FROM METROPOLIS TO GLOBAL CITY

ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING IN MIAMI-DADE COUNTY (1941-1989)

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Southeast Bank, 1982. Photo by A.G. Montanari. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Archive

Introduction

But Miami is not a town. She is a city so young that she has little history of the past, but a glorious future no doubt, and bears the unique distinction of becoming a full-fledged city without having first been a town. —Melvina Myrtle, 1904[1]

During the early 1980s, a striking and even climactic layer of Miami civilization was in the making. Across Dade County, development was pushing out in almost every direction. A more sprawling and increasingly integrated urban region now stretched from the mouth of the Miami River west toward the Everglades, east to the barrier islands that faced the Atlantic, south to the agricultural Redlands, and north to the border of neighboring Broward County. In downtown, rebranded as the

Digging in Miami for Old Indian Circle, 1970s. Photo by Joe Rimkus. Courtesy HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection

New World Center, towers sprung up, reflecting a globalization spurred by immigration, and the growth of trade and financial industries. New educational and cultural facilities, civic spaces, and a governmental center, rose there as well, the signal of a renewed metropolitan center for the region.

The new developments were the latest wave of a boom-and-bust economy, part of a continuing re-invention that was a hallmark of Miami's character. As Melvina Myrtle demonstrated in 1904, not yet 10 years after the city's founding at the mouth of the Miami River, this process of re-invention often coincided with a belief that Miami lacks history.

In the 1980s, however, new developments unearthed history. The 1981 Dade County Historic Preservation Ordinance (followed by a similar ordinance in the City of Miami) required a new awareness of historical and archeological resources. The ordinance created a foundation for the discipline of historic preservation in the heart of a building boom, and mandated archeological digs at key sites. As Miami-Dade County's first staff archaeologist, Robert Carr, suggested, the same progress that normally erased all traces of indigenous people was leveraged to uncover their archeological record. [2]

Although archeology had been practiced in Miami-Dade County since the late 19th century, the development boom advanced a modern regimen of archeology, and re-shaped our understanding of Miami's Native American roots. [3] Indeed, since the 1981 ordinance, 90% of new discoveries were accounted for in the process of redeveloping a site, tying a rediscovery of Miami's history to the city's constant development and construction.

Many of the most important archeological finds were made along the Miami River. In particular, the Grenada Site (currently the Knight Center and Hyatt Hotel), north of the river, and the Brickell Point Site, south of the river, yielded a critical insight: Miami's most valuable downtown real estate was located on top of what, hundreds of years before, was the center of a mirror civilization. The excavations penetrated thin layers of modern development, moving through the early pioneer era and eventually down to pre-modern, even ancient times. These excavations, along with others around the county, elaborated a more precise understanding of Miami's layered history, challenging the notion of the city as a pioneer utopia, a wilderness tamed by the hand of settlers into a metropolis.

Archeology elaborated the presence of the Tequesta, a group that had vanished more than 200 years before the City of Miami was incorporated, but who for thousands of years before that (from about 3,000 BC) had settled around the shallow water systems of southeast Florida. They commanded a landscape dotted by ridges, tree islands and barrier islands, and commuted back and forth by canoe through its coastal sloughs and mangrove lagoons. [4] While far less populous, the Tequestas' horizons largely matched those of current Miami-Dade County. Its members were builders too; besides the presence of middens and mounds, their engineering accomplishments included raised coastal islands, weirs, canals, causeways and circles.

Like modern Miamians, the Tequestas appear to have been connected to the both the Caribbean and North America. They formed a physically decentralized society – a metropolis of sorts, connected to the landscape through the continuity of water, with every part of the region accessible within hours. [5] Their careful adaptation to the aqueous landscape of South Florida produced a distinct archeological zone characterized as the "Glades tradition," predicting the regionally adaptive architectures of postwar Miami. They encountered Ponce de Leon and persisted, but disappeared in the 18th century, perhaps displaced by the Seminole and Miccosukee who came to the region before retreating to the Everglades.

The archeological record also revealed the changing nature of South Florida's landscape and climate, and the effects of climate change. 10,000-12,000 years ago, the region was far-drier and supported a wider variety of flora and fauna. [6] The Everglades and Biscayne Bay we know today are recent, perhaps only 5,000-7,000 years old, the result of a layering of ecology and landscape. These environmental layers, along with the layering of civilizations discerned through archeology, echo in the modern reality of layered architectures and successional urbanisms. While the demolition of one layer to create the next was a pattern that persisted until the 1980s (and continues today), the practices of landscape conservation, historic preservation, and archeology helped refocus awareness of the past, usher in an alternate paradigm of continuity and co-existence, and better interpret and appreciate Miami's rich context.
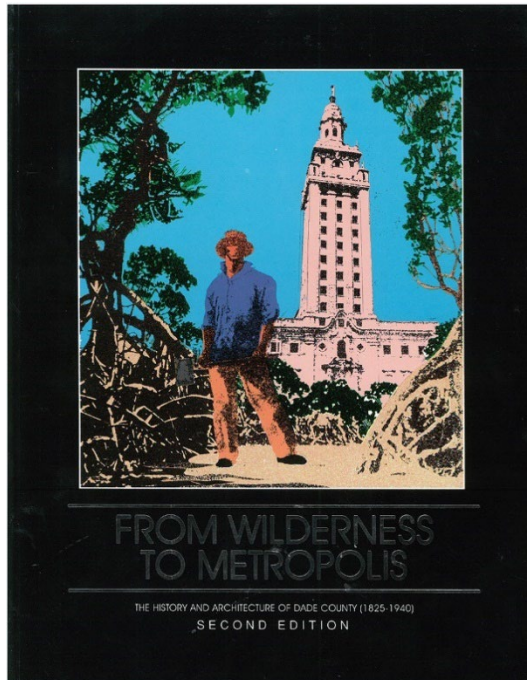
From Metropolis to Global City

This narrative is conceived as a follow-up to *From Wilderness to Metropolis: The History and Architecture of Dade County, Florida, 1825-1940*, which was a landmark attempt to interpret Miami's layered past through publication. Written by Ivan A. Rodriguez and Margot Ammidown and published in 1982 (only a year after the Dade County Historic Preservation Ordinance), *From Wilderness to Metropolis* explored the scope and breadth of the city's historical development through the lens of the built environment. It built on initial survey and research work conducted as part of the 1980 Dade County Historic Survey – a pioneering effort that recognized approximately 6,000 sites of historical, architectural, and archaeological significance in the county, and marked the way for the county's fledgling historic preservation movement.

From Metropolis to Global City: The Architecture of Miami-Dade County, Florida, 1941-1989 picks up the story where *From Wilderness to Metropolis* left off, exploring wartime Miami and the early and late postwar eras.[7]

Many of the themes found in *From Wilderness to Metropolis* persist to the present day: the legacy of pioneers, cycles of boom and bust, and the constant effort to define a city in a formidable – and to most North Americans, exotic – landscape. Ideas about architecture persist as well: the rustic wood architecture of a frontier Southern town; the Mediterranean culture that infused South Florida in the 1920s and first suggested the notion of metropolis with bold and monumental buildings and grand urban plans; and modernism, which in the 1930s induced a forward-looking spirit and found evocative architectural expressions like Art Deco and Streamlining. Physically, these notions, architectures, and urbanisms remain present as layers of Miami's identity and history. In Miami, style is never just style, but an expression of the city's search for identity.

The idea of the "metropolis," evoked in *From Wilderness to Metropolis*, continues to intrigue.[8] While seemingly a reference to Miami's later urban form, the term goes straight back to the city's foundation, and played an important role in its early identity. *Miami Metropolis*, the city's first newspaper (published from 1896 through 1908) reflected the bold and civilizing aspirations of Miami's founders. Their metropolis would be carved from the wilderness of forested hammock and pine rockland, forged from the sea in the form of new islands and causeways, and molded from the Everglades as new dry land woven with lakes and canals. It was a process of environmental reconstruction – the end result never in doubt – in which the city would conquer the hinterland. As Melvina Myrtle hinted in 1904, Miami would become a great city without having ever been anything else.

This grand narrative, of course, mainly came up short. A "metropolis" might suggest a complete city, a compelling economic, political, and cultural center, perhaps even an urban utopia. Yet, the growing pains of Miami's rapid expansion defied any sense of completeness. Founded on the artifice of tourism and the politics of land development, urban planning was sporadic and ad hoc, often neglecting the public realm. Boom and bust cycles quickly established facts, then failed, leaving only artifacts.[9] In this flux, many Miamians have sought some measure of authenticity and struggled to establish a community among transients, although fractious ideas of the city and issues of structural racism remained imbedded. In this complexity, private utopias were tempered by messy public realities. It wasn't until the 1980s that any sense of synthesis – physical, governmental, demographic, cultural, historical – began to take hold.

In other terms, those of regional ambition and identity for instance, the notion of metropolis seems more relevant. Isolated by its remote location on the North American continent, the singularity of its climate, demographics and economic drivers, Miami has developed its own metropolitan culture. This culture has come to embody a role as a center (or even capital) of South Florida, of the Caribbean, and even of Latin America. Miami is also, in terms of identity, a Cuban, Latin, Haitian, and Jewish metropolis.

The built environment alone cannot reveal the true identity of a city, but Miami's architecturally rich, hectic and episodic contexts offer important material for interpreting its evolution. *From Metropolis to Global City* attempts to explore this evolution by describing a developmental arc, first from leisure city to working city, and then toward the global city it is today. The material is organized in three parts and laid out thematically and chronologically. **Part I: The World's Playground** considers Miami's development from a modest prewar tourist destination to a global site of mass spectacle with industrial-scale resorts. In this transformation, new models of hotel and motel resorts were locally invented, even as resort culture was segregated according to race, resulting in parallel resort centers. As part of this invention, responding to the phenomenon of "permanent tourists" (or tourists who became permanent residents), touristic accommodations were repackaged in new forms of urban living. Indeed, Miami Beach itself became a great residential city based on touristic promises.

Part II: The Modern Metropolis covers the years of metropolitan expansion after WWII, which re-scripted Miami from leisure city toward a working city. The rise of the suburb as a metropolitan

environment, the shape and influence of new infrastructures, and the growth of new civic institutions, were among its most transformative themes. Shaping these new structures were novel modern planning and architectural paradigms. The modernizing tenor of these new paradigms remained mired in racial segregation, however, at least until the Civil Rights movement and the struggle for agency in development began to re-shape development processes. The growth of modern suburbs also paired with the decline of the urban core.

Part III: Metropolis to Global City examines the period of demographic, economic and cultural reinvention, beginning in the 1970s, which made Miami the global city it is today. Following the 1959 Cuban Revolution, more than half a million Cuban immigrants transformed Miami into a vibrant diaspora. Colombian and Venezuelan, and later Nicaraguan, immigrants followed. Between 1960 and 1980, the Hispanic share of Greater Miami's population grew from 6% to 41%.[10] A surge of Latin American trade, business development, and banking developed important and enduring linkages across the hemisphere. Ecuadoran President Jaime Roldós, addressing hemispheric bankers and businesspeople in 1979, coined Miami's new moniker: "The Capital of Latin America."[11]

The Latinization of Miami was only part of Miami's postwar emergence as a global economy. Tourists, residents, and entrepreneurs arrived from Canada, Europe, the Middle East and beyond. As Saskia Sassen and Alejandro Portes note, the new trade economy rewired the local economy into a global economy and made Miami a "Global City."[12] International banking became a signal of this globalization, and financial and specialized services replaced tourism as the most important local business.

The turbulent and less growth-oriented 1970s-1980s ended many accepted ideas of Miami and laid the roots for the type of city it would become: global, hemispheric, multi-ethnic. The recombination of the city's DNA also set the stage for further developments across the metropolitan area: economic diversification; more comprehensive approaches to suburban planning that yielded higher density suburbs and new paradigms of housing; the increasingly visible role of international migrations and diasporas in the transformation of districts and neighborhoods; and the long-awaited redevelopment of a downtown core as a commercial, governmental and cultural center.[13] At the same time, Miamians began to reckon with the vast and cruel reworking of its natural environment, leading to a renewed appreciation for natural landscapes, and for historic sites and buildings.

From Metropolis to Global City follows the city's history of transience and susceptibility to change as a cue to question, challenge, and revise the many stories Miami has been built on, filling in the gaps in the city's collective memory.

[1] Melvina Myrtle, "Down South on the Miami," *Miami News*, June 30, 1904.

[2] For a comprehensive and insightful overview of archeology in Miami-Dade County, I rely on Robert Carr, *Digging Miami* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2012). p. 13. Archeology was practiced around Dade County from the 19th century (before Miami had developed), when Jeffries Wyman, Curator of the Peabody Museum at Harvard, surveyed the area in the late 19th century and found the remains of Tequesta mounds at the mouth of the Miami River. In the mid-1930s, The Smithsonian Institution's Matthew Stirling, working for the depression-era Works Progress Administration and Bureau of American Ethnology, surveyed sites in Surfside, on former tree island sites in Opa-locka, and in the hardwood hammock of El Portal. John Mann Goggin, a cultural anthropologist and University of Florida professor, also surveyed the region in the 1930s-40s. Goggin identified and classified native American culture of Florida, created the Florida Master Site File, and established the outlines of Tequesta culture and its interactions with early explorers.

[3] Carr, *Digging Miami*, p. 13.

[4] John Mann Goggin, "The Tekesta Indians of Southern Florida," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 18, No. 4 (Apr., 1940), pp. 274-284.

[5] Carr, *Digging Miami*, p. 92.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Throughout the book, I have drawn on my own previous research and writing, including the following:

Allan T. Shulman ed, *The Discipline of Nature: Architect Alfred Browning Parker in Florida* (Miami: HistoryMiami Museum, 2017).

Allan T. Shulman, *Building Bacardi: Architecture, Art & Identity* (New York: Rizzoli, 2016).

Allan T. Shulman, James F. Donnelly, Randall C. Robinson Jr., *Miami Architecture: An AIA Guide Featuring Downtown, the Beaches and Coconut Grove* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2010).

Allan T. Shulman, Editor, *Miami Modern Metropolis: Paradise and Paradox in Midcentury Architecture and Planning* (Miami Beach: Bass Museum of Art and Glendale, CA: Balcony Press, 2009).

Allan T. Shulman & Greg Castillo, Guest Editors, *AULA (Architecture & Urbanism in Las Americas) 3: Miami Tropical,* (New Orleans: Tulane University School of Architecture, 2002).

Jean-Francois Lejeune & Allan Shulman, *The Making of Miami Beach 1933-42: The Architecture of Lawrence Murray Dixon* (New York: Rizzoli, 2001).

"The Atmospheric Envelope: Igor Polevitzky's Vision of a Modern Florida," *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts*, Miami: Wolfson Foundation of Decorative and Propaganda Arts, 1997: Volume 23, pp. 334-359.

[8] I have previously used the term in the book *Miami Modern Metropolis: Paradise and Paradox in Midcentury Architecture and Planning*, ed. Allan Shulman (South Pasadena: Balcony Press, 2009) to help organize ideas about how Miami was transformed from a resort center to a full-scale, year-round American city.

[9] See Jean-Francois Lejeune and Allan Shulman, *The Making of Miami Beach: 1933 1942: The Architecture of Lawrence Murray Dixon* (New York: Rizzoli, 2001).

[10] Herbert Burkholz, "The Latinization of Miami," *New York Times*, September 21, 1980.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Saskia Sassen and Alejandro Portes, "Miami: A New Global City," *Contemporary Sociology*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (July 1993): 471-477.

[13] William Tucker, "County in Change: From Football Champs and…" *Miami News*, January 2, 1980.

Part I:

The World's Playground

Leisure, Spectacle, and Urban Life

Collins Avenue, also known as Highway A1A, stretches more than 10 miles from Government Cut in Miami Beach to Sunny Isles Beach. Running nearly straight up the barrier island beach, framed by the Atlantic Ocean on one side and Biscayne Bay on the other, the coastal highway crosses municipalities and morphs from resort main street to parkway to highway. This vital artery of American hospitality achieved its greatest fame in the postwar era, as a lustrous linear city of hotels, motels, and tower apartment buildings, mile upon mile of cubic modern architecture and stucco walls balanced by extravagant gestures, eye-catching signage and the promise of gratification within. To the west, quieter residential neighborhoods sprung up wherever land permitted, with single-family homes, low-rise garden apartment buildings, and commercial main streets. Tethered at intervals to the Florida mainland and its working culture, Collins stood a world apart as a singular resort urbanism and the best-known representative of Miami's playground ethos.

Bird's eye view of Collins Avenue - Miami Beach, Florida, 1961. State Archives of Florida, Florida Memory. <https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show /78288>, accessed 25 August 2022.

Even though Greater Miami's postwar development veered away from tourism and spectacle toward the everyday issues of a growing community, any understanding of the city requires an appreciation of the hospitality, leisure, and spectacle that have been wired into its core. Before World War II, Miami served as America's winter playground: Resorts and leisure cities flourished across Dade County in the 1920s and in the 1930s, and Miami Beach was transformed into a resort metropolis. As the car dominated American culture after World War II, the hospitality industry moved out from traditional centers, along arterial roads and highways, crystalizing new forms of resorts and hotels. Increased American wealth, more vacation time, and jet travel propelled mass tourism and spawned larger hotels with more amenities.

Mass tourism changed the nature and function of hotels. The advent of air conditioning, coupled with a growth in professional conventions, resulted in bigger hotels that operated year-round. Package tours offered inclusive experiences that enticed tourists to stay in one place, leading to taller buildings that offered more activities on site. Building larger hotels grew more attractive and profitable and capital flooded into the city from insurance companies, unions, and banks. The pace of expansion, and innovation, spurred competition and generated surges of new hotel development. Miami, and especially Miami Beach, blazed a trail in the global design of new resorts.

The form and look of these resorts changed incessantly, adapting to changing needs and fashions. As architect Denise Scott Brown wrote, "The progression from (south) to (north) along Miami Beach is also a progression through recent American architectural history from the 1930s to the 1970s."[1] At the south end were the traces of 1920s palatial hotels, the small urban hotels of the early Depression era, and the miniature hotel skyscrapers built in the 1940s. Farther up, giant and extravagant slab-like hotel towers of the 1950s-60s, some so large they were dubbed "flabbergast" resorts. Motels and resort motels arrived in the 1950s too, built to respond to the car and car culture. Miami pioneered new architectural and urban boundaries of these building types that sprung up across the United States in the 20th century.

As the historian Dean MacCannell has pointed out, the increasingly global character of tourism triggered a demand for destinations that could satisfy the tourist's desire for real experiences.[2] Experience fulfillment was a local industry in Miami and was a factor that continued to make Miami's resort culture famous. Adventure extended from mom-and-pop roadside exotica to mass spectacle in giant grandstands, which in the postwar era was increasingly focused toward the sea and the spectacle of marine fauna, oceanic ecosystems, speedboat racing, and waterskiing. For many, the metropolitan experience of a tropical city on the frontier of America, set against wilderness and boundless sea – a mix of modernism and exoticism, an improved tropics – was attraction enough.

Miami was also a landscape of the imagination, fed by professional publicists who branded the cities of Dade County – the Magic City, the City Beautiful, America's Playground, and the American Riviera. However true the monikers, these names maintained a powerful hold on the imagination and reality of these cities long after their founding. As Life magazine pointed out, "To winter-bound northerners, Miami is more than a specific municipality": the city's boundaries were fixed by emotion rather than geography. [3]

Beyond the city's abundant attractions, postwar hotels became a theater where tourists performed holiday rituals. Exotic backdrops and cultural themes inspired a playground ethos that freed

tourists from propriety and social convention, unleashing a supposedly more spontaneous and authentic self. [4] The theming often played out in kitsch styling, itself a form of play, that rejected the staid conventional adult world and evoked a childlike joy. At hotels and motels like the Gallic Fontainebleau, the Polynesian Tiki Castaways, and the Meso-American Thunderbird, themed exoticism was a central aspect of this performance-oriented tourist culture. The sensuous environments of hotel lobbies, swimming pools, cabana colonies, and nightclubs were also a kind of theater, designed to liberate guests from traditional habits and social mores. [5]

Not all habits and social customs could be liberated, at least not at first. Prewar restrictions against Jews and other "non-gentiles" abated. Yet resort culture still reflected deep-seated racism and county-wide segregation that lasted at least until the 1960s, and beyond. African Americans were prohibited from staying overnight on Miami Beach, in either private homes or hotels. There was a poignant iron here, because the city's South Beach section, like the Catskill mountains in New York a generation earlier, had developed a Jewish character as a result of their exclusions elsewhere. The hundreds of small and medium-scale hostelries and garden apartment-hotels there were testaments to that exclusion.

Following a similar path, Black tourism flourished in Overtown and Brownsville, producing captivating new hotel and hotel-apartment developments in urban and suburban locations that reflected postwar trends and the middle-class aspirations of African American tourists and locals. These hotels nurtured emergent forms of integration, as white tourists were drawn from Miami Beach to the vibrant and racially integrated entertainment ecosystem of Black Miami.

Miami Beach, meanwhile, was cycling into a new phase of its development and identity. The *New York Times* captured the remarkable growth of Miami Beach's hospitality industry in the 1968 headline "Mud to Mink in 40 Years." By that time, Miami Beach counted 369 hotels with 32,000 hotel rooms and 2,518 apartment buildings with 39,000 units. [6] Having recaptured its prewar essence as a playground and thrived, it also reached its postwar apogee. In the 1970s, Miami Beach declined and the once glamorous urban hotels languished as homes for the elderly, until an emergent historic preservation movement sparked a boutique hotel revolution there in the 1980s. As tourists became residents, so residential buildings learned from hotels and motels. As tourists became residents, so residential buildings learned from hotels and motels. For more than 50 years, Miami demonstrated not only how hospitality might generate buildings and economic activities, but also how tourism could spawn landscapes and even cities, and help shape the larger Miami metropolitan area.

From Jungle to the Sea

Florida's allure begins with the exotic, on display since the age of tourism and real estate promotion began here at roadside sites and in roadside spectacles that mixed the natural and the fantastical. In the early 20th century, Miami, at the state's southern-most tropical extremity, developed its own exotic attractions around the region's natural landscapes and waterscapes, unique fauna, and outlandish performances by wildlife.

Jungle attractions transformed native wooded landscapes, sunlit glades, and watery underworlds into what Margot Ammidown has called "narrative works of art." [7] Miami's **Orchid Jungle** in Homestead (1922) took visitors on a journey through a native Florida hammock, or forested high

(upper left) Entrance to Orchid Jungle, Homestead, 1922. Unidentified postcard, 1970s. (upper right) Rare Bird Farm, Kendall. 1938-1961. Miss Barbara Lee Smith feeding flamingos, 1947. State Archives of Florida, Florida Memory. https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/66955, accessed 19 August 2022. (lower left) Miami Serpentarium, Dade County, 1946-1984. Demolished. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection. (lower right) Parrot Jungle, Pinecrest. Tony Sherman, 1954. Cockatoo on a "bicycle," ca. 1960. State Archives of Florida, Florida Memory. <https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/32842>, accessed 30 August 2022.

ground, draped in the sensual, colorful drama of orchids. Mixing the sublime, the prosaic, and even the commercial, and staged as jungle scenography, evocative structures of native oolitic rock walls and wood and metal roofs contained pavilions for orchid research, propagation, and sales.[8]

Crowd-pleasing fauna, often exotic imports, became part of the industry of spectacle in the 1930s. **Rare Bird Farm** in Kendall (1932) mixed "rare animal brokerage" with a 7-acre landscaped park where visitors encountered ostriches, flamingos, peacocks, and more than 400 rare bird varieties under the watchful eyes of a 15-foot-high statue of St. Francis of Assisi.[9] At **Monkey Jungle** in Homestead (1935), a troop of Java monkeys rambled the 30-acre forest, while tourists peered up at them from caged pathways. The **Miami Serpentarium** on US 1 in Kendall (1946), founded by herpetologist Bill Haast, raised cobras and developed serum in laboratories, while also exhibiting snakes to the public. An early example of highway kitsch, a 35-foot concrete cobra rose from the courtyard of the low-slung roadside building to greet visitors. **Parrot Jungle** (1936), the most successful and adventurous of the jungle gardens, allowed both the tourists and birds to flit freely about a native hammock along Snapper Creek in South Dade. The supporting architecture of the

Parrot Jungle Entrance, Pinecrest. Tony Sherman, 1954. Photo courtesy of The Miami Herald.

original attraction was a rustic entrance portal that inventively mashed-up a pine log Austrian chalet and tropical thatched-roof hut.[10] In 1954, architect Tony Sherman modernized the complex with a new entrance to greet motorists. Using techniques gleaned from contemporary hotels, Sherman devised an arched oolitic rock porte-cochere that led tourists to a modern park-side visitors' center and added the Parrot Bowl, an outdoor amphitheater covered by a Buckminster Fuller Skybreak geodesic dome, a surprising allocation of Fuller's progressive technology of universal shelter toward the stagey performances of birds for tourist entertainment.[11]

Another approach to exotic spectacle fused humans and animals in model touristic "villages". Early examples were developed along the Miami River, at attractions like **Alligator Joe's Alligator Farm and Menagerie** (1890s), **Coppinger's Tropical Gardens, Alligator Farm, and Indian Village** (1914), and eventually at **Musa Isle** (1921-64), a constructed native American village designed for day-tripping tourists arriving by boat. Both Alligator Joe (a New Jersey native
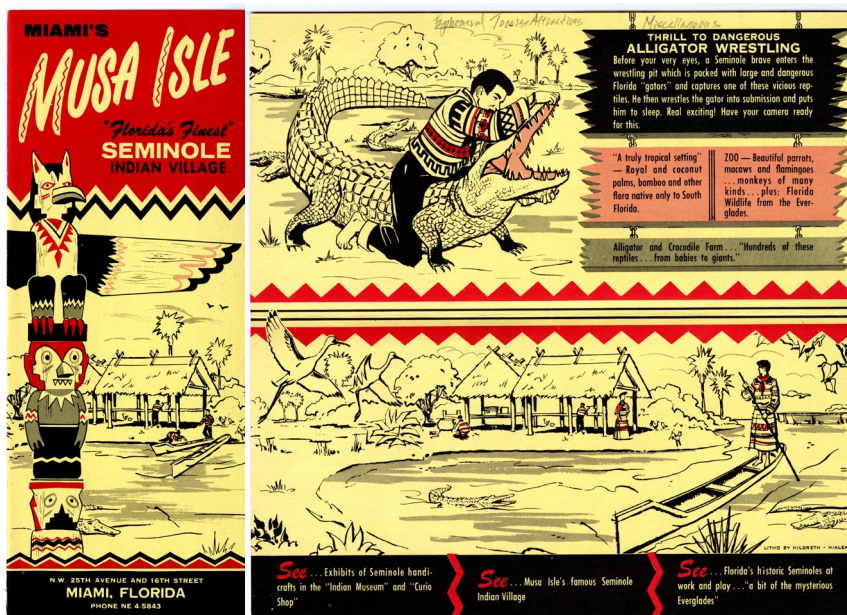
Miami'. Musa Isle Seminole Indian Village – brochure, ca. 1950. State Archives of Florida, Florida Memory. https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/324352, accessed 19 August 2022

Okalee Indian Village and Crafts Center, Hollywood. William G. Crawford, early 1960s. Photo by Marks, 1967. Courtesy of the Florida Photographic Collection, Department of Commerce Collection (c670969), Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum.

whose real name was Walt Frazee) and Henry "Sonny" Coppinger Jr., became national celebrities as pioneers in alligator wrestling. Native Americans, cut off from their traditional lands and clustered at the city's fringes, performed in these touristic spectacles, which became a blueprint for tribal attractions in the postwar era.

Following Federal recognition of the Seminole Tribe in 1957 and the Miccosukee Tribe in 1962, exhibition villages like the **Miccosukee Village and Museum** on the Tamiami Trail (1970s), and **Okalee Village and Arts and Crafts Center** (William G. Crawford, early 1960s) in nearby Hollywood, provided backdrops for animal shows and exhibits and displays of traditional crafts and indigenous people in traditional dress. Novel acts of placemaking combined open glade landscapes with Native American chickee huts, modern architecture, and bold signage.

As attractions turned toward the sea in the 1950s, Biscayne Bay became an important backdrop for new spectacles, and the Rickenbacker Causeway (1947), connecting Miami to Virginia Key and Key Biscayne, became the spine for an unusual mix of marine-themed scientific, academic, and entertainment venues.[12] First to open was the **Miami Seaquarium** (1954), where the Marine Exhibition Corporation developed a large tank oceanarium on 55 acres of bayfront landfill on Virginia Key. Architects Steward & Skinner modeled the Seaquarium after prewar World's Fairs, with nodes of activities linked along an axis and simple geometric buildings with bold, smooth surfaces and integrated super-graphics. Inside, the exhibition was built on technology developed during World War II, capable of holding larger fauna in massive above-ground tanks made of steel, glass, fiberglass, and paraplastics. As many as 1,000 viewers at a time could peer into the largest tank, 18-foot deep, where two levels of continuous ribbons of glass revealed a choreographed underwater spectacle.[13] When Wometco purchased the Seaquarium in 1960, the theater conglomerate added more attractions, including a seal pool designed by Charles McKirahan (1959) that, like the earlier Parrot Bowl, was covered by a Fuller-conceived Skybreak geodesic dome sheathed in gold-anodized diamond-shaped panels. In 1963, the complex of pools, landscaped gardens, and modernist structures were tied together by the American Electric space rail, making the Seaquarium, like a World's Fair, an ambitious preview of a well-planned city.[14]

Miami Marine Stadium, Virginia Key. Pancoast Ferendino Grafton Skeels and Burnham, 1964. Photo courtesy of Friends of Miami Marine Stadium

Across the Rickenbacker Causeway from the Seaquarium, the Miami City Commission and Dade County Parks Commissioner Charles Crandon envisioned another type of marine spectacle: a stadium for boat races, water-skiing, and "aqua spectaculars." The **Miami Marine Stadium** was carved from 240 acres of mangrove landscape into a 5,300-foot-long aquatic basin. The terraforming by Burke Engineers & Architects was a spectacular inversion of the typical Miami pattern of forming neat geometric land masses from chaotic wetlands. Centered on the circus-type water basin, the 6,566-seat Commodore Munroe Stadium grandstand, designed by Pancoast Ferendino Grafton Skeels and Burnham (1964), added architectural drama. Its design, led by Hilario Candela, a young Cuban émigré working with Pancoast, in collaboration with Miami engineer Norman Dignum Associates, featured a striking thin-shell ferro-cement canopy of hyperbolic parabaloid forms that cantilevered broadly over the grandstand like a giant visor.

Beyond the remarkable structural achievement, the stadium's sculptural concrete work was an early evocation of Latin American architectural influences. While such thin-shell concrete construction had been pioneered by Pier Luigi Nervi at his Florence Stadium (1929-32) and by Carlos Arniches, Martín Domínguez, and Eduardo Torroja at the Zarzuela Hippodrome in Madrid (mid 1930s), the sensuality and malleability of shell structures were picked up in the postwar era in Latin America, notably in the work of Spanish émigré architect Felix Candela in Mexico.[15]

Major parks built along the Rickenbacker Causeway, indeed the causeway itself, formed a recreational backbone to these spectacular attractions. Virginia Key Beach Park on Virginia Key
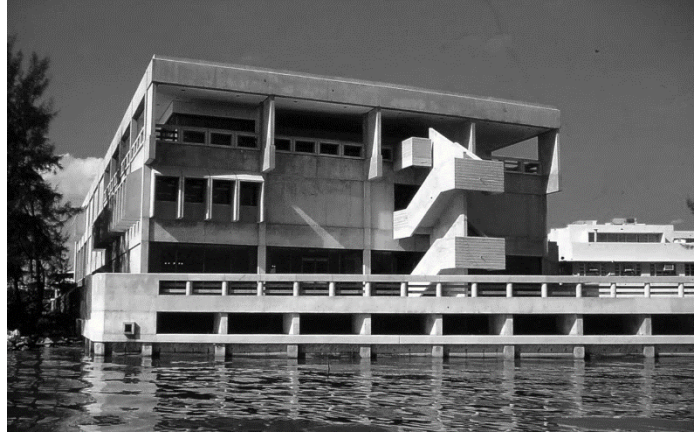
University of Miami Rosenstiel School of Marine and Atmospheric Sciences, Institute of Marine Science, Ferendino Grafton Spillis Candela, c. 1972. Courtesy of Spillis Candela DMJM Archives.

and Crandon Park on Key Biscayne drew residents and tourists to the sand with ample parking and modern amenities like cabanas and a miniature zoo.

In a fascinating twist, the attractions along the Rickenbacker Causeway intertwined with marine-themed institutional, governmental, and scientific buildings. The **University of Miami Rosenstiel School of Marine and Atmospheric Sciences** was established on Virginia Key in 1953, with buildings by Marion Manley and Ferendino Grafton Spillis Candela. The National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration added its **National Marine Fisheries Service** building (Pancoast Ferendino Grafton Skeels Burnham) in 1964, and its **Atlantic Oceanographic and Meteorological Laboratories** (Ferendino Grafton Spillis Candela) in 1972. Largely designed by one architectural firm, a full-fledged oceanographic scientific and recreational complex shaped up along the causeway.

Planet Ocean, Virginia Key, Severud, Knight, Boerema, and Buff. Florida Photographic Collection, Department of Commerce Collection (c683618. Florida Memory. <https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/88457>, accessed 19 August 2022.

The synthesis of touristic spectacle and scientific exploration on Virginia Key culminated in **Planet Ocean** (1976), an attraction conceived by Rosenstiel School director Dr. F. G. Walton Smith and sponsored by the International Oceanographic Foundation, which had its headquarters there. The attraction offered the public a scientific understanding of oceans using state of the art displays and multi-media presentations, referred to by Dr. Smith as "applying Disneyland techniques at a science museum."[16] An 82,000 SF rectangular shed wrapped in un-assuming

INAUGURAL RACE, CALDER RACE COURSE, MAY 6, 1971. MIAMI, FLA.

Calder Race Track, Dade County, Stefan Zachar, 1971. Demolished. Unidentified postcard of inaugural race, c. 1972.

cement asbestos panels, designed by C. Frasuer Knight of Severud, Knight, Boerema, and Buff, was the antithesis of the extroverted Seaquarium. The panels battered inward toward the deep cantilevered roof plate, revealing a continuous clerestory between them. Inside, a wide-screen theater played the museum's inaugural film, The Unlikely Planet, which simulated a 7-mile descent to the ocean floor. Other exhibits, including a working model of a hurricane, a giant, touchable piece of iceberg, and exhibits explaining the birth of the globe's seas, continental drift, and the play of ocean forces on weather, were organized according to an open plan arrangement.[17]

Back on land, spectacle was typically related to the horse and dog tracks, polo fields, and jai-alai frontons that dotted the outskirts of the metropolitan area, often integrated into prewar new town planning along with athletic 'infrastructure', like golf courses, swimming pools, and tennis courts. Miami's premier sporting venue was **Hialeah Park**, initially developed in 1925 by cattleman James Harris Bright and aviation entrepreneur Glenn Curtiss as a tourist draw to their new towns of Hialeah and Miami Springs. It was redeveloped in the early 1930s by Philadelphia businessman Joseph Widener, who combined expansive gardens, tree-lined paths, a bird sanctuary, romantic architecture, and club facilities with the pageantry of horse racing and the thrill of pari-mutuel gambling.[18]

The only major postwar hippodrome built in Dade County was **Calder Racetrack** (1971) in the Lake Lucerne neighborhood. Developed by Stephen Calder and William L. McKnight, former chairman of Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Company (3M), it was designed as a summer racing facility. The contrast with the tropicalist Marine Stadium could not have been greater. To meet increased tourist expectations of climate-controlled experiences, the three-level grandstand and pari-mutuel betting emporium were entirely enclosed and air-conditioned, thanks to four 285-

Land filling and grading of the Interama site, North Miami, c. 1964. Aerial photo, c. 1964. Courtesy HistoryMiami Museum

ton AC chillers in the basement. Architect Stefan Zachar's nearly 10-story high structure was a smooth cube with shear glass walls that enclosed tiers of grandstand. To boost the local thoroughbred horse breeding industry, Calder and McKnight added 1,200 horse stalls, which like most Miami condominiums were air-cooled, and McKnight's 3M corporation contributed a novel synthetic all-weather track surface called Tartan, making Calder an innovator in modern materials for track racing.

