat roof;
- Room entry from lobby and elevators;
- Porte cochère at façade;
- Fixed or sliding windows;
- Common spaces include a lobby, a restaurant, conference or other business facilities; and
- Street and building signage.

F.4.6. Gas and Service Stations

The change in suburban lifestyle, both at home and on the road, brought about accompanying modifications to commercial auto-related businesses. By the Suburban Diversification Period

³⁸⁵ Jones 1973, D6; Munday 1981, D11

³⁸⁶ Ant’Juan 2018

corporate-owned gas and service stations dominated the U.S. market. Companies throughout the country competed with one another by establishing clear corporate identities across trade areas, resulting in chains of look-alike gas stations expanding and contracting along American roadways.³⁸⁷

During the previous decades, gas and service stations provided a variety of auto-related services including not just gas and oil refills but also mechanics on duty, a parts and supply store, and auto expertise. In the 1960s and especially into the 1970s, these facilities began converting to convenience stops offering gas and other sundries for purchase while moving away from full-service offerings. Beginning in the 1960s, gas station buildings also grew in size, adding restrooms with multiple stalls, for example, to better cater to traveling families.³⁸⁸ Following the gas shortages and oil crisis of the 1970s, gas stations started to rely more heavily on retail so interiors grew to accommodate a larger sales area, often with a refrigerated section and a vestibule to hold more cashiers.³⁸⁹ This change also allowed staffing by a wider range of available employees with less reliance on more-costly mechanics. By the late 1970s, self-service pumps began appearing at many gas stations in Maryland despite efforts in 1975 to limit their use.³⁹⁰ New stations offering self-service gas generally had more pumps, resulting in a somewhat larger overall footprint.

F.4.6.1. Form and Appearance

After World War II, the rectangular box became the dominant American gas station form.³⁹¹ By the Suburban Diversification Period new gas and service station construction reflected highly refined corporate styles. Modern designs, including the International style, continued to be a popular choice for new construction well into the 1960s (Figure 54). While many gas stations continued to reflect the minimal design preferences of the 1960s, others embraced national and local residential building trends. Some gas stations built in the 1970s, for example, employed the Colonial Revival, Mansard, or Contemporary style (Figure 55).

F.4.6.2. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of gas and service stations representative of the Suburban Diversification Period include but are not limited to:

- One story;
- Large expansive windows;
- Gabled or flat roof;
- Limited architectural ornamentation;
- Corporate branding including colors and signage;
- One or more service bays; and
- Gas pumps near the road, often covered by a small canopy or roof extension.

³⁸⁷ Jakle and Sculle 1994

³⁸⁸ Jones 2016

³⁸⁹ Jones 2016

³⁹⁰ Bradley 1996

³⁹¹ Randl 2008



Figure 54: International Style gas and service station in Rockville (1963).



Figure 55: Colonial Revival-style gas and service station in Rockville (1973).

F.4.7. Auto Dealerships

In 1948, General Motors produced their first guide to help shape the look of their auto dealerships. Entitled, *Planning Automobile Dealer Properties*, the guide provided ideas and building layouts “for car sales, administration and personnel, service, parts and accessories, and store front details—including everything from the showroom to the janitor’s closet.”³⁹² Based on the success of this model, other car brands also adopted strict design standards for their dealerships.

By the beginning of the Suburban Diversification Period, dealerships were selling record numbers of cars. As suburban commutes became the norm, the demand for more than one vehicle per household increased. Suburban families purchased large and mid-size cars in record numbers. New market opportunities appeared as the baby boom generation approached driving age. During the 1960s, as

³⁹² Baxter et al. 2005

much as 50 percent of annual new car sales were attributed to 18- to 36-year-olds.³⁹³ The younger generation of consumers preferred smaller cars, including the latest sports cars and “muscle cars.” American car brands dominated sales nationwide throughout the 1960s and early 1970s; however, import brands slowly began to capture a larger market share as reliability and fuel efficiency became increasingly important to consumers due to the 1973 oil crisis. In 1972, all import brands combined held just a 13 percent share of the U.S. market. The number rose to a then-record 15.8 percent in 1975.³⁹⁴

F.4.7.1. Form and Appearance

By the Suburban Diversification Period, a new type of dealership was being constructed in suburban areas: one where cars instead of buildings were the primary means of attracting attention. New car dealerships increasingly relied on marketing automobiles using large outdoor “inventory displays” and showrooms set back from the roadway and emblazoned with corporate branding.³⁹⁵ Although dealerships continued to build showrooms, these became part of sales-and-service buildings, which housed various offices and service areas. The sales-and-service building was set back from the roadway to provide open space for the dealer’s entire inventory in full view of passing motorists.³⁹⁶ The building itself was surrounded by parking areas with minimal landscaping.