Interama, a planned inter-American world's fair, was the most ambitious spectacle proposed in postwar Miami – nothing less than a virtual Pan-American city at the northern end of Biscayne Bay in North Miami. Over the nearly 25-year development of the project, local traditions of spectacle and entertainment joined state-sponsored messaging about Miami's role in the hemisphere to craft a Pan-American exhibition on the scale of a world's fair, but permanent.[19] Pan-American-themed projects were a continuous thread in Miami. H. Kingston Hall's 1933 design for a Pan-American Convention Hall Exposition Building and Consulates at the mouth of the Miami River, and a proposed 1936 Pan-American Trade Mart on Watson Island by Associated Architects (a team that included Kiehnel and Elliott, Russell T. Pancoast and August Geiger), were conceived to promote the idea that Miami was a natural Pan-American hub.[20]

Interama was launched in 1951, when the State of Florida chartered the Inter-American Center Authority to develop a permanent trade and cultural center, initially called the **Inter-American Center,** that would attract visitors from around the U.S. and throughout the Americas. A group of prominent local architects directed by Robert Fitch Smith, including Russell T. Pancoast, Alfred Browning Parker, John E. Peterson, Robert Law Weed and T. Trip Russell, were commissioned to develop the architectural vision.[21] Between 1950 and 1960, the team developed a series of fantastical proposals synthesized and orchestrated by New York illustrator Hugh Ferris, the group's architectural consultant. The variety was surprising and included a plan that wrapped around a water basin and culminated in a 300-foot spiraling tower, a gridded mini-metropolis
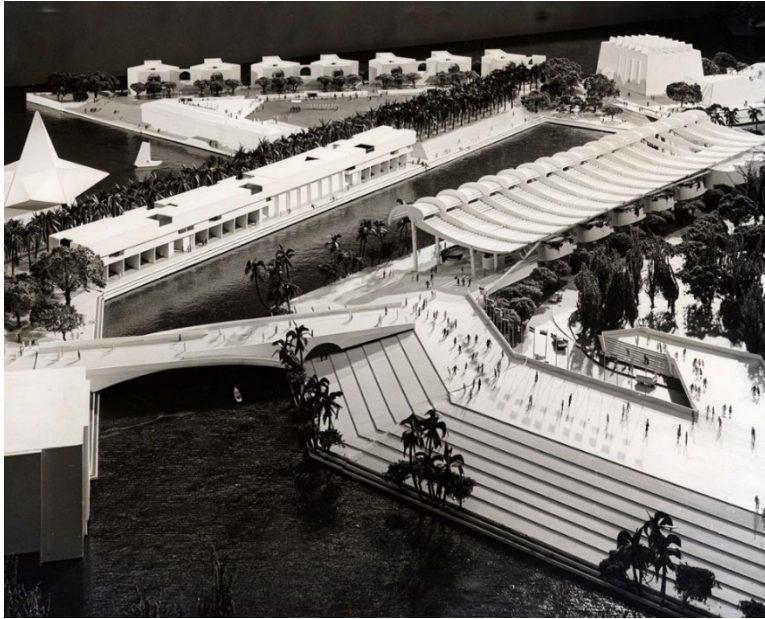
Model of the International Area, Interama, North Miami (visible are buildings by Paul Rudolph, Louis Kahn, Marcel Breuer, Harry Weese), c. 1967. Photo of model c. 1967. Courtesy HistoryMiami Museum

threaded by canals and dotted by plazas and parks (1955-56), and a nautilus-type arrangement called the "helicon" (1960). The indeterminacy of the planning reflected not only shifting creative approaches, but also the persistent idea of Dade County as a malleable landscape, shaped according to the whims of the designer. Most importantly, these projects can be understood as alternative ideas for placemaking in a city starved for planning. Most projects emphasized integration of architecture with tropical park-like landscapes. With its plazas, sports, and recreational facilities, entertainment venues, and division of traffic into separate automotive, pedestrian, and marine channels, the Center for the Americas was a study for the city that Miami never became.[22]

In the wake of the 1959 Cuban Revolution and 1961 Cuban Missile Crisis, the Inter-American Center was rebranded as **Interama** under the banner of "Progress with Freedom." Designed to function as a "crossroads of Pan-America" – a built complement to President John F. Kennedy's 1961 Alliance for Progress – where Pan-American citizens would live, work, and study within its confines.[23]

A new master plan, coordinated by Miami architect Robert Bradford Browne, was developed, re-casting the land into finger-like landform that responded to the fair's division by zones and were actually built (today the site of Oleta River State Park). In the most prominent zone, the International Area, a team of international star architects, including Marcel Breuer, Louis Kahn, Paul Rudolph, Jose Luis Sert, Edward Durell Stone, Harry Weese and Minoru Yamasaki were commissioned to contribute buildings, as well as to coordinate in planning this new Pan-American city. Plans for the multinational residential facilities, meeting centers, bazaar, museum, ceremonial plazas, theaters, exhibition and trade facilities, and a 1,000-tall Tower of Freedom were all fully developed, although lack of funding and political will doomed the project, which was never built. Nevertheless, Interama's marriage of thematic space and architecture informed postwar ideas of what Miami should be like.

Collins Avenue Group, looking south, c. 1941. Includes Shelborne Hotel by Polevitzky & Russell; Raleigh Hotel by Lawrence Murray Dixon; Grossinger Beach Hotel by L. Murray Dixon, and National Hotel by Roy France. Courtesy HistoryMiami Museum, Igor Polevitzky Collection.

Hotels and the New Mass Tourism

World War II interrupted the continuity of resort practices in Miami, but when the war concluded Americans yearned to travel again and Miamians were anxious to welcome tourists. At the same time, as was clear already in mid-1940s Miami Beach, the foundations of the industry were changing. As the financial constraints of the Great Depression eased, hotel size and complexity increased, and tower construction boomed. Mini-skyscraper hotels like the **Grossinger Beach** (L. Murray Dixon, 1939), **National** (Roy France, 1939), and **Shelborne** (Polevitzky & Russell, 1940), sprung up along the oceanfront, north of South Beach, and Roy France produced another tower hotel group further north, including the **Sea Isle** (1940), **Versailles** (1941), and **Cadillac** (1941). In these new hotels, vertical shafts soared to a crowning marquee or lantern, and the syncopation of their towers defined a metropolitan skyline. To maximize corner rooms, an important concern before air-conditioning, these towers were stepped, introducing characteristic folds, or pleats, that sculpted building volume and emphasized verticality.
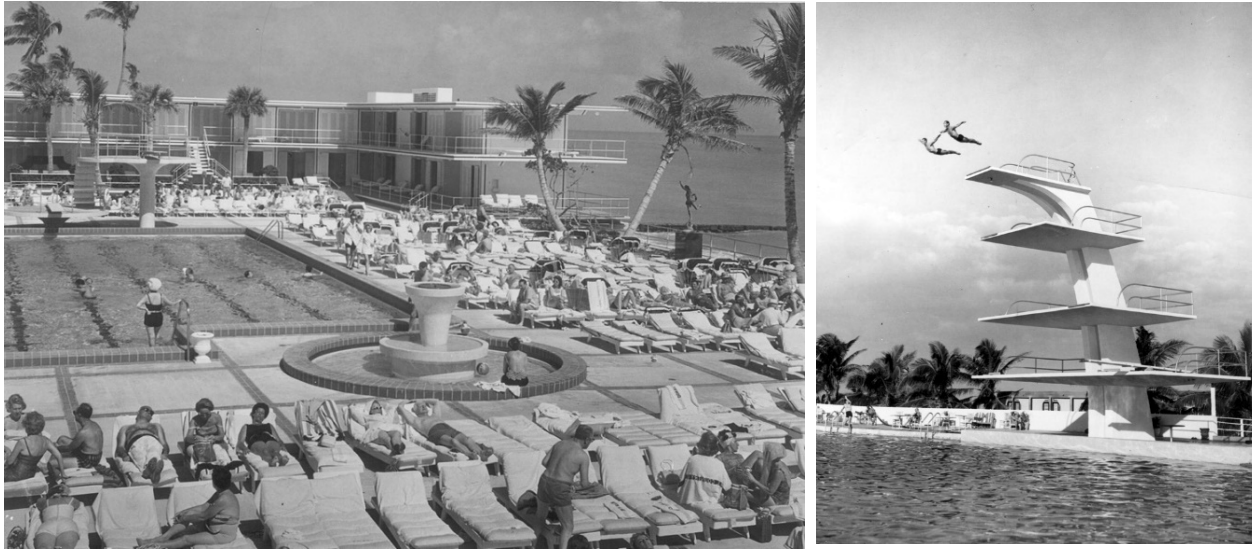
(left) Cabana Colony, Miami Beach (unidentified). Courtesy HistoryMiami Museum, MBVCA Collection. (right) Deauville Diving Board, Miami Beach. Igor Polevitzky, 1945, Demolished. Photograph by Samuel H. Gottscho, HistoryMiami Museum, Igor Polevitzky Collection

Mass tourism in the late 1940s produced the next hotel design revolution in Miami Beach. The **Delano** (1947), designed by Robert Swartburg, fit the skyscraper-philic ideals of prewar Miami Beach: a narrow tower crowned by a 35-foot lantern with winged finials in a nod to prewar Art Deco style. Yet the building was bulkier than its contemporaries, and the facades were agitated with folds and flexures. Boxed windows replaced the eyebrows that were a feature of prewar Miami architecture. Reflecting the changing economy of the hotel, the Delano's lobbies, lounges, dining rooms, terraces, and other guest amenities occupied nearly 50% of the hotel area.[24]

The **Saxony Hotel** (Roy France, 1948) jettisoned the traditional skyscraper form altogether. More of a slab than a tower, the building's façade was set at a jaunty angle to the street and subtly bowed, to better accommodate the arrival of cars beneath a prominent porte-cochere. The compositional balance of its street façade, comprising horizontal window bands in projecting concrete frames, vertical bands of tile and balconies, and cutaway corner windows, was anchored in the façade-making traditions of Miami Beach, but there was a new emphasis on exposing functional elements, like stair and elevator towers, as elements in façade composition. By contrast, the convex ocean side was dominated by the strong horizontal effects of continuous projecting balcony structures. The appeal to motorists led to eye-catching concrete porte-cocheres, like projecting and even undulating tongue-like surfaces, scalloped arches, parabolic canopies, and folded plates. The **Casablanca Hotel** (Roy France, 1949) had a more unusual concrete canopy supported on the improbable Atlantes: turbaned, male supporting figures.

Swimming pools, stimulated by new technologies like sprayed concrete, proliferated. The number of pools in Miami Beach tripled between 1945 and 1955. The swimming pool and cabana colony, crucial features of the postwar resort package, became an important design center, designed as much for the view from the airplane as for ground-level use. Though usually rectangular, they could also be angled, trapezoidal, bent, bow-tied, or kidney-shaped. The architecture of the pool, like adventurous diving boards, cabana colonies, and follies, became part of the iconography of the hotel. The 32-foot-tall Deauville Diving Board (1945), designed by architect Igor Polevitzky in collaboration with Olympian diver Pete DesJardins, alluded to rocketry within the ballistic

Casablanca Hotel, Miami Beach, Roy France, 1949. Photograph c. 1950. Florida Photographic Collection, Reference Collection (rc21127) Florida Memory. <https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/42235>, accessed 17 July 2022.

trajectory of its supporting pylon, which arced gracefully over the pool and supported several levels of daringly cantilevered concrete diving platforms. Such diving boards, mainly used by professional entertainers, dared tourists to a thrilling plunge.

As part of the standard postwar hotel package, pools revolutionized tourism. They sponsored a more athletic and relaxed "bathing suit existence," a foil to the structured and formal life of a resort hotel. [25] The socializing, fashion, and exhibitionism rampant in resort hotels found new, more playful expressions, drawing inspiration from historic traditions of the city, in particular the tradition of bathing casinos and cabana colonies. In Miami Beach, **Smith's Casino** (1904), **Hardie's Casino** (1912) and the **Collins Casino** (1913) were popular entertainment spaces that predated the city's first hotels. Generally structured around a large pool and surrounded by private cabanas, casinos were places for tourists to swim or lounge by the water or to view spectacular productions like high-diving exhibitions. Later institutions like the **Bath Club** (1926) and **Surf Club** (1930) demonstrated a country club allure.

While the evolution of the hotel industry was well underway in the 1940s, directed by the local architects who had created the city's prewar architecture, the postwar hotel was crystalized through the vision of Morris Lapidus. In the early postwar years, Lapidus came to Miami Beach to collaborate on the city's most ambitious hotel projects. He brought a singular approach to glamour and theming, imbuing the Miami Beach hotel with new cultural symbolism that was broadcast across the Caribbean basin and beyond. In the early 1950s, Lapidus opened his own office, and initiated a new category of resort that he called the "flabbergast hotel." Before World War II, Lapidus had worked with prominent hotel architects Warren & Wetmore, and later as a retail architect for Ross Frankel Inc., where he developed a deep understanding of consumer desires. He translated these ideas into a scenographic approach to architecture as a backdrop for shopping and tourism.

He developed his own fanciful design syntax, including sweeping curves, dramatically backlit floating ceilings, skinny columns he called "beanpoles" (a feature borrowed from Miami's

Sans Souci Hotel, Miami Beach, Roy France with Morris Lapidus, 1949. (Looking north from the Hotel Sans Souci on hotel row - Miami Beach, Florida. c. 1949. State Archives of Florida, Florida Memory. <https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/160182>, accessed 19 August 2022

modernist architectural tradition), floating cinematic stairs, amoeba-shaped "woggles," and circular openings he dubbed "cheeseholes," that dematerialized architectural features. He used color, signage, lights, and mirrors, to choreograph guests' movement around and through these features.

Lapidus believed in beauty and emotion as tools of design and understood the hedonistic power of architecture to create social spectacle. His humanist ethos put him on a collision course with more established modernist architects, as he noted in an address to Miami Beach architects and realtors: "humans love adornment…Modern architecture will fail unless it remembers the human element and the emotional needs of man today. Miami Beach represents all the good things in life: comfort, luxury and fun. Modern architecture doesn't bespeak these things."[26] Indeed, his hotels repudiated the functionalist austerity of the then-popular International Style and indulged instead a "decorative principle" expressed through complex forms, color, texture, and opulent materials.

Between 1949-53, Lapidus collaborated on five new hotels in Miami Beach. The first, the **Sans Souci** (Lapidus with Roy France, 1949), illustrated his dual approach. On the one hand, the facades reinforced fidelity with the modern movement; if anything, the Sans Souci was a crisper version of the type of often ornate and compositional modern façade-making practiced in Miami Beach. The hotel form was distilled into three expressive elements: the tower slab, the expressed vertical circulation core, and the *porte cochere*. The slab emphasized horizontality, with broad strip of windows and recessed panels along the street, while the circulation core had vertical thrust, and was covered with glazed tile and emblazoned with large-scale signage that worked at the scale of

Algiers Hotel, Miami Beach, Henry Hohauser and Melvin Grossman with Morris Lapidus, 1952. Demolished. Perspective view across Lake Pancoast at night. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection.

the building. The novel interiors featured islands of light, hazy surfaces, bird cages, screens, mirrors, and a floating stair that combined to suggest a dreamy, floating existence.

The **Algiers** (1951), designed with Henry Hohauser and Melvin Grossman (1952), was probably the first hotel in Miami Beach to fully express a pedestal as a distinct feature containing and expressing the commercial and social activities within. As Alice Friedman notes, in confronting the complex new program of the resort hotel, Lapidus seized on the typology and the popular imagery of ocean liners, inheritors of the spirit of the grand hotel and paradigms of technology and the freedom to discover exotic and faraway places.[27] Sprawling the full length of its frontage, the hotel was indeed a ship, with public spaces located on raised decks and distinguished by unusual architectural forms and materials. By contrast, the block of rooms above was modern and sleek, its street-side windows assembled into broad textural effects using horizontal brises-soleil and perforated masonry walls.

The 500-room **Fontainebleau Hotel** (1954), Morris Lapidus' first solo hotel project in Miami Beach, synthesized the incremental moves of his earlier collaborative projects using colossal scale, sculpted massing, and uncaged cultural theming based on playful, historical allusion. As a self-contained microcosm of a full resort city, set on a sprawling site, the Fontainebleau achieved unprecedented freedom of form.

The hotel's programmatic complexity and monumental largesse fit postwar America's consumer culture. Lapidus controlled the architecture and gave these trends a new image contrived for

Fontainebleau Hotel, Miami Beach, Morris Lapidus, 1954. Postcard courtesy of Larry Wiggins

theatrical effect, contradicting the functionalism and purism practiced more generally by modernists. The tower's bold curvaceous sweep, sleek skin, and monumental profile functioned at the scale of the city and especially the beachfront, where its concave form embraced a vast area of outdoor amenities. The hotel's pedestal carried the theme further in a complex of Baroque convex and concave moments, conceived to dramatize the public space of the ground floor while hinting at the type of spatial fluidity that Lapidus incorporated in the capacious interiors, and for which he was already famous/infamous. The curves attenuated but were equally dramatic along the beachfront, where the serpentine ramparts of the pool and cabana complex faced the sand.

The hotel's main public spaces, like its amoeboid garden lobby, circular La Ronde supper club (where the stage was raised and lowered hydraulically), and pie-shaped Fleur de Lis dining room, were choreographed features of its spatial flow; they constituted multiple stages, proscenia and vast areas for observers. They also offered more amenities than any other hotel before it. Three swimming pools and a massive cabana colony were joined by Turkish and Russian baths, a rooftop gymnasium, bowling alley and ice-skating rink. The hotel's supper club and dining room was joined by other offerings, as well as a ground level shopping concourse, concentrating every facet of the resort economy and capturing an ever-greater share of the tourist dollar. As Polly Redford quipped in a history of Miami Beach, *Billion-Dollar Sandbar*, "Never has so much Gross National Product been assembled in one place."[28]

Most controversial, Lapidus had learned to disassociate modern exteriors from interiors, which he elaborated with libertine abandon in the manner of an elaborate stage set. Encrusted with gold fittings, imported statuary, marble fireplaces and crystal chandeliers, the Fontainebleau emphatically distanced itself from the Spartan mold of luxury hotels like the Hilton chain. Lapidus

Seville Beach Hotel, Miami Beach, Melvin Grossman, 1955.
Photograph from Florida Architecture, 1957, p. 131.

indulged a "decorative principle" that, as Alice Friedman has demonstrated, sought to "overwhelm the visitor with form, as well as with color, texture, and opulence."[29] The hotel's drama unfolded against a backdrop of poignant architectural entertainments, like a grand circular stair that spiraled from the mezzanine to the lobby floor around an 18-foot-high reproduction of Piranesi's Veduta di Campo Vaccino, a view of the Forum Romanum.

Lapidus' aesthetic relied on a proven approach to the design of commercial space that meshed environment with psychology. At the Fontainebleau, Lapidus advanced a novel approach toward historical and cultural exoticism, using outrageously ersatz French baroque styling and stocking innately modernist spaces with period furnishings and imported artifacts. The elaboration in the confines of the hotel of cultural theming as drama and spectacle would be one of Lapidus' most important contributions, multiplied in his later projects northward along the beach (including the **Eden Roc** in 1955 and the **Americana** in 1956**),** and emulated by countless others, especially in the motel district of Sunny Isles. While his approach found many critics, Lapidus became the most celebrated hotel architect of the 1950s, designing and influencing a range of urban and resort hotels from the Caribbean to New York City.

In the early 1950s, during a slump in the hotel industry brought on by the Korean War, Miami Beach hotel owners and city officials complained about "hotel saturation." Yet the novelty and success of the Fontainebleau unleashed another wave of super-hotel resorts, pushing yet more construction along the beaches. The microcosm of Miami Beach continued as a generator of new types of hospitality in resistance to broader North American trends that increasingly commodified hospitality as an industry and sought ever-greater standardization and economies of scale (as evidenced in the contemporary success of big hospitality chains).

Norman Giller's **Carillon Hotel** (1955) and Melvin Grossman's **Seville Beach** (1955) and **Deauville** (1956) hotels followed the Lapidus model, albeit in a more subdued way. At the Seville, Grossman rejected Lapidus's sensual curves, and offered a modernist slab whose eggcrate façades and faux balconies was an ode to the Swiss architect Le Corbusier's well-published and widely admired *Unite d'habitation* in Marseilles, France.

The building pedestal billowed out toward the street, containing a spacious lobby and amenities that included a convention hall, supper club, lounge and shops. In contrast to the white color scheme favored by Lapidus, the Seville used earthy tans and terracotta set off against blue-tinted window systems and light blue anodized insulated spandrel panels. Of the architecture, *Florida Architecture* drew a line of contrast with the excesses of the Fontainebleau, noting of the Seville that "simplicity is beauty, and form follows function." The magazine admired that the Castanet Lounge and Matador Supper Club, designed by Henry End and imbued in deep black and red finishes, carried out its Spanish theme with color rather than flamboyant decoration, creating "a lavish atmosphere although shorn of the 'cheesecake' that seems so typical of resort hotels these days." [30]

Grossman, who by the early 1960s was earning large commissions for hotels and apartment buildings, stood at the head of one of the largest (although least celebrated) architectural firms in the nation. With New York architect Philip Birnbaum, Grossman would initiate his own transformation of the hotel type at the 17-story, 450-room **Doral Beach Hotel** (1962). Abandoning the masonry and glass modernism that had long been the brand of Miami Beach, the Doral was nearly pure curtainwall, its vertical rises of dark solar-tinted glass woven with quartz-finished white concrete tendrils that rose to an entablature. Its classical reserve demonstrated the emergence in resort architecture of elements of the 1960s New Monumentality genre practiced by Philip Johnson and Edward Durell Stone. One distinguishing feature was that developer Alfred Kaskel conceived the beachfront hotel to be built in parallel with a golf-centered country club at the west end of the county, linked by limousines sailing back and forth between the two.[31]

By 1957, Miami Beach hotels boasted an astonishing 32,000 rooms – a glamorous, but choked, urban landscape that symbolized the "exciting, vibrant and pulsating" nature of public life in an urban resort setting.[32] Yet, as hotels began to function like full resorts, they also turned inward, growing less dependent on the surrounding city – a trend amplified by popularity of the **American Plan**, a tour package that included all meals as well as in-house entertainment, introduced to Miami Beach by hotelier Morris Lansburgh in the 1950s. In the 1960s, the city began to decline. The fourteen-story **Statler Hilton Plaza** (1966), another Grossman design, was the final act of Miami Beach resort construction for nearly 20 years. The exhaustion of available land had met the exhaustion of the flabbergast urban resort as a building type (at least in South Florida--such buildings continued apace in Las Vegas).

Resort tourists moved on to more bucolic tropical locations, to large-scale and comprehensive resorts not possible in Miami Beach, and to cruise ships, which at anchor formed a virtual resort strip at the Port of Miami. By the 1970s, hotel construction moved out of Miami Beach, to downtown and to mixed-use commercial centers and many followed the introverted model pioneered by architect John Portman in Atlanta.

Doral Beach Hotel, Miami Beach, Melvin Grossman with Philip Birnbaum, 1962. Photograph by Black-Baker. From "Resort Hotel," Florida Architecture, 1964: 82.z

The future of Miami Beach as "a world class resort" was in doubt. Frederic Sherman, the *Miami Herald* real estate editor, referred to Miami Beach, with its great wall of hotels, as "the fabulous invalid of the resort industry."[33] In a *Miami Herald* panel discussion convened at the McAllister Hotel, the 1920s tower that was once Miami's tallest and most modern, to discuss hotel futures, Morris Lapidus, Igor Polevitzky, and Henry End argued that the city's brand had been damaged by the crowding of hotels driven by real estate speculation. One suggestion was the development of a "Miami Beach Tourist Authority" with Title-1 slum clearance powers (referring to powers of eminent domain conferred under the 1949 Housing and Urban Redevelopment Act) to tear down hotels.[34] Just over a decade later, such a scheme would come true in the city's 1975 declaration of blight in its South Beach district, and the founding of a Redevelopment Authority there in 1976. Rebranding the southern 235 acres of the area (comprising approx. 5,500 residents) as "**South Shore,**" a consortium of developers led by Stephen Muss proposed a complete reformulation of the area down to its land mass. In its place, they envisioned a new landscape of lagoons, canals, and a marina, with nine hotels, a 30-story convention facility, specialty shops and restaurants, casinos and hundreds of apartments.[35] The plan was so radical the *Miami Herald*'s Frederic Tasker joked, "sounds like the coming of the millennium." Its convoluted economics, which called for the construction to be financed by its own property taxes, was immediately criticized as subsidizing developers.

South Shore proposed a model of modernization in which the city would have to be demolished in order to save itself, denying any sense of urban continuity. In a tremendous irony, the project inspired the opposite force, a vital historic preservation movement to save buildings, infrastructure, and the unique way of life created by five decades of resort layering. Over the next 20 years, nearly

South Shore Redevelopment, Miami Beach. Wurster, Bernardi and Emmons, late 1970s. "Model of proposed redevelopment of South Beach, 1976. Courtesy of Miami Beach Digital Archives.

all Miami Beach resort precincts would be swept into national and local historic districts that underlined their cultural value to the city and set the stage for the rebirth of Miami Beach as a resort super-city.

Motels and Motel Districts

The phenomenon of mass tourism demonstrated at hotels like the Fontainebleau found another expression in the explosive growth of motels, tied like so much of postwar Miami to the growing impact of the car and corresponding arteries. Motels sprung up across Dade County, but were especially concentrated along Miami's two urban highways, A1A on the beach and US1 north of downtown Miami, where they created novel touristic environments.

The development of motels as a national trend in the late 1940s can be traced to tourist motor courts, cellular arrangements of cottages around a parking lot, which had appeared a decade earlier. Soon, the motor court crystalized into a discernable, modern building type – the motel – rationalized in terms of its construction while still offering direct connections between the parked car and the room. This informal, no frills lodging avoided the extravagance and ritual of hotels, appealing to new suburbanites, many of whom were war veterans. As cars became a feature of the American vacation, motels proliferated along highways. By 1947, the *New York Times* found motels spreading quickly on the west coast, especially in California, and vying with one another for motorists.[36]

The phenomenon was repeated in Miami, motels appealed to tourists cruising the highway with signage and distinct architecture. Competition among motels changed the motel's austere construction into a means of communication. Beyond the neon "No/Vacancy" sign, architects used the buildings themselves as an architecture of signage, learning a lesson from highway billboard
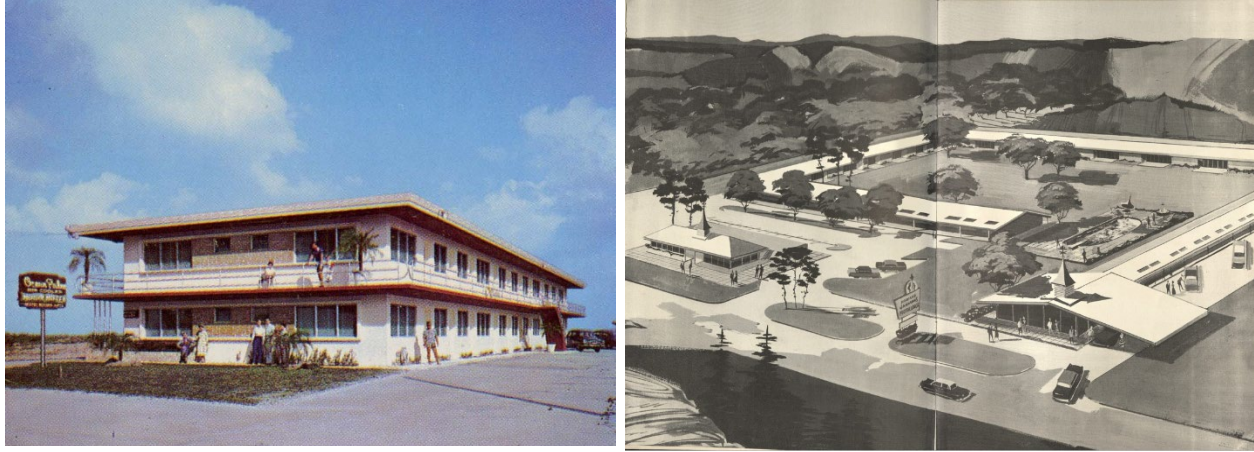
(left) Ocean Palm Motel, Sunny Isles Beach, Norman Giller, 1951. Demolished. Postcard Courtesy of Larry Wiggins (right) Howard Johnsons Prototype, from Rufus Nims & Associates and Carl Koch Associates, "The Lodge-ical Answer… Plan for typical Howard Johnson's Motor Lodges," Brochure in the collection of Smathers Library, Rufus Nims Collection

designers that, as Greg Castillo notes, "motorized speeds demand an approach bold enough in scale and graphic impact to be legible at a distant glance."[37]

Miami emerged as a hothouse of motel design in the 1950s, spawning two competing models with local and national implications. Miami architect Norman Giller first developed a systematized and economical hotel design at the **Ocean Palm Motel** (1951) in Sunny Isles Beach. Giller stacked motor court rooms two stories tall and placed the units back-to-back to achieve both density and efficiency, allowing a single plumbing core at the center of the building.[38] Sited so that the narrow end of the building faced the street, the deeply projecting roof, wrapping galleries, and railings emphasized a sense of horizontality that led the eye from the road to the beach, punctuated at intervals by exterior stairs. In the aesthetic economy of this new motel type, such elements were the principal façade features, to which iconographic elements, like a broad plate-glass lobby at the ground floor, a signage pylon, planters, and any other theme or curiosity could be accessorized to grab the attention of motorists.

Rufus Nims, another Miami innovator of the motel type, developed an alternative prototype diametrically opposed to the designs of Giller. Working with the **Howard Johnson's** company since at least 1948, Nims had rebranded the national chain's signature restaurants using continuous plate glass walls beneath deep projecting prairie-style, hipped orange roofs and topped by a modernist cupola and a spire carrying the chain's signature Simple Simon and Pieman weathervane. Now, in the early 1950s, Nims developed the chain's complementary motels, which simulated the residential character of garden apartments with flow-through rooms opening to shared amenities like garden and pool areas and using bathrooms and closets to screen guest rooms from parking.[39] Nims also elaborated on the restaurant's big-roof theme with prominent gate lodge structures that included broad orange gables, and later intersecting gabled orange roofs. His motels spanned the nation, from Fort Myers, FL to Asheville, NC and Willow Grove, PA. He continued his work for more than a decade, often collaborating with Cambridge architect Carl Koch. Nims found economy by exploring what he called the **Manufactured Sleeping Unit** (1958), an early attempt at prefabricated construction applied to the motel industry.[40]

Golden Strand Hotel and Villas, Sunny Isles Beach, Igor Polevitzky, 1946. Demolished. HistoryMiami Museum, Igor Polevitzky Collection.

The most extensive elaboration of motel architecture in Dade County – perhaps it could be called "high motel culture" – evolved on Sunny Isles Beach, where the extension of Collins Avenue northward ignited touristic development, and a prewar planned community of "Venetian-type" residential islands gave way to commercial/touristic uses and higher densities. Two miles of low-rise resort motels beckoned motorists with giant evocative signs and available parking. Glassy lobbies and cantilevered exterior walkways suggested unfettered access to swimming pools and beaches.

One of the first resorts here was the **Golden Strand Hotel and Villas** (1946), designed by Igor Polevitzky, which combined twin five-story apartment-hotel buildings along Collins Avenue with 16 villas behind, forming a small, planned tourist community between street and ocean. As Kara Wood has demonstrated, the oceanfront cottages, each with its own screened porch, were a direct appropriation of suburban living in a resort setting.[41]

What evolved in Sunny Isles next transformed the motel type developed by Giller at the Ocean Palm as it responded to the specific needs of tourists in Miami for full resort environments. As motels along the strip grew to accommodate more rooms, more amenity and commercial spaces soon followed, producing a distinct "resort motel" variant. Among a rising new category of super motels, the 200-unit **Dunes Motel**, designed by Melvin Grossman (1955), was one of the most expansive, comprising attractions like an oval-shaped nightclub, a 350-seat convention facility, a private movie room, a bridge room, an outdoor boxing training camp, a fishing pier, a tennis court, a steam room, a health center, and an indoor ice-skating rink.[42] The largesse was reflected in

Castaways Island Motel, Sunny Isles Beach. Charles McKirahan, 1958. Demolished. Postcard courtesy Larry Wiggins.

package deals based on the American Plan, including breakfast and dinner, confirming the autonomous character of these motel-based resorts.

In order to accommodate the growing amenities, motels were fronted by elaborate "head-houses" at the public street-front. The Thunderbird, Sahara, Beachcomber, Driftwood and Colonial all had broad head-houses, themed to evoke Native American heraldry, Western lodges, Americana, and desert caravanserai, a subconscious nod to the popularity of Las Vegas, where fantastical architecture emerged in parallel with Miami Beach as a medium of mass communications. Integrated with these structures, *porte cocheres* reached out to the street and signage pylons crowded the sky. Behind the head house, parking lots were concealed, and room wings projected toward the beach, embracing the swimming pool and deck that were the baseline for any beachfront motel. Lining the pool deck, the rooms went beyond efficiency and access to the car; they approximated the cabana colonies of postwar hotel development.

Joe Hart's **Castaways Island Motel** (1952-58), an apotheosis of the resort motel type, indulged the Robinson Crusoe castaway fantasy through pan-Asian and South Sea Island motifs, and the popular Tiki craze. Architects Tony Sherman and Charles McKirahan developed an ersatz Asian village whose centerpiece was a square lobby pavilion that mixed Papuan theming with a structurally innovative hyperbolic paraboloid roof that the *New York Times* called a "conversation piece for passing motorists."[43] The lobby structure was raised on columns over a rocky cove where the Wreck Bar, an atmospheric grotto-like watering hole decorated with fish nets and driftwood featuring portholes and windows that peered into the waters of the swimming pool (a motif that connected both to the popular mermaid-based attraction at Weeki Wachee Spring (1950), and the recently completed Miami Seaquarium (1955)).[44]

(top) Aerial view of Golden Gate Hotel and Motel, Sunny Isles Beach, Polevitzky, Johnson & Associates Architects, 1954. Demolished From "The Golden Gate… a resort city of enchantment – where pleasure never seems to end," Brochure in the collection of Florida State Archives, c. 1955. Courtesy of Florida Memory.

(bottom) Aerial view of Sunny Isles Beach, 1960s. Courtesy of Larry Wiggins.

At the top of Motel Row, the **Golden Gate Hotel and Motel** (1954) formed a terminus of sorts (the hotel's name plays on the dual signage pylons that flanked the highway).[45] The complex occupied a 15-acre swath of land running across the highway, from ocean to bay, where all the elements of Miami hospitality – hotel, motels, bungalows, restaurants, shopping, convention facilities and auditorium, a cabana club, tennis courts and pools, a marina, and a putting green – were assembled in an eclectic mix mini-resort city. Designed by Polevitzky, Johnson & Associates Architects, the Golden Gate's 500 units allowed everyone a choice, a union of geography, finance and over-all direction."[46]

By 1955, only five years after construction began in earnest, at least 64 motels had been constructed along the Sunny Isles Strip, with more than 4,500 units. [47] Unlike the grand hotels farther down Collins Avenue, these hotels wore their theming on their sleeves. Fragments of modern architecture, playfully exaggerated, came together in the service of commercial persuasion. The conversation between Modernism and fantasist impulses, begun in Art Deco of the 1930s (maybe even in the Mediterranean Revival of the city's further past) and reinvigorated by Lapidus in his signature hotels, found its most exaggerated expression on Sunny Isles, where

(left) Audubon Motel, Miami. Tony Sherman, 1953. Postcard Courtesy of Larry Wiggins (right) South Pacific Motel, Miami. Charles Giller, 1953. Postcard Courtesy of Larry Wiggins..

satire and irreverence were raised to an art, serving as precursors of postmodernism, which Miami helped pioneer.[48] While derided by *Architectural Forum* in 1959 as "the final dumping ground – an unconsciously cruel parody of modern architecture in our day," [49] Sunny Isles was an important cultural artifact of postwar America. It was the sort of popular marvel celebrated by Robert Venturi in his seminal book *Learning from Las Vegas*, which challenged traditional ideas about modernism and opened the doors to postmodernist collage.

A parallel urban motel transformation was underway along Biscayne Boulevard, the principal automotive gateway to the city. Here, modest mom-and-pop urban motels accommodated longer-term visitors with fully equipped kitchens and monthly rates. Most followed Norman Giller's organizational model of back-to-back motel units surrounded by wrapping galleries but featured architectural curiosities along the street that were designed to entice the arriving motorist. Tony Sherman's **Audubon House** (1953) had a 2-story cylindrical glass lobby, a terrarium of sorts where tree branches and stuffed birds made tongue-in-cheek reference to the work of the American naturalist. The lobby walls of the 20-room **South Pacific Motel** (1953), designed by Charles Giller, seemed to be tumbling down, a Mannerist architectural illusion with roots in 16th century garden design, especially the leaning house at Bomarzo in Viterbo, Italy, but was more recently used in postmodern work, like James Wines and SITE's **Notch Building** (1979) for Best Products in Miami.

Although nowhere near as large as the resorts rising in Sunny Isles, the **Vagabond Motel** (Robert Swartburg, 1953), was a landmark along the strip, providing hotel facilities like food and entertainment at the Hobo restaurant, lounge, and coffee shop, which were part of the lobby. Occupying a full city block, the U-shaped structure was open to the street, its two-level courtyard accommodating a parking court at street level and raised behind an undulating stone wall, a pool terrace. Modest materials like steel columns, synthetic slump brick, and fieldstone formed most of the decoration, but at the building's northwest corner, greeting southbound tourists with a more frivolous note, sculptor Jan Stacholy's Fountain of the Gulf featured nymphs and dolphins frolicking in a fieldstone grotto. The lobby was fronted by a *porte-cochere* with an uplifting sweep on tilting metallic pylons that spoke to the race for speed and space.

The most complex motel along the strip was the **Admiral Vee Motel** (1957), named after the famous racehorse, also owned by proprietors Milt and Ed Seinfeld.[50] Designed by Maurice Weintraub, the Admiral Vee was a hybrid that acknowledged rising land costs along the boulevard,

Zebra Lounge at the Mary Elizabeth Hotel, Overtown, Miami. Paul Silverthorne, Interior Design, 1950's. Courtesy of The Black Archives.

and motel's the premium of location next to the just-completed Biscayne Plaza Shopping Center for retail uses. No longer really a highway building, the two-story motel room wings, double-height lobby, cocktail lounge, and even the swimming pool, were lifted over a ground floor dedicated to retail space and a parking garage. From its raised perch, the motel's famed **Orchid Room Lounge** gazed out through the forward-slanting glass expanse of the double-height lobby (interpreting the forward thrust of the thoroughbred?) and allowing tourists birds-eye views along the motel strip.

Jim Crow Era Tourism

Most accounts of tourism in postwar Miami have omitted the impacts of Blacks and Black tourism. Until 1960, hotels along Miami's beaches categorically excluded Black tourists. Yet in the racially segregated society of postwar America, Miami was a powerful tourist and cultural magnet for Black tourists, both American and international, drawing 300,000 Black tourists a year in the early 1950s.[51] Distinct yet inventive new hotels and resorts were developed in urban and suburban districts of Black Miami to accommodate them. Jim Crow racial segregation made Miami's Overtown (at that time known as Colored Town) into a mixed-use urban center that included hospitality and entertainment functions. In its 1920s heyday, hotels like the **Dorsey** (1920) and **Mary Elizabeth** (1921) lined its main commercial avenues. Such hotels were part of a larger national travel circuit that Robert R. Weyeneth has called "an entire geography of Black hotels, motels, boarding houses and 'tourist homes.'"[52] The *Negro Motorist Green Book*, a counterpart of the popular AAA Tourbook travel books, served as an important guide to this network in Jim Crow America.

In postwar America, Miami could claim an important function in the world of Black tourism, mixing roles as a resort city, a Caribbean hub, and as a destination for Black performers in Miami's

many segregated hotels and other venues. [53] Indeed, high profile performers, after gigs at white-only oceanfront venues, performed late sets in Overtown or Brownsville. Miami was also a hotspot on the so-called Chitlin Circuit, a performance circuit that many Black artists traveled in the days of segregation. [54] Interestingly, it was through entertainment that white and Black tourism were enmeshed. The three-story, seventy-room Mary Elizabeth, still the tallest building in Colored Town in the 1940s, was the first to modernize and capitalize on the entertainment ecosystem. In 1949 the hotel became a prestigious hotspot with two lounges, the Flamingo Room and the Zebra Lounge.

Miami was a charged and potentially dangerous place for Black people, and tourist sites and public amenities could be points of conflict. Black residents and visitors alike were generally excluded from public beaches, golf courses, and public pools. Other public facilities, like the Miami Stadium, had segregated Black sections. As historian Marvin Dunn has documented, protests to open up these facilities were among the earliest acts of the Civil Rights Movement in Miami.[55] A wade-in protest for beach access by more than 50 activists from the Negro Citizens Service League at Haulover Beach in 1945 was a factor in the development of the 162-acre Virginia Key Beach Park, a landmark of "separate-but-equal" planning and an important recreational center with concession stands, cabanas, a picnic area, a small amusement area with a dance patio, and a boat basin.[56] Similarly, an action by the Miami Springs Golf Course & Country Club produced the first case of golf course discrimination to reach the U.S. Supreme Court. The course was desegregated in 1958,[57] becoming home to the North-South Winter Tournament (1953-1989), a Black alternative to PGA Golf, and the biggest Black-sponsored athletic competition in the nation. As a "social affair," the tournament drew not just professional Black golfers, but also "entertainers,

Lord Calvert (Sir John) Hotel, Overtown, Miami. Tony Sherman, 1951. Florida Photographic Collection, Mosaic Collection (ms26234) Florida Memory. <https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/136569>, accessed 25 August 2022.
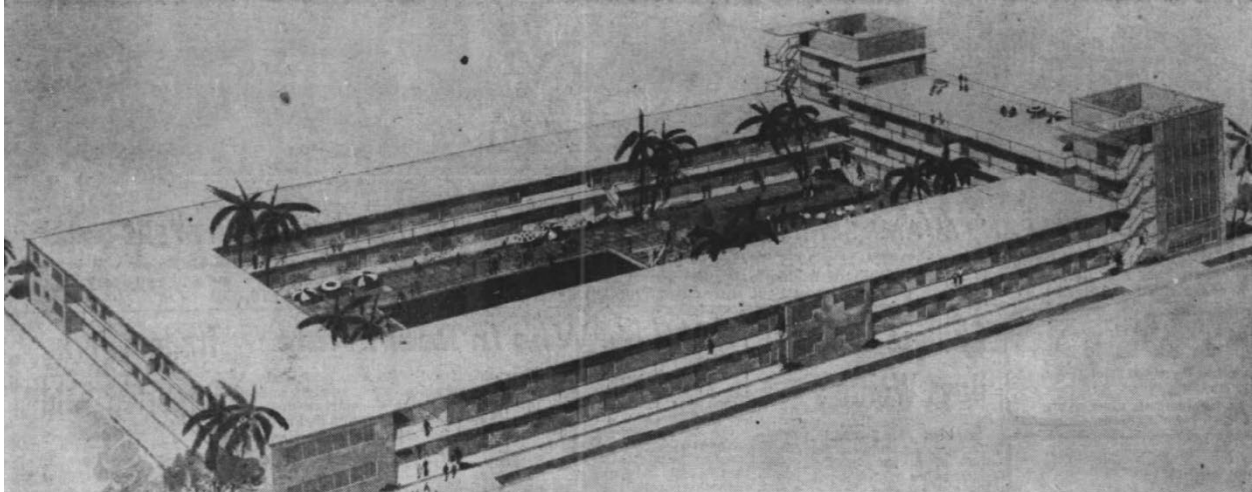
Lord Calvert (Sir John) Hotel, Overtown, Miami, Tony Sherman, 1951. "Private Capital Sponsors Larges Single Slum Area Project," Miami Sunday News, January 7, 1951

politicians, businessmen, and pro athletes to Miami." [58] By the 1950s, Black Miamians had created a separate ecosystem of leisure and resorts in Dade County.

New apartment-hotels were developed in the early 1950s, part of a wave of resort investment driven by Black tourism. The 118-unit **Lord Calvert** (later renamed the Sir John, 1951), was one of the first to rise in Overtown.[59] It employed low-slung concrete architecture reminiscent of contemporary housing and of the motels rising in Sunny Isles Beach, minus the roadside kitsch. The two and three-story structure was fronted with cantilevered catwalks and exterior staircases, likely striking an odd note in an urban district brimming with more traditional masonry structures like the Mary Elizabeth. Such open galleried buildings would also become synonymous with the market housing that followed slum clearance in Overtown and Liberty City. Architect Tony Sherman adapted the low-rise structure for its main-street downtown location, creating a building that filled the perimeter of the site while wrapping a large internal courtyard. In this protected space, the hotel's swimming pool shared space with landscaped patios and a dining terrace serving the hotel's cocktail lounge and coffee shop. The Lord Calvert also boasted the popular nightclub Knight Beat, and a roof garden for dancing. The *Miami Herald* called it the "first luxury hotel for Negroes in the south," and noted that it brought glittering luxury into an area which not long ago seemed permanently reserved for squalor."[60]

Hotels like the Mary Elizabeth and Lord Calvert were part of an active urban scene along NW 2nd Avenue, an area referred to locally as Little Broadway. Venues like the Ritz Theater, Rockland Palace, Harlem Square Club, Clyde Killens' Pool Hall, and Odell's Bar & Grill thrived on Miami's role as an entertainment center, meaning a constant stream of celebrity performers and guests otherwise checked by the racial restrictions in beachfront venues.

Other hotspots, like **Georgette's Tea Room** (1940) and the **Booker Terrace Motel** (1954) were built outside the historic Black center of Overtown, in suburban Brown's Sub (later Brownsville), appealing to the aspirations and expectations of an affluent Black middle class.[61] **Georgette's**, owned by Georgette Scott Campbell, who formerly ran a Harlem tea room, combined entertainment and dining facilities with a rooming house in a discreet and specially-designed two-story modern structure that merged seamlessly with the surrounding single family homes. The

Hampton House Motel and Villas, Brownsville, Miami. Robert Carl Frese, 1953. Courtesy HistoryMiami Museum.

quiet residential feel was part of the appeal, and the presence of an exclusive club/rooming house behind a mask of suburban regularity produced one of the most interesting and original developments locally. Jan Whitaker's research on tea rooms has revealed their role as elite Black-owned venues that provided important social and cultural functions.[62]

Near Georgette's, the **Booker Terrace Motel** opened in 1954 (later reopened as the **Hampton House Motel and Villas**, 1960). With its swimming pool, patio, restaurant, and lounge, Booker Terrace was a mash-up of motel architecture with resort amenities and a residential feel. Architect Robert Carl Frese used the catwalk type to form a complex of structures surrounding enclosed courtyards yet concealing these behind a block-long façade along NW 27th Avenue that featured pylons of quarry keystone, large breezeblock panels that screened the secluded pool and patio area, and plenty of ground-level plate glass. The interior public spaces were those of a resort hotel, including a double-height lobby with terrazzo flooring and a Lapidus-inspired grand stairway that cantilevered from the wall. [63] Taking advantage of its suburban location, the motel comprised a 5-acre tract, making it the center of a small community of residential villas that mixed one- and two-bedroom apartments.

In the constrained urban environments of Jim Crow-era Miami, hotels functioned as elite apartment-hotels, mixing larger units with touristic amenities and appealing to well-heeled locals

Patrons at the Hampton House Nightclub, date unknown. Courtesy of the Hampton House Community Trust.

restricted in housing choices, as well as visiting dignitaries and entertainers. As local institutions, they became a support for various civil rights organizations, providing meeting spaces and often functioning as interracial precincts. The Hampton House hosted weekly meetings of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. made the motel his headquarters in Miami, giving an early version of the "I Have a Dream" speech there to a convention of young CORE members.[64]

Entertainment was another important draw. The cross-over appeal of jazz, blues, and rhythm & blues made Black hotels and entertainment venues cross-cultural magnets where nightlife offerings produced rare moments of interracial gathering. As Nathan Connolly has demonstrated, part of appeal of Black hotels was partly built on "zoning laws that made 'whites only' Miami Beach such an exclusive city."[65] The hotels broadcast their activities throughout the city by AM radio. WFEC maintained a booth at the Lord Calvert, while Hampton House performances were broadcast live by China Valles on WMBM. These hotels stand as a testament to the interrelated history of resort hospitality, entertainment, and social activism in Miami.

Resort as Building Block of Urban Life

In 1948, George Zain, writing in the *Miami Herald*, predicted the next great wave of leisure to wash over Miami Beach. "In our efforts to obtain 'industry', we think too much of the word in its exact meaning. We are overlooking another kind of 'industry' – the great army of men and women in every state who are retiring on assured incomes from insurance annuities, old-age pensions,

lifetime incomes from business and union organizations, or as a result of long-time savings or individually-planned economy."[66] It would be only a small jump from leisure and resort center to retirement mecca, facilitated by a fluid transmission of ideas between hotels, motels and residential architectures.

One of the most poignant manifestations of retirement-world occurred in the 1950s at the North Beach section of Miami Beach, in the shadow of the grand hotels surging along Collins Avenue. In quiet residential districts like North Shore and Isle of Normandy, low-scale garden apartment buildings infilled suburban residential areas that had been planned in the 1920s to accommodate single family homes, physically mirroring the *ad hoc* pattern of medium-density garden apartment community that had already developed a generation earlier in the city's South Beach section. The practice of constructing apartment buildings and apartment-hotels on home lots was a controversial practice among planners, but extraordinarily popular among middle-class tourists and retirees of modest means, who demonstrated an easy acceptance of 'successional urbanization' – the replacement of one urban pattern and density by another.

Low-scale catwalk-style garden apartment buildings struck a novel balance between urban density, suburban domesticity and resort leisure.[67] On the narrow lots of Miami Beach, they nevertheless produced yards, gardens, and patios that offered a strong sense of amenity and community. The catwalks were easily used as porches and balconies, adding a sense of community. The buildings could be grouped to form patio courts opening to more inclusive common gardens.

The buildings themselves were one and two-story single-loaded housing blocks of the type explored internationally by Bauhaus housing reformers in the 1920s.[68] The floor-through apartment units promoted good cross ventilation and were bound together by exterior catwalks that connected to the ground by outdoor stairways. They had simple flat roofs with broad overhanging eaves to protect the catwalks. Well-adapted to the hot and humid climate of the city, as well as the city's typical 50-foot building lots, the type spread rapidly. By the 1950s, the low-cost catwalk garden apartment type was used all over the metropolitan area, from Liberty City to Bay Harbor Islands, but nowhere was it more concentrated than in North Beach, creating a coherent landscape that can only be called a mixed urban-suburban hybrid.

The highly efficient decorative program followed established stylistic norms that responded to the competitive touristic milieu of the city and popular culture.[69] Decorative concrete and metal screen walls and balconies, super-graphic elements like checkerboards and medallions, and space age motifs provided subtle decorative notes. As a demonstration of efficiency, much of their decoration relied on the subtle extenuation of the façade's inherent features (projecting roof planes and balconies, window surrounds, supporting pylons) to become character devices in a constructed fantasy.[70]

As North Beach was fully built-out, the densely built small apartment buildings offered a flavor of postwar living balanced between suburban greenery and urban life. Centered on compact commercial main streets along 71st Street and Collins Avenue, the neighborhood was complemented by conspicuous modern churches and synagogues, retail and office buildings, and theaters displaying similar architectural themes. Along the oceanfront, the striking vertical pylons and flying saucer-type canopies of Norman Giller's **North Beach Band Shell** (1957) provided an
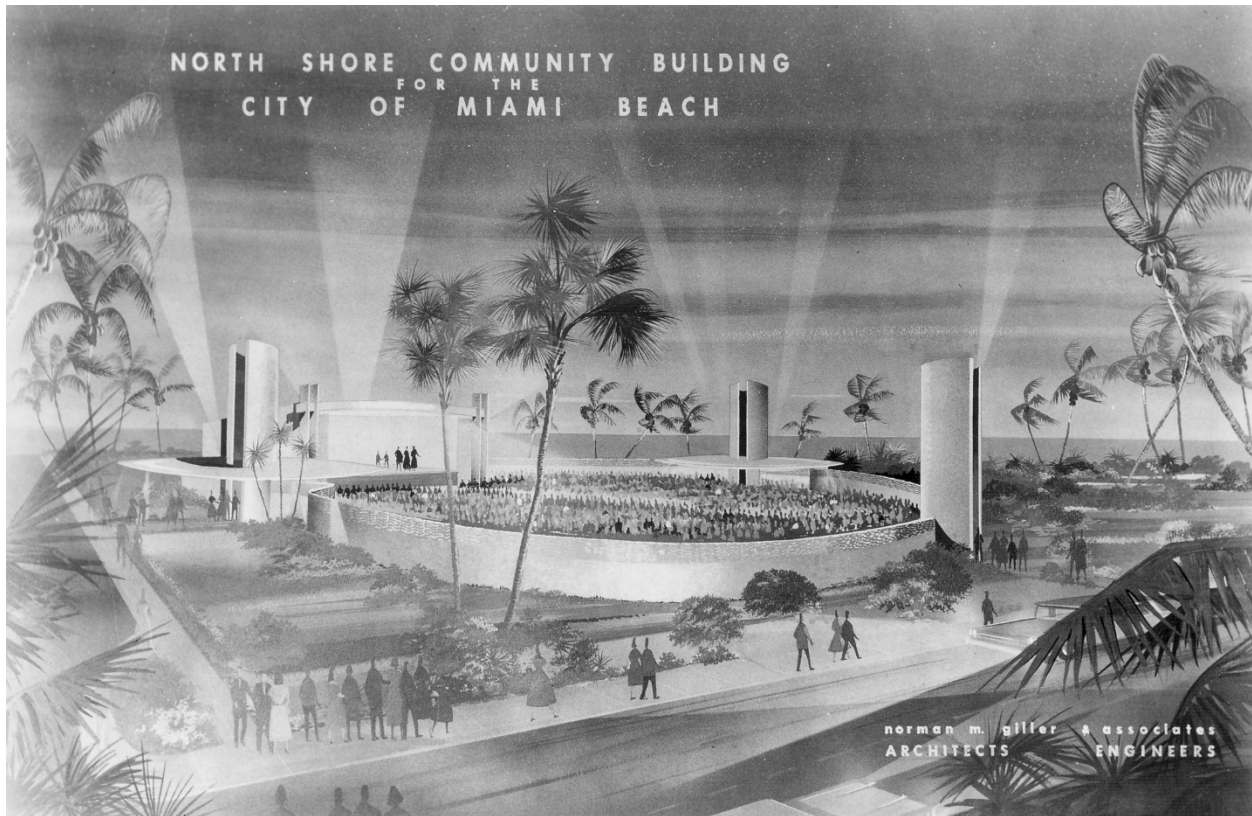
North Shore Community Building, Miami Beach. Norman M. Giller & Associates, 1961. Courtesy Giller & Giller Architects.

arresting and futuristic landmark for the district, as well as a fitting counterpart to the traditional 1920s-era Vendome fountain as a public symbol of North Beach.

Another model of retirement housing, thrived on Collins Avenue amongst the grand hotels themselves, set off by the construction of the Fontainebleau (1954) and Eden Roc (1955) and following their lead in terms of size, styling and amenity.[71] Slab-type towers, like the garden apartments of North Beach, merged leisure-oriented lifestyles with multi-family housing types. Unleashed by middle class retirement and condominium ownership and triggered by the sudden availability of large properties as former waterfront estates became available for high-density residential uses, these denser and more insular housing came to prominence in waterfront areas of Miami where land costs were highest.

The towers ranged from eight- to fifteen-stories, their height a calculus of lot size, adequate available parking, and technological advances. Ready-mix concrete and better cranes made taller buildings increasingly less costly and easier to build. 'Flat slab' construction reduced floor-to-floor heights, while "scatter columns" allowed structures to be designed after the floor plans had been designed for marketing considerations.[72] The towers were built according to a similar vocabulary of form: T's, L's, Y's, and straight slabs. They featured cascades of balconies, banded windows, abstracted cornices, and decorative relief elements.

To increase density and efficiency of cores, apartments were double loaded around corridors, discarding cross-ventilation and producing long, artificially lit corridors serving a large number of apartments. Further, comprising between 150 and 1,100 units each, their monolithic size inspired

Crystal House Apartments, Miami Beach. Morris Lapidus, 1960. Photograph by George Hamilton, City of Miami Beach News, 1984. Courtesy HistoryMiami Museum, MBVCA Collection

façades of mechanical repetition, graphic matrices whose effect depended completely on the articulation of rhythm and texture. The modernist eggcrate favored by hotel builders in the early postwar period was largely supplanted by compositional patterns principally derived from the interplay of solid wall, projecting balconies and elevator towers.

The high-rise tower was promoted as a luxury environment, with superlative amenities and metropolitan styling. Automobile drop-offs were fashioned for glamour and image, with vaulted canopies in a variety of daring geometries – V-shaped, folded plate, hyperbolic parabaloid, and arched porte-cocheres were used. Around the monumental arrival areas, sculptural luminaries, statues, and elaborate waterworks festooned the grounds. The lobbies borrowed from the practice of hotels; instead of communicating residential domesticity, they were mainly voluminous and glittering, richly appointed, making sumptuous use of stone and precious metals, along with patterned walls of screen-block and precast concrete panels to emphasize richness and complexity.

Morris Lapidus and Melvin Grossman, both prodigious architects of resort hotels, designed most of the new towers, incorporating the latest facilities and programs, including saltwater pools, cabana clubs, shuffleboard courts, health spas, restaurants, and meeting and game rooms. Garage parking, serviced by valet attendants, was generally provided. The apartments were spacious, with well-equipped kitchens, individual balconies, and air conditioning.

The fourteen-story **Crystal House Apartments** (1960), designed by Lapidus, Harle and Liebman, was a landmark among the new residential towers. Its glassy façade comprised a delicate interplay of concrete frame and hurricane-resistant curtainwall glass system, taking full advantage of a lack

of balconies to suggest transparency while providing floor-to-ceiling glass in the units. The façade leaned away from the balconied residential formula, connecting with an agnostic modernist articulation developing in office buildings of the time. The building's austere glass and marble lobby, stocked with Mies van der Rohe's Barcelona chairs, was an homage to the implacable forces of International Style modernism even as these forces were undercut by Lapidus' theatrical design flourishes. Along the pool deck, the playful geometries of the pool, cabanas, and a circular glassed restaurant sheltered by a conical folded-plate concrete roof were offset by the studied rhythms of French garden formal gardens designed by Lapidus with the Fort Lauderdale landscape architect Fredric B. Stresau and featuring rugged and salt-tolerant plants.

Taken together, the alignment of freestanding towers, which operated both in the plane of their façades as well as in the height of their cornices, created a unified ensemble precariously balanced between suburban and urban appeal. However, the shoulder to shoulder arrangement blocked views and access to the water beyond, while the automobile-related fronts offered little to the pedestrian. Further, the intensification of urban density transformed Collins Avenue into a heavily landscaped high-speed boulevard bracketed by divided local lanes, a parkway setting to be admired only from behind the wheel. It was these behemoths that inspired Norman Mailer's description, in *Harper's Magazine,* of "white refrigerators" and "ice-cube trays on edge" found on his drive from Hallandale Beach to Miami Beach during the 1968 Republican National Convention.[73]

[1] M. Barron Stofik, *Saving South Beach* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida,2005) p. 245.

[2] Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A new theory of the leisure class* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976).

[3] Miami: Babylon, U.S.A. gets set for its hectic 100 days," *Life*, December 29, 1947.

[4] I rely on previous research and writing about swimming pools published in Rocco Ceo and Allan T. Shulman, "Privileged Views and Underwater Antics: Swimming Pools, Diving Towers & Cabana Colonies," in Allan Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis: Paradise and Paradox in Midcentury Architecture and Planning* (South Pasadena: Balcony Press, 2009) p. 338-345.

[5] I rely on my previous research and writing about tropicalism and the modern home, especially the work published in Allan Shulman, "The Tropical Home: Modernity and the Construction of Authenticity," in Allan Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis: Paradise and Paradox in Midcentury Architecture and Planning* (South Pasadena: Balcony Press, 2009) p. 104-133.

[6] Homer Bigart, "The Beach: Mud to Mink in 40 Years," *New York Times*, August 5, 1968.

[7] See Margot Ammidown, "Edens and Underworlds," *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts 23; Florida Theme Issue* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2002) 280-283.

[8] Rocco Ceo, "Fennell's Orchid Jungle, 26715 Southwest 157 Avenue, Homestead, Miami-Dade County, FL," *Historic American Landscape Survey, Library of Congress, HALS FL-4*. https://www.loc.gov/item/fl0700/ accessed April 20, 2022. Today, the site of Fennell's Orchid Jungle is Hattie Bauer Hammock Preserve.

[9] Howard Kleinberg, "Rare birds over Miami," *Miami Herald*, January 2, 1996. See also Scott F. Kenward, "The Rare Bird Farm: The Birth of Kendall – Part 4, July, 2009. //pinecrestdental.com/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/The-Rare-Bird-Farm-The-Birth-of-Kendall-Part-4.pdf, accessed July 27, 2022.

[10] Greg Castillo, "Fantasyland: Modernity and Artifice," in Allan Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis: Paradise and Paradox in Midcentury Architecture and Planning* (South Pasadena: Balcony Press, 2009) p. 82-103.

[11] This surprising allocation of Fuller's progressive technology of universal shelter remains in what is known today as Pinecrest Gardens and the Parrot Jungle Historic District.

[12] Before the Seaquarium, marine-themed postwar attractions included the Eastern Garden Aquarium (1951) the "world's finest display of tropical fish," and Tropical Jungle Land (1953).

[13] Margot Ammidown, "Designing the Deep: Miami Seaquarium and the Art of the Show," in Allan Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis: Paradise and Paradox in Midcentury Architecture and Planning* (South Pasadena: Balcony Press, 2009) p. 346-351.

[14] Ammidown, "Designing the Deep," p. 287.

[15] Quoted in Rivera, Alfredo. "Chapter 4 – Tropicality, Tourism, and Leisure," *Cuban Modernism: Mid-Century Architecture 1940–1970* (Berlin, Boston: Birkhäuser, 2021) 212-249. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783035616446-006.

[16] F.G. Walton Smith, "Planet Ocean: Applying Disneyland Techniques at a Science Museum," *Curator*, volume 25, issue 2, June 1982. pp. 121-130.

[17] Richard Pothier, "Miami to Get Ocean Science Center," *Miami Herald*, March 27, 1970. A short film made for the museum, titled "Planet Ocean," running on a continuous loop, focused on the relationship between the planet's oceans and its other ecosystems. It was nominated for an Academy Award in the category Best Live Action Short Film in 1974. "Planet Ocean," accessed April 26, 2022. http://www.lostparks.com/planetocean.html

[18] Hialeah Park, opened by Curtiss and Bright in 1922 and operated by the Miami Kennel Club, was first a pari-mutuel greyhound racing track (although dog racing wasn't legalized until 1931). In 1924 the facility was turned over to the Miami Jockey Club and reopened in 1925 for thoroughbred racing. Hialeah Park also had the first commercial Jai-Alai Fronton in the U.S., opened in 1924. The Basque game first appeared in the U.S. at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis in 1904, although it likely arrived in Miami through Cuba.

[19] John Shirley Hurst, "Plans Are Ready For Giant Trade Project: Miami Offered Chance To Lead Hemisphere," *Miami Herald*, May 21, 1950.

[20] Ibid. In 1950, Miami architect Robert Fitch Smith expressed the conviction of many in noting that, in the wake of two world wars, the western hemisphere was poised to become the new center of global culture and Miami, as the hemisphere's natural hub, would play a key role.

[21] Advisors from around the state also were engaged in the design of the Inter-American Center, including William Kenneth Jackson of Jacksonville, Archie Gale Parrish of St. Petersburg and James Gamble Rogers III of Winter Park.

[22] "Noted architects Unveil Plans For 'Dream' Project Here," *Miami Herald*, May 21, 1950.

[23] Robert González, "Interama: Visions of a Pan-American City," in Allan Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis: Paradise and Paradox in Midcentury Architecture and Planning* (South Pasadena: Balcony Press, 2009) p. 146-151.

[24] "Delano Rising 14 Floors On Oceanfront," *Miami Herald*, August 29, 1948.

[25] Ceo and Shulman, "Privileged Views," p. 338-345.

[26] Morris Lapidus speaking to the Miami Beach Board of Realtors. "Lapidus Sees Modern Architecture in Danger," *Miami Herald*, May 29, 1955.

[27] Alice Friedman, "Sail Away: Ocean Liners, Luxury and Morris Lapidus' Early Postwar Resorts," in Allan Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis: Paradise and Paradox in Midcentury Architecture and Planning* (South Pasadena: Balcony Press, 2009) p. 304-311.

[28] Polly Redford, *Billion-Dollar Sandbar* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1970), p. 234.

[29] Alice Friedman, "The Luxury of Lapidus: Glamour, Class, and Architecture in Miami Beach," *Harvard Design Magazine* (Summer 2000): p. 40.

[30] *Florida Architecture* (1957) 130. From Allan Shulman and Allan T. Shulman Architect, P.A., "Seville Historic Resources Report," January 4, 2002.

[31] Larry Birger, "Highway to Pleasure," *Miami News*, February 10, 1963.

[32] The words of Hank Meyer. Frederic Sherman, "An Image Maker Rises to Defend His Fair Lady," *Miami Herald*, January 21, 1962. Meyer: "aesthetics are nothing more than whipped cream to be added after the basic economic problems have been solved."

[33] Frederic Sherman, "Miami Beach Needs Strong Medicine," *Miami Herald*, January 14, 1962. See also Frederic Sherman, "An Image Maker Rises to Defend His Fair Lady, *Miami Herald*, January 21, 1962. The articles followed a 1962 *Miami Herald*-sponsored seminar on the hotel industry, moderated by Frederic Sherman, the newspaper's design editor.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Frederic Tasker, "Developers Gamble South Beach Can Be Saved – By Leveling It," *Miami Herald*, September 24, 1978.

[36] Newton E. Meltzer, "Hotels on the Road," *New York Times*, January 5, 1947.

[37] Castillo, "Fantasyland," p. 66.

[38] Kara Wood, "Motel Row: Sunny Isles' Miracle Mile" in Allan Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis: Paradise and Paradox in Midcentury Architecture and Planning* (South Pasadena: Balcony Press, 2009) p. 268.

[39] Letter from Rufus Nims to Mr. Scully. August 5, 1994. George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Rufus Nims Collection.

[40] Rufus Nims, "Beyond Prefabrication: The Manufactured Sleeping Unit Offers Startling Implications," *Architectural Record*, April 1958, pp. 220-222.

[41] Wood, "Motel Row," p. 269.

[42] "New Florida Motels: Development Deluxe," *New York Times*, December 11, 1955.

[43] "Miles of Motels," *New York Times*, March 22, 1959.

[44] Ceo and Shulman, "Privileged Views," p. 282.

[45] I rely here on my previous research and writing about Igor Polevitzky, especially Allan Shulman, "The Atmospheric Envelope: Igor Polevitzky's Vision of a Modern Florida" *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* (Miami: Wolfson Foundation of Decorative and Propaganda Arts, 1997) Volume 23, pp. 334-359.

[46] "Pleasure Palaces: New Luxury Hotels on Miami Beach Are Approaching the Ne Plus Ultra," *New York Times*, December 12, 1954.

[47] "New Florida Motels: Development Deluxe," *New York Times*, December 11, 1955.

[48] I rely here on my previous research and writing about postwar themes in Miami, especially Allan Shulman, "Paradise and Paradox: Postwar Miami," in Allan Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis: Paradise and Paradox in Midcentury Architecture and Planning* (South Pasadena: Balcony Press, 2009) p. 20-33.

[49] "Miami Beach: Dream Dump USA," *Architectural Forum* 111 (August 1959), 130-133. Miami Beach is portrayed here as the "final dumping ground – an unconsciously cruel parody of modern architecture in our day: a riot of hyperbolic paraboloids, of convoluted shells, of tall slabs and flat slabs, of Japanese tricks and Turkish tricks and Aztec tricks, of sculptural 'accents' to everybody's taste. . . Here, on a tropical reservation just this side of hysteria, architecture can work off its inhibitions to return cleansed and sobered, to more northern climes, where Life is Real!"

[50] "Here's a New Way To Play the Horses," *Miami Herald*, June 8, 1961.

[51] N.D.B Connolly, *A World More Concrete: Real Estate and the Remaking of Jim Crow South Florida* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), p. 124.

[52] Robert R. Weyeneth, "The Architecture of Racial Segregation: The Challenges of Preserving the Problematical Past," *The Public Historian 27* (Fall 2005): 11-14. In Kathy Hersh, "High Cotton: Jazzing it Up at the Hampton House," in Allan Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis: Paradise and Paradox in Midcentury Architecture and Planning* (South Pasadena: Balcony Press, 2009) p. 334-337.

[53] Connolly, *A World More Concrete*, 204-6.

[54] "Knight Beat at the Sir John Hotel," "Going Overtown," accessed on March 2, 2022. https://goingovertown.org/listing/knight-beat-at-the-sir-john-hotel/

[55] Marvin Dunn, Black Miami in the Twentieth Century (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997) p. 160. "In early May 1945 Miami blacks began agitating for a permanent bathing beach in Dade County… With this event, the civil rights movement in Dade County began, more than a decade before it did in other cities in the south. From Rocco Ceo, "Civilizing the Parks: Miami's Park System," in Allan Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis: Paradise and Paradox in Midcentury Architecture and Planning* (South Pasadena: Balcony Press, 2009)

[56] Ceo, "Civilizing the Parks," p. 360-367. Virginia Key Beach Park was the only beach open to Blacks until 1959. In that year, according to N.B.D. Connolly, Black Miamians desegregated the beaches by showing tax receipts. See Connolly, *World More Concrete*, pp. 124, 208.

[57] George B. Kirsch, "Municipal Golf and Civil Rights in the United States, 1910-1965," *The Journal of African American History*, Vol. 92, No. 3 (Summer 2007), 371-391.

[58] The tournament attracted top pro golfers such as Ted Rhodes, Charlie Sifford, Jim Dent, Joe Roach and Althea Gibson. Well-known amateurs included Joe Louis and Ann Gregory and Jackie Robinson. Entertainers, athletes, and businessmen came to see and be seen. It was not unusual for as many as 300 businessmen and professionals to attend the event, with friends and families bringing 2,000 visitors to Miami. From interview with Yvonne Shonberger (Miami Springs Preservation Board Member. See https://new.miamisprings.com/miami-springs-golf-and-country-club/.

[59] The Lord Calvert was developed by Ben F. Danbaum and John Bigman, white businessmen. Danbaum was the former chief detective of Omaha Police Department during the Red Summer race riots of 1919, while Berwick was a leader of the Florida Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

[60] "Elaborate Apartment -Hotel Slated to Rise in Place of Slum Shacks," *Miami Herald*, January 7, 1951.

[61] Hersh, "High Cotton: Jazzing It Up at the Hampton House," in Allan Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis: Paradise and Paradox in Midcentury Architecture and Planning* (South Pasadena: Balcony Press, 2009) p. 276

[62] "African-American Tea Rooms," *Restaurant-ing through history*, accessed May 3, 2022. https://restaurant-ingthroughhistory.com/2011/02/13/african-american-tea-rooms/

[63] I rely here on my previous research and writing about postwar Miami Beach hotel culture and the work of Morris Lapidus. Allan Shulman, "The Fontainebleau Hotel: Modernity, Decadence and the Iconography of Leisure," in Allan Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis: Paradise and Paradox in Midcentury Architecture and Planning* (South Pasadena: Balcony Press, 2009) 312-319.

[64] Hersh, "High Cotton," p. 276.

[65] Connolly, *A World More Concrete*, p. 130.

[66] George K. Zain, "'Retired' Industry of Million People Is Within Reach," *Miami Herald*, August 29, 1948. Zain was a real estate developer involved in the re-development of Miracle Mile in Coral Gables.

[67] I rely here on previous research and writing about prewar and postwar housing in postwar Miami. Karen Scheinberg and Allan Shulman, "Garden Apartments: Community, Tranquility, and Amenity," in Allan Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis: Paradise and Paradox in Midcentury Architecture and Planning* (South Pasadena: Balcony Press, 2009), 276-281.

[68] The catwalk residential type seems to derive from the "Laubengang", a German term that refers to a pergola, but was popularized at the 1920s Bauhaus as a type of single-loaded multi-family housing block with open-air circulation along one side.

[69] The stylistic devices of these modest apartments were neither as integrated as the flamboyant Googie-style identified by Douglas Haskell, nor as superficial as the "decorated box" codified by Robert Venturi. See Douglas Haskell, "Googie Architecture," *House and Home*, February 1952. The term "decorated shed" was coined in Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown and Steven Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas: the Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1972). See Scheinberg & Shulman, "Garden Apartments," pp. 300-305. Also see "North Shore Historic District Designation Report," City of Miami Beach, 2017.

[70] Scheinberg & Shulman, "Garden Apartments," p. 303.

[71] I rely on my previous research and writing about postwar housing in Miami. Allan Shulman, "Suburbs on Edge: Residential Palisades and Concrete Canyons," in Allan Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis: Paradise and Paradox in Midcentury Architecture and Planning* (South Pasadena: Balcony Press, 2009), pp. 306-315.

[72] Edward L. Friedman, the architect in charge of I.M.Pei's research efforts into concrete technology, quoted in Robert A.M. Stern, Thomas Mellins, and David Fishman, *New York 1960: Architecture and Urbanism between the Second World War and the Bicentennial* (New York: Monacelli Press, 1995), 83.

[73] Norman Mailer, "Miami Beach and Chicago," *Harper's Magazine*, Vol. 237 (November 1968), 41-130.

Part II:

The Modern Metropolis

The Creation of Metropolitan Dade County

In 1946, Miami celebrated its 50th anniversary by looking forward 50 more years. *Miami of Tomorrow,* an exhibit at the Miami Auditorium in Bayfront Park, explored a futuristic urban utopia of 1996, "a period in the future where nothing of the past remains in architecture, but a slight resemblance of general outline."[1] This ahistorical vision fit the zeitgeist of postwar Miami, skeptical of memory and focused on forward momentum. The exhibit's 34-foot panoramic model and accompanying illustrations were prepared by pulp magazine and stage artist Frank McAleer. McAleer picked up where the urban futures of prewar World's Fairs, particularly the 1939 *World of Tomorrow* exhibition in New York, and urban illustrators like William Robinson Leigh, Harvey W. Corbett, and Hugh Ferriss, had left off – illustrating imminent Miami as a gothic future of muscular towers, multi-level traffic and rail systems, and flying cars.

Miami of Tomorrow revealed more about the high-rise metropolis of American Futurism than about Miami's current trends or future prospects. In one respect, however, the vision was prescient. McAleer defied postcard conventions that depicted Miami in relation to Biscayne Bay, the city's prominent and emblematic foreground, and the location of its resorts. Instead, he illustrated the

Aerial photo of suburban developments in North Miami. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Archive.

city from the west, its largely uncharted hinterland and the direction of its postwar suburban future. If one were to replace McAleer's bucolic foreground with a mat of ranch housing, the vision would capture the essential dualism of postwar Miami – not between city and nature, but between city and suburb.

The postwar suburb

The suburbs were indeed Miami's immediate postwar destiny. As new residents streamed in, at first from across North America, sprawling suburban districts were the destination and reflection of that growth. And the growth was stunning: Miami's population doubled each decade between 1940 and 1960, from 250,000 citizens to about 1,000,000. At its apex in the early 1950s, Dade County led the nation in growth, its population increasing 10% – the equivalent of a new city of 50,000 – every year.[2] Consequently Miami also had the most explosive housing market in the country, with a home-building rate double that of Los Angeles, California in 1950.[3]

Miami's postwar immigrants defied prewar stereotypes, namely retirees and snowbirds. Many were young and of modest means, coming to work in growing industries. Among them were former GIs who trained in Miami during the war and left with "sand in their shoes," a local phrase meaning

a visitor's desire to return. As in many American cities, the suburbs were also the destination of "White flight" from the urban core. White flight accelerated with the expansion of Black settlement in Miami's northwest and the arrival of hundreds of thousands of Cuban immigrants, who initially settled to the west and northwest of downtown.