International Style buildings were preferred throughout much of this time period; however, New Formalist, Mansard, and Brutalist styles were also employed. Although more short-lived than large dealerships, small used-car dealerships variously built new, or repurposed existing commercial buildings with Contemporary, Mansard, or Shed elements. The Ourisman Volkswagen Dealership in Rockville (circa 1960s) and Len Stoler Chevrolet Dealership in Westminster (1968) are examples of International-style dealerships (Figure 56). The Reed Brothers Dodge building in Rockville (1970), demolished in 2012, was an example of a dealership with a New Formalist influence (Figure 57).

F.4.7.2. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of auto dealerships representative of the Suburban Diversification Period include but are not limited to:

- One story;
- Rectangular form with secondary service areas;
- Flat roofs are most prevalent;
- Large expansive showroom windows and minimal windows at service areas;
- Extensive use of corporate branding including street signs, rooftop signs, and various brand color schemes; and
- Set back from, and parallel to, the adjoining major roadway.

³⁹³ Heitmann 2009

³⁹⁴ Lewis 1983

³⁹⁵ Liebs 1985

³⁹⁶ Liebs 1985



Figure 56: International Style Len Stoler Chevrolet Dealership in Westminster (1968).



Figure 57: Artist's rendering of New Formalist-influenced Reed Brothers Dodge Dealership in Rockville (Built 1970, Demolished 2012).

F.5. Office Buildings

During the Suburban Diversification Period, offices appeared along primary and secondary transportation corridors, including those in Maryland and the DC area. As Americans increasingly lived in the suburbs, it made sense for businesses to setup offices near their employees. Affordable land and federally-subsidized transportation infrastructure provided financial incentives for many businesses to relocate from urban cores.³⁹⁷ Locating along existing highways, in private campuses, or

³⁹⁷ Hayden 2003

in office parks, these buildings could house a variety of tenants or specialize in a certain type. Some might even contain a mix of office and light industrial tenants.

F.5.1. Significance Assessment

Individual small office buildings should be evaluated as part of larger planned office neighborhoods and planned office developments, if present, which best reflect historic trends under Criterion A. Unlike corporate or government headquarters, isolated small speculative and multi-tenant office buildings are unlikely to be significant under Criteria A or B but may derive significance under Criterion C as the work of a master or for possessing high artistic value. Because office buildings undergo frequent change as they are updated to attract tenants, significant examples that retain integrity will be rare.

Government complexes are more likely to be significant under Criterion A or B, whereas corporate headquarters and corporate campuses, with buildings surrounded by a designed pastoral landscape, may also derive significance under Criterion C. To be considered under Criterion A, office buildings should have significant associations with historical trends, such as transportation improvements, government expansion, or the environmental movement. Examples that could have significance under Criterion A include the headquarters of one of the first companies to relocate from downtown to the suburbs, a government office complex that became the nucleus of a significant concentration of office or industrial buildings, or a corporate campus that became an important employment center and directly resulted in new residential or commercial growth. Because many equivalent office properties are present in the suburbs, eligible buildings or campuses must clearly convey particularly important or unique associations with historical trends, demonstrate exceptional integrity, and retain all character-defining elements. Because of their ubiquity, to be considered under Criterion C as a type, period, or method of construction, eligible office buildings should be notable early examples or one of the last unaltered examples.

F.5.2. Corporate and Government Office Buildings

Federal, state, and local government jobs in Maryland experienced tremendous growth between 1947 and 1965.³⁹⁸ Many federal agency headquarters and branches relocated to Maryland during this period and into the 1970s due to the federal government's planned dispersal of employment across the National Capital region, including for Cold War security reasons.³⁹⁹ Between 1960 and 1976, the General Services Administration undertook more than 700 building projects nationwide.⁴⁰⁰ Due to this growth, both Montgomery and Prince George's counties expanded their facilities during the Suburbanization Diversification Period. For example, Montgomery County established a new Circuit Court and Executive Office Building in Rockville between 1978 and 1980 and Prince George's built their County Administration Building in 1974 on a large campus in Upper Marlboro. Many local governments built simple, modern, utilitarian municipal buildings.⁴⁰¹ Over time, related government buildings were often constructed in proximity out of necessity, resulting in tightly concentrated

³⁹⁸ Gournay and Corbin Sies 2002, 38

³⁹⁹ Gournay and Corbin Sies 2002, 38

⁴⁰⁰ U.S. General Services Administration 2018

⁴⁰¹ Gournay and Corbin Sies 2002

complexes of government buildings. These complexes could contain a variety of building types designed for specific purposes, or they could house separate agencies or branches of government.

Corporate campuses also gained prominence during this period. Modeled on university campuses, they helped entice top-notch researchers from academic settings into buildings meant to facilitate collaboration and creativity.⁴⁰² The corporate campus consolidated research, design, and management systems at single location with manicured landscapes and often architecturally significant buildings. A university-like campus signaled this was not simply a business, but an organization working towards a higher purpose. A campus also suggested a sense of community. With recreational facilities and social spaces, the low-rise campus aimed, symbolically and practically, to promote interaction and collaboration.⁴⁰³ Examples from the Maryland and DC areas include the GEICO Headquarters (1959) in Friendship Heights and National Geographic Society Headquarters (1968) in Gaithersburg (Figure 58).