A new suburban metropolis emerged that was distinct from the urban foundations of Miami and Miami Beach (and any number of settlements along the railroad), which were mainly laid down as grids, but also from the rich and romantic 1920's tradition of master-planned suburbs that prompted John Nolen to call Florida a "great laboratory of town and city building."[4] Those earlier suburbs were products of cheap land, new technologies of land grooming, and private enterprise, but also of theming, imagination, and the emergent field of town planning. They were still married to notions of ambitious public amenities, centralized shopping, coordinated architecture, and civic identity.

Postwar suburban growth, by contrast, was largely organized around less ambitious subdivision development, and was financed in relation to new governmental mechanisms mainly established before and during World War II. The Federal government revolutionized municipal land-use politics and the market for private homes, as David Freund notes, "by standardizing and popularizing restrictive zoning and by creating a series of oversight, regulatory, and insurance programs for the private mortgage market."[5] The Standard State Zoning Enabling Act of 1922 gave communities a device, outside of any planning, to conceive new development in single-use chunks. New Deal programs like the Home Owners' Loan Corporation (HOLC), established in 1933 to refinance home mortgages, and the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), established under the 1935 National Housing Act to provide banking insurance and improve consumer access to credit, primed demand for new homes. So too did the GI bill, or Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, which provided low-cost mortgages that made a starter home available to almost every returning soldier. After the war, federal programs that subsidized highway construction further rewired cities for suburban development. Indeed, while developed by the private sector, postwar suburbs were government-subsidized and highly managed.

As a critical participant in postwar home finance, the FHA played a role in setting minimum design standards for both homes and communities, helping produce a glut of comparable homes. Within the skeletal framework of federal requirements, the shape of the suburb was left to the forces of capitalism. Countless variations on standard models emerged from this system, varying the number of bedrooms, the specification of appliances, and the provision of a porch or patio and a garage or carport. Still, the postwar home and suburb emphasized modular, scalable solutions that required little or no community planning. Small- to medium-sized subdivisions, marketed as offering the "good life," multiplied by the hundreds as they engulfed Miami's first suburbs and replaced the pinelands, wetlands, and agricultural precincts that once surrounded the city.

An important exception to the lack of planning in postwar Miami was a pernicious emphasis on racial segregation and exclusionary practices that had deep roots in the city's founding myths and narratives. Before WWII, and well into the postwar era, Miami leaders positioned the city as a haven in the tropics where the "good life" was implicitly White and Anglo-Saxon Protestant.

Historical narratives, including stories of pioneer settlers and developers, railroad builders, tycoons, new residents moving into homes, and tourists flocking to beachfront hotels, were a type of racial segregation in themselves, uniquely focused on White society.

Yet the demographic makeup of the city was always more complex. Non-Whites, including Black, Jewish, Latin American, and Native American, most often occupied worlds governed by separate and disconnected realities. In this geography of separation, the uneven quality of physical worlds reflected the division of Miami according to race and ethnicity, and into populations who were served and those who provided service.[6] These divisions, sometimes embodied in straightforward racialized planning or restrictive covenants, and sometimes informal, continued into the postwar and were built into the physical makeup of Dade County.

The working city

While leisure and tourism continued to play an important part in the region's development, an increasing portion of Miami's postwar growth was organized around the development of housing, retail, business, industry and civic institutions. Miami was becoming a more functionally diversified city, one that might, in the context of the city's own history, be called the "working city." In a peculiar twist, the city was diversifying economically while at the same time migrating to the suburbs. The working city thus emerged decentralized, facilitated by expanding suburban infrastructure and plentiful land, and clustered around new housing subdivisions. Lacking any comprehensive community planning, the suburb was sorted according to zoning districts into discrete uses – housing by income category, shopping plazas and malls, office parks and industrial zones. The bucolic hinterland depicted by McAleer was quickly evolving into something more prosaic: a dynamic, multi-functional, and problematic urban sprawl.

Civic facilities like parks, libraries, schools, universities, town halls, and religious institutions, struggled to keep up with the city's growth, and as they did, developed new architectural paradigms. They were also part of a larger emerging civic consciousness, markers of an embryonic public life in a city once devoted to private leisure, laying the foundations for a greater and more well-balanced metropolis.

As Miami's resorts and suburbs thrived, the city center deteriorated economically and physically. The outward migration of population and commerce, combined with traffic congestion and a scarcity of parking, pushed downtown to crisis. The logic of redevelopment and urban renewal, permeated by racialized planning, and waves of immigration that transformed existing neighborhoods into landscapes of assimilation, defined public perception of the urban core. Commercial development on the Bayfront maintained a thin veneer of progress in the 1950s-1960s, but grand plans for more far-reaching civic, cultural, and commercial developments went nowhere.

A new architectural syntax

As Miami's early postwar growth laid down new layers of construction, these adhered largely to the urban frameworks, building types, and aesthetics of postwar architectural modernism. As many have noted, Modernism emerged triumphant in postwar America, its progressive and rational spirit well-matched to contemporary society and technology. The familiar modernist paradigms of postwar development became ubiquitous – glassy corporate towers, roadside commercial architecture, space-age churches, boxy shopping centers, residential tower slabs, Brutalist civic buildings, and, especially, subdivisions of ranch homes.

Yet as developers and architects engaged in creative problem solving, rather than demonstrations of ideologies, Modernist principles were not adhered to strictly. Miami was an excellent testing ground for what historian Gwendolyn Wright has called the "phantasmagoria of American modern architecture," a broad and lively tent that spanned academic and popular culture, glamorous and fantastical architectures as well as austere and minimalist ones, and diverse global influences, vulgarisms, and commercialisms.[7] In this respect, postwar developments followed a pattern set before the war, when a corps of modernist architects endowed Miami and Miami Beach with futuristic, but eclectic hotels and apartment buildings.

Miami produced its own local forms of these national phantasmagoria, including regional design solutions inflected by climate responsiveness, themes of touristic spectacle, and even renewed interest in local vernacular traditions. The "tropical home," tropical modernism, and tropical variants of Brutalist architecture, were all regional variations on, even validations of, modernist themes. Themes of fantasy, glamour, luxury, and the promise of comfort and pleasure, elements of Miami's vocation as a playground, created other exciting variants of modernist expression.[8] While taking many forms, modernism transformed the functional and aesthetic face of the city, and loosely unified it under a relatively consistent mantle of architecture.

Thinking metropolitan

By the mid-1950s, Miamians celebrated the development of a larger, more modern and more ambitious metropolis, but increasingly could not make sense out of its rampant urban growth. Absence of planning, inadequacy of zoning, and lack of coordination between municipalities, were producing chaotic urban scenes, and forestalling efforts to plan for the future common good. Attention focused on the necessity for a more centralized approach to county-wide planning, management, and synthesis, yet from 1945-1953 Miami consistently rejected any type of city-county consolidation. American preoccupation with autonomy, as Robert C. Wood has noted,
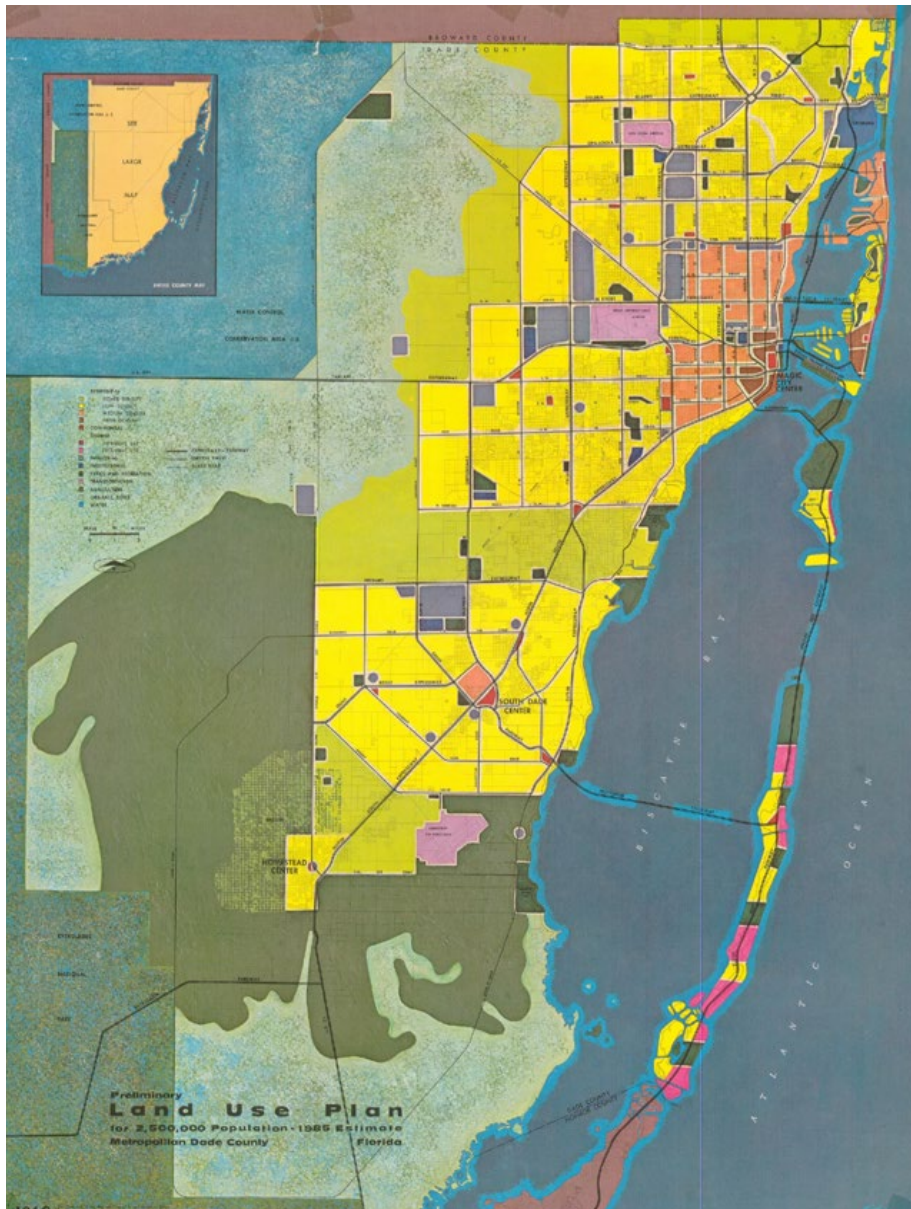
General Land Use Masterplan for 2,500,000 Population, 1960. (Metropolitan Dade County, Florida: Metropolitan Dade County Planning Department). Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum.

echoed the values of Jeffersonian Democracy even as it represented a choice "made in defiance of the compelling values of the modern world: large-scale organization, efficiency, economy, and rationalization."[9]

As open space and farmland disappeared, and as suburbanization dried wetlands that fed crucial freshwater supplies, concerns about Miami's urban future continued to rise. In 1957, Dade County voters finally approved consolidation, linking the county and local jurisdictions through a federated system that removed overlapping bureaucracies and promised more efficiency. Metropolitan Dade County, or Metro-Dade, did more than centralize urban management and attempt to control chaotic growth. It redefined the region as metropolitan, embodying the overlapping interests of the county's metropolitan areas and communities.[10] Metropolitan governance extended planning to underserved communities in both existing municipalities and in

Servicemen march along Collins Avenue in Miami Beach, c. 1944. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum.

unincorporated areas while also opening conduits to grants in aid under new federal programs like public housing and highway construction, moneys that in the postwar era became a larger and larger part of local government.[11]

Eventually, Metro-Dade assumed the power to shape urban development, set growth controls, manage water systems, preserve farmland and natural ecosystems, and encourage the development of more balanced communities. Paradoxically, metropolitan civic consciousness and the power to effect regional change, were exercised in a period of continued urban sprawl. A cognitive dissonance, the result of tensions between metropolitan planning and private interests, defined the growth of the postwar city.

Between World War and Cold War

Miami played an important role in WWII, and the war in turn helped set the agenda for the city's postwar development. Although not a center for wartime production, Miami became an important logistical base in the 1930s as the Navy, as part of its national defense plan, attempted to turn the Western Hemisphere into a bulwark against European influence.[12] Miami's strategic position at the southeastern tip of the United States made it a gateway to the Caribbean, controlling North-South Atlantic navigation along the Gulf Stream and traffic in the Florida Straits. When the U.S. entered the war in 1941, the Navy took over the Port of Miami, and established its Gulf Sea Frontier, or submarine tracking service, in the DuPont Building, the city's most modern downtown

U. S. Navy Hangar 102 at Naval Air Station Miami Opa-Locka, 1942. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum.

office building.[13] Along the Miami River, boatyards were converted to the construction of patrol torpedo boats.

Inland, airpower and submarine-fighting capabilities were developed at Miami's many airfields, generating striking works of engineering. At **Opa Locka Naval Air Station**, where fighter pilots learned dive-bombing and torpedo bombing techniques, the Navy built three massive hangars using deep steel trusses that allowed hundreds of planes to be parked and maneuvered within its lightweight metallic curtain wall envelope. The **Richmond Naval Air Station** blimp base, home to the Navy's largest airship squadron of K- and L-type blimps, had three parabolic hangars that were among the largest in the world, 16-stories high and more than 1,000 feet long, and built entirely of Douglas Fir. After the war, the city's sprawling airfields became incubators for new types of facilities, from Cold War defense sites to parks and universities; even more importantly, aviation became central to Miami industry, and to its status as an international hub.

The city's role as a road and railhead to air freight became made it an important logistics center for the war effort. The **Miami Air Depot Headquarters,** a sprawling logistics base, was established at the **Miami Municipal Field** (former Pan American Field), the core of the future **Miami International Airport**.[14] Truck docks and rail sidings fed warehouses along the airfield, servicing an air bridge to Brazil and Africa that supported British and later Allied North African campaigns.[15] The airfield was the head of the 12,000-mile Pan American Air Ferries network,

Blimp Hangar at Richmond Naval Air Station, c. 1943. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection.

organized by Pan American Airways for the delivery of military aircraft. The role of the airport as a transit and freight hub would grow steadily in the postwar, driven by expanding hemispheric trade, transforming the territory behind the airport into a vast warehousing and logistics area, and eventually into a free trade zone. Logistics played an important role in resort travel as well, as the so-called "Floribbean" region (Florida and the Caribbean) was reconceptualized as a touristic sea with Miami as the hub facility.[16]

Miami's most visible role in wartime was as a training center, a consequence of its subtropical climate that allowed year-round outdoor activity, but also of the city's established hospitality industry. Already geared for large seasonal migrations, the ready-made facilities on Miami Beach offered thousands of hotel rooms and tourist apartments to house recruits, spacious hotel lobbies in which to muster soldiers, large commercial kitchens as canteens, cinemas and ballrooms for instruction, and swimming pools for aquatic training. Off the hotel strip, beaches were repurposed for rifle training, and golf courses as drill grounds. Officer training began in February 1942, and by 1943, 188 Miami Beach hotels and 109 apartment buildings had been appropriated as barracks by the US Army Air Force Command, housing as many as 78,000 soldiers at a time.[17]

Military use offered a financial survival strategy for local hotels, dependent on tourism that evaporated after Pearl Harbor. But Miami "going to war" had a larger resonance for the nation, symbolizing a pause in the decadence and self-indulgence that had characterized the city's hospitality industry. Poignantly documented in *Life* magazine, the spectacle of tourism was replaced by the phenomenon of soldiers marching in the streets against the backdrop of modern hotels, palm trees, and late-model cars. As the war brought more than half a million soldiers, sailors, and aviators to the region,[18] it laid the groundwork for their postwar return as residents under the home ownership provisions of the GI bill.

Bay Harbor Islands. Photo by Tierney & Killingsworth, Inc., May 30, 1959. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection.

Miami's activities during World War II also laid the groundwork for its role as a Cold War base in the 1950s-60s.[19] In the wake of the Cuban Revolution of 1959 and Missile Crisis of 1961, and as Latin America and the Caribbean became ideological battlegrounds, Miami went to war again. With its large population of Cuban and other exiles, the city and its surrounding backcountry glades became a center for surveillance, intelligence, and training and a front line in political, military, and economic struggles. As superpower rivalries were amplified by the introduction of intercontinental ballistic missiles, Cold War planning led to the construction of a Strategic Air Command base in Homestead, and the deployment of anti-missile batteries across wide swaths of Dade County. "Progress with Freedom," the theme of Interama, the proposed (but never built) 1960s-era World's Fair on the shores of Biscayne Bay, demonstrated how Miami could be understood as an outpost defending the American way of life.

Suburban Metropolis

After World War II, Miami expanded into new suburban realms that became the region's new centers of metropolitan gravity. The move to the suburbs was part of a broad, national program that the American Institute of Architects (AIA), meeting for their national convention in Miami Beach in 1946, called "Rebuilding America." As Miami's AIA chapter president, Robert Little, noted in addressing the conference, relocating and replanning communities was the first priority.[20] Governmental and cultural forces, as well as planners and real estate interests, converged on this goal, which was calibrated to meet the needs and tastes of soldiers returning from war, but also the deferred expectations of a broad swath of Americans on the heels of Depression and war. The ideal shape of the postwar suburb, and its ability to achieve or be part of any larger planning efforts, was
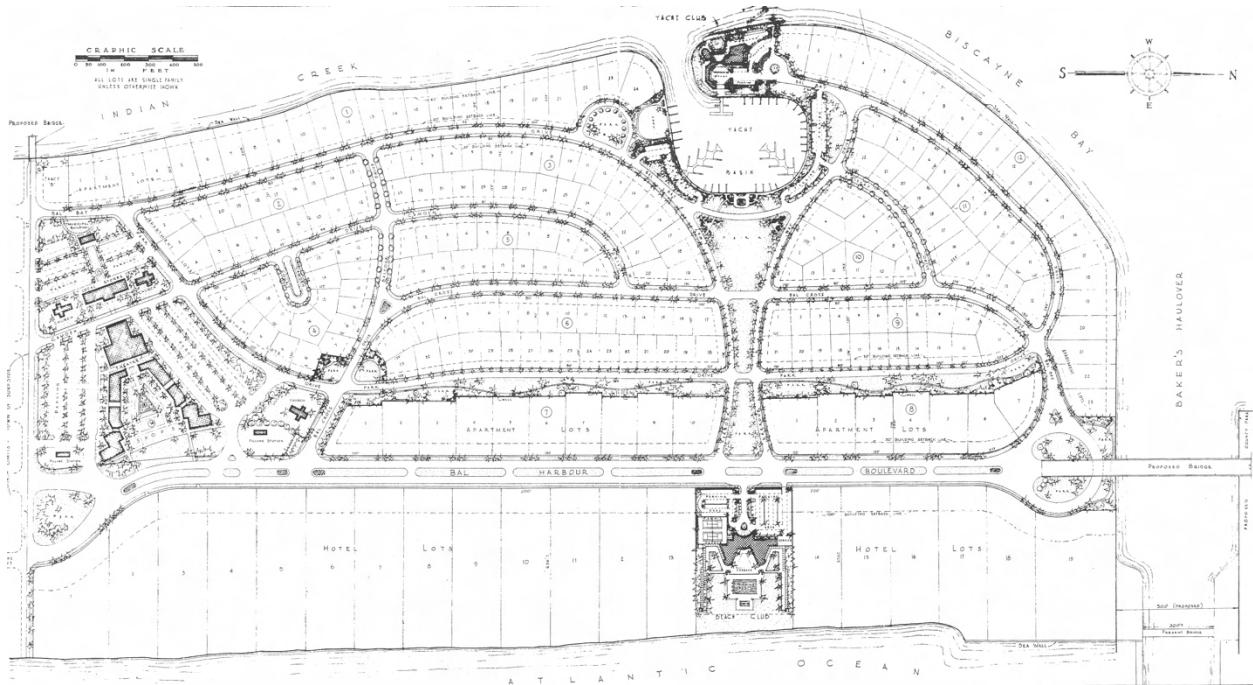
Proposed master plan of Bal Harbour Village. Harland Bartholomew Associates, City Planners and Landscape Architects, St. Louis with Zurwelle-Whittaker, Inc., Consulting Engineers, c. 1946. From Stuart M. Mertz, "Bal Harbour, Florida, Plans for the Development of a Winter Community," Landscape Architecture 38 (January 1948): 61-67.

the subject of intensive debate in the mid-1940s. Like most American cities, Miami would become a laboratory of different, often conflicting, approaches.

Coastal suburbias

Miami's first acts of postwar urban foundation were in coastal suburbias. **Bal Harbour Village** (1946), and the **Town of Bay Harbor Islands** (1947), each about 250-acres in size, were postwar leisure towns more in dialogue with Miami Beach, the archetypal Florida beachfront community, than low-cost commuter subdivisions. Both were also tied to pre-war town building traditions, comprising an integrated mix of housing, hospitality, commercial, and civic spaces, but fundamentally translated this mix through the lens of postwar planning and building types.

Bay Harbor Islands, in Biscayne Bay, was the final act in Dade County of transforming mangrove islands into new towns, a process that had begun in the early 20th century in Miami Beach. As a first planning decision, developers Shepard Broad, Benjamin N. Kane, and Howard Kane, split the island with a 150-foot-wide canal, a marine greenbelt that segregated two distinctly zoned districts: a west island for single-family use and an east island for multi-family, hotel, and commercial development.[21] Kane Concourse, which joined and bisected the two islands, eventually extended westward as the **Broad Causeway** (1951) and connected to the mainland at 123rd Street in North Miami.[22]

Bay Harbor's planning, based on a grid, was traditional, but rapid development in the 1950s-60s transformed the gridded landscape into one of Miami's most comprehensive townscapes of

midcentury modern architecture. On the east island, Kane Concourse was developed as a commercial main street of modernist retail and office buildings, with regionally-adapted facades that emphasized transparency combined with layered sun-shading. Around this commercial spine were modest garden apartment buildings, most featuring exterior galleries and breezy facades featuring bold exterior stairways, playfully perforated concrete walls, metal screens, louvers and grills.

Just to the east, along the oceanfront, **Bal Harbour Village** demonstrated a contrasting planning approach influenced by the City Beautiful movement, blending civic monumentality and the picturesque. The developer, Detroit-based Graham-Paige Motors Director Robert C. Graham, conceived the village as an elite seasonal community, a rejoinder to the popularity, density, and ethnicity of Miami Beach. To instill a sense of suburban exclusivity, Bal Harbour was rigorously zoned and chartered as a private club.[23] An oceanfront beach club and bayfront yacht club were developed to fulfill the club's identity.[24]

Graham hired St. Louis-based city planners and landscape architects Harland Bartholomew and Associates to plan the village. The firm's 1941 master plan zoned the town from ocean to bay according to a scheme of discretely organized uses and densities. In order to separate the two hundred homes in the residential area from commercial, multi-family and resort districts, a 7-foot high "Chinese Wall" was installed. The plan also celebrated the automobile with roadways designed for gracious motoring. The oceanfront spine of Collins Avenue was widened into a "landscaped concourse" called Bal Harbour Boulevard, crossed axially from east to west by another broad parkway, Harbour Way, which linked the beach and yacht clubs. In the residential area, the picturesque curvilinear street network, influenced by the seminal suburban subdivisions of Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr., created a leisurely driving experience.

Along Bal Harbour Boulevard, fashionable resort and residential buildings went up. Elite and socially-restricted high-rise hotels like the **Kenilworth by-the-Sea** (Robert Swartburg, 1946), and the **Seaview** (Roy F. France, 1947), lined the oceanfront, detached by broad setbacks. It was from the Kenilworth that Arthur Godfrey broadcast regular radio and television programs starting in 1953, an intertwining of hospitality, entertainment, and publicity with roots in Miami Beach. Low-rise garden apartment buildings flanked the west side of Bal Harbour Boulevard. In contrast to the hyper-density of Miami Beach, buildings like the **Brownstone Apartments** (Roy France & Son, 1949), set on generous lots with broad lawns and parking garages in the rear, were celebrated for their gracious suburban feel. Many buildings broadcast a restrained modern architecture, tempered with traditional accents designed to appeal to its wealthier residents, a contrast with the playful and futuristic modernism emerging in Bay Harbor Islands.

A critical element of the original Bal Harbour village concept was the shopping district, envisioned by Bartholomew as a small market square, similar to those completed before the war in up-scale suburban developments like Lake Forest in Chicago, Highland Park Village in Dallas, and Shaker Heights in Cleveland. By the time the 15-acre site was developed, developer Stanley Whitman proposed instead a posh "specialty retail" mall with a fashion theme. Like Lincoln Road Mall in Miami Beach, completed five years earlier, **Bal Harbour Shops** (1965) used the format of a lushly
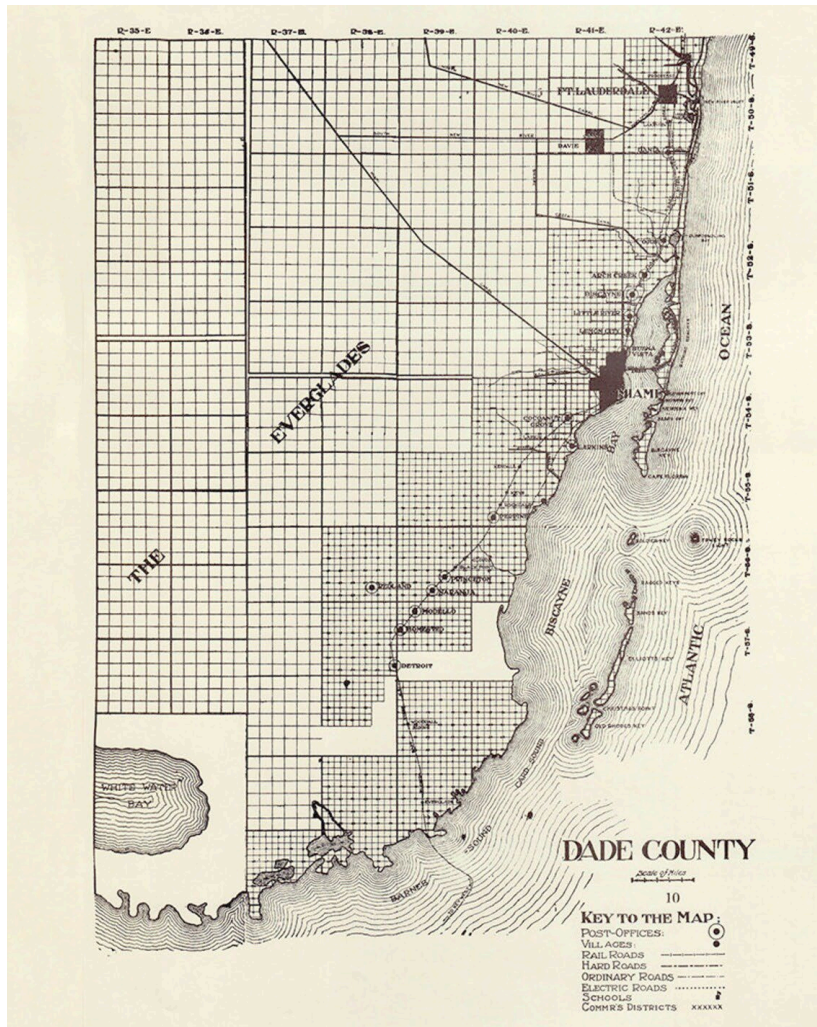
1914 Map of Dade County, Florida.

landscaped outdoor shopping complex to consolidate luxury retail into the town's resort character. Miami architect Herbert H. Johnson created the mall's linear, open-air spine of modern arcades, garden patios, pools, and fountains, decorated with wood louvers and suspended concrete planters and interspersed with exterior stairs and elevators.[25] To keep the mall compact on what was probably Greater Miami's most valuable unbuilt site, the 39 shops, as well as the parking, were stacked, enhancing the intimate character of the patios, [26] which became the luxury commercial center of Miami's affluent waterfront population.

Suburban hinterlands

In contrast with intimate leisure-townscapes of Miami's coastal suburbs, the suburbs growing north, west, and south of Miami were constructed on broad land tracts that had to be divided and settled. Miami's gridded latticework of arterial roads, which divided frontier of farmland and wilderness into one-square mile (640 acre) parcels and based on the U.S. Land Ordinance of 1785, was the primary organizing feature of these tracts.[27] While the Land Ordinance is famously understood as the force behind the patchwork quilt of midwestern agriculture, it was equally

Metro Government, 1974. Photo by Michelle Bogre. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection (1995-277-8214).

applicable to Miami's hinterlands, lending its discipline to the suburban subdivisions that would follow. The indifferent meridians of longitude and parallels of latitude, once designed to facilitate settlement by homesteaders, became Dade County's primary act of planning. Within the weave of these arteries, thousands of small, postwar subdivisions were laid out by private developers, most with little guidance beyond the example of FHA-supported plan types.

A defining feature of Miami's arterial suburban grid was lack of consideration for natural features. Stretching from the ocean to Everglades with devastating effect, development based on this grid stripped any pre-existing character from the land. From north to south, slash pine and understory scrub of the native Pine Rocklands were wiped from the Atlantic Coastal Ridge, native forested hammocks were leveled, and sloughs or wetlands were reconfigured into "usable" landforms by dredging, yielding canals, islands, lakes and marinas. This fresh and newly unencumbered acreage facilitated suburban development according to simple planning formulae.

Provocative prewar urban paradigms developed by Frank Lloyd Wright and Le Corbusier, two dominant figures of modernism, provide context to the developments in postwar Miami. Wright's conceptual Broadacre City proposal (1932), a decentralized marriage of arterial grids and homes, with towers, malls, and government centers as points of concentration, resonated in the dispersed low-rise developments that sprawled across Miami's grid. Le Corbusier's Ville Radieuse (1930), especially its evocation of vertical garden cities and towers in the landscape, and its emphasis on

shared ground-level amenity, had particular resonance along the city's waterfronts. Both systems celebrated the automobile, and its power to refigure the city in a more open and decentralized manner. Horizontal sprawl and vertical concentration were popular and marketable propositions in postwar Miami. Importantly, they were also both permissible under FHA guidelines that structured postwar development.

In practice, neither canonical model proved terribly useful for postwar home developers in Dade County. Functionally, postwar suburbs were less the result of planning than of "unplanning," as author Charles Siegel has suggested.[28] Land development was practiced by speculators working at the scale of the subdivision, usually in the absence of any larger coordinating plan or idea. Speculators used well-understood FHA-compliant models in order to expedite project processing and financing. In this, the influence of the "Neighborhood Unit" (1929), developed by the American urban planner Clarence Perry and assimilated into FHA manuals in the 1940s, was most significant.

Perry's Neighborhood Unit served as a bridge between the Garden City planning movement of the early 20th century and the mid-century suburb.[29] It considered the effect of the neighborhood within larger regional planning, and promoted the principle of the superblock, a cellular urban unit delimited by surrounding arterials and containing its own internal street hierarchy. The superblock was a suburban residential island, comprising a park and a school at its protected center, while relegating commercial uses to the encircling arterials. The FHA framed its residential planning standards through the lens of the Neighborhood Unit, making the system a foundation of the postwar suburb.[30] It was a module of suburban development well adapted to Miami arterial structures, and capable of organizing decentralized pods of recreation and education.[31] That being said, in Miami the subdivision as a unit of planning was often too small to create a true neighborhood, and developers were rarely required to plan or produce civic amenities like parks and schools.

Using the framework of the superblock, FHA planning models largely rejected continuity with the older urban grid, prescribing new street hierarchies in which quiet local streets like cul-de-sacs and loop streets fed collector streets that, in turn delivered traffic to arterial roads.[32] Local streets favored curvilinear arrangements to emphasize the "interior" nature of the neighborhood, yet they were also planned to optimize neighborhood traffic flow using long blocks, eliminating alleys and favoring T-intersections. Local streets were wide, and usually included narrow greenways separating the street from 5-foot-wide sidewalks.

As new subdivisions were mainly located outside any municipal boundaries, they evaded most municipal restrictions and followed only the minimal Dade County zoning rules of the time. One result was a nearly equivalent density of houses based on a standard modular lot, generally 75-foot by 120-foot. calibrated to work best with prevailing FHA-approved house models and required setbacks. Houses were set back from the street behind expanses of drought and flood-resistant grasses, like Para, Coastal Bermuda, and St. Augustine, which became popular in the postwar era. Where land development created the provision of lakes and canals, road networks and homes were simply organized to accommodate them. The shape of early-postwar suburbia was essentially

Suburban homes, Miami Springs. Date unknown. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Archive.

uniform, comprised of autonomous subdivisions maintaining a distinct topology, or system of arrangements, with infinite variations and continuous deformations.

Experiments in Modern Living

The GI Home

The postwar housing market in Miami kicked off following a national political imperative to create affordable and inspiring housing for returning GIs (the shorthand for military members) and their families. Low-interest mortgages guaranteed under the GI Bill, and priority in procuring materials for new home construction, encouraged developers to meet these needs. Even so, for many GIs new houses couldn't be built fast enough. According to the *Miami News*, "The cottage with well-kept lawn and vine and fig tree turned out to be only a figment of the imagination, superinduced by the lethal whine of shells and the miasmal vapors arising from swamps and jungles." [33]

As GIs drove postwar housing demand, these young men of limited means, often starting families, provided a useful design brief for architects. The need to produce housing quickly spurred challenges to conventional practices, making way for emergent technologies and progressive design ideas focusing on the idea of a "minimum house."

To challenge architects to explore creative approaches to this minimal GI house, in 1946, the Home Builders Association of South Florida and the South Florida chapter of the American Institute of Architects (AIA) sponsored the "$5,000 GI House competition."[34] The competition was intended,
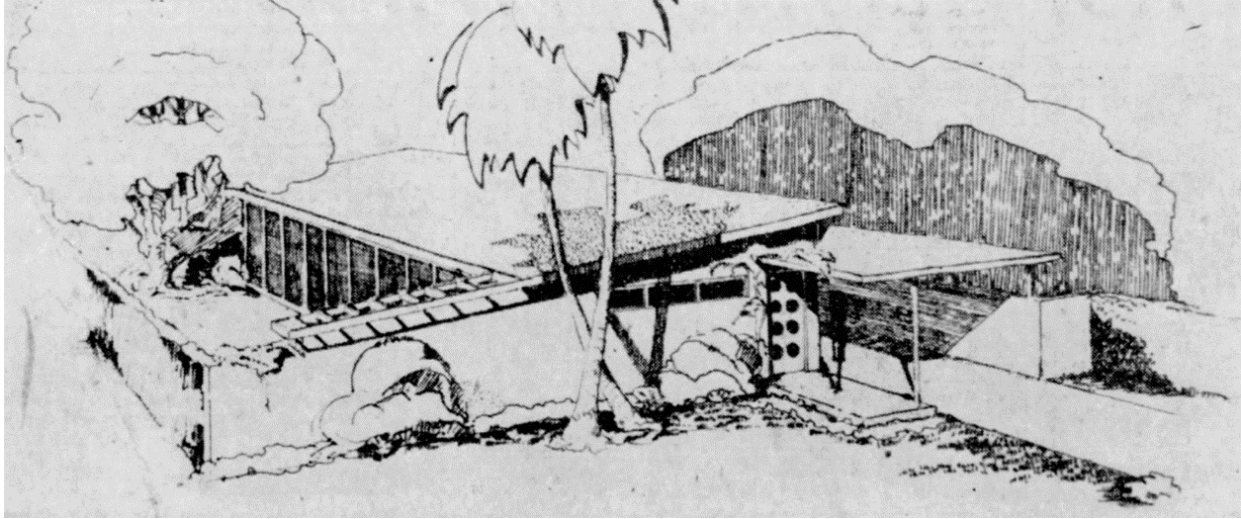
GI House Group, Miami. Igor Polevitzky, 1946. Rendering prepared for the Florida South Chapter of the American Institute of Architects' "$5,000 G.I. House" competition. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Igor Polevitzky Collection.

according to *Arts & Architecture*, "to demonstrate to the public, the contractors, and the lending agencies the kind of house which could be built at a reasonable cost for the average veteran."[35] A group of young Miami architects, many identifying as a progressive group called the "Florida Design Group," took up this task, finding innovative ways to use the technological and climate-adapting opportunities of modern architecture.[36]

Wahl Snyder and associate Rufus Nims' won the GI House competition with a proposal for a compact (36- by 15-foot) rectangular structure set on a concrete slab and sheltered by a shed-type, or "monopitch," roof. Venting transom windows promoted cross ventilation, while folding glass doors and mosquito screening dropped from the eaves connected the house to a generous, walled, side-yard.[37] The home's interior space was undivided, a single room partitioned by shop-built sectional storage cabinets, while the kitchen and bathroom formed a prefabricated block with its own flat roof. Eventually built near Jackson Memorial Hospital using donated materials and labor, the final cost was unfortunately nearly double the competition target.[38] Still, the austerity, functionality and image of the proposal illustrated an optimistic and livable future.

The second place GI house model by Igor B. Polevitzky received even more attention. Long and narrow to facilitate easy cross-ventilation, its exterior walls alternated between panels of pre-finished ceramic glazed masonry and prefabricated modular window systems with plate glass for views and jalousie-type wooden louvers for ventilation. A flat roof made of pre-cut framing overhung the walls to cut the summer sun, and mosquito screening was draped from the roof eaves to create a second, breathable, living enclosure. Polevitzky's system became the basis for the modest 100-acre **Golden Shores Subdivision** in Sunny Isles (1948), where the architect
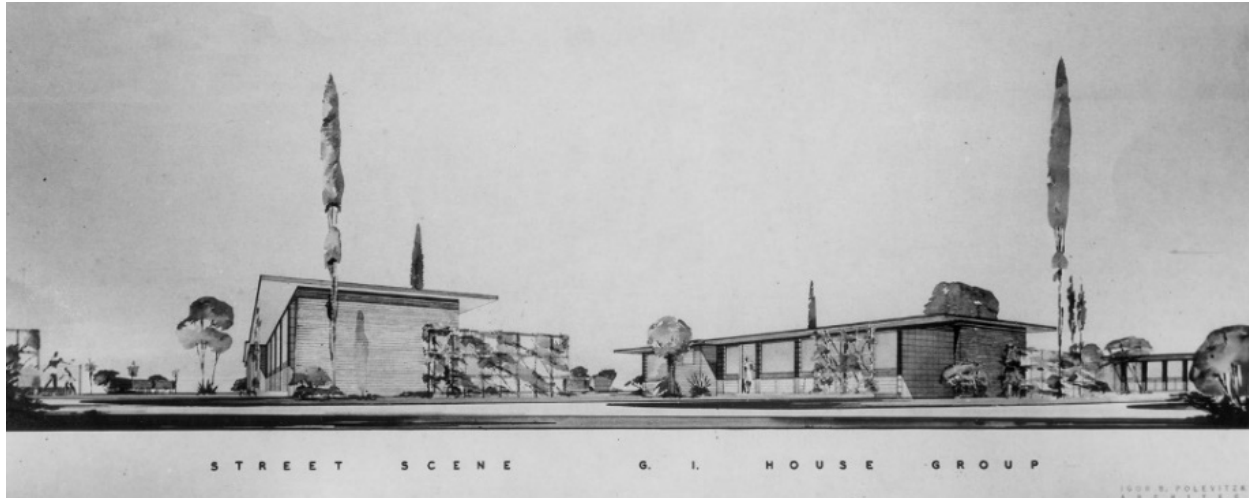
GI House Proposal, Wahl Snyder with Rufus Nims Associate, c. 1946. From "Builders to Speed $5,000 GI Home," Miami Herald, May 12, 1946.

experimented with a mix of flat and shed roofs and explored plan variations that included T- and L-shaped iterations that permitted more rooms. [39]

The Tropical Home

The GI Home projects, with their focus on cost effective and minimal living solutions, spurred complementary experiments in devising houses appropriate for a tropical climate. For many young architects inspired by the Modern Movement, home design could not be separated from issues of place, and regional identity. Using the theme of the "tropical home" as an organizing idea, they developed an architecture of positive ventilation by thinning, perforating, and even eliminating the enclosing walls of the house, even employing permeable or atmospherically "transparent" building skins.[40] Openness to the environment was emphasized through sliding, pivoting, and sometimes disappearing walls, screens, and louvers, as well as in locally-developed aluminum awning and glass jalousie windows that could be left open in the rain.

Materials research and modern structural systems, especially where these supported the particularity of tropical living, stimulated new paradigms of home design. Mosquito-screening, a response to the mosquito-rich Florida landscape, was re-cast as the ultimate expression of a sheer tropical architecture. Exploiting improvements in screen technology, like inexpensive nylon and plastic Lumite, architects like Igor B. Polevitzky and Rufus Nims created expansive "screened rooms" that assumed novel forms, dimensions, and meanings. Polevitzky's "birdcage houses," especially the acclaimed **Heller House no. 2** (1949), had ethereal screened walls that enclosed areas for outdoor living, pool decks and landscape – creating an interior environment balanced between the character of a room and a garden.

Rufus Nims was among the first local architects to experiment with concrete as an inexpensive and modern structural framework for tropical homes. He exploited an irony of concrete: that a material so heavy could be construed into a light and airy architecture that provides durability and

Belin Residence, Coconut Grove, Alfred Browning Parker, 1959 (unbuilt). Perspective rendering. Ink and watercolor on board. George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Alfred Browning Parker Collection

transparency in the tropics. Nims's **Charles Roman Residence** (1949) sandwiched raised open floors of open-plan living space between flat concrete plates. Held aloft on columnar supports, an approximation of the eminent Maison Domino, the concrete home type theorized by Le Corbusier as early as 1914, the house effectively floated over its suburban context, and over a ground floor of landscaped patios, a boomerang-shaped swimming pool, a cabana, and parking. Between its concrete plates, the house used walls comprised of naturally finished wood panels, plate glass, and jalousied glass windows. Alfred Browning Parker also explored the use of concrete plates, developing pagoda-like tower homes like the **Belin Residence** (1959), which comprised only a single room per floor to maximize cross-ventilation.[41]

Nims also explored ferrocement, or thin-shell concrete structures.[42] Ferrocement, in which concrete was sprayed over metal lath, had been used in civic and commercial structures by architect/engineers like Pier Luigi Nervi in Italy, Felix Candela in Mexico and, in the U.S., Milo Ketchum and Anton Tedesko. Interested in the climate responsiveness of these novel structures, Nims developed his own new anatomy of concrete shells, including tent-like peaked roofs and modified dome constructions that he called "igloos." Nims's non-rectilinear house for music writer and publicist **Sam Coslow** on Palm Island in Miami Beach (1968) had a vaulted canopy of peaks and valleys beneath which amoeba-like spaces merged organically. The home was a spatially ambiguous and non-hierarchical vessel for the wanderings of body and mind, as well as the unimpeded flow of space, landscape, and air.

In building a homegrown language of tropical architecture, some modernist architects renounced modern technology, and adapted Miami's established wood vernacular to contemporary practices.[43] Wood construction offered an art of building that emphasized natural materials and a rustic character that highlighted exposed craft – a conspicuous rejection of the mass-produced consumer culture and rampant artifice of South Florida. The **Jewel Parker Residence** in Coconut Grove (1954), designed by Alfred Browning Parker for his mother, comprised a compound of cross-ventilated wood structures, each having its own pyramidal roof and wrapping verandas, approximating a small compound or agricultural settlement.[44] The home's open-plan interior and naked structure highlighted the beauty of its exposed wood construction, expressed in sophisticated wood joinery and mahagony persiana (jalousied) doors imported from Cuba.
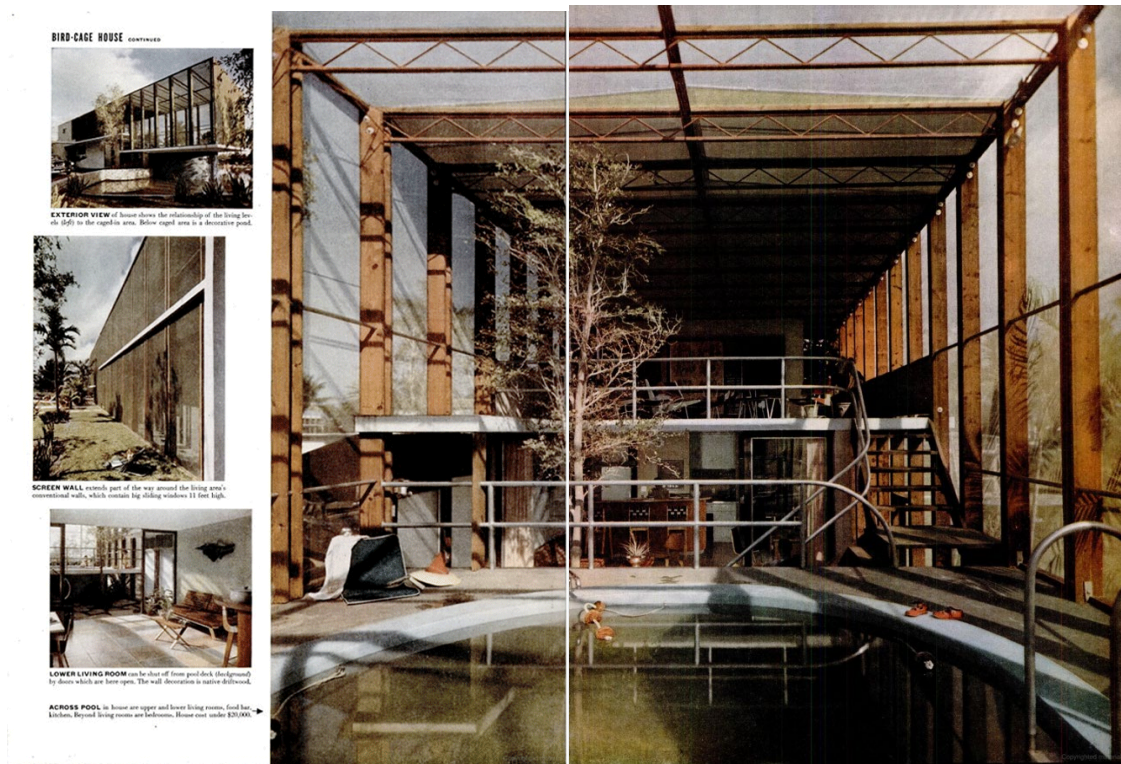
Birdcage House (Heller House no. 2), Miami Beach, Igor Polevitzky, 1949. From "Birdcage House: in it a Miami family lives pleasantly exposed to sun and breeze but not to insects, Life, June 5, 1950.

Robert Bradford Browne's **McClave Residence** on Key Biscayne (1956) was also built of wood. It emulated vernacular Southern "dog-trot" type houses by dividing living and sleeping zones with a central open-air lanai. Lifted on a platform of concrete planks above its beachfront context to minimize the effects of water and humidity, its 18 bleached pine pillars supported the rough-sawn pine beams and rafters of a broad-hipped roof. Browne intended the house not to mimic Florida wood vernacular style, but as a "learned lesson" based on proven tradition in the expression of simplicity, directness and economy.[45]

New aesthetic sensibilities found in functional, quiet, plain, and frugal arrangements formed a through line across all of the tropical home experiments. These sensibilities were organized around the question of "livability," a quality found in flexible and informal arrangements, as well as the architectural use of natural materials, rustic textures, and organic forms to evoke a sense of fullness.[46] Wood, like cypress and pine, as well as locally procured oolitic limestone boulders, were used inside and outside the house, blurring the distinction between them. Concrete, an important local industry and product, radiated its own sense of integrity when exposed, and much attention was paid to the use of exposed aggregates and the integration of subtle shades of color and texture. Concrete masonry units, the building blocks of South Florida construction, were often left un-stuccoed to provide what *Architectural Forum* called the "satisfaction of exposed craftsmanship."[47] Perforated concrete blocks, popularized in the work of Edward Durrell Stone,

as well as novel and locally-fabricated precast concrete louver systems, conveyed both environmental and decorative properties.[48] Floors of terrazzo, cement tiles (also called Cuban tiles), and flagstone provided a natural and cool feel underfoot.

Although elaborated under private commissions for mainly middle-class White patrons, these thoughtful and deliberate "case study" homes did exert a powerful influence on the vast mercantile home market because, while experimental and focused on environmental responsiveness, they carefully considered the cultural and social needs of American suburban families. Given the expanding influence of the American way of life globally, Miami served as a prominent laboratory of tropicalist architecture internationally as well.

The Mercantile Builders

Experimentation aside, most of the construction in the mid- to late-1940s was driven by builders, land developers, and bankers and shaped by a host of government interventions, from federal housing policy to local zoning and building codes. Surging demand, driven initially by GI loans that required no down payment or closing costs, ignited the large-scale development of tract homes by mercantile builders. As production increased, workable house types were rapidly codified. In this housing surge, the postwar "Ranch House" became the base line of home construction, as well as the primary building block of Miami's suburban expansion.

The Ranch

The Ranch house, as it developed in Miami, was one-story, low-slung, and practical. Although a product of the postwar, the Ranch amalgamated influences, both national and local, that were already circulating in the 1930s. The California ranch, ground-hugging and elongated, and inspired by earlier Spanish Colonial Missions and haciendas, had already been popularized by architects like Cliff May in San Diego and Los Angeles, and William Wurster in San Francisco. Through publication in journals like *Sunset*, the ranch became associated with the California lifestyle, and, by extension, the "good life." Frank Lloyd Wright's rustic Usonian houses, also produced in the prewar era and intended as a national idiom, emphasized low-cost and rational building systems, flexible space arrangements, and strong connections to a private patio and its surrounding landscape. The modern lifestyle and economy of these models resonated strongly in postwar Miami, but the Ranch also picked up on a continuous local tradition of single-story houses with roots in Miami's earlier Bungalow and Mediterranean Revival architectures. The ranch was indeed a new synthesis of these themes and precedents, and as it evolved locally in the mercantile building market, produced a new and broadly accepted middle-class housing standard.

The first postwar Ranch houses in Miami, produced to serve GIs, were avowedly modest and economical. Reduced to the most basic spatial requirements, they were standardized and mass-

Advertisement for centrally air-conditioned homes in Westwood Estates, Sunset, 1960. From Miami Herald, June 12, 1960.

produced to improve buildability and speed of delivery. Most were rectangular boxes built of stuccoed masonry walls on a slab on grade (an arrangement that married the home to the ground plane and eliminated the need for costly foundations). To economize, most had small casement, awning-type, or glass jalousie-type windows. Gabled, hipped, monopitch, and flat roofs were all popular, and projecting eaves that served to shade the walls and windows were considered a luxury. Beanpoles, a type of narrow metal column, supported projecting roofs and canopies; breezeblock screening, planters, and shutters provided the chief decorative notes, along with aluminum awnings.

These early ranch houses were efficiently planned, with compact sleeping quarters and open plan living areas to facilitate a casual, family-oriented lifestyle. Larger subdivisions incorporated a variety of models, differentiated by the number of bedrooms, add-ons like screened porches and carports, as well as the level of finishes and trim. However basic, the ranch was promotionally paired with plenty of extras, like modern kitchen appliances, built-in storage units, entertainment systems, and sometimes, a barbecue.

Early ranch houses were designed around principles of cross-ventilation. However, by the early 1950s, as the initial postwar focus on housing GIs turned to the larger market, the *Miami Herald* noted that developers were rushing central air-conditioning into new housing models.[49] The Mackle Company's up-scale **Hurricane Harbor** development on Biscayne Key (1952) was one of the first to offer air-conditioning as a standard feature.

Air-conditioning transformed the ranch home, its consequences merging into the planning and appearance of the house. Air-conditioned houses tended toward the efficiency of compact forms, eliminating narrow cross-ventilated wings. Windows, no longer required for natural ventilation, were reconceived for views or light, emphasizing vicarious links to surrounding yards. The automatic cooling and filtering of air made air-conditioned houses cleaner, and drier as well. A broader range of furniture and fabrics were introduced, and as airborne soot was reduced light interior colors became more common.

The late-1950s ranch house did not entirely abandon climate-responsive design; rather it channeled it in new ways. As air-conditioning became part of the suburban home package, the ranch incorporated new transitional rooms and spaces that made outdoor living comfortable and easy, spurring new types of Florida living. The "Florida Room," a type of den that closely integrated with a home's living area, appeared in the 1950s, and brought the outdoors in through walls of mosquito screening or glass jalousies. *Tropical Homes and Gardening* described the Florida Room as a space "favored by homeowners who desire maximum openness and yet wish to furnish it more formally, and permanently."[50]

The once-radical screened patio and its promise of mosquito-free outdoor living grew in popularity, becoming as standard as air conditioning in mercantile ranch housing. Screened rooms offered an outdoor-living space for houses that were increasingly hermetically sealed. Inexpensive Nylon and Lumite mosquito screening, made possible by the plastics revolution in America, were paired with lightweight aluminum framing systems to add useable and environmentally modulated living area at low cost. Screened patios created private islands of amenity and contentment in the backyar – bubbles of private amenity were soon functionally devoted to another element of the postwar living package: the swimming pool. The environmental benefits of the screened patio served the pool well, filtering leaves, frogs, snakes, moths and other critters (in addition to mosquitos), cooling the water, and reducing damaging UV rays in this outdoor play area.

Ranch homes grew in size in the late 1950s; as they did, their characteristic linear form, low-slung profile, horizontal emphasis, and particular urban qualities became more conspicuous. In presenting long fronts toward both the front and back yard, the ranch emphasized the emerging public-private faces of what Robert Fishman has called *Bourgeois Utopias*.[51] The front, or public face, was linked to the representation of the neighborhood as a whole and a sense of middle-class conformity, an engagement represented by open lawn, and that in principle required constant yard upkeep, housing painting, and the renewal of current-model automobiles parked on the driveway. On the opposite side, the Ranch increasingly oriented itself toward the private world of the backyard, where it created the allusion of greater access to the outdoors through plate glass, sliding glass doors, and walls of jalousie glass windows. In this new arrangement of public and private, the backyard patio replaced the front porch as the outdoor living space of choice and subverted traditional suburban notions of urbanity and community.
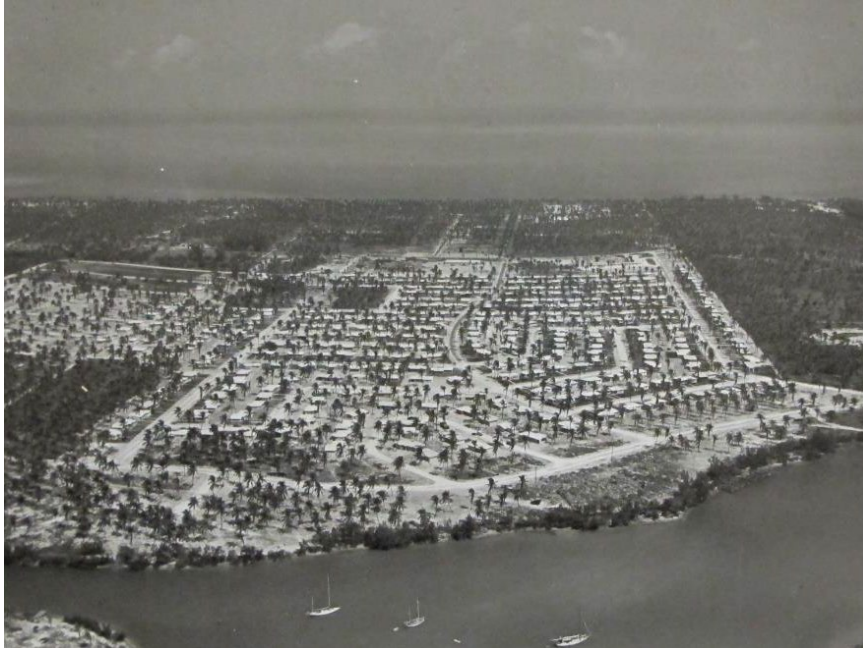
Aerial view of Key Biscayne. Photo March 19, 1951. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection.

Early suburban subidivisions

The urban effects of the ranch house were not immediately visible. Many of the first postwar developments in Dade County were in subdivisions platted before the war, filling the substantial holes left by the 1920s real estate bust. Prewar towns like Miami Shores, Opa-locka, Hialeah, Surfside, and the Riviera Section of Coral Gables, as well as neighborhoods like Alhambra Heights in North Miami, were re-made in this process. The often-phantasmic themes and urban visions nurtured in these land boom-era districts were not considered relevant to postwar living. Ranch houses propagated as infill, interweaving with older housing and creating a more complex, layered identity.

Demand for single-family houses, however, could not be met in the close-in suburbs alone. Mercantile builders like the Mackle Company led the way to new subdivisions outside the city, built at first on GI Bill-financed purchases. The Mackle Company became one of Dade County's most successful home construction businesses, developing small subdivisions like Linden Gardens and Elm Park in Hialeah and Oaklawn and Flagami in Miami. [52] Early Mackle subdivisions had between 100 and 170 houses and offered a variety of 2- to 3-bedrooms plan types, most designed by Edward T. Rempe Jr. [53] The company expanded quickly, delivering 300 homes in 1946 and 600 in 1947.[54] In 1948 it announced plans to develop 1,000 homes at Grapeland Heights using mass building techniques to achieve a production rate of 18 houses per day – an impressive rate, though far less than the industry-leading one house every 16 minutes achieved in the late-1940s by the Levitt & Sons Company at Levittown in New York.[55]

The Mackle's **Biscayne Key Estates** (1950) was one of the few tract housing projects of the period to offer something like a packaged lifestyle. Initiated on a 220-acre section of Key Biscayne, a former island coconut plantation newly accessible after the completion of the Rickenbacker

Home in Biscayne Key Estates, date unknown. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection.

Causeway in 1947, the GI Bill-financed cottages were interspersed among the palms and advertised as "Resort Living" on an "island paradise."[56] The homes, designed by Herbert A. Mathes and Edward T. Rempe Jr., were mainly three-bedroom ranch-types in an unremarkable mix of styles, from gabled colonial to traditional to flat-roofed modern. However, the development package included an oceanfront club and bathing beach, as well as a villa colony and motel.

By the mid-1950s, the Mackle Company was proposing even more ambitious developments, like the 3,500-home **Westwood Lake** subdivision (1954), advertised with a certain proud gigantism as "a city within a city" for 12,000 inhabitants.[57] Plans called for a "complete community," referring principally to the provision of schools, and the planned **Westwood Lake Regional Shopping Center**, to be equipped with a theater, department store, bank, and specialty shops. One of the first large-scale subdivisions beyond the coastal ridge, the low-lying land was raised in dredge and fill operations that produced two large lakes and a canal system, although no attempt was made to orient any public or civic areas toward the water. The four model homes, designed by James E. Vensel, featured two- and three-bedroom units, and a modest screened porch on the street side. The shallow gabled roofs were arranged either parallel or perpendicular to the street, creating the allusion of diversity along the street.

The postwar subdividing of suburbia was colored by Jim Crow restrictions, and by racial planning that directed Black Miamians into restricted lands endorsed by the Dade County Planning Board and Dade County Commissioners. The endorsement in 1947 of a new hub of Black settlement near Opa-locka in northwest Dade County, along with a construction boom in commercially-built housing for Blacks (an industry response to the Federal Housing Act of 1949, and its goal of assuring "a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family" through public housing), generated a new band of suburbs, including **Bunche Park**, **Eleanor Park**, and **Biscayne River Gardens**. [58] Bunche Park, developed by Gaines Construction Company in 1949 and named for American diplomat Dr. Ralph Bunche (an American diplomat who played an important role in both the U.S. civil rights movement and mid-century U.N. decolonization processes), built 1,000 FHA-supported and VA-guaranteed masonry homes here, with front

A Powerful Blow To Slums . . .
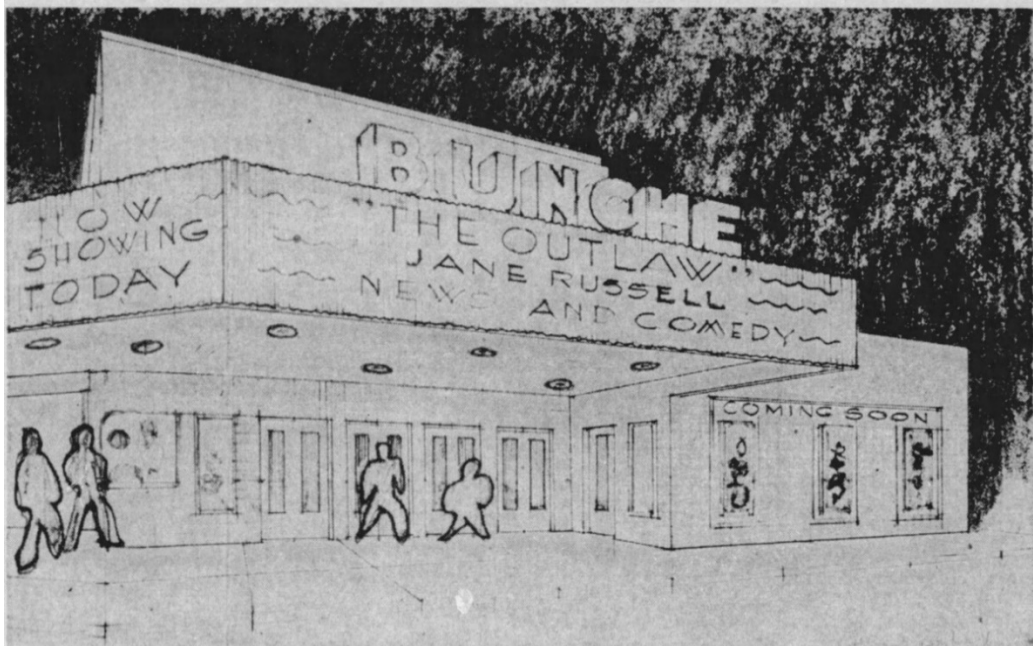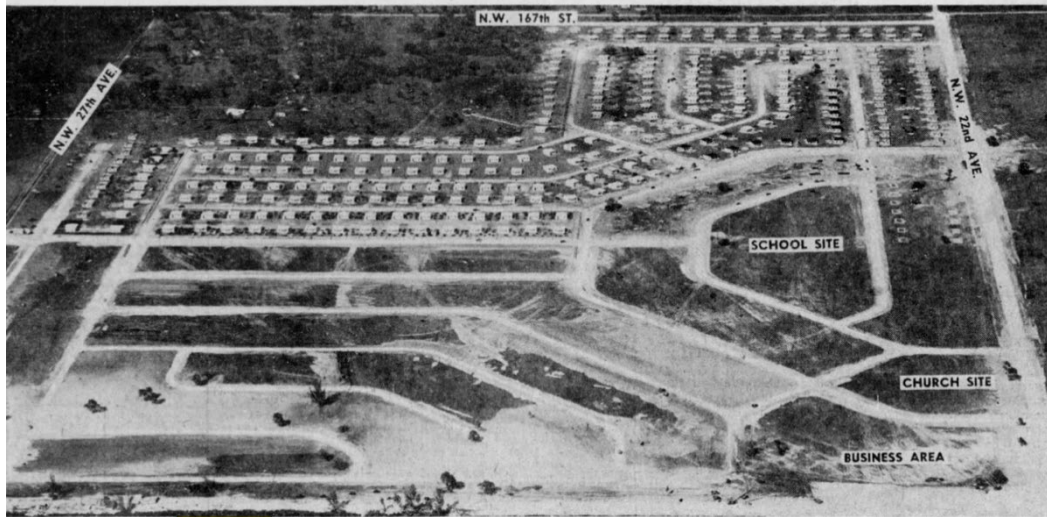
THE BIG BUNCHE THEATER, with a seating capacity of 1,500, is now under construction in the modern shopping center at Bunche Park, giant Colored housing project, consisting of more than 1,000 homes, recently completed near Opa-locka by the Gaines Construction Co. The theater has been leased to Porvin & Burnstein, who operate a motion picture theater chain in Michigan, and is expected to be opened in December.

(top) Aerial view of Bunche Park, from "A powerful Blow to Slums," Miami Herald, February 12, 1950.
(bottom) Park Theater, Gerard Pitt, 1950. From "The Big Bunche Theater," Miami Herald, August 6, 1950.

porches and gently sloped roofs.[59] Although divided by NW 22nd Avenue, Bunche Park's internally focused road networks, centrally located school and park, and integral shopping center (made necessary by federal authorities, but also by the mechanics of Jim Crow segregation) formed a rather well-developed neighborhood unit.

House in Essex Village Subdivision, Hialeah, Alfred Browning Parker, 1949 Photo by Rada Photography. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Rada Collection.

Richmond Heights (1949) in South Dade, also intended for Black GIs, offered an even more complete idea of neighborhood (and was considered among the first master planned Black communities in the United States). Like Gaines in Bunche Park, developer Frank Martin, a Pan Am pilot, found that constructing a suburban community for Black veterans, while filling a gap in available FHA and Veterans Administration-guaranteed housing made real by racial planning, a winning proposition.[60] Richmond Heights was differentiated by its focus on careful planning, engagement in community development and quality home construction.[61] Conceived for 475 houses, its planning showed a rare attention to natural land features, following an elevational rise of native Pine Rockland, and organized by gently curving roads that traced the lines of an adjacent slough. The fanning streets, centered on a park and elementary school, comprised nearly identical 25- by 40-foot three-bedroom masonry homes, designed by architect Robert M. Nordin and dignified with tiled roofs and flat concrete canopies that sheltered entrances and carports. Toward the southwest and divided by Lincoln Boulevard – a main street with churches, civic and commercial buildings, and a water tower – the town plan offered contrastingly straight boulevards intended for apartment buildings and townhouses. As at Bunche Park, the mixed residential, commercial and civic planning recognized the needs of a far-flung Black subdivision that could not rely on the offerings in nearby White communities.

As the housing shortage eased in the late 1940s, builders focused increasingly on quality, innovation, and differentiation, often facilitated by a robust coordination between builder and architect. At **Essex Village** in Hialeah (1949), architect Alfred Browning Parker and developer Thomas P. Coogan**,** then president of the National Association of Home Builders, forged an
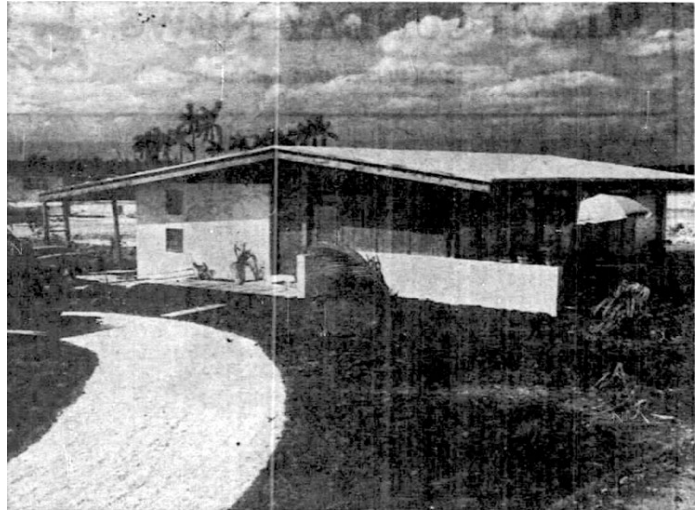
Outdoor Living Porch at Keystone Point, Robert Little, North Miami, 1950. Photo by Rudi Rada. From "Unique Keystone Point Winning National Recognition," Miami Herald, July 23, 1950.

affordable GI house model that blended modernist and vernacular lines.[62] The modern bungalows had shallow gabled roofs supported on glue-laminated wood frames that became popular with the introduction of new waterproof glue formulae in World War II. Exposed on the interior as an open-beamed ceiling, the roof eaves projected broadly, protecting expansive window areas from rain and sun.

Keystone Point in North Miami, developed by Kermit Stanford and designed by Robert Little, targeted a different value proposition: "affordable waterfront homes for the average consumer."[63] Organized on finger islands dredged from the outflow of Arch Creek, Little's modest homes were narrow and rectangular, with living areas that opened through plate glass and jalousies to a shallow terrazzo-floored screened patio that ran the entire length of the structure. [64] According to the *Miami Herald*, the homes featured five times more glass than found in a typical tract home and were available in 25 variants to prevent the subdivision from seeming formulaic.[65]

Florida Sundeck Homes took a more protective approach, responding to Miami's vulnerability to hurricanes, as well as postwar national anxiety surrounding the atomic bomb, and selling the Florida dream through the prism of disaster preparedness. The homes of **Sundeck Village** in Hialeah (1946) and **Suntan Village** in Homestead (1951) were advertised as "fortresses of security," engineered with steel-reinforced monolithic concrete construction to be hurricane proof, fireproof, termite proof – and protected against the A-bomb. [66] Sundeck founder Frank A. Vellanti and architect James deBrita planned the compact, rectangular two- and three-bedroom houses with flat concrete roofs, advertised as "sundeck platforms" for outdoor living and illustrated with swing sets, outdoor furniture, and BBQ grills. More than 1,500 sundecks were built, first at in Hialeah, then in in Leisure City, near Homestead.

Florida Sundeck Homes, Hialeah and Homestead, James deBrita, 1946-51. Postcard courtesy of Larry Wiggins.

Going bigger

One of the largest and most prolific corporate developers was **Arvida**, the land development company founded by Arthur Vining Davis in 1958. Davis, who until 1957 remained Chairman of **Aluminum Company of America (Alcoa)**, translated the fruits of wartime and postwar aluminum production into colossal chunks of land in the hinterlands of Dade, Broward, and Palm Beach counties, as well as on the island of Eleuthera in the Bahamas. In Dade County, the more than 70,000 acres he owned represented about 1/8th of all county land, spurring fears that his death might spur a collapse of the local real estate market.[67] Initially interested in the development of agriculture and industry in Dade County (his various agricultural enterprises included Arvida Orchids, Arvida Greenhouses, Arvida Nurseries, and Velda Farms, the largest dairy and cattle ranch in the U.S. at the time), Davis pivoted to land development as Dade County's urban expansion approached his southwestern land holdings in the late 1950s.

Davis saw the potential for high-end subdivisions along the east side of his holdings, near his home along Biscayne Bay. In projects like **Gables Estates** (1956) and **Snapper Creek Lakes** (1956), he packaged the area's stunning landscapes with the exclusivity of club membership, gated communities, large lots, and restrictive covenants. At Gables Estates, Davis and planner Richard Schuster platted a 200-acre mangrove tract into a series of articulated fingers islands, with
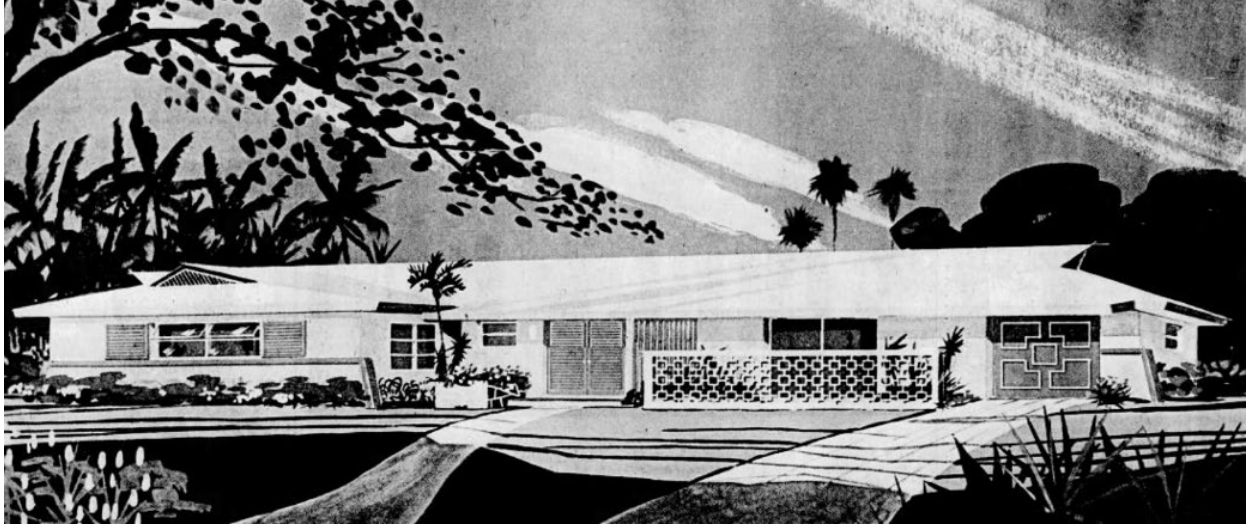
Southwind Estates, rendering of the Song of the Islands model. From "Southwind Estates," Miami Herald, January 24, 1960.

curvilinear parkways looking out onto canals that were deep and wide.[68] In the 1960s, the area filled up with luxurious modern homes by Miami's leading architects, including Alfred Browning Parker, who also resided there.

As one of Dade County's largest landholders, Davis possessed unique abilities to advance infrastructure and steer planning. As a first step to create a hub for his land holdings in South Dade, in 1955 Davis planned a miniature suburban city at the intersection of U.S. 1, Kendall Drive, and the Palmetto Expressway, whose trajectory was adjusted to meet Davis's new center. Called **Dadeland**, this hub – a "delta at the mouth of major great suburban rivers" – would comprise high-rise apartment houses, office buildings, and most famously the Dadeland Shopping Center.[69]

The creation of Arvida in 1958 set the stage for the large-scale development of its lands fanning from Dadeland southwest toward the edge of the Everglades. Acting initially as "master planner and coordinator," Arvida sold to other developers, spurring incremental new development that mostly targeted upper middle-class residents.[70] One such development, **Southwind Estates** (1960), developed by Gerald and Seymour Markoe on Arvida land, featured spacious 3-bedroom ranch homes on oversize lots, lightly themed according to a South Seas motif and comprising family rooms, 30-foot long screened patios and built-in garages.

The postwar ranch, which initially served the pressing postwar need for compact and affordable houses, transformed as it expanded in size and amenity to serve middle- and upper-middle-class residents initially envisioned in this more remote suburbia. Most transmitted luxury using a comfortable modernism of reductive forms and clean lines, mainly devoid of historic stylistic references but employing a greater range of decorative flourishes: stone and brick veneer, wood shutters, and geometric patterning over plain stucco or wood surfaces. The character of the home was set by broad gabled or hipped roofs, which grew more prominent as they extended over larger homes and also cantilevered further over walls. Screen walls, sometimes made of breezeblock, extended the home into adjacent patio spaces. As family living migrated to eat-in kitchens and

"family rooms," these took a more central role in house planning. Open-beamed ceilings, screened patios and one- or two-car garages were standard features.

As house sizes grew, split-level homes offered a compelling variation on the ranch. The split-level house connected a two-story block comprising bedrooms above a street level garage to an adjacent single-story main living area located at an intermediary level. Architect Charles Goodman popularized the model nationally, but in Miami split-level houses had an additional benefit: the raised intermediate living area was above the city's vulnerable floodplain, and the raised landscape around it formed small hillocks, an artificial landscape that broke up the monotony of suburban streetscapes.