Figure 58: New Formalist National Geographic Society Headquarters office complex, now Montgomery County Public Safety Building in Gaithersburg (1968).

Individual office buildings might hold a single tenant or divide space among multiple tenants. Some buildings exclusively housed medical professionals, such as the Medical Arts Building (1964) in Hill Crest Heights. Bank-owned office buildings, such as the demolished Suburban Trust Building (1964) in Rockville, typically held bank offices and a branch location on the first floor, sometimes including a drive-thru window; the upper floors were often leased to tenants.

During the first half of the twentieth century, office spaces consisted of “long rows of desks occupied by clerks in a white-collar assembly line.”⁴⁰⁴ Interior design trends in the 1950s and 60s favored communal atmospheres which created open dialogues and invited creativity. In this new open-concept office space, interior wall configurations were made to be flexible.⁴⁰⁵ The cubicle model

⁴⁰² Mozingo 2011

⁴⁰³ Mozingo 2011

⁴⁰⁴ Musser 2009, electronic document

⁴⁰⁵ Kelly 2015 Location 1154

followed, designed in 1964 by Robert Propst, a designer at the Herman Miller furniture company.⁴⁰⁶ Launched in 1968 and an office norm by the 1980s, cubicles provided a modicum of privacy and respect for workers. Perimeter spaces along the windows continued to be used for private offices.

F.5.2.1. Form and Appearance

Suburban office buildings, not as tall as those in denser city centers, generally averaged three to four stories. Taller examples were also constructed, such as the seven-story Marriott International Corporate Headquarters in Bethesda or the eight-story World Weather Building in Camp Springs. Almost all suburban office buildings had flat roofs with minimal exterior ornament. Their open floor plans were possible because of steel or concrete skeletal framing.⁴⁰⁷ Improvements in central air conditioning and heating systems, as well as incandescent bulbs and dropped ceilings, led many buildings to be “sealed.” These technological changes not only affected the interior spatial division but the appearance and construction of the entire office building. Rather than solid surfaces punctuated by fenestration on the exterior, the building contained large expanses of glass with exposed structural members.

Suburban office buildings were surrounded by asphalt-paved parking lots. Green space directly surrounded the building with manicured grass, trees, bushes, and flower beds, although some properties were nearly void of vegetation, and sought to maximize the building footprint in an increasingly expensive real estate market. A business sign was often located next to the street. Office tenants had a primary entrance at the façade, which led into a lobby with generally at least one elevator shared amongst the tenants. When the first-story was occupied by retail, these businesses had their own entrances.

Office buildings during most of the 1960s continued to be designed in the International Style, making extensive use of structural steel frames, glass curtain walls, and spandrel panels, often creating a modular pattern. As the decade continued, however, New Formalist, Mansard, and Brutalist styles also became popular, with fewer windows and more solid building materials, such as stone, concrete and brick, particularly at the upper floors when the first floor was retail (Figure 59). When occupied by retail, the first floor made greater use of glass surfaces. Corporate campuses also followed Contemporary, Postmodernist, and Neo-Expressionist styles, as well as standardized corporate styles. Brutalism was a popular choice for government buildings in the late 1960s and 1970s.

⁴⁰⁶ Musser 2009, electronic document

⁴⁰⁷ Kelly 2015, 557.



Figure 59: Mansard-roofed 9200 Edmonston Road in Greenbelt (1973).

F.5.2.2. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of corporate and government office buildings representative of the Suburban Diversification Period include but are not limited to:

- Entrance fronting parking area;
- Variety of plans including rectangular, square, L-shaped, T-shaped, and curvilinear;
- Flat roof, with mansard roof for Mansard style;
- Concrete- or steel-frame structural system with masonry cladding; and
- Fixed windows, including ribbon windows with spandrel panels and reflective glass walls.

F.5.2.3. Popular Period Subforms

Corporate/Government Campus

- Pastoral setting with designed landscape features;
- May include multiple buildings with a cohesive design;
- Parking lots hidden from the road or screened from view; and
- May include gatehouse and fencing.

F.6. Industrial Buildings

During the Suburban Diversification Period, industry followed the ongoing move from cities into the suburbs. Industry grew in Maryland during the 1960s due to the state's aggressive recruitment of new industries and corporations, as well as Cold War era industrial decentralization away from major cities

like Washington, DC.⁴⁰⁸ During the first six months of 1972, for example, 43 new plants and expansions of existing industry were constructed in Maryland, ranging from food and clothing manufacturers to fabricators of metal products and scientific and controlling instruments.⁴⁰⁹ Industrial facilities were located along primary transportation routes for easy access. While rail was still used, the tractor trailer became the predominant transportation vehicle for goods. Therefore, asphalt-paved areas, for both truck access and employee parking, were important features for suburban industries. Industrial properties in suburban Maryland included manufacturing plants (including laboratories), warehouses, and distribution centers. Heavy manufacturing buildings or industries associated with noxious chemicals are not often found near residential and commercial areas. These facilities are also more reliant on rail transport than truck transport. Therefore, they are rare in suburban locations, where housing and highway infrastructure is predominant.

Manufacturing plants, warehouses, and distribution centers are usually simple buildings with little or no architectural ornament, one-story tall, and sheltered by a flat or shed roof, often with skylights. The interiors are open with very few windows and are reliant on central air conditioning to maintain a constant temperature. Concrete was a common building material during the Suburban Diversification Period, including as tilt-up exterior walls, which were quick and easy to construct and accommodated later expansion.

F.6.1. Significance Assessment

Individual industrial buildings should be evaluated as part of larger planned industrial neighborhoods and planned industrial developments, which best reflect historic trends under Criterion A. To be considered under Criterion A, individual industrial buildings will typically be large complexes and should have significant associations with historical trends, such as transportation improvements or government expansion. Examples that could have significance under Criterion A include one of the first industrial complexes to relocate to the suburbs, a building that introduced influential new technologies and changed future designs, or an industrial complex that became an important employment center and changed surrounding patterns of suburban growth. Isolated small industrial buildings are unlikely to be significant under Criteria A or B but may derive significance under Criterion C. Industrial buildings of the Suburban Diversification Period that derive their significance from Criterion C should be near major transportation routes and demonstrate a design based around truck freight. Suburban examples constructed along railroads and waterways without an emphasis on truck transport are not representative of the type of industrial buildings constructed in suburban Maryland between 1961 and 1980.

Industrial buildings of the Suburban Diversification Period were primarily utilitarian structures, and examples that possess high artistic value under Criterion C are rare. More likely, buildings will be considered under Criterion C based on engineering achievements, such as an innovative structural system. Many equivalent industrial properties are present in the suburbs, and eligible buildings or complexes must clearly convey particularly important or unique associations with historical trends, demonstrate exceptional integrity, and retain all character-defining elements. Because of their ubiquity, to be considered under Criterion C as a type, period, or method of construction, eligible industrial buildings should be notable early examples or one of the last unaltered examples. Since

⁴⁰⁸ Gournay and Corbin Sies 2002, 38

⁴⁰⁹ "More Jobs Due for Maryland" 1972, B7

industrial buildings undergo frequent change to accommodate new technologies, significant examples that retain integrity will be rare.

F.6.2. Manufacturing Plants

Manufacturing methods changed after World War II as the assembly-line method was expanded, refined, and improved. During the 1950s, straight-line production methods became a dominant influence on industrial building design. In straight-line production, raw materials entered a building on one side and finished products came out the other end. A long, one-story building was the most efficient form for optimizing manufacturing and product flow. Unlike the multi-story manufacturing buildings of the early twentieth-century, one-story buildings required no elevators or backtracking of goods, and operations were less expensive. Long buildings were well-adapted for truck freight, accommodating multiple garage bays and enabling the efficient loading and unloading of goods.

Pallets represented another shift in factory production, for they could carry raw materials or finished goods, and be stacked on identical wood or steel platforms. Pallets became common during World War II, after which they were standardized, leading to widespread adoption. Each pallet could be easily moved and stacked for storage or transport. Truck trailers operated in the same manner; a trailer could be detached from a truck and left for unloading while the same truck was hitched to an identical, loaded trailer.⁴¹⁰

During this period, some industrial facilities were akin to the corporate office campus, combining office buildings with simple manufacturing and distribution facilities. Typically consisting of manicured landscaping, these complexes contain a variety of buildings based on function. Their growth in Maryland is particularly associated with companies in high-tech industries such as aerospace, computing, and defense. Examples include the Volkswagen South Atlantic Distributor Complex (1965) in Landover and Vitro Complex (1968) in Aspen Hill. Many of these companies relied on federal government contracts and benefited from consolidating their corporate facilities.

F.6.2.1. Form and Appearance

Manufacturing plants comprise the majority of industrial buildings in the United States. These buildings also encompass assembly and maintenance facilities. Suburban manufacturing plants are most commonly light industrial buildings. These are typically found clustered near other similar buildings, in part due to zoning. Often, they include a combination of manufacturing, warehouse, and office space in a single building, or light industrial uses may be included with offices in mixed tenant buildings. Manufacturing facilities will comprise no less than 50 percent of the building area, and office space will account for no more than 20 percent. The ratio of loading bays to square footage is low, and there are large car parking areas to accommodate employees. Often manufacturing plants hold heavy machinery, have high power requirements, or have different buildings for specialized tasks, although specialization often occurs in separate areas under a single roof.