Not all new homes followed the consensual modern styling of the ranch and split-level house (or the tropicalist modernism espoused by Miami's most progressive architects). In the world of luxury homes, a resurgence of eclectic and traditional home styles began in the 1960s, and included variants of French Colonial, Georgian, Tudor, Bermudan and especially Southern motifs. The *Miami Herald* explained that such styles "lend themselves to greater opulence, while maintaining a large degree of dignity."[71] Still, most of these stylistic variants were interpreted through Miami's postwar modern vernacular, creating hybrids. Like the Bungalow before it, the Ranch proved highly adaptable to regional and stylistic preferences.

Corporate builders

By the mid-1950s, building and selling the Florida Dream to outsiders was big business. Migration to Florida reached a rate of 225,000 people per year in 1958.[72] In Miami, development moved out beyond the city, encompassing ever larger tracts of land. In these new areas, speed of development became critical to commercial success, as completed housing developments unlocked high commercial values along surrounding arterial roads. The rising cost of land investment, site improvement, and government approvals soon favored large, well-funded "land developer" whose profit came principally from land sales.

The growth of corporate developers like Arvida, controlling 10s or even 100s of thousands of acres, transformed Miami's development scene, and set the stage for the larger-scale developments of the 1960s-70s. It also transformed Miami's home development industry into a regional enterprise. The Mackle Company, already Florida's largest "volume home builder," formed the **General Development Corporation of Miami (GDC)** in 1954, and **Deltona Corporation** in 1962, increasing their output from 5,000 houses a year to 25,000 in 1965. Based in Miami, GDC purchased several hundred thousand acres throughout Florida, reproduced their tract home experience state-wide, and promoted their homesites nationally. New GDC/Deltona communities included Port Charlotte (1956), Port Malabar (1959), Port St. Lucie (1958), Sebastian Highlands (1958), North Port (1959), Port St. John (1960), Deltona (1962), Citrus Springs (1967), and Port LaBelle (1972). Working at a similar scale and mostly based in Miami, corporations like Canaveral International, Gulf American Corp, Major Realty Corp, Alico Land Development Co., and Levitt and Sons, as well as industrial titans Westinghouse Electric and International Telephone and
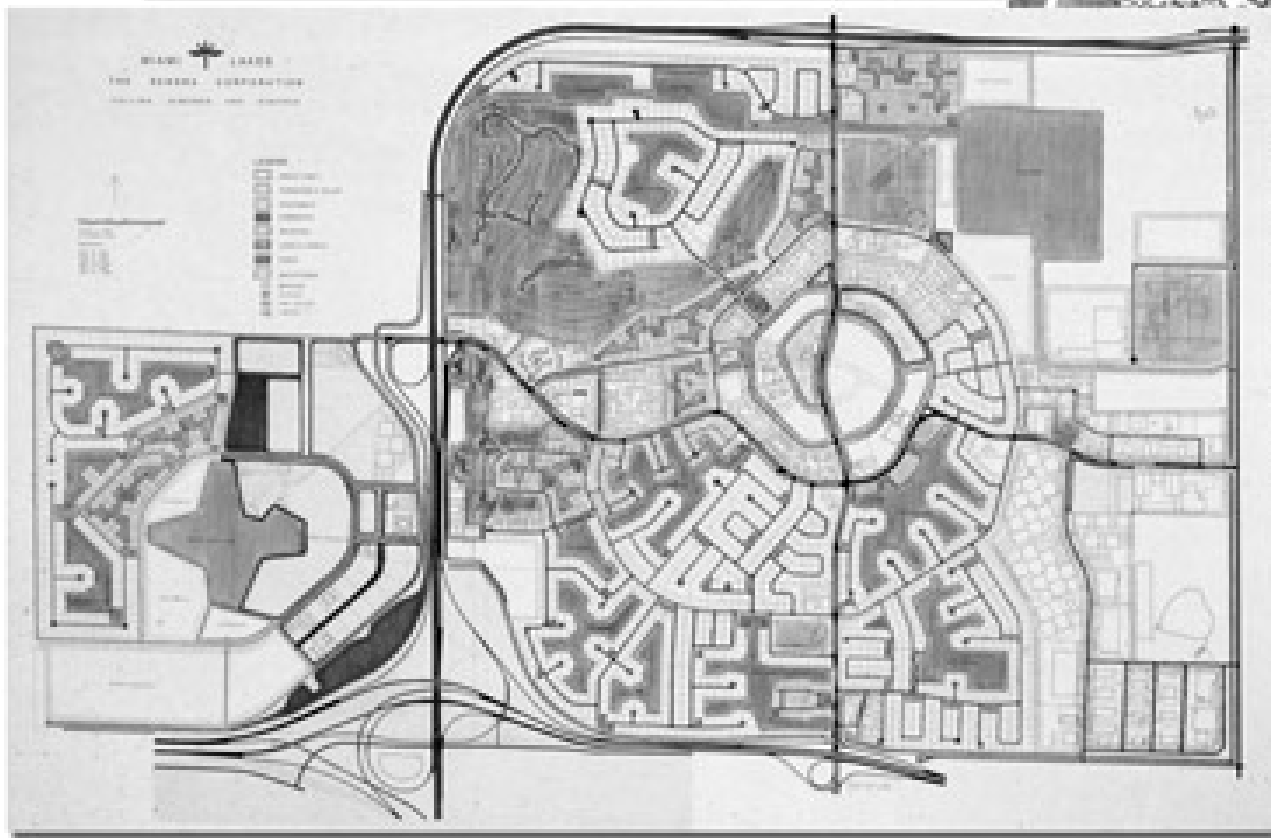
*Miami Lakes Master Plan. Iterations. Courtesy of the City of Miami Lakes.*

Telegraph Corp., colonized vast areas of Florida' Atlantic and Gulf Coasts, and produced the largest wave of town settlement since the Great Florida Land Boom of the 1920s.[73]

Miami's *New Town*

Among all the new communities that contributed to Miami's postwar suburban expansion, **Miami Lakes** (1958) was the only one that followed the more expansive urban paradigm of New Town planning popularized in the 1960s. Although it was exceptional in the context of the 1950s-60s, this new town followed in ambition the comprehensively planned suburbs built throughout Dade County in the 1920s (i.e., Coral Gables). Conceived as a leisure-oriented but functionally diversified urban community, it combined multiple categories of residences, offices, industrial areas, schools, parks, golf courses and swimming facilities, as well as a substantial town center,

Miami Lakes was developed by the Graham family, owners of the Graham Dairy that was founded on the nearly 4-square mile site in 1932. In 1962, the Grahams collaborated with agronomist Floyd

Luckey to create the Sengra Development Corporation, which planned a community of 30,000 residents to be built in stages over many years.[74] The intention to create a comprehensively planned
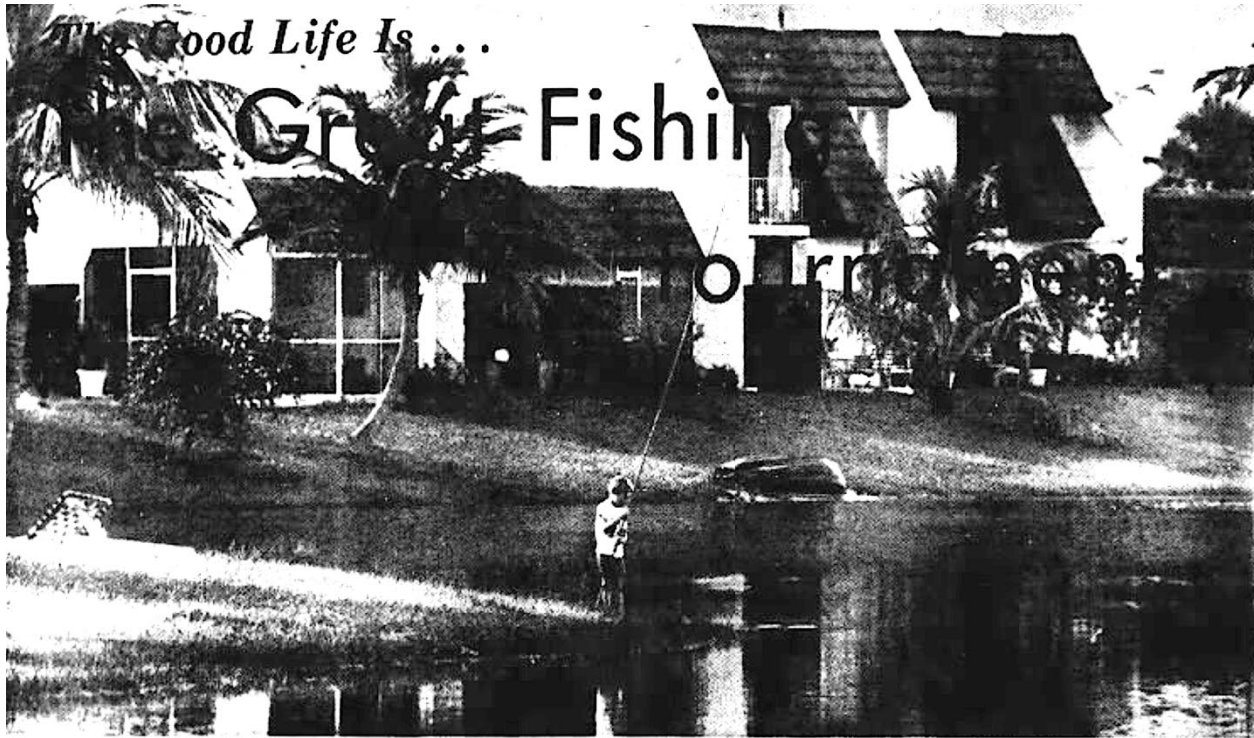
Advertisement for Miami Lakes, "The Good Life Is… Great Fishing," Miami News, November 3, 1969, Advertising Section.

and functionally diversified town, instead of a collection of residential subdivisions, was likely connected to the establishment in 1957 of Metro-Dade, with its mandate to control sprawl.[75] Robert Graham, the future Florida Governor and U.S. Senator, explained Sengra's objective of creating an autonomous urban unit that "provides within it for a full range of human needs and activities."[76]

To plan Miami Lakes, the Grahams hired the Washington D.C. and Pittsburgh-based landscape architecture firm Collins, Simonds & Simonds, in collaboration with Elbert Peets, another Washington D.C.-based town planner. According to John O. Simonds, the principal designer, the integrative nature of New Town planning was considered as a remedy for the "malaise of suburban sprawl caused by the spread of single-family homes dotted for miles on miles without relief across the country."[77] The New Town movement had roots in late-1940s Britain, where self-sufficient communities were seen as a way to depopulate crowded urban centers, avoid suburban sprawl, and provide for a spectrum of individual and community needs. By the 1960s, the movement had numerous adherents in the U.S. Miami Lakes paralleled the development of Columbia, Maryland (early 1960s) and Reston, Virginia (mid 1960s), among the most celebrated examples American New Towns.[78]

To promote country leisure as a way of life, Miami Lakes was conceived as a city in a park. A central element of the park landscape was the network of lakes, established by the dredge-and-fill operations necessary to raise the land, and configured as scenic and recreational features for the whole community. The irregular lakes broke up housing areas while optimizing private water
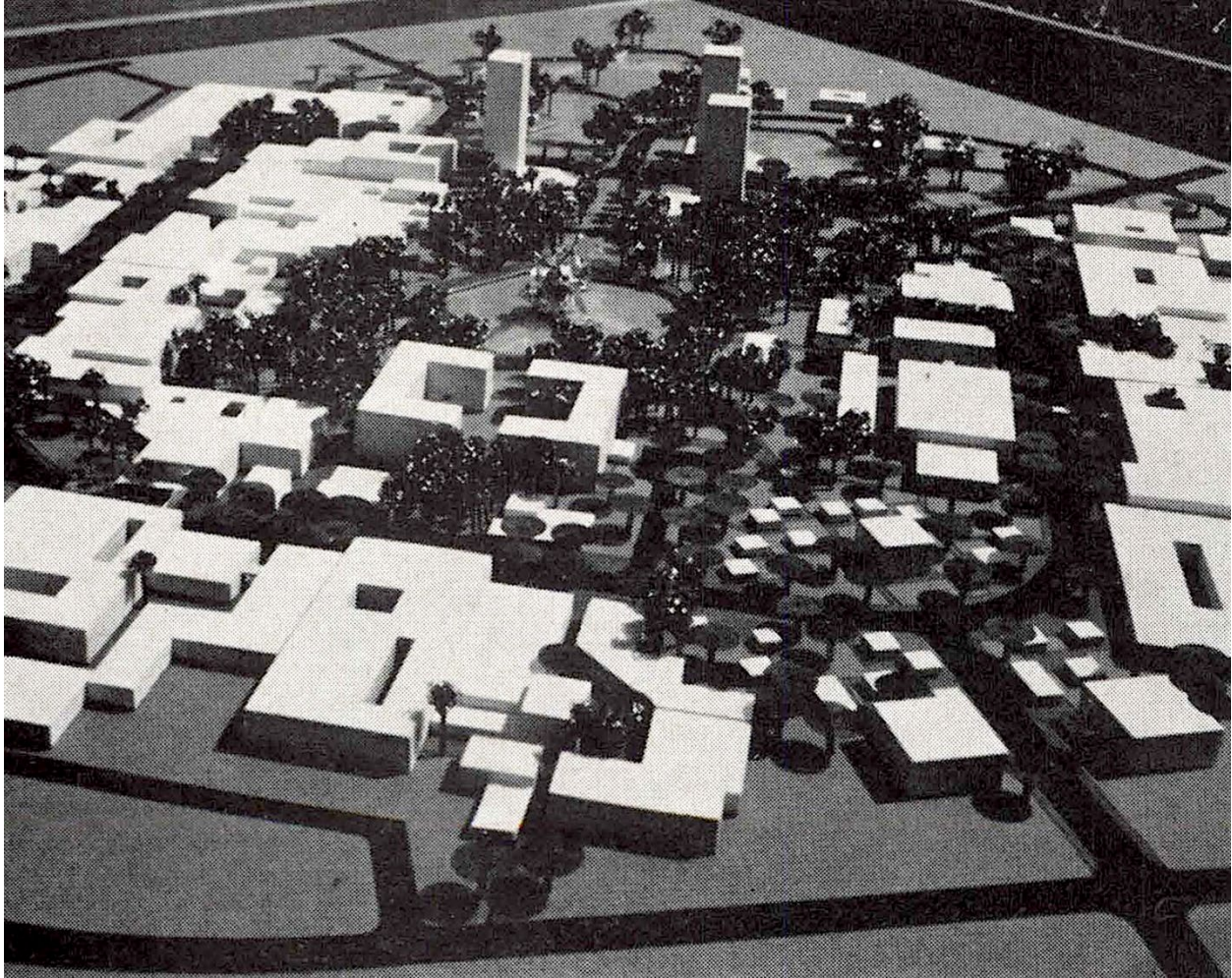
Miami Lakes future town center, Collins, Simonds, and Simonds, c. 1965. From "New Town Miami Lakes," The Florida Architect, September 1969, p. 7.

frontage. According to Graham, they also added interest: "By curving the shoreline, adding a hidden bay, you never know what to expect around the next bend…"[79]

To emphasize the new town's autonomy, planners discarded the gridiron and used a "gently-curving" scenic spiral avenue, Lakeway Drive, to connect the community internally. Around this spiral, the planners deployed the concept of cluster planning, then new in Dade County, in which residential areas were organized compactly, each with its own mini park.[80] A mix of housing types, designed by a variety of local and national architects, differentiated the clusters.

The first housing at Miami Lakes was at **Lake Patricia** (1962), a subdivision with house models designed by Marion Manley, Robert M. Little, and Joel Myer. Consistent with the middle-class ambitions of the town developers, the mainly three-bedroom homes were well-appointed, with sunken living rooms, terrazzo floors, front patios, screened pools, and double garages. Sengra also experimented with higher-density housing, becoming an early adopter of townhouses and patio homes that became popular in the late postwar. The first apartment complex, **Executive Apartments** (1967), by San Francisco-based Wurster, Bernardi, and Emmons, was divided into

House of God, Vista Memorial Gardens, Miami Lakes. 1958. Photograph copyright Kurt Weidmann. Courtesy of George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Alfred Browning Parker Collection.

25 separate staggered volumes, each with broad California-style tiled roofs, merging well into the suburban scale.

High-quality commercial, industrial, recreational and civic buildings and spaces were part of the town's modern and carefully curated "showcase" identity. Although not built as planned, the design for the **Miami Lakes Town Center** by Collins, Simonds, and Simonds would have formed a market-square hub for the town. Layered concentrically around a central landscaped patio, the mix of individualized retail, office and residential structures would have been built over a concealed level of parking.

Integrated along the southeast edge of the town (in a way unthinkable in previous town development in Miami) was **Vista Memorial Garden** (1958), a postwar "memorial park" designed by Alfred Browning Parker. The park's central greensward featured flat headstones to maintain a clean and uncluttered appearance, as well as the House of God, a ring of eleven 50-foot-high concrete arches. Combining druid and classical gestures, the arches were designed to mark sacred place by framing a grassy knoll beneath the open vault of the sky.[81]

Geographies of Race and Separation

The growth of postwar suburbs held out the hope to many that, being outside municipal boundaries and traditional hierarchies, these new communities might be capable of spanning religious, ethnic, and racial divisions.[82] Suburbs were, beyond any practical meanings, symbols of participation in the American Dream. Yet, institutionalized racism remained deeply entrenched in postwar Miami, and Black population centers continued to be contained through city and county planning
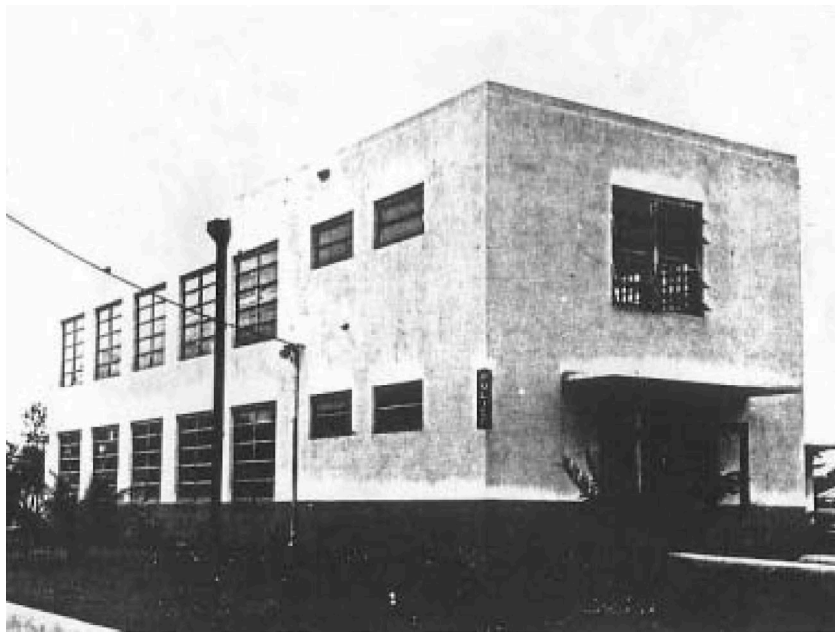
Photograph of the Black Police Precinct from circa-1955. Courtesy of Arva Moore Parks. From Sarah E. Eaton and Ellen J. Uguccione, "Designation Report, Black Police Precinct and Courthouse,1009 NW 5th Avenue, City of Miami, 1992.

processes, racial zoning practices, race-restrictive covenants, institutional restrictions on financing, and even federal programs.[83]

Miami's physical containment of Black settlement had roots in the "color line," a term first identified by abolitionist and social reformer Frederick Douglass in 1881 that described the social and spatial divisions between White and Black communities.[84] Initiated locally as early as 1911 and managed by the Dade County Commission and Dade County Planning Board, the color line restricted new land available for Black development, and contained any growth in new segregated districts.[85]

Miami's largest area of Black settlement, codified in the city's founding charter and located across the FEC railroad tracks from downtown, was Overtown, then known as "Colored Town" and later as the "Central Negro District."[86] Constrained physically by the color line, Overtown evolved a high density, and included a mix of housing, commercial and other uses, as well as mixed-income groups. Overtown also acquired its own justice facility, the **Colored Police Precinct Station and Courthouse** – the nation's only segregated police station and courthouse. The modern rectangular building with large windows, designed by Walter de Garmo and built in 1950, was evidence of the "separate but equal" doctrine codified by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1896 (the year of Miami's incorporation) under Plessy v. Ferguson. Miami's police force wasn't integrated until 1963.[87]

In Overtown, containment produced congestion and high rents. Shotgun houses, vernacular wood structures with roots spanning from Africa to the American South, comprised much of the housing, and were a symptom of hardship and overcrowding. One-room wide and several rooms deep, shotguns propagated in Overtown, where they were aggregated tightly to create a type of horizontal tenement that was packed onto building sites – achieving concentrations as high as 600 people per acre. As N.B.D. Connolly has demonstrated, these vernacular homes were "artifacts of capitalism," used to achieve the highest density.[88]
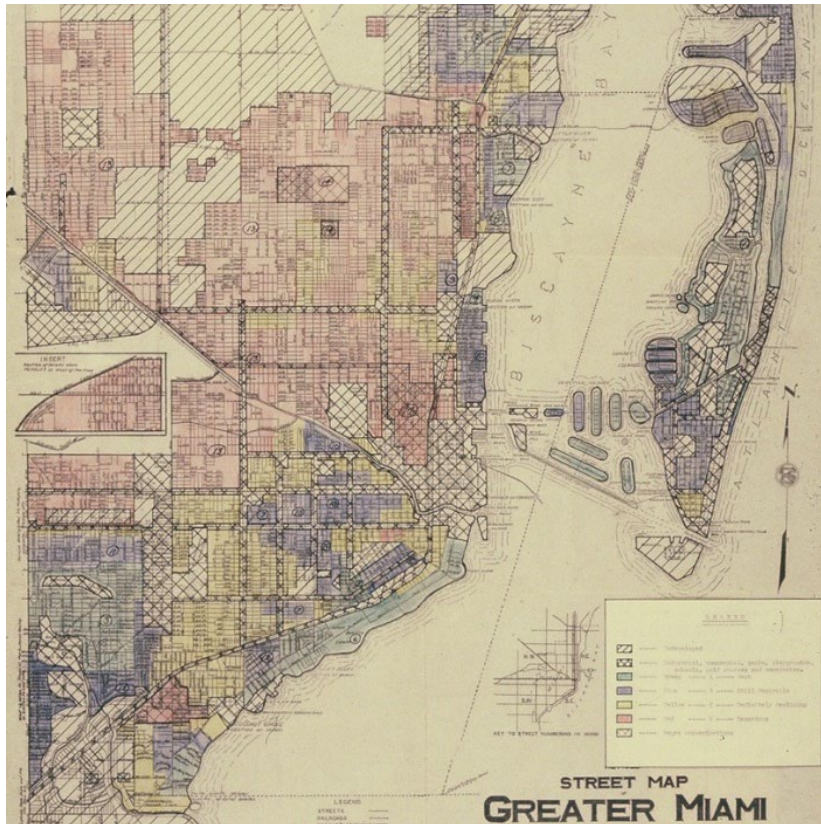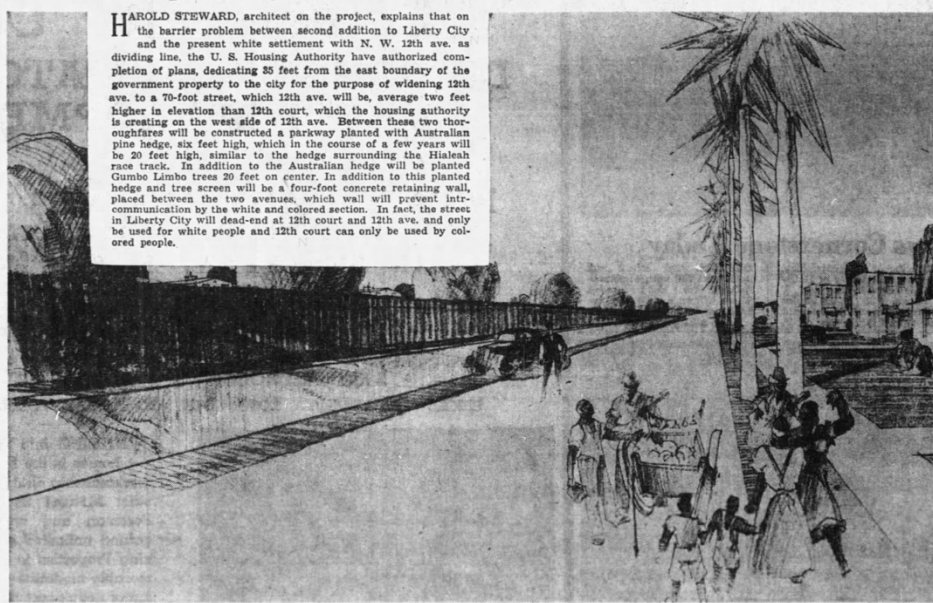
Street Map of Greater Miami, c. 1954 (or 1938). Map: Karl Squires, Karl Squires Engineers, Miami, Florida. Map "red-lined" by Miami's Home Owners Loan Corporation appraisal committee. Ray Mohl Collection.

Steady Black population growth, driven by immigration, economic development and opportunity, set the stage for pressure to expand existing Black districts like Overtown, or to create new ones.[89] Yet, as recent scholarship has demonstrated, the color line was not only built into the construction of the city; it was wired into and propagated by the city's most important activity, real estate development.

For one thing, the project of controlling racial lines was managed by a coalition of political bodies and real estate interests' intent on restricting further Black settlement, and even removing existing areas from the city proper. In 1936 the Dade County Planning Board and the City of Miami proposed a "Negro Resettlement Plan" removing all Blacks from centrally located Overtown to three model "Negro Parks" in far-flung areas of the county.[90] George Merrick, known as the visionary developer of Coral Gables but who later was Chairman of the Planning Board, argued the removal of Black families from the city center was "'a most essential fundamental' for the achievement of ambitious goals the planning board laid out for Miami and Dade County."[91] Equally radical plans were developed to remove Black Miamians to agricultural lands once belonging to the Seminole tribe, purportedly with the purpose of introducing Caribbean farming practices.[92] While these plans were never fully carried out, they largely froze the development of new Black settlement, exacerbating congestion.[93]

Racial planning also shaped progressive agendas like blight removal and public housing development. **Liberty Square** (1934-37), developed by the Public Works Administration (PWA) and Miami's first public housing project, produced high-quality new housing for Black Miamians,

Buffer Strip Arrangement For Housing Projects Outlined By Architect

HAROLD STEWARD, architect on the project, explains that on the barrier problem between second addition to Liberty City and the present white settlement with N. W. 12th ave. as dividing line, the U. S. Housing Authority have authorized completion of plans, dedicating 35 feet from the east boundary of the government property to the city for the purpose of widening 12th ave. to a 70-foot street, which 12th ave. will be, average two feet higher in elevation than 12th court, which the housing authority is creating on the west side of 12th ave. Between these two thoroughfares will be constructed a parkway planted with Australian pine hedge, six feet high, which in the course of a few years will be 20 feet high, similar to the hedge surrounding the Hialeah race track. In addition to the Australian hedge will be planted Gumbo Limbo trees 20 feet on center. In addition to this planted hedge and tree screen will be a four-foot concrete retaining wall, placed between the two avenues, which wall will prevent intr-communication by the white and colored section. In fact, the street in Liberty City will dead-end at 12th court and 12th ave. and only be used for white people and 12th court can only be used by colored people.

"Buffer Strip Arrangement for Housing Projects Outlined by Architect," Miami News, July 16, 1939.

but its location in Liberty City was also positioned by city leaders as a replacement for Overtown. Other New Deal programs, designed in the 1930s to structure opportunity and stimulate growth, were also leveraged to establish and control racial lines. For example, the federal Home Owners' Loan Corporation HOLC), which created maps in order to evaluate mortgage security, translated the biases of real estate interests and graded communities based on race and racial singularity, and had the effect of directing government-backed mortgages away from Black neighborhoods.[94]

Where Black settlement did expand, like Liberty Square, the development stirred territorial frictions with surrounding communities, driven by White fear of mixing and encroachment. At Liberty Square, a racial "buffer strip" separating neighboring White Edison, was constructed along 12th Avenue. The buffer, comprising parallel Black and White streets, a four-foot high masonry wall, a hedge of Australian Pines, and Gumbo Limbo trees, was visual evidence of Jim Crow separation and a concrete inscription of a race line in flux.[95] It served as a model for the use of canals, rail lines, industrial zones, and landscape buffers to isolate postwar Black subdivisions.[96]

In the postwar era, Miami's deeply-rooted policies of racial separation continued to play out, sometimes in new ways. Dade County's racial zoning policies were ruled unconstitutional in 1945 – a decision upheld by the United States Supreme Court in 1948. Some developers and home buyers pushed past the color line in areas, creating new areas of suburban development and new frictions. Still, plans to direct Black settlement in a controlled way advanced. In 1947, the City Planning Board of Miami endorsed new areas for Black residential expansion in northwest Miami, eyeing expansion around Liberty City, Brownsville, Opa-locka, and Hialeah. FHA-support for new subdivisions, favoring areas legitimated by local planners, was used as leverage. Citing the

Map of Miami, 1951. "Negro Housing in the Miami Area: Effects of the Postwar Boom." Courtesy University of Miami Housing Solutions Lab

migration of more than 12,500 Black Miamians to county-authorized subdivisions in far-flung parts of Dade County (like Bunche Park and Richmond Heights) as examples, in 1952 the Dade County Planning Board concluded that "Strict control over areas in Dade County for Negro occupancy is the answer to the problem of more living space and better living conditions for the Negro."[97] The lines of expansion set in the 1940s remained largely determinative over the next two decades, and beyond. In the meantime, federal money for slum clearance, highway alignments, and public housing was directed to clear Overtown, further establishing and reinforcing racial identity in outlying neighborhoods.[98]

Liberty City, as the first and primary vector of county-endorsed Black settlement, became the main center of Black migration through the 1960s, growing to a population of 45,000 by 1968.[99] Soon it was the "nucleus of a 15-square-mile Black corridor stretching past Opa-locka on the distant northwest fringes of the metropolitan area."[100] Beginning in the early 1950s, a construction boom there produced thousands of new housing units. While some of these units were in public housing, most were private, orchestrated by a landlord class of White and Black entrepreneurs that

"Concrete Monster"-type apartment building at NW 61st Street and 17th Avenue in Liberty City. From John Pineda, "Model City Sewer Project," Miami Herald, August 25, 1971.

specialized in spatially-restricted communities and kept tight control of the high-profit business of housing for Black residents.[101]

In Liberty City, much of the private development was in the form of masonry and concrete two- and three-story catwalk-type buildings, related to the garden apartments that were transforming other suburban areas of metropolitan Miami toward higher density. **Alberta Heights** (1950), an 80-unit garden apartment complex developed in Brownsville by W. B. Sawyer (the Black physician and real estate developer who also owned the Mary Elizabeth Hotel) and financed by the FHA, boasted industry-leading amenities and quality open space.[102] Most of the new concrete apartment buildings, however, lacked much amenity, were taller, and were packed onto residential lots. In their congestion, they followed the tenement-logic of the Shotgun. In reference to their poor quality and more permanent construction, they were labeled "Concrete Monsters" by housing reform advocate Elizabeth Virrick.[103]

Spatial containment yielded high residential densities in Liberty City, but as Black migration moved farther into the suburban fringes, it also produced circumscribed suburbs of single-family homes. There, segregation required communities to be more autonomous, incorporating commercial and civic facilities generally lacking from contemporary White subdivisions. Whether at high or low densities, racial planning distorted metropolitan planning, exacerbated disconnections, and worked against the synthesis necessary to weave together an increasingly large and sprawling city.

Aerial view from the WINZ 940 AM traffic plane 1,500 feet over the Golden Glades Interchange, looking due north. Photograph by Lenny Cohen, July 7, 1988. Courtesy of HistoryMiami, Miami News Collection.

New Networks

Ribbons of raised concrete expressway, bands of causeway, raised dykes and excavated drainage channels threaded the postwar landscape of Dade County, part of the region's unrelenting 1950s and 1960s sprawl. The expressway networks offered what Kara Wood has called one of the most "tangible forms of postwar regional planning," their alignments re-wiring transportation and the enterprise of suburban construction itself.[104] The dykes and canals, along with connected lakes, replumbed the city, managing potential floodwaters, ensuring water supply, transforming wetlands into more conventionally usable waterways and pushing the boundaries of the city into formerly unfathomable hinterlands. Infrastructure projects like highways and canals were collaborative efforts, where federal objectives and monies were steered by local officials and private developers' intent on colonizing territory and expanding settlement.

Highways

Expressway planning began directly after World War II, with civic boosters like John Pennekamp, editor of the *Miami Herald,* arguing the importance of fast "super roads" as a necessary modernizing force within the county.[105] In 1956, nearly a decade later and based on discussions between Dade County and the State of Florida, the main outlines of Miami's contemporary expressway network, master planned by New Haven-based Wilbur Smith, were unveiled in anticipation of greater Federal funding under the 1956 Federal-Aid Highway Act.[106] The planning included a suburban bypass, an urban network that bisected the city north to south and east to west, and feeders that crossed Biscayne Bay and connected to the airport. A recommended loop highway would have been constructed in the bay to surround downtown.
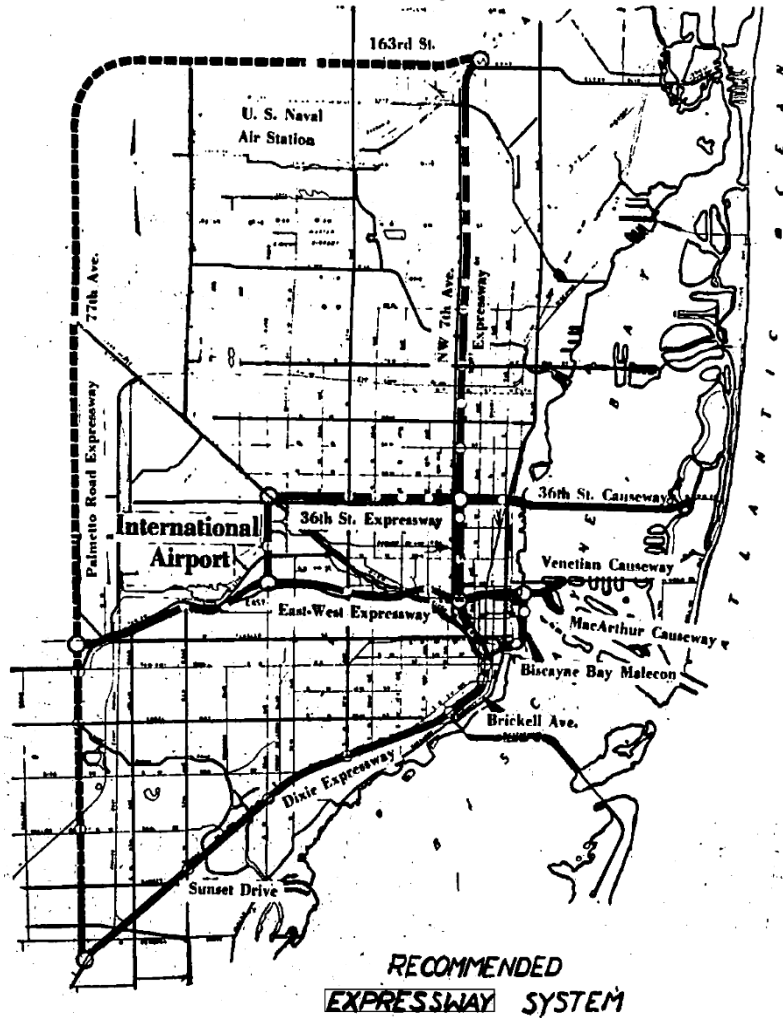
Recommended Expressway System, Wilbur Smith, From Haines Colber, "Super Road Plans Unveiled Here," Miami Daily News, November 20, 1956.

The jump point for Miami's expressway network was the arrival in 1957, on the city's northern edge, of the **Sunshine State Parkway**, Florida's first limited-access highway. Skirting South Florida's urban centers, the parkway offered a bucolic, if monotonous experience of countryside motoring: a foreground panorama of grass swales, canals, lakes, and flowering ground cover. Its dual bands of smooth asphalt were designed to encourage tourists southward. At the parkway's southern terminus, the gull-winged concrete vaults of the toll-station formed a virtual gateway to the city, leading to exit ramps that landed at an octopus-like maze of ramps and flyovers known as the **Golden Glades Interchange**,[107] a colossal distributor designed to serve as a nexus of state and federal highways.

The cross-bay **Julia Tuttle Causeway** (1959) and the **Airport Expressway** (1961) were among the first pieces of the plan to be completed, providing a fast connection between Miami Beach's newest grand hotels and the newly completed Miami International Airport terminal. It was a boon to tourists that demonstrated the how county's first priorities were still tied to its touristic economy. The **Palmetto Bypass Expressway** (1961) was also presented as a gift to tourists, connecting the Sunshine State Expressway and Golden Glades Interchange to attractions in the South, like

(left) Midtown Expressway Interchange under construction in Overtown. Completed in the mid-1960s. Courtesy of Miami Herald. (right) Express Highway, Miami. Photograph Karl E. Holland, 1969. Florida Memory Department of Commerce Collection (c673686)

Everglades National Park and the Keys. Originally traversing pine forest, rock pits, cattle ranches, and vegetable farms, it became a primary feeder of Miami's early postwar suburban development. The **North-South Expressway** (1968, later I-95) and **East-West Expressway** (1969, later SR 836), fed into downtown.

Expressways were by far the most expensive and far-reaching building projects in postwar Dade County. Multi-level interchanges, each the size of a small town and soaring several stories into the sky, created imposing landmarks. Avoiding existing right of ways, the expressways extended more than 120 miles along new pathways, fed by a massive acquisition of private land through eminent domain, the removal of countless buildings, and the disruption of neighborhoods and historic pathways. In the suburbs, highway alignments were often designed to open new suburban lands or enhance existing developments, contributing to the policy perks that encouraged sprawl. As they crossed the urban core, they were also used – egregiously – as a device of racial planning, clearing existing Black neighborhoods, generally in coordination with "urban renewal." This was the case in Miami's Overtown, where highway construction ploughed through the center of a once vibrant neighborhood, part of a long and continuous effort to relocate "colored" communities farther from downtown.[108] Several years after the publication of *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961), Jane Jacobs' powerful and influential argument for preserving existing urban fabric, more than 12,000 Overtown residents were displaced to develop the Midtown Interchange, the intersection off the North-South and East-West highways. The surge of "superhighway refugees" became a determinative factor in the development of public housing in Miami, and by extension resonated in neighborhoods not directly in the line of the highway, like Brownsville and Allapattah.

Because of the high water table, Miami's expressways were generally elevated, redefining the areas around them with bermed earthworks, pylons or walls, or some combination, and funneling

Rickenbacker Causeway - Miami, Florida. 1947-09-25. State Archives of Florida, Florida Memory.

traffic below into dark underpasses. The raised roadways followed the logic of the car in motion, taking little account of underlying landscapes. From atop these roadways, however, speeding cars bypassed inconvenient areas and truths, and enjoyed a new and scenic experience of the city.[109]

The notion of the "scenic highway" resonated especially in the causeways that crossed Biscayne Bay. Designed as functional road links to bind barrier island communities (and their resort industries) more tightly with mainland Miami, causeways had from the beginning demonstrated their dramatic panoramic potential. The first bay crossing, the Collins Bridge (1913), a wooden viaduct, was replaced by the Venetian Causeway (1925), a picturesque chain of artificial islands and concrete bridges. The soaring Sunshine Skyway Bridge (1954), which spanned lower Tampa Bay and rose to a height of 150-feet, once the longest bridge in the world, was a more recent apotheosis of the scenic causeway. In Miami, most postwar causeways were "landfilled parkways," using the established pattern of cut-and-fill developments that had transformed the bay into countless acres of real estate to draw new lines of connectivity, while remodeling the bay itself into a type of park.

 The **Rickenbacker Causeway** (1947) was the first in Miami to demonstrate how causeways might be elaborated into a larger program of public benefits. Advertised as an "Invitation to a New Land," the Rickenbacker opened the islands of Virginia Key and Biscayne Key, and along with the latter a prewar gift of 900 acres of future parkland by the Matheson family (heirs of the island's pioneer coconut planter and chemist).[110] **Crandon Park** (1947), built on the Matheson land, and **Virginia Key Beach Park** (1945), elements of the county's ambitious park development program, were incorporated into the causeway program envisioned by Dade County Commissioner Charles Crandon. Conversely, the causeway was considered part of the park experience.[111] Designed by William Lyman Phillips, Miami's eminent landscape architect (who also designed the parks), the causeway had widened landfilled banks that included areas for picnicking, boating, and fishing. Near the mainland entrance, Phillips also built an honorary parklet, the *Alameda de las Americas,*

Proposed Islandia Causeway from Key Biscayne to Key Largo. Rendering. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection.

with flags honoring all American countries. With its sweeping curves, landscaped verges, and multiple bridges, the Rickenbacker merged motoring and scenery with landscape art, and imagined infrastructure as leisure and amenity.

The Rickenbacker was a template for even more ambitious causeways, like the unbuilt **Islandia Causeway** (mid-1950s to late-1960s), and the **Mid-Bay Causeway** (1940s-60s). The Islandia Causeway would have tied more than 50 islands into a second overseas highway tying Key Biscayne to Key Largo, creating a new town in the guise of an alternative route from downtown to South Dade. The plan would have also rebalanced the emphasis of commercial tourism in Dade County, which had been pushing northward from Miami Beach. Included in the county's 1960 Land Use Master Plan, Islandia would have created vast new beach and bayfront development areas in South Dade, and an ultimate population of 59,000.[112] The City of Islandia was officially created by 13 landowners in 1961, but ended when owners failed to build the causeway, and the federal government incorporated the area in 1967 into **Biscayne National Monument** (now Biscayne National Park).

The proposed but never built Mid-Bay Causeway was even more ambitious, as it included a longitudinal system of viaducts and parks right down the center of Biscayne Bay.[113] Initiated in 1949 and referred to as a *Malecon*, in reference to the famous seafront esplanade in Havana, the idea was picked up again by Philips, the landscape architect, who promoted a mid-bay causeway in his 1955 plan for Miami's Bayfront.[114] Philips's Malecon would be set at the ideal viewing distance from the shores of the mainland in order to transform its evolving panorama of towers, waterfront mansions, and tropical landscapes, into a special type of theater. "No other city anywhere would have anything like it," Philips noted of the countless miles of shorefront recreational space and vistas the plan would provide.[115] The plan was revisited one more time in the 1960s, as an adjunct to the development of Interama at the north end of Biscayne Bay. As usual, public opposition, as well as a rising tide of concern over environmental impacts, doomed the proposal, this time once and for all.
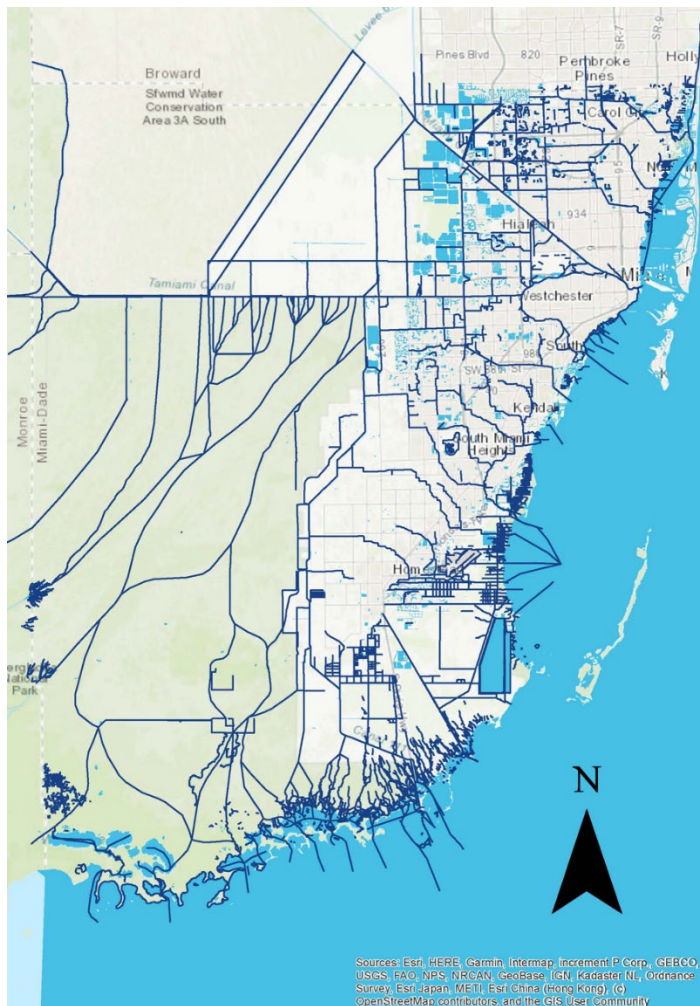
Miami-Dade County Water Control Map. Courtesy Miami-Dade County.

Levees and Canals

As Miami sprawled beyond its coastal ridges, westward into the lowlands and glades, land development became increasingly dependent on re-engineering landscapes and their hydrology. Such land reclamation was already a defining feature of Florida 20th century transformation – the **Everglades Drainage District**, created by Governor Napoleon B. Broward in 1907, had already established a series of canals and levees crossing the state to drain wetlands for agriculture and urbanization, and beachfront cities were reclaimed from the shallow waters of Biscayne Bay since the first decades of the 20th century. However, the scale and more fine-grained nature of postwar drainage systems, carved on the edge of the recently designated Everglades National Park, was remarkable.[116]

In 1947, the same year as the creation of Everglades National Park, damaging floods and two hurricanes prompted federal legislation that created the **Central and Southern Florida (C&SF) Project** in 1948. C&SF was designed to further control the region's waters using a 1,000-mile levee and canal system, 150 control structures and 16 pump stations. At the time it was the largest civil works project in the country, likened in magnitude to the opening of the Imperial Valley,

which set the city of Los Angeles on its way to major growth.[117] To manage the project, which spanned 15,000 square miles across 17 counties, the Florida Legislature launched the **Central and Southern Florida Flood Control District** in 1949, and its purview quickly turned to the management of urbanization and fresh water use.

In fact, by the 1950s the state's advanced flood control and water management systems were being deployed to support, rather than limit, development in the Everglades. Property interests, developers, as well as county and municipal planners, worked together to facilitate and shape land drainage. The Central and South Florida Flood Control District not only served to keep the region functionally dry, but also to "ditch, dike, and drain the way for development," helping to unleash a tsunami of suburban development.[118] A system of primary and secondary canals, managed by intermittent flood gates, supported dredging operations that drained and raised new privately-developed suburban land. This new liminal frontier, threaded with lakes and canals, was constructed so that waters were neatly corralled into usable, scenic bodies. The mostly invisible water network that supported this transformation allowed a virtually continuous and un-interrupted expansion of the metropolitan area (even as it left a characteristic imprint of engineered water on the land). In this process, as in the development of expressways, state and federal government played critical – if obscure – roles in laying the groundwork for commercial land development, and in managing the increasingly complex wetlands metropolis.

New Centers of Public Life

Suburban malls, shopping plazas, and roadside retail were icons of the postwar suburb. While overlooked in most community planning, commercial functions linked inextricably to the car, then to the arterial road, came to represent the public face of suburban districts. In an increasingly apparent reciprocal relationship, housing and civic uses were interiorized into neighborhood units that cloistered within this arterial network.

Commercial arterials

Small retail centers, often called shopping plazas, were a fundamental building block of suburban retail zones. They followed residential subdivisions as they sprawled westward along suburban arterial roads, serving the everyday needs of nearby homeowners. Low slung to match the horizontal momentum of the car in motion, they were setback behind lines of free parking, suggesting direct and unfettered access from the car into the shops. Small in scale and easy to finance, they were, like the homes they served, also beneficiaries of federal tax law, which beginning in 1954 allowed commercial properties to be depreciated for tax purposes, essentially transforming them into tax shelters.[119]

Free standing retail establishments proliferated alongside shopping plazas, most designed to stand out in the visually over-stimulated and competitive environment of suburban arterial roads. Architects playfully explored the intersection of modern architecture, signage, and the car, with eye-grabbing results. Many were three-dimensional advertisements for franchises and brands.
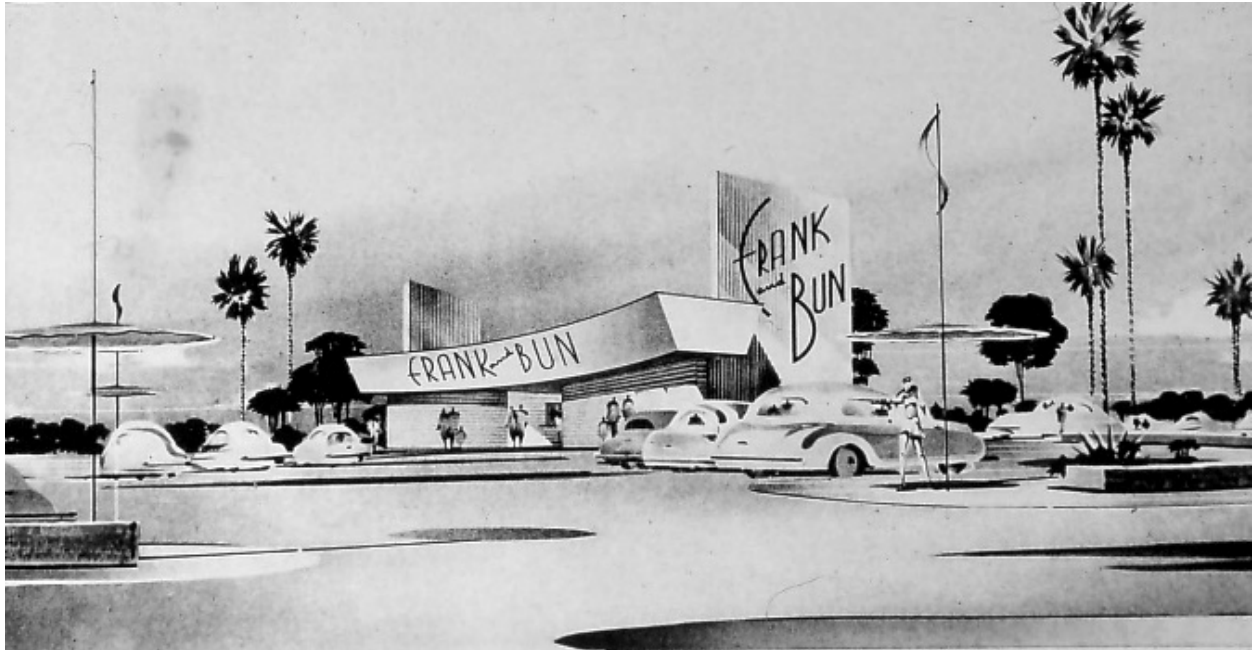
(top) Frank N' Bun. Igor Polevitzky, 1950. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Igor Polevitzky Collection (left) Jimmy's Hurricane drive-in area, 1950-65. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Rada Collection. (right) Farm Store, Loyd Frank Vann, c. 1958. Photo by Shulman + Associates, 2022.

Farm Stores, started in 1958, developed a chain of more than 100 drive-thru outlets in Dade County that became markers of convenience along Miami arterial roads. The reductive design by architect Loyd Frank Vann featured brick piers supporting a concrete butterfly roof that cantilevered over drive lanes on either side. The adventuresome architecture was combined with an eye-catching signage pylon combining a giant arrow and the figure of a cow. The shop-from-your-car retail outlet gave motorists a quick way to stock up on dairy and essentials, dressed in "Any attire, from a tuxedo to a bikini."[120]

Drive-in curb service restaurants offered some of the most arresting roadside architecture. Igor Polevitzky's **Frank N' Bun** (1950), located on NE 79th Street and "designed to make a dramatic impact upon the fast-growing motoring community,"[121] was conceived as a prototype for the new hot dog franchise. Most of the structure could be described as a marquee approximation of a hot dog bun, carried aloft on twin buff-colored glazed brick pylons that framed the ordering window.

The opportunity to elaborate a powerful canopy took a more daring structural form at **Jimmy's Hurricane** (1950-65), a restaurant founded by star Miami quarterback and football Hall of Famer Jimmy Ellenburg. Its folded concrete plate canopy was balanced on pairs of cylindrical piers and cantilevered over the parked cars and the car hops (drive-in waiters). The canopy, a miniature of the daring concrete shell structures deployed around the same time at the National Airlines Nose Hangar at Miami International Airport and the Miami Marine Stadium, was proof that – contrary to its sometime elitist reputation – forms of modern architecture were integral to popular retail culture.

Shopping Malls

Also connected with the commercial life thriving on suburban arterial roads, shopping malls complemented the suburban lifestyle by providing new centers of public life outside downtown. While rarely considered as part of any larger regional planning, they demonstrated a regional and strategic approach to emerging suburban areas. Carefully sited by their developers according to regional growth patterns, actual and planned suburban densities, traffic patterns, demographic profiles and income levels, they attracted other complementary uses and became metropolitan focal points.

Biscayne Plaza (Robert Fitch Smith, 1954), an early version of shopping center, was located on a residential, commercial and tourism crossroad at the intersection of Biscayne Boulevard and NE 79th Street. Biscayne Boulevard, also called US Highway 1, was before the construction of expressways the main automotive gateway to Miami from the north, and by the mid-1950s it was lined with motels. NE 79th Street was also a major arterial, stretching east via a causeway completed in 1929 to the North Beach section of Miami Beach, and west to Hialeah. As a shopping complex, Biscayne Plaza had hybrid characteristics, retaining essential characterisstics of the shopping plaza while innovative in terms of its commercial diversity. Two front wings reached out to the street, offering a mix of local retail and restaurants on the ground floor, and offices above. At the back, celebrated with a tall signage marquee, were anchor stores like J.C. Penney. Linking the various structures, retail "bridges" flew over the intervening roadways, creating a continuous structure that framed the plaza's broad central parking area. Around this automotive plaza, bold concrete staircases connected floor levels, and the cantilevered walkways and roofs suggested a strong horizontality. As Marylis Nepomechie has noted, "the structure was a celebration of life as a dynamic proposition facilitated by the car," a focusing of the excesses of the automotive roadside.[122]

Another feature of the shopping center was how, as an emergent suburban "downtown," it fostered more commercial growth around it. Alfred Browning Parker's sleek **Flagler Federal Bank Branch** (1959), a capsule-shaped glass structure clads in climate-appropriate aluminum screens and terra cotta grille units – a calling card for the bank's fleet of new suburban drive-thru banking

Biscayne Plaza Shopping Center, Miami. Robert Fitch Smith, architect, 1954. Center building looking east. Photograph by Brignolo. From Florida Architecture (1956): 125.
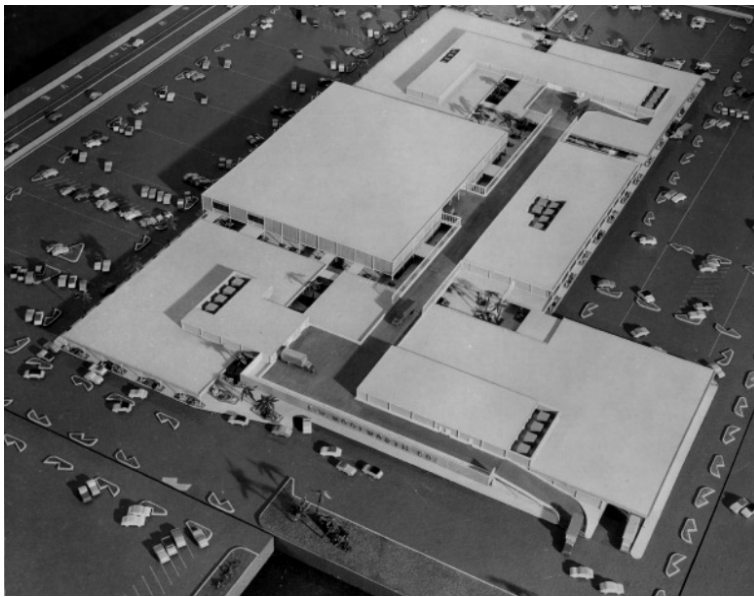
Northside Shopping Center, Dade County. Weed & Johnson Associates, architect, 1960. Photograph of model by Joseph Brignolo. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection.

installations – was constructed along one of the center's access roads. Across the street, the six-story **Miami National Bank** (1956), and the 11-story national headquarters of the **Gulf American Corporation** (1964), the former wrapped in adjustable vertical aluminum louvers and the latter in gold-anodized aluminum screens (described as "a golden spire rising from a glass-enclosed base") helped give this new "downtown" a metropolitan image.[123] The complex also comprised a motel (a nod to the boulevard's hospitality function). Maurice Weintraub's **Admiral Vee Motel** was a multi-story motel-resort designed for an urban location, and introduceds hospitality to mall environments long before this became fashionable in the 1970s.

By the late 1950s, full-fledged shopping centers were developed across Dade County. Following national design and retailing trends, these set-piece developments on large land tracts organized shopping around managed and manicured pedestrian plazas, anchored by department stores and surrounded by acres of parking. The size and ambition of these centers, requiring a new level of partnership of landowners, developers, and department stores, was established in the early 1950s, in suburban centers like Seattle's Northgate Shopping Mall (1950), designed by John Graham Jr.,
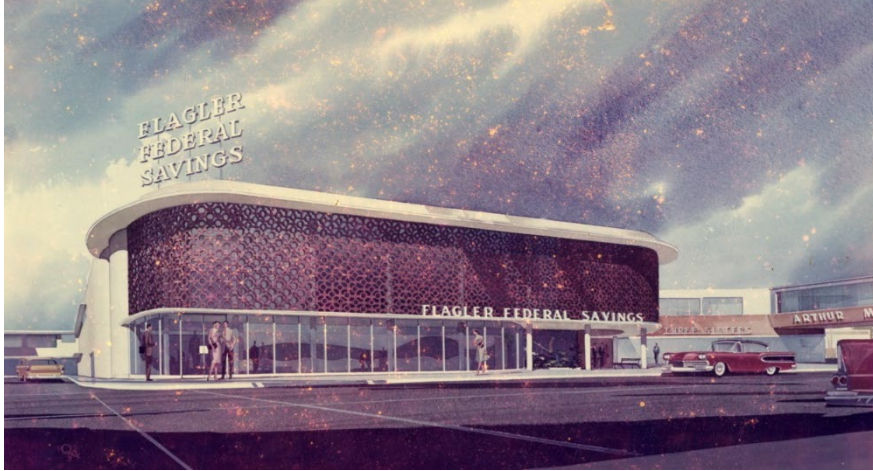
Flagler Federal Savings, Biscayne Shopping Plaza Branch, Alfred Browning Parker, 1955. Courtesy of George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Alfred Browning Parker Collection.

and Victor Gruen's Northland (1954) and Southdale (1956) shopping centers in suburban Detroit. The Austrian-born Gruen, who became the leading architect and theorist of the mall in the U.S. (referred to as the "mall-maker"), envisioned shopping centers as new forms of suburban community life, and his Northland and Southdale malls were, as Jean-Francois Lejeune has noted, the first to demonstrate how malls could become a genuine alternatives to downtown.[124]

Miami's most important early malls, including the **163rd Street Shopping Center** (1956) in North Miami Beach, **Northside Shopping Center** (1960) along the NE 79th Street in northwest Miami, and **Dadeland Mall** (1962) in Kendall, corresponded to the rising suburban concentrations of the county. Northside, developed by Arthur Vining Davis in collaboration with real-estate impresario L. Allen Morris, and designed by Weed Johnson Associates, was the most ambitious of the group. It featured an open-air pedestrian "mall" at its heart, but also included a "cluster-type" arrangement of generous patios and interior streets that branched to the surrounding parking lots. As a departure from normal practice, its shops opened both inward toward the mall and patios, and outward toward the surrounding parking areas, which it met with elegant, arcaded facades in the manner of Mies van der Rohe, using brick panels in narrow structural frames. The arrangement was made possible by a system, interpreting published service diagrams by Gruen, that shunted all service traffic to an upper deck accessed by ramps on either side of the mall, allowing the mall's outer perimeter to assume a public face.[125]

Northside, surrounded by middle-class neighborhoods, was anchored by a Sears Roebuck department store and a Woolworth Company Cafeteria, and had more than 50 stores as well as civic facilities like an auditorium and a small chapel. Such catch-all urban centers for suburbanites soon evolved into the most important urban development models of the postwar. As advocated by Victor Gruen and Larry Smith in *Shopping Towns, USA,* the main elements of the type –

Northside Shopping Center, Dade County. View of corner. Weed & Johnson Associates, 1960. Photograph by DuPont Plaza Photography. Courtesy of Johnson Associates Architects, Inc.

internalized and landscaped pedestrian areas, separation of pedestrian areas from auto circulation, pools of parking, service distribution by ring road, and a complementary mix of commercial, social, and leisure activities – would become apparent in a broad range of uses, from office parks, light industry, research centers, health care facilities and more.[126]

Urban pedestrian malls

As retailing migrated to the suburbs, downtown retail suffered, but prominent shopping streets like Lincoln Road on Miami Beach and Flagler Street in downtown Miami attempted to adapt by emulating the success of suburban malls. The "malling" of downtown main streets was still relatively new in the postwar era – the Van der Broek and Bakema-designed Lijnbaan Shopping district in Rotterdam (1953), and Victor Gruen's plans for the revitalization of Fort Worth, Texas (1955) and for Kalamazoo, Michigan (1958), were early antecedents.

The case of **Lincoln Road** was singular, because the once elegant shopping street, itself a carefully conceived product of city-making dreams of the 1920s boom, functioned in a way particular to the city's tourist economy. However, the postwar migration of tourists northward along the beaches, often to hotels with their own interior malls, precipitated the departure of fashionable retailers. Morris Lapidus, the architect and retail guru whose synthesis of modern planning and mercantile savoir-faire had already established him as an essential figure of the resort city, developed the plan to mall Lincoln Road working with local real estate interests, and applying modern planning and retailing strategies as a remedy to its economic and symbolic decline.

Lapidus conceived Lincoln Road Mall, completed in 1960, along the lines of regional shopping centers, transforming the road into a pedestrian esplanade and adding parking for 3,000 cars behind the shops along its north and south sides. He arranged the center of the road as a linear patio court
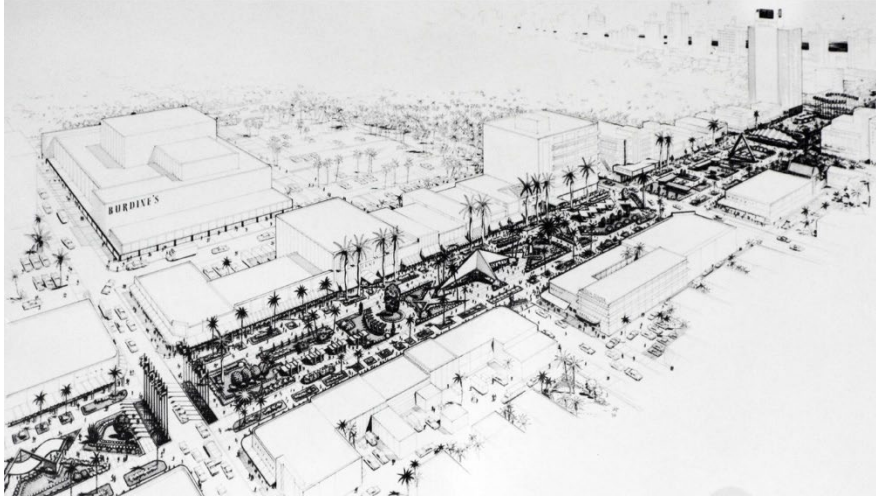
Lincoln Road Mall, Miami Beach. Lapidus, Kornblath, Harle and Liebman, architect, 1960. Aerial perspective of proposed Lincoln Road redevelopment. From The New Lincoln Road series, c. 1959. Courtesy of Bass Museum of Art.

Lincoln Road Mall, Miami Beach. Lapidus, itect, 1960. Aerial view looking west, 1961. Courtesy of the Florida Kornblath, Harle and Liebman, arch Photographic Collection, Reference Collection.

adorned with fountains, planting beds, shaded benches and folly-like concrete pavilions, all geometrically aligned to create a sense of continuity and architectural unity. The result was a new type of commercial/civic urban landscape that Lapidus called the "living room of Miami Beach."[127] More than any mid- century mall, this living room achieved the idea of a "festival space," combining retailing with entertainment, food, culture, and spectacle. Further, the plan moved Lincoln Road toward Gruen's larger vision for such urban malls – that they might function as a complete civic center. After the addition of important office buildings around the perimeter of the mall, and the city's subsequent development of a new civic and cultural center just to the north, it did truly become a true urban center for Miami Beach.

The case of **Flagler Street** took a separate path. Gruen proposed the malling of Flagler Street in 1956, and the idea was reiterated in Metro-Dade's Magic City Center Plan for Action in 1960. Neither plan was realized, however, and the street was reinvigorated instead by the 1960s influx

of Cuban exiles, many of whom settled to the west of Miami's urban core. "This is one of the curious ironies of the Cuban tragedy," the *Miami Herald* wrote in 1962, "…The Cubans, in their zeal for settling in and around downtown Miami, have filled a vacuum that was developing in the Dade County economy."[128] The reinvigoration of downtown retail by emigres, while lacking the physical flamboyance and amenity of an mall, became a factor in downtown's growing international appeal, and its subsequent (1970s) re-invention as a hemispheric center.

The Working City

In 1940 Miami was the least industrialized metropolitan area in the United States, with only 3.3 percent of its labor force holding factory jobs.[129] After the war, manufacturing employment jumped to 9.4 percent of workers in 1950, and to 13 percent in 1960. The stage for this industrialization, the growth of a working city at the edges of the leisure city, was set by the city's growing population and expanding infrastructure, as well as by Florida's favorable labor legislation and constitutional amendment banning income taxes. Business growth came in the form of small-scale regional industries, as well as in strategic areas like aviation, shipping, banking, and international trade, where the Miami had distinct logistical advantages.[130]

New industries sprouted up along rail corridors and road infrastructure, and airfield hubs. An industrial arc stretching from northwest Miami to the city's western fringes, comprising small factories, workshops and warehouses, quickly came into focus. The most important industrial corridor was the Seaboard Air Line Railroad, whose edges formed a nearly continuous zone of industrial uses starting from the Golden Glades Interchange, past Opa-locka field, and down to Miami International Airport. Hialeah, along the railroad's west side, originally envisioned as a playground city with an emphasis on sporting, was effectively transformed into an important industrial center.[131] Another hub grew behind Miami International Airport in Doral, an area once known for its golf course; a vast logistics hub, eventually encompassing the Miami Free Trade Zone, was constructed there to take advantage of the airport's intermodal capabilities. A third industrial zone grew around the Tamiami Airport, serving South Dade. The band of industry and infrastructure that developed around the west flank of the city helped transform adjacent suburbs into working-class districts, and bcame a magnet for new urban concentrations.

Much of Dade County's industrialization was incremental and seemed almost casual, constellations of small structures housing a combination of light and medium industry, warehousing, and workshops. "Industrial parks" were also developed, bringing a type of planning to this growth and helping to lure industry to Miami. Industrial parks, designed to nurture light and medium industry through pre-installed infrastructure, had been around since at least the Chicago Clearing Industrial District of the 1890s.[132] The postwar division of the American city into functional zones helped spur their growth, and suburban industrial settings with the "charm of a college campus" suggested a superior quality of work life. [133] **Sunshine State Industrial Park**, one of the boldest expressions of Miami's industrial potential future, placed modern factories in a planned and cohesive showcase of striking modern architecture, plush landscaping, and amenities.

Developed by Sapphire Petroleums, Ltd. of Canada and the Webb Construction Company in 1957, Sunshine State was located in North Miami at the confluence of the Seaboard Air Line and the Golden Glades Interchange, a crucial highway junction. The 330-acre tract was planned to accommodate up to 150 factories, each served by private railroad sidings and 70-foot-wide "parkways" planted with palms, melaleuca, hibiscus, and sea grape trees. William C. Webb, the entrepreneurial force behind the complex, built most of the industrial plants according to a package plan under which he coordinated all design, engineering and construction work. Webb's "instant plant" could be customized, furnished, decorated, and delivered for occupancy within 45 days, emulating the convenience of the immediate-occupancy speculative home. [134] Webb employed a small group of architects, including Norman and Charles Giller, O.K. Houstoun and Henry A. Riccio, to produce architecturally intriguing structures. Most interestingly, Webb considered the industrial park in the context of the "Florida lifestyle," constructing an Executive Club with swimming pool, tennis courts, a putting green and athletic club as part of the package and developed a park authority to maintain the lawns and flowery plantings.[135]

To identify Sunshine State as a symbolic gateway to Miami's industrial future, Webb conceived the entrance to the park in World's Fair terms, framed by a 110-foot-high parabolic arch he called the "Arch of Industry."[136] The eye-catching symbol, designed by Charles Giller and Walter C. Harry Associates (1963), was clad with yellow Vermont marble chips embedded in an acrylic-epoxy matrix and sprayed gold aluminum fleck, exhibiting a glittering effect.[137] Inside the park, set off against the landscaped suburban setting, the rising industrial structures demonstrated a curated assemblage of other modernist imagery, from breezeblock screenwalls, folded plate and butterfly-shaped concrete roofs, modernist loggias, built-in planters, to adventuresome canopies held aloft on sculptural columns.

Following industry, large-scale corporate business centers also moved to the suburbs in the late 1960s. By 1972 the *Miami Herald* found new office space "blossoming out all over Greater Miami."[138] The 120-acre Miami **Koger Center** (1971) in west Dade, near the geographic center of metropolitan Miami, close to highways and the airport, and set only minutes away from the Doral Country Club (and its executive perks), was one of the first, and largest "office parks" in Dade County. Like industrial parks, office parks brought jobs to the suburbs, re-balancing the live/work commuting equation while providing a pastoral setting for corporate enterprise. Jacksonville developer Ira Koger, credited as a pioneer of the office park concept, found success offering prices 20-30% lower than Brickell and with no parking costs and lower taxes.[139] By 1988, Koger Center had grown to more than 1,000,000 square foot, including the corporate offices of Carnival Cruise Lines; around it clustered additional corporate leaders, including Citicorp and Ryder Systems, as well as the local offices of the Federal Reserve Bank.[140] Planned, working suburban landscapes, such as those at Sunshine State and Koger Center, were the forward symbols of Miami's transformation into a working city, yet most of this transformation occurred (like residential subdivisions) in a more chaotic way, as concentrations of single-use zoning and sprawl that, as they were building suburban Miami, were also making its new urban territory less livable.

Virginia Key Beach Park, Miami. William Lyman Phillips, 1945. Parking lot. Photograph c. 1955.

Civic Construction

While commercial development was the engine of the postwar city, remarkable works of civic construction sprung from government initiative and the growth of local institutions. City and county governments, local school boards and universities, and religious institutions were the quiet force of a collective spirit bubbling up in postwar culture. This spirit offered an expansive vision of Miami as a rising cultural, spiritual and educational center where bold expressions of the public good might counterbalance the still dominant narratives of sun and fun. Tragically, it was also in the realm of civic space, a progressive agenda, that troubled social frameworks of a southern city, like "separate but equal," played out most visibly.

The county's public parks program, broadened in the postwar to operate at the scale and diversity of the metropolitan area, and spanning needs from recreation to education, beautification, and conservation, were among the most ambitious works of civic architecture.[141] Most prominent were the beach parks, **Crandon, Haulover and Virginia Key Beach**, which opened some of the county's last oceanfront strands and endowed them with modern amenities and plentiful parking. On the developing western frontier of the county, large recreational parks were created out of former airfields, like Tamiami Airport, on which **Tamiami Park** was built in 1962, and Naval Air Station Miami, a portion of which became **Amelia Earhart Park** in 1967. Landscape heritage was emphasized in parks like **Bauer Drive Hammock** (1954) near Homestead, and **Castellow Hammock** (1962), preserved islands of native landscape in the agricultural Redlands, while **Redland Fruit and Spice Park** (1944) celebrated the region's agricultural roots.
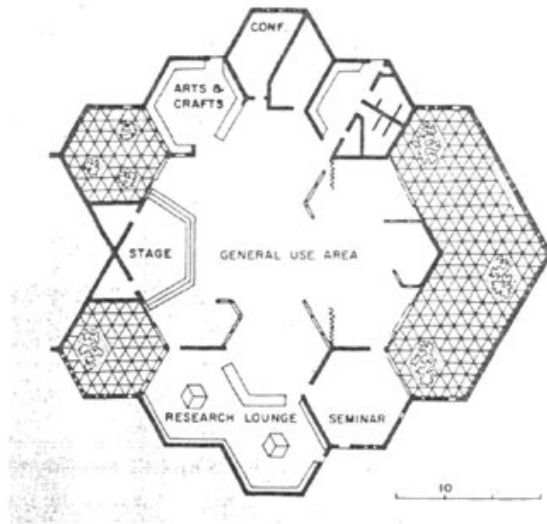
(left) Students at work on busts at Southwest Miami High School, Photo: March 1961. Florida Memory Department of Commerce collection. (C035603). (right) Colonial Drive Elementary School, Miami. Kenneth Treister, 1967. "Miami's Innovative Schools," Architectural Record 146 (October 1969): 153-68.