The office is prominently located at the façade and often architecturally distinct from the rest of the building. Although a smaller portion of the building, the office is often the focus of stylistic attention. (Figure 60 and Figure 61). Sometimes, the office serves as a showroom for products manufactured at

⁴¹⁰ Manning 2011, 3

the facility. The office entrance connects to the parking lot and sometimes directly fronts the road, separated by a grassy lawn. Offices have a greater number of windows than other parts of the building, ranging from simple double-hung sash to spandrel ribbon units. The office area may be further distinguished by an entry canopy, decorative concrete screens, or landscaping. Business signage is often mounted on the office portion of the building or on along the road. The offices at corporate industrial campuses demonstrate more distinctive architectural styles like International, Brutalist, or Postmodernist.

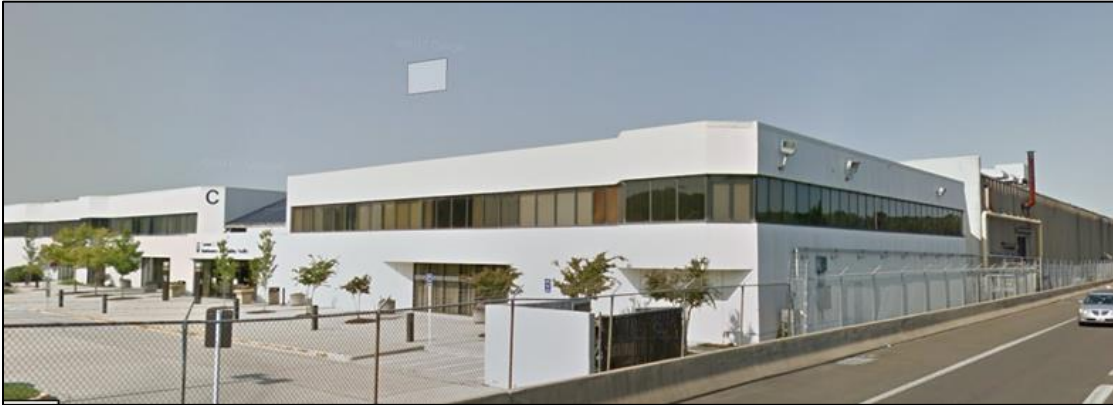


Figure 60: Carmen E. Turner Maintenance and Training Facility in Landover (1978).



Figure 61: Serta Distribution Center and Offices in Prince George's County (1967).

F.6.2.2. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of manufacturing plants representative of the Suburban Diversification Period include but are not limited to:

- Flat or shed roof;
- Horizontal emphasis;
- Tall, windowless walls;
- Truck loading docks;
- Office at end facing road; architecturally distinguished from manufacturing area;

- High ratio of car parking to building area; and
- Heavy equipment in manufacturing area.

F.6.3. Warehouses and Distribution Centers

Growth in the suburban consumer market directly led to a greater need for warehouses in the Maryland suburbs. State sales tax from various goods reflected a new consumer pattern that began during the Suburbanization Diversification Period. In 1957, the state revenue generated by sales tax was \$137 million. By 1967, this had jumped to \$338 million, and by 1977, this figure had skyrocketed to \$928 million.⁴¹¹ As Marylanders purchased greater quantities of goods, companies needed warehouses and other temporary storage to hold products prior to display and sale.

Larger chain companies also began constructing distribution centers, very large warehouses that stockpiled goods to be shipped to numerous stores in a region. Some distribution centers also had customer service departments that directly provided repair services for customers. The distribution center model improved during this era with early business-based computers and fax machines, stemming from the first use of a bar code in 1974 and the first real-time warehouse management system established by JC Penney in 1976. The use of computer-based management systems allowed for quantities and locations of goods to be calculated and shared company-wide in seconds.⁴¹²

F.6.3.1. Form and Appearance

Warehouses and distribution centers are large, one-story rectangular buildings with high ceilings; in some cases reaching 60 feet. Large loading bays line the exteriors, primarily at secondary elevations facing onto asphalt-paved lots. Loading bays are often found on two sides of the building. Whereas manufacturing facilities contained equipment, warehouses had shelving for storage. Large paved areas accommodate truck traffic, with less space devoted to car parking. These buildings may include offices, although they are often located within the warehouse itself.

F.6.3.2. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of warehouses and distribution centers representative of the Suburban Diversification Period include but are not limited to:

- Flat or shed roof;
- Horizontal emphasis;
- Tall, windowless walls lined by loading bays; and
- Rectangular plan.

F.7. Recreational Resource Types

Trends in development and construction associated with recreation and leisure activities directly followed federal, state, and local trends on suburban population increases, improved transportation,

⁴¹¹ Callcott 1985, 232

⁴¹² Robinson 2015

reduced commute times, robust economics, and the environmental movement. Prior to the 1960s, most recreational activities were home-based or developed ad hoc like neighborhood sand lots for community baseball games. Recreation became much more organized during the Suburbanization Diversification Period, as outdoor areas such as parks and playgrounds were developed in increasing numbers.

F.7.1. Significance Assessment

Recreational resources such as golf course clubs and swim and tennis facilities were frequently constructed as part of a larger planned residential development. In these cases, the recreational resource should be evaluated as part of the surrounding neighborhood, unless the building has a unique historical association apart from the larger development. In most cases, a golf course, swimming pool, or tennis court is an integral part of the resource; examples in which these elements have been removed are unlikely to be eligible. For some country clubs, significance may be derived from the golf course rather than the associated buildings. In these cases, the integrity of associated buildings will be of secondary importance to the integrity of the course itself.

To be considered under Criterion A, individual recreational resources must demonstrate significant associations with historical trends such as demographic changes or local and regional planning. Examples include a country club that was the site of important integration efforts or one of the first public swimming pools or golf courses built in a county, reflecting the growing need for public amenities outside the city. Recreational resources considered under Criterion C as a type, period, or method of construction, should be an early example or one of the last remaining examples with sufficient integrity to convey its historical significance. Because of their ubiquity, these buildings will more likely demonstrate significance under Criterion C if they are the work of a master or they possess high artistic value. Eligible examples must demonstrate exceptional integrity, with clear historical associations conveyed by the structures, and all character-defining elements intact. Intact examples that convey significance are expected to be rare.

F.7.2. Country Clubs and Golf Clubs

Throughout the Suburban Diversification Period traditional membership-based country clubs continued a general post-war decline in popularity, giving way to large numbers of public facilities, corporate-owned clubs, and golf course community developments. Although country clubs offering various private facilities for recreation existed in Maryland throughout the twentieth century, the country club by this time was inextricably linked with golf.⁴¹³ Montgomery County was already well known for its large number of country clubs when it opened Sligo Creek Golf Course in 1947, its first public golf course.⁴¹⁴ The post-war period, particularly the 1950s and 1960s saw an explosion of public interest in golf as the sport became “big business” with celebrity players, endorsements, television contracts, and big-money tournament prizes.⁴¹⁵

⁴¹³ Adams and Rooney 1985

⁴¹⁴ Kelly 2015, Location 1045; *The Washington Post* 1958, B6

⁴¹⁵ Adams and Rooney 1985

The increased public interest in golf was largely responsible for new country club and golf club development during this period. During the 1960s, an average of 360 new golf courses opened per year in the United States.⁴¹⁶ In 1962, the nationwide number of public golf courses outnumbered private clubs for the first time in history.⁴¹⁷ Such recreational facilities were particularly popular in Montgomery and Prince George's counties where, "the majority of golf course construction in the county (59 percent) took place from 1950 to 1969, which coincided with a significant increase in the county population."⁴¹⁸ A combination of government programs supporting suburban development further helped drive public golf course construction. Between 1963 and 1975, the U.S. Department of Agriculture provided suburban and rural communities a variety of grants and loans totaling nearly \$10.5 million resulting in the construction of 1,035 recreation facilities across the country, of which 566 were golf courses.⁴¹⁹ By 1970, the number of golf courses nationwide had more than doubled from 4,900 in 1950 to 10,200.⁴²⁰ Many of these courses were constructed at public clubs owned and operated by local municipal or county governments.

By the mid-1970s, American's interest in golf began to wane. Throughout the northeastern U.S. there was generally less new construction of public golf courses due to increasing land values.⁴²¹ As the 1980s began, private for-profit and semi-private golf course community type courses accounted for most of the new development.⁴²²

F.7.2.1. Form and Appearance

Both public and private clubs developed during the Suburban Diversification Period were generally composed of similar elements. Many courses were designed to take advantage of particularly impressive views or natural features. The role of the clubhouse and its relationship to the golf course was critical.⁴²³ The clubhouse was placed at one end as a point of entry to the course, or it was placed centrally with the course flowing around. Regardless of placement, the course nearly always made a circuit beginning and ending at the clubhouse. The clubhouse itself was generally a large building, often with multiple wings suitable for ancillary activities, containing a central main entry and open public area. Most clubhouses contained golf-related shops, locker rooms, dining facilities, and various private areas containing offices. Some facilities had attached or unattached swimming, spa, and tennis facilities, as well as golf cart sheds, vending, and equipment or maintenance areas. These club houses generally reflected popular architectural styles such as International, Shed, and Colonial Revival; the latter was extremely popular for both private and public country clubs (Figure 62).

⁴¹⁶ Kirsch 2009

⁴¹⁷ Adams and Rooney 1985

⁴¹⁸ M-NCPPC 2013, electronic document

⁴¹⁹ Adams and Rooney 1985

⁴²⁰ Kirsch 2009

⁴²¹ Adams and Rooney 1985, 426

⁴²² Moss 2001

⁴²³ Diedrich 2008



Figure 62: Colonial Revival-style clubhouse at Holly Hills Country Club in Ijamsville (1977).

Many public golf clubs were constructed during this period by municipal and county governments. Their clubhouses generally resembled vernacular or Ranch-influenced residential buildings, with perhaps a slightly larger footprint and attached support structures or decks. Some public clubhouses were constructed in Colonial-Revival style, as well as in Modernist styles. Typical examples of public facilities constructed at this time include Paint Branch Golf Course (1964) in College Park and Henson Creek Golf Course (1964) in Fort Washington with simple clubhouse buildings lacking stylistic embellishment. The typical private for-profit or golf community clubhouse constructed during this period sometimes employed similar design and styles as private clubs, although the size and scale were often much smaller. Some were constructed in the Colonial Revival or Shed style, but like public clubhouses were often vernacular or Ranch-influenced buildings.

F.7.2.2. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of country clubs and golf clubs representative of the Suburban Diversification Period include but are not limited to:

- One or two stories;
- Multiple bays or wings allow access to various portions of the building including social areas, dining facilities, and locker rooms;
- Attached or semi-attached buildings for golf equipment, vending, cart storage, or secondary recreation facilities; and
- Overall site plan dependent on terrain and design of golf course.

F.7.3. Swim and Tennis Clubs

The Suburban Diversification Period saw the continued development of both public and privately-owned suburban swim and tennis clubs as suburban Americans sought out recreation facilities. Many of these clubs were situated within neighborhoods or adjacent commercial developments. Some were constructed as independent membership-based organizations; however, they were increasingly associated with planned residential development during the latter part of the period.

Montgomery County began constructing public swimming pools in the 1960s to meet this demand.⁴²⁴ At the same time, the desegregation of many public recreation facilities in the mid-1950s brought on controversy. During a successful 1968 campaign to build temporary swimming pools, Prince George's County faced objections from the all-white residents of Green Meadows due to fears African Americans from surrounding communities could use the facilities.⁴²⁵ Middle-class white Americans soon abandoned public pools for private ones in large numbers.⁴²⁶ Many of the private swim and tennis clubs that developed during this period provided membership-based access to facilities, effectively discriminating against people of color.

Tennis saw a "golden age" of star players and world-wide interest during the late 1960s, encouraging a generation of suburbanites to take up the sport.⁴²⁷ Many public and private tennis facilities were constructed during this surge in popularity. As societal and economic trends led to increased diversity in the suburbs, the number of inclusive public and private recreational options began to grow by the 1970s. Montgomery County built a number of public recreation and swim centers during the latter part of the 1970s to early 1980s to serve ever increasing numbers of county residents.⁴²⁸ Prince George's County's first full-sized pool and associated buildings were constructed in the mid-1970s with federal funding as the Franklin J. Borne Memorial Pool in Seat Pleasant, Prince George's County.⁴²⁹

F.7.3.1. Form and Appearance

Swim and tennis clubs often comprised a single large building with both indoor and outdoor pools as well as tennis courts and other recreational amenities. These buildings often had no architectural style or, like public golf clubhouses, often appeared as large Ranch-form buildings organized for use as locker rooms, storage, and offices. Others were examples of or were influenced by the International, Contemporary, New Formalist, Shed, or Brutalist styles. The North Chevy Chase Pool Association Bathhouse (1959) in Chevy Chase was designed in the Contemporary style, the Rockville Municipal Swim Center (1968) had elements of Brutalism (Figure 63), and the Pool and Club House in Montgomery Village was in the Shed style (Figure 64).

F.7.3.2. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of swim and tennis clubs representative of the Suburban Diversification Period include but are not limited to:

- One to two stories;
- Multiple bays or wings allow access to various portions of the building including locker rooms and indoor swim facilities; and
- Large fenced outdoor swim areas.

⁴²⁴ Feeley 1961, B5

⁴²⁵ Drosnin 1968, B1

⁴²⁶ Witse 2007

⁴²⁷ Wind 1979

⁴²⁸ Bonner 1975, B2

⁴²⁹ Baker 1974, B1



Figure 63: Rockville Municipal Swim Center (Rockville Swim and Fitness Center) in Rockville (1968).



Figure 64: Pool and Club House in Montgomery Village.

F.8. Public Utility Buildings

Suburban growth relied on the extension of public utilities to new development and their continued expansion beyond the edges of existing development. Utilities typically encompassed large infrastructure networks, ranging from large origin or endpoint facilities to underground pipes and overhead wires. The most common suburban structures associated with utility infrastructure are smaller nodal facilities: electrical substations, pumping stations, and telephone exchanges. The buildings most often associated with these resources were designed to hide or screen equipment. Due to their shared purposes, such buildings are often similar in form, massing, materials, and style.

Public utilities expanded rapidly in the DC suburbs in the decades after World War II. Between 1951 and 1961, Potomac Electric Power Company (Pepco) more than doubled its electrical capacity with the construction of new generation, transmission, and distribution systems throughout the formerly rural areas of Montgomery and Prince George's Counties.⁴³⁰ In 1959, Pepco encouraged suburban growth by eliminating its "suburban surcharge," a special fee charged to those customers living outside of the urban core ().⁴³¹ The company constructed numerous substations in Montgomery and Prince George's counties to join transmission lines or distribute electricity from larger generating stations to the surrounding area.

The Washington Suburban Sanitary Commission (WSSC), established May 1, 1918 in response to water and sewer needs of Montgomery and Prince George's Counties,⁴³² experienced significant growth due to new suburban construction. Between 1950 and 1960, the system saw 70 percent growth, as the WSSC installed 846 miles of new water mains, 698 miles of sewer lines, and increased water connections from 60,000 in 1950 to 136,000 by 1960. By that year, the region's water consumption was 18 billion gallons annually ().⁴³³ Growth in the region continued and, in 1965 and 1966, the WSSC reported record water distribution amounts both years. In the suburbs, pumping stations were constructed to temporarily store raw sewage and distribute it to larger wastewater treatment plants.

The Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company (C&P), now part of Verizon, provided telephone service in Montgomery and Prince George's counties starting in the late nineteenth century. Telephone connections, handled through switches and switchboards originally operated by hand, became computerized by the mid-twentieth century.⁴³⁴ Telephone buildings, once centralized in downtowns, became smaller and more numerous to house the mechanized switchboards in secure settings near growing service areas.⁴³⁵ In suburban locations, the buildings, known as telephone central offices or telephone exchanges, were typically small, one-story, windowless structures.

F.8.1. Significance Assessment

The small, nodal public utility buildings present in the suburbs are unlikely to demonstrate significant associations with important suburban trends under Criterion A. These trends are best represented by larger projects, such as new power plants, water filtration plants, or wastewater treatment plants, constructed to accommodate growing demand in the expanding suburbs. Utility buildings may be contributing elements to larger historic districts if they can be shown to have a direct association with the planning and development of a specific residential subdivision or office/industrial park and were integrated into the overall design.

To be considered under Criterion C as a type, period, or method of construction, a utility building should be an early example or one of the last intact examples. Although uncommon, buildings may demonstrate significance under Criterion C if they possess high artistic value; telephone central offices, for example, demonstrate many distinct designs across the state. Eligible examples must

⁴³⁰ Dunn 1962, L9

⁴³¹ *The Washington Post* 1959, B1

⁴³² WSSC, 2019

⁴³³ *The Washington Post* 1961, B2

⁴³⁴ Verizon 2018

⁴³⁵ Calvert 2003

retain exceptional integrity, with clear historical associations conveyed by the structures, and all character-defining elements intact. Utility buildings served growing populations and underwent frequent change to accommodate new needs. Many feature additions and alterations that diminish their integrity of design; intact examples that convey significance are uncommon.

Public utility sites and corridors without buildings, featuring only common, mass-produced transmittal and distribution equipment, such as towers, poles, transformers, wires, or pipes, will not be considered for NRHP eligibility. These standardized resources are ubiquitous throughout the state, and their basic design and use has not changed over time.

F.8.2. Form and Appearance

Suburban utility buildings were often located along major highways and screened from surrounding development. Often surrounded by fencing, the buildings themselves typically served as screens or shells to protect or hide equipment. In the mid-twentieth century, utility buildings often responded to the architectural parlance of surrounding neighborhoods. If a utility building was placed near a neighborhood of Minimal Traditional dwellings, for example, the building may have adopted a similar footprint to match the plan and scale of the neighborhood. Simple features suggesting residential architecture and specifically the Colonial Revival style, such as false windows, front-gables, or projecting bays, were common in the 1960s (Figure 65). Later examples often featured modern styles such as International, Contemporary, Brutalist, or a combination. By the mid-1960s and into the 1970s, utility buildings more often used standardized or simplified designs (Figure 66), and efforts to screen equipment became less common.



Figure 65: WSSC Central Avenue Water Pumping Station in Landover (1966-67).



Figure 66: Telephone central office in Jarrettsville (1974).

F.8.3. Character-Defining Elements

Character-defining elements of public utility buildings representative of the Suburban Diversification Period include but are not limited to:

- One to two stories;
- Lack of windows or presence of vents;
- False doors, windows, or ornament to blend with or imitate other building types;
- Use of screens, blind arches and pilasters;
- Rectangular massing with limited number of L-shaped plans; and
- Flat roofs; gables or cross gables on stylized forms.

G. CONCLUSION

During the Suburban Diversification Period, transportation improvements, social and demographic changes, a new understanding of human impacts on the environment, and the growing influence of the federal government and local planning and zoning opened the suburbs to new types of development, new people, and a new level of growth never before seen. Because of the scale of construction, examples of suburban development systems and building types from 1961 to 1980 are more numerous than those of any other period of history. The result of this era of rapid growth is a profusion of buildings that carry associations with historical events and trends of the Suburban Diversification Period. Buildings from this era must necessarily be held to a high standard to meet the threshold of National Register eligibility. Resources from this period must demonstrate strong connections to important historical trends and retain a high degree of integrity that sets them apart from the many common examples that hold similar historical associations. Such resources will frequently be best examples or represent important firsts.

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