Public schools, also among the most extensive postwar building programs, followed Miami's growing population to the suburbs, while also evolving in response to changing pedagogical standards, technologies and notions of comfort. In the 1950s, the Dade County Board of Education deployed an efficient and climate-appropriate model of public school, demonstrated well by **Emerson Elementary School** (1954) in Westchester, with linear rows of single-loaded and cross-ventilated classrooms divided by courtyards. While dozens of ssuch modern "campus-type" school were produced, the model was superseded in the 1960s by more interiorized schools. The changes were instigated in part by the acceptance of air-conditioning, but also by progressive innovation in school design. Starting in 1963, supported a Ford Foundation Education Facilities Laboratory grant, the Board of Education hired Pancoast Ferendino Skeels and Burnham to direct local efforts to develop novel classrooms, address progressive teaching methods, and produce more stimulating environments. Applying a Free Schools philosophy, many of the new schools created during this time, like Kenneth Treister's **Colonial Drive Elementary School** in Palmetto Estates (1966), featured pod type arrangements with flexible open-plan arrangements.[142]

Religious institutions also used modern architecture to address new spiritual, social, and architectural agendas. Many, as Gray Read notes, subscribed to the notion that "bold design would express a complex mix of faith, fortitude, freedom, capitalism, and modernity."[143] Geometric and even organic forms, topped by billowing concrete shells, folded concrete plates, and parabolic or upswept vaulted roofs constructed using glue-laminated wood beams, produced new spiritual environments and local landmarks.
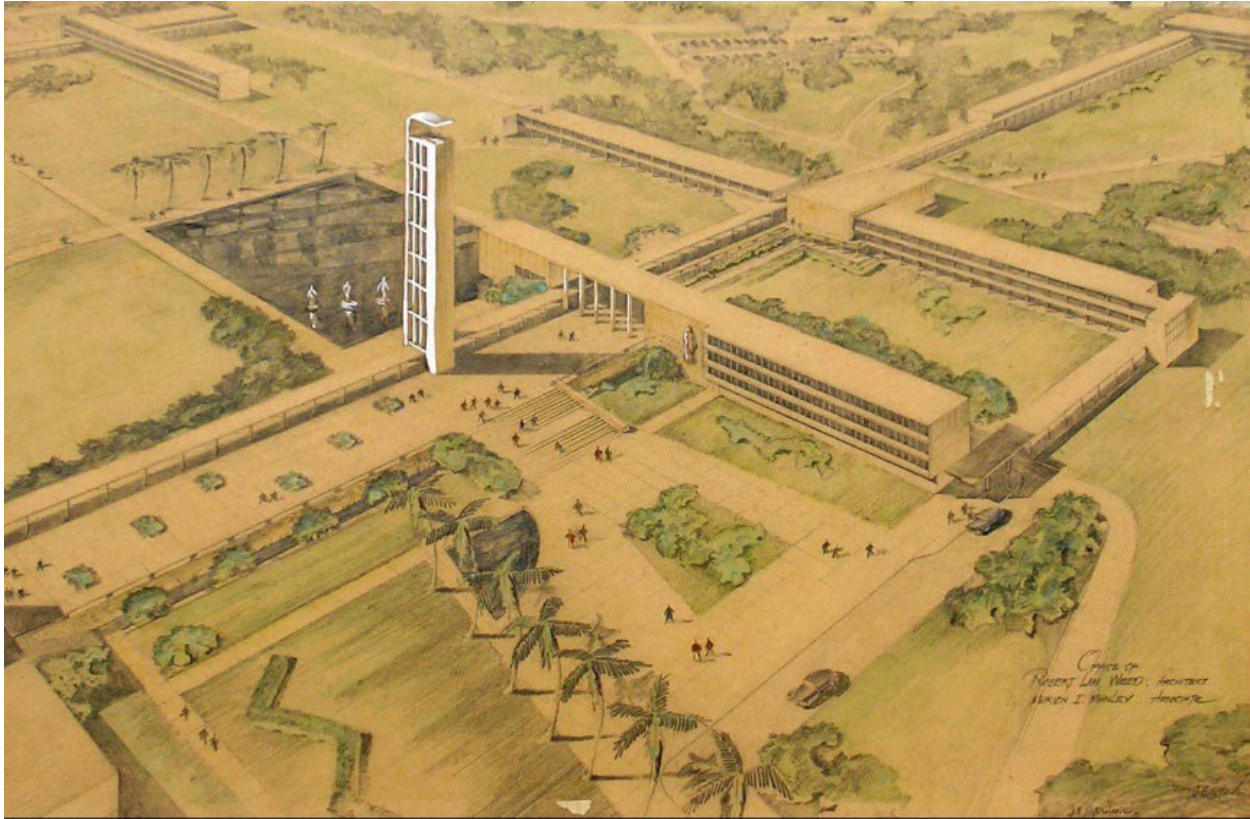
Proposed Central Group, University of Miami. Robert Law Weed and Marion I. Manley. Aerial rendering, c. 1945. Courtesy of the University of Miami Otto G. Richter Library, Special Collections.

University campuses

In the civic construction of Dade County, higher education expanded in a particularly dramatic way. Progressive federal initiatives like the GI Bill (1944), which offered servicemen financial support for university education, and the Truman Commission Report's call for a network of community colleges (1947), leveraged much of the new construction, offering broader educational opportunities locally while achieving the larger objective of building a more democratic society. In the university campuses that sprouted throughout the county, competing approaches to large-scale planning and to the shape of modern tropical architecture became apparent.

The **University of Miami**, the region's first major campus, was chartered in 1925 as a key element of the suburb of Coral Gables (established the same year), although the campus wasn't developed until after World War II.[144] Conceived to fulfill William Jennings Bryan's 1916 plan for a Pan-American university, an element of his political agenda of hemispheric integration, the initial Spanish Revival campus design by Denman Fink, Phineas Paist, and Paul Chalfin was aligned with the vision of city founder George Merrick, as well as early 20th century North American ideas of what Pan-American institutions should look like (as the roughly contemporary Spanish Revival development of the University of Puerto Rico in San Juan well demonstrated).[145]

The hurricane of 1926 and ensuing Great Depression, however, halted the development of the campus, and the ensuing twenty-year delay in building the campus proved consequential. Architects Marion Manley and Robert Law Weed, who completed a new campus plan and many of the first buildings in late 1940s, supplanted English collegiate and Iberian influences with modernist planning and architecture. Weed, a pragmatic and influential Miami architect who like Manley emerged after World War II as a committed modernist, laid down a moral argument for a modern campus: "it would be a crime to teach our American youths engineering in monastic halls or Renaissance libraries… The university, where the nation shaped the mindset of its young, should reflect a modern attitude emblematic of the present society and unprejudiced by historical precedents."[146]

Manley and Weed's master plan divided the campus into distinct functional zones, each with its own planning idiom adapted to site features and program and set the ensemble in a landscaped park. Campus functions were distributed into low-slung, narrow and cross-ventilated buildings, generally enclosed by concrete egg-crates and "breathing" walls of awning-type windows on one side, and shaded loggias on the other. These linear blocks were set in the pastoral landscape in such a way that they seemed to glide and merge to form quadrangles and plazas. It was a tropical modernism that emphasized the merger of architecture and nature and became one of the most important and internationally-celebrated works in postwar Miami. The austere campus offered "sober and distinguished accomplishments in contemporary architecture," as *Progressive Architecture* editor Thomas Creighton opined, "in an area where the temptation to be extravagant and unrestrained in design are almost too great for most architects to resist."[147]

The climate-sensitive approach, generalized throughout the campus, still produced significant differences of approach across campus zones. Manley and Weed's **Student Lounge and Cafeteria** (1948), the centerpiece of the campus's lakeside recreational and arts zone, pinwheeled to address the intersection of lake and main quadrangle. Its covered walkways reached out to enclosed sections of water, and to create patios that, as Carie Penabad has pointed out, were offered as "platforms from which students could view the variety of spectacles that took place on the lake."[148] The Central Group was more tightly and geometrically structured, with long, rectangular administrative and educational buildings tied together across quadrangles of lawn. The first development here was the **Memorial Classroom Building** (1947), a single-loaded structure of cross-ventilated classrooms, nearly 700-foot long, and broken at its center by a covered outdoor plaza. In the residential zone, a **Veterans Housing** complex comprising 27 low-rise L- and Z-shaped housing blocks deployed housing types and aesthetics developed at the Bauhaus in the 1920s, walk-up cross-ventilated apartments that emphasized light and air with continuous windows protected by concrete "eyebrows." The complex, with 533 apartments set in a sprawling

Student Club on Lake Osceola, University of Miami. Robert Law Weed and Marion I. Manley, 1948. From William H. Nicholas, "Miami's Expanding Horizons," National Geographic Magazine 48: 5 (November 1950): 580.

grassy superblock, was not just remarkable as university housing; it was the largest housing project of any type financed through the Federal Housing Administration in 1946.[149]

Public universities in Miami, in seeking to convey public purpose, were founded on a contrasting language of modern architecture – Brutalist concrete construction. As Jean-Francois Lejeune has argued, in the U.S., concrete brutalism came to embody the values of the democratic welfare state, underpinning civic construction throughout the 1950-60s.[150] Miami's first state college was **Dade County Junior College** (1959), a public community college built with federal support to expand higher education and opportunity to the greatest number, and as a path toward social equality.[151] Originally planned as a segregated school with White and Black units (a Black unit was in fact created at Miami Northwestern Senior High in 1959), it became the first integrated Junior College in Florida, and was further transformed by Miami's mid-century demographic change into a profoundly multi-cultural institution, and the fastest-growing junior college system in the nation.[152]

Administration Building and Science Building, Miami-Dade Junior College, South Campus, Kendall. Pancoast, Ferendino, Grafton, 1967. Photo by Joseph W. Molitor Photography. Courtesy of Spillis Candela DMJM Archive.

*Fine Arts Center, Miami-Dade Junior College, South Campus, Kendall. Courtesy of Spillis Candela DMJM Archive.*

Primera Casa, Dade County, Greenleaf/Telesca 1970. From "FIU: The Birth of a University… And Plans for its Development," FIU and Greenleaf/Telesca Planners, Engineers, Architects, 1970, p. 97.

To serve an increasingly sprawling county, Dade Junior College was conceived as a series of decentralized units embedded in growing population centers. Each unit, serving 10,000 students, was to be accessible to a new category of students: "expressway commuters." The importance of the car was reflected in campus planning, which assimilated shopping center arrangements that placed pedestrian cores at the center of large parking districts.

Pancoast Ferendino Grafton Burnham was commissioned as master planner and architect of Dade Junior College's multiple campuses, resulting in a particular sense of stylistic unity and institutional coherence. The college's first unit, **North Campus,** opened in 1962 in northwest Dade, in the heart of Miami's burgeoning northern suburbs.[153] Dispensing with the pastoral aesthetic of campuses like the University of Miami, it was organized around a long rectangular lake, reinterpreting the traditional American campus quadrangle as a watery (and inaccessible) court of honor – one of the rare occasions where Miami's omnipresent waters were corralled as the centerpiece of a formal composition. Arranged around the formal water-piece, monumentally scaled academic buildings presented exposed concrete structural elements, including columns and waffle-slab and beamed floor and roof slabs, and expressed concrete stairs. Framed by these powerful structures, infill precast concrete panels, some finished with gravel-washed concrete aggregate, some with ceramic tiles and supergraphics, others with sculpted window units that served as brises-soleil.[154] To unify the various buildings, covered walkways, also constructed in concrete, formed a network of pathway "loggias" that surrounded the lake and penetrated between and even through the buildings.

When the College's **South Campus** was designed in the mid-1960s, it used a similar vocabulary of Brutalist concrete construction, but here the buildings resonated more closely with each other. Each featured the expression of strong concrete roof plates, either waffle slab or exposed beams, carried on powerful concrete piers; by pulling in the enclosed spaces below, the roofs provided welcome pools of shade and natural ventilation around the buildings that were for Candela, "a question of civic and cultural responsibility"[155] Dade County Junior College reflected a new indoor-outdoor duality: major public spaces were open air and covered, while classrooms, offices, labs were air conditioned. The bold roofs appear to float over the flat landscape. Below these roofs,
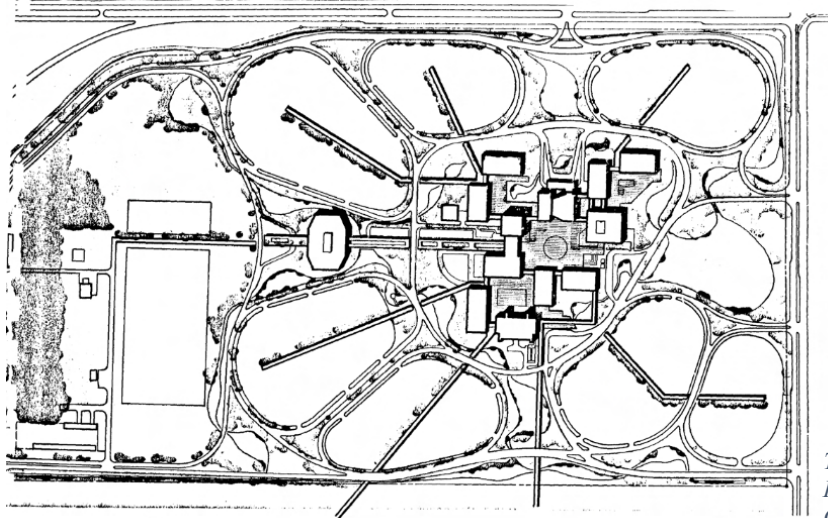
The Tamiami Campus Plan - 1980, Florida International University, Dade County, Greenleaf/Telesca, c. 1970. From "FIU: The Birth of a University… And Plans for its Development," FIU and Greenleaf/Telesca Planners, Engineers, Architects, 1970. p. 97.

programmatic features of the buildings were expressed, and stair and elevator cores were pulled out of the building and expressed as vertical shafts. An important aspect of the design are the interlocking connective systems of paths, nodes, and covered walkways that were not only functional, but seen as social generators.[156]

What really distinguished South Campus was its more open planning system, which deployed buildings in a virtual checkerboard of solids and voids. Hilario Candela, who co-led the design, and whose strong convictions about the potential of buildings to create urban spaces (a legacy of his upbringing in Havana and experience with Latin American cities) influenced its character, described the system as "a small city of interconnected geometric masses and urban plazas."[157] Each patio featured a distinct modeling of pavement, gravel and grass, furnished with public furniture, and organized to form amphitheaters, stages and meeting areas, emphasizing the truly public nature of the spaces.

Brutalist architecture and great public space-making also inspired the campus of **Florida International University (FIU)**, the state university initiated on part of the site of the former Tamiami Airport in the early 1970s. The master plan by Greenleaf & Telesca depicted, as at Dade Junior College's South Campus, a tight cluster of buildings organized around paved and landscaped courts. Connected by covered walkways and bridges, the clusters were to define an amorphous and pedestrian-oriented central academic park area surrounded by parking feeders. Bold and sculptural concrete buildings were conceived to reinforce the unity and civic purpose of the plan.[158] Greenleaf and Telesca's Primera Casa (1970), the first building, exemplified the intentions. Featuring exposed concrete structural elements, the nearly windowless five-story building was mainly clad with textured, precast concrete wall panels, braced by the powerful forms of attached exterior stairways. The building was linked to the plaza by a broad, cascading stair that penetrated into a wide open-air porta, above which Miami sculptor Al Vrana's 100-foot long cor-

Final terminal design including the airport hotel. Steward and Skinner Associates. Aerial rendering, 1956. Courtesy of Miami-Dade Aviation Department.

ten steel sculpture, Las Cuatro Razas (The Four Races), celebrated the cross-cultural and transnational ambitions of the university (and the city at large). Perhaps because they represented a broader public consensus unavailable in commercial and even most civic architecture, Miami's postwar universities achieved remarkable expressions of public purpose and amenity, even as they suggested novel planning models and urban futures.

Global Hubs

Without question, Miami's airport and seaport were the city's most strategic postwar infrastructures, and the industries that fed both the touristic and working cities. In order to manage the modernization of these facilities, mostly created before and during the war, the Florida legislature established the **Dade County Port Authority** in 1945, which succeeded in fully re-developing both facilities. Miami's role as a global hub and gateway depended to a large extent on the smooth functioning of these facilities, although the opportunities they offered to represent Miami and create a first impression to visitors was hardly considered at first. In responding to the esplosive growth of passengers and cargo, and the higher capacity planes and ships that ferried them, the airport and port converged in finding functional solutions, while offering diverging approaches to design.

Miami International Airport

The project of developing a new airport had deep significance for Miami. As Antolin Garcia Carbonell has pointed out, the city was a "cradle of aviation," and aviators like Glenn Curtiss and the development of airfields played an outsized role in the early construction of the city. By the 1940s, the city still comprised an archipelago of airfields, seaplane and blimp bases (some

The "Taj Mahal", Pan American World Airways' Latin American Division Regional Headquarters, Miami International Airport. Maurice Connell Architect, 1962. Courtesy of the State Archives of Florida.

developed by local authorities, some by the military, others by corporate and even private initiatives).[159] The first act of modernization by the Port Authority, in 1945, was to consolidate commercial aviation at one location: Pan Am Field. Renamed **Miami International Airport (MIA)**, this centrally located airfield, the most important facility in Dade County after the Army had expanded its infrastructure and built transshipment facilities there, became the focus of Miami's postwar growth as an aviation center.

In the 1950s, to meet surging demand, a new terminal was planned on the eastern flank of the field. In contrast to the Art Deco civic grandeur of Miami's last major air hub, Delano and Aldrich's **Pan Am Seaplane Base** at Dinner Key (1933), MIA was conceived as a generic and understated facility for a working city in the age of jet travel. Designed by Steward and Skinner and completed in 1959, the terminal followed a two-level horseshoe-type arrangement that proved efficient for both cars and planes, with departures on the upper level, arrivals below, and finger terminals extending toward the airfield to increase docking space.[160] Only the sea foam green exterior walls and the coral-hued fascia of the terminal's continuous wrapping canopy transmitted any hint of local identity. The interiors were equally anonymous: terrazzo floors and acoustical tile ceilings framed a well-lit environment of wood-grain Formica desks, wall-mounted clocks and backlit plexiglass signage.[161] The horseshoe's continuous form concealed the true character of the terminal, which was actually decentralized, a repetition of similar spaces distributed by airline. The MIA terminal offered no major interior spaces or vistas connecting to either the city or the airfield, serving more as a waypoint for business travelers than a gateway to the Americas.

In fact, the terminal's most prominent and novel feature was its hotel, a broad, six-story slab located directly over the center of the horseshoe. The **Miami International Airport Hotel** (1959), was the first of its kind in the U.S., offering a hospitality-oriented extension of the drama of flying, while also making the airport a more self-contained complex. The hotel's 270 soundproofed rooms
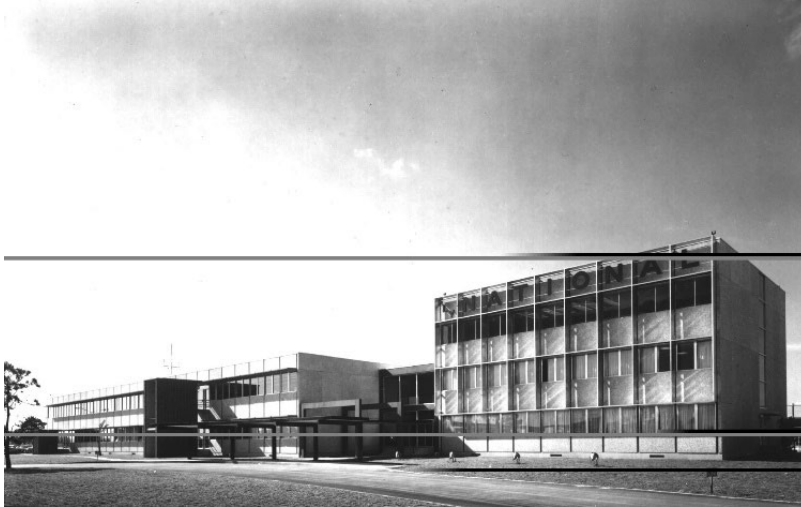
National Airlines Headquarters Building, Miami International Airport. Weed Russell Johnson Associates Architects, 1956. Courtesy of Johnson Associates Architects.

National Airlines Nose Hangar, Miami International Airport. Weed Russell Johnson Associates Architects, 1959. Courtesy of Johnson Associates Architects.

enjoyed a rooftop pool, viewing decks and restaurant, as well as a cocktail lounge.[162] Its facades, decorated with folded-plate concrete canopies and an eggcrate of concrete fins (more to dissimulate its tiny windows than for effective window shading), echoed a modernism that mirrored not the local stylism of Miami Beach but the emerging global architecture of hotels for the international travel set. Indeed, the *New York Times* found in the novel attachment of a hotel to an airport terminal a comparable story: the diversification of hospitality in Miami, away from established resort centers like Miami Beach toward scattered sites of business and transit.[163] The hotel's most important role, however, was civil – providing a racially-integrated facility for a diverse international traveling public in the Jim Crow South.[164]

While not inspiring architecturally, MIA succeeded in its main goal of remaining one of the nation's most important centers in the movement of people and air cargo between North, Central, and South America, and a catalyst for hemispheric trade, tourism and eventually immigration – as the airlift of Cuban émigrés that began the year of its completion vividly demonstrated. In the ensuing years, the horseshoe arrangement proved a functional support for decades of continuous

and piecemeal growth, including new terminals, garages, mass transit, and other facilities that incrementally modernized the complex. Notable attempts were made to bring a coherent logic to the sprawling facilities, including the Port Authority's **Program 70s** initiative and the efforts of Jane Davis Dogget and Architectural Graphics Associates to improve wayfinding and unify the complex through Helvetica Medium signage, and a distinctive color palette of purple, orange and brown.[165]

Meanwhile, compelling examples of architectural experimentation were happening around the main terminal. Pan-Am, Eastern Airlines, and National Airlines all built headquarters and maintenance bases here, transforming the area into a corporate park and industrial hub. While aviation authorities struggled to manage a synthesis in the terminal, these auxiliary facilities were allowed complete freedom of expression to reflect corporate values. The embassy-like design of Pan American Airways' **Regional Headquarters for Latin America** (1962), for instance, reflected the airline's national flagship status. The office block, designed by Steward and Skinner and organized around an internal court, was raised on a plinth, enveloped in a breeze block screen bearing the company's logo, and wrapped by a modernist loggia of "tapered" gold-anodized columns. Fronted by a reflecting pool and flag court that amplified its monumentality, it was a virtual spin-off of Edward Durrell Stone's 1954 U.S. Embassy in New Delhi, inspiring the popular moniker "Taj Mahal."

Weed Russell Johnson designed the more technology-forward facilities of National Airlines, including the **National Airlines Headquarters** (1956) and the airline's **Nose Hangar** (1959). The headquarters building was organized along the lines of a suburban corporate campus – an arrangement of low-slung rectangular buildings divided by landscaped courtyards and connected by covered walkways and exterior staircases. The buildings' panelized curtainwalls mixed ribbons of glass with Chattahoochee pebble-finished precast concrete panels and aluminum eyebrows, while the principal office block was distinguished by a semi-detached aluminum egg-crate screen that rose to transmit the company's name in aluminum signage. The nose hangar, in contrast, was a daring concrete structural feat – a gull-winged industrial shed with tapered corrugated beams that cantilevered far enough to shelter the modern jet aircraft serviced there.[166] Such expressive private architectures, based on combinations of corporate image making, regional design and functional necessity, symbolized the image-making power of postwar aviation, just as the conventional qualities of the air terminal proper reflected the commonplace nature of jet-age air travel itself.

Port of Miami

In contrast with the airport, the new **Port of Miami**, completed in the late 1960s, took a more assertive approach to connecting the city with the drama of ships and the adventure of sea travel. The project began with the relocation of the port itself from downtown to a new island in Biscayne Bay, an expensive undertaking promoted as an opportunity to create state-of-the-art facilities for future growth.[167] The selection of a new port location, intensely debated, was finalized in 1959 with the selection of Dodge Island, an entirely new 275-acre landform dredged from the bay, and connected to the city via bridges carrying both rail and motor traffic.[168]

Construction of new port on Dodge Island, Miami. Photo by Martine Aronow. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection.

During World War II, the original Port of Miami on Biscayne Boulevard had become the nation's leading port of entry, handling 46.5 percent of all international passenger arrivals and departures.[169] It was also, according to port consultant George Fox Mott, a "region of weeds, flimsy unpainted structures of unspecified function, petroleum storage tanks, piles of haphazard construction materials, a confusion of trucks, tractors, rusty iron, crumbling dock piles and—facing the boulevard—filling stations, lurid billboards and clip joints." The new port was partly justified as a way to redevelop the older facility as part of an expanded bayfront complex.[170] Further, as heavy cargo and oil shipments were already migrating to larger facilities at Port Everglades in Fort Lauderdale, Miami's new port would focus almost exclusively on containerized cargo and passenger traffic. The development of the cruise ship industry in particular, spurred in the 1950s by larger and more luxurious ships, by the fusion of air-sea travel packages and by the postwar development of the Caribbean basin as a "touristic pond," made passenger travel a crucial component of port operations. Cruise ship passengers passing through the Port of Miami swelled to 700,000 by the early 1970s.[171]

The **Cruise Ship Terminal** emerged as a key feature of the new port island and, considering the exposure of the site to Biscayne Bay and the surrounding city, pressure mounted to abandon the more functionalist approach of the airport and create a "world class" facility. Architect and Columbia University professor Romaldo Giurgola was hired to advise the Port Authority and, eventually, mount a competition for its design (likely Miami's first international design competition).[172] In 1967, Australian-born Canadian architect John Andrews was selected, based both on his ability to apply a systems approach to the problems of port operations, and to wrangle this approach into a resonant and powerful series of structures. His functional diagrams for the facility took inspiration from the design of airports like MIA, which split the embarkation and

Port of Miami Passenger Terminal, Dodge Island. John Andrews with David Volkert & Associates, 1969. Aerial view looking West. Photograph by Hiro Nakashima. From "Passenger Terminal: Port of Miami," The Canadian Architect 15 (April 1970): 47.

disembarkation of passengers from the offloading of their luggage and other cargo, allowing both to occur simultaneously.

Andrews' design dropped the idea of a centralized terminal, proposing instead an alternating line of terminals and sheds. The terminals were free-standing, diamond-shaped nodes of exposed cast-in-place concrete, featuring powerful cylindrical turrets at the corners and broad picture windows that framed oblique views toward the water and the ships. Between the terminals, open-air hangars with concrete roofs shaped like airfoils paralleled the pier, creating an open-air zone for the unloading of luggage and the pickup by passengers. The Brutalist concrete architecture and serial repetition of terminals and hangars gave the complex a functional monumentality, animated by swiveling and telescoping walkways and the movement of passengers and boats. Taken together, the terminal's 2,500-foot-long façade along the ship channel and heavily trafficked MacArthur Causeway fashioned an important new façade of the city, designed to be seen and to synthesize the operations of the port into the theater of Biscayne Bay. The façade was transformed again when the sleek white, multi-storied cruise ships were docked head to toe, emulating however briefly the rows of luxury resorts on Collins Avenue, which they already rivaled (and perhaps replaced) as postwar emblems of luxury.
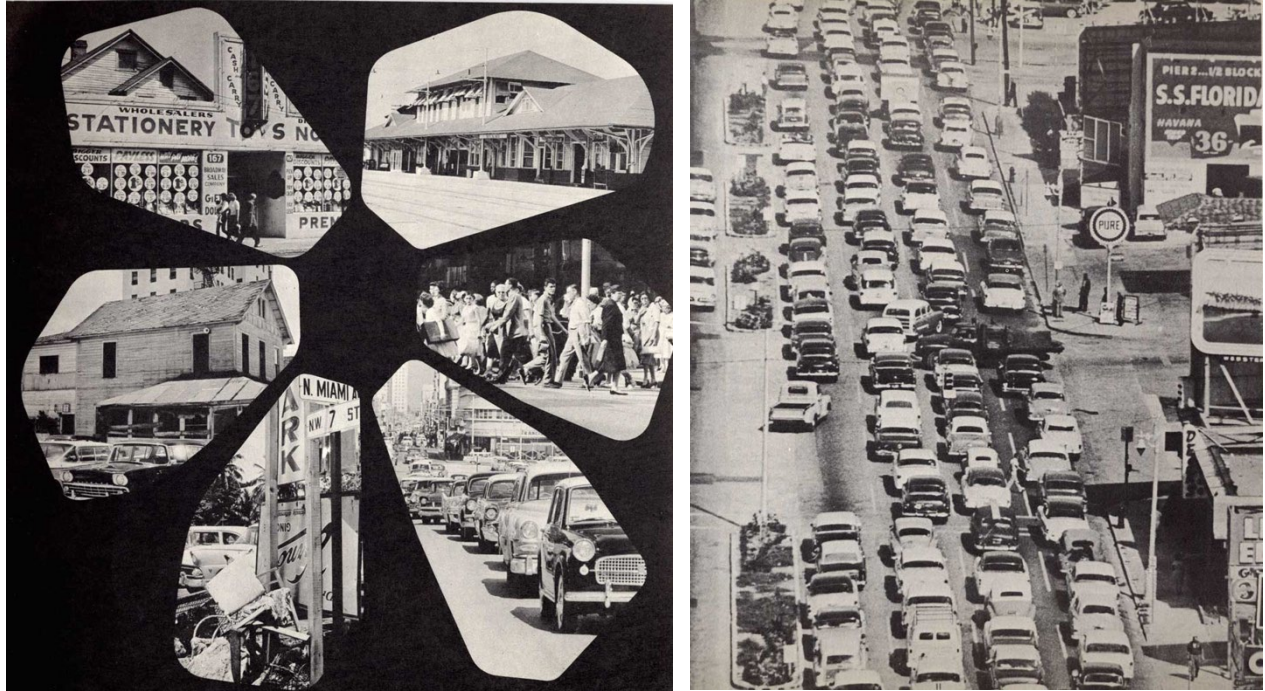
Urban decay and disfunction documented by the City of Miami and Metro-Dade County. From Magic City Center Plan for Action: A General Framework for Revitalizing the Central Business District (Miami: Metropolitan Dade County Board of County Commissioners), 1960. p. 5-6.

The Predicament of the City

Suburbs dominated the postwar growth of the metropolitan Miami. They were the most dynamic expression of "Rebuilding America," the urban remodeling of the American city that occupied federal authorities, ass well as Miami's civic leaders, planners, architects and builders. Still, the future of the existing urban core remained a keen subject, if mainly for its residual role as symbolic center and as a critical tax base of the city. Yet the suburb and the urban core were increasingly framed in a syllogism in which the rise of the former came at the expense of the latter. Optimistic suburban horizons, defined by modernity, growth and conquest, were countered by the seeming anachronism of downtown and the urban core, and a rising narrative of decline. The eclipse of the urban core was manifest in empty professional offices, the decline of retailing, the loss of residential and hotel uses, and multiplying surface parking lots that pried open the urban fabric. Declining real estate values were reflected in a honky-tonk street character that replaced once elegant shopfronts. Around downtown, the persistence of slums, devastation wrought by urban renewal, concentrated public housing, and White flight defined a sense of perpetual crisis. After the war, as in most American cities, the question facing Miami's urban core was: *How could the city redefine itself in the wake of fundamental changes in American society?*

Although never the chief economic driver of the region, downtown Miami was still the region's most important commercial and business district. Its centrality to urban life drew intellectually from early 20th century ideas that identified downtown central business districts as the heart of American enterprise and civic life. In practice, downtown Miami straddled roles as both a symbolic

Miami Parking Deck. Robert Law Weed & Associates, 1949. From advertisement, "Something New and Better," Miami News, May 3, 1949

regional capital and a local center among many others in this polycentric metropolis. While comprising an important number of shops, department stores, office buildings and government facilities, it was the hotels that lined the Bayfront façade since the 1920s, and gave the city its first skyscraper silhouette, and that represented the inaugural industry and identity of Miami. In the tumult of postwar urban transformation, powerful business and civic leaders, as well as planners, architects and real estate interests, seized on its role as the heart of the metropolis to promote its improvement, and even reconstruction.[173]

As early as the 1940s, plans for downtown's survival seemed to hinge on bringing the car into the core, while creating new opportunities for parking. Expressways were conceived to take people and cars out of the city, but paradoxically also as a way to reinvigorate downtown through reverse flows. In practice however, as they ringed downtown and penetrated its core during the late 1960s, they isolated the center further. The destruction wrought by highway construction, egregiously informed by racialized planning objectives, obliterated the vital Black urban center of Overtown, the western flank of Miami's urban core. Further, the highway's concrete viaducts, berms and cleared no-man's lands cut downtown off from surrounding areas. In addition, the "urban renewal" planned for these areas, seen nationally as an attempt to combat blight and provide new space for modern urban programs, had little support in Miami beyond its role in racial dislocation. Miami

Ainsley Building, Miami. Morris Lapidus, 1952. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection.

never had a major redevelopment effort on the scale of Gateway City in Pittsburgh or the Golden Gateway and Embarcadero Center in San Francisco.

Even before highways penetrated downtown, the growth of traffic there transformed land uses and generated new building types. Parking lots germinated throughout the urban center, while multi-level parking decks, car storage systems operated by professional attendants, sprung up in support of downtown commercial space. The **Miami Parking Deck** (1949), designed by architect Robert Law Weed on the west end of Flagler Street downtown, vividly illustrated one future for downtown parking. Before garages became integrated into everyday buildings (and their architectural expressions), necessity bred invention and, denying any notion of a conventional façade, the garage's function was nakedly expressed. An eloquent essay in flat-slab concrete plate construction featuring staggered planes, the structure's only decoration was the use of color – red for structural piers and aquamarine for the guardrails. As purely functional architecture, the Miami Parking Deck astonished some when it was widely published and celebrated internationally among modernists (including the Swiss French architect Le Corbusier). Locally it became influential as a prototype of tropicalist architecture – its sun-shaded and well-ventilated decks inspiring residential, commercial and civic designs over the next decade.[174]

Downtown shrunk as a residential and hospitality center, but its prospects as a regional business hub grew as apartment buildings and hotels were replaced by office buildings. In this "modernization," the character of downtown was increasingly shaped by a progressive business elite that enlisted modern forms of corporate architecture to evoke an enlightened business spirit. The **Ainsley Building** (1952), the first modern office building to rise in downtown since the Alfred I DuPont Building in 1937, emphasized a new sense of transparency. Curtainwalls of green-tinted

(left) First National Bank of Miami Building, Miami. Weed Johnson Associates, 1960. Rendering. Courtesy of Johnson Associates Architects. (right) 100 Biscayne Building, Miami. Rader Associates, 1964. Photo by Black-Baker. From Fotis N. Karousatos ed. Architecture for Florida Living (Coral Gables: Florida Association of the American Institute of Architects) p. 99.

Solex glass alternated with cantilevered tray-like balconies that shaded south-facing windows. evoking a powerful and very modern sense of horizontality toward Flagler Street. Architect Morris Lapidus designed the building two years before his ground-breaking Fontainebleau Hotel, and the architect must have been familiar with the deep resonance horizontal banding in Miami Beach's prewar modern resort architecture.

As more office building were built, competing styles and powerful interests at the top of Miami's evolving economic and political order erupted in the city's prominent civic spaces. The **First National Bank of Miami Building** (1959) and **100 Biscayne Building** (1964), both constructed to face Bayfront Park, illustrate the competition at play. First National was the new headquarters of Miami's premier financial institution, and the 19-story tower was meant to cement its presence in the emerging corporate skyline. Designed by Weed Russell Johnson Associates, it followed a "tower over pedestal" model likely inspired by Skidmore Owings & Merrill's influential Lever House in Manhattan (1952), completed some years before.

Unlike Lever House, First National's five-story pedestal was conditioned by the powerful influence of automobiles. Most of the pedestal formed a 600-car parking garage, screened by a grid of blue aluminum struts, while drive-thru tellers and street front retail space occupied the ground level. The bank's flagship occupied the front along Biscayne Boulevard, where a multi-story polished granite façade projected solidity and security. Within, First National's remarkable interiors were orchestrated by Florence Knoll Bassett, the designer who co-founded the influential

furniture and design company Knoll Associates, Inc. and whose husband, Harry Hood Bassett was the bank's president. In the main banking hall, spatially divided by steel and brass screens by artist Harry Bertoia, travertine marble floors and walls of teak, cherry, walnut, rosewood, grass cloth and woven strips of palm leaves conveyed a modern and corporate sense of luxury.[175]

Above the pedestal, First National's 14-story steel-framed tower emerged as a distinct element of the design. In contrast with the pedestal, it proposed a climate-responsive modernism that would remain rare in Miami. Its buff-colored precast concrete wall panels framed horizontal windows bands, above which blue and gold anodized aluminum eyebrows were designed "scientifically" to shade the glass. In publishing the building, *Architectural Record* chose to emphasize the architects' "careful study of the angle of the tropical sun during various seasons of the year," and the subsequent calibration of the eyebrow depth – five-feet on the south side and three and a half-foot on the north side – to achieve the highest performance.[176]

100 Biscayne, by contrast, was a sleek corporate box. Its 30-story tower was the flagship headquarters of the Ferré family, who rose from a base in Puerto Rico to control Maule Industries, the publicly traded concrete business that was Florida's largest. Postwar growth had catapulted the industry and family to the nexus of business and politics in Miami (even before company founder José Ferré's son, Maurice Ferré, became Mayor in 1973).[177] Designed by Rader & Associates, the tower's darkly tinted glass curtain walls rose directly from the sidewalk to the roof in vertical bands divided by aluminum mullions and marble-faced piers. It symbolized, according to José Ferré, the family patriarch, a global model of corporate architecture, designed to be "be equally as beautiful in a Park Ave. setting as it will be on Biscayne Blvd."[178] Many of the most innovative aspects were not immediately visible. Befitting the identity of the owner/builder, the innovative all-concrete structure used high-strength concrete mixes and voids in the slab to lighten the structure. Further, behind its impassive façades, the tower utilized what Ferré called a "piggyback principle," stacking nine floors of residences with unprecedented views of Biscayne Bay on top of 21 floors of office. When it was completed, the tower's height was particularly notable, exceeded in Florida only by the iconic Dade County Courthouse and NASA's 525-foot-high Vehicle Assembly Building at Cape Kennedy, designed for the assembly of Apollo-Saturn V moon rockets.[179]

Toward a more linear downtown

First National and the 100 Biscayne Building demonstrated an important shift in the geography of downtown Miami: while planners originally anticipated Miami's commercial districts to grow westward (one justification for efforts to redevelop the neighboring Black district of Overtown), office development in downtown was increasingly drawn to frontage along the bay, where it formed a more linear business center strung out along a north-south axis. Further, this axis quickly extended into affluent suburban districts, like Edgewater on the north and Brickell on the south**.** Each of these areas was centered on a broad landscaped suburban boulevard developed in the

(top left) Maule Industries Building, Miami, Pancoast, Ferendino, Skeels and Burnham, 1961. Courtesy of Spillis Candela DMJM Archive. (top right) National Cash Register Building, Miami, T. Trip Russell and Associates, 1965, From "They're Pouring Concrete…," Miami Herald, September 1, 1963. (bottom) National Cash Register Building, Miami, T. Trip Russell and Associates, 1965, From "They're Pouring Concrete…," Miami Herald, September 1, 1963.

1920s and featured close proximity to suburban residences and parking. Demonstrating the larger forces at play, the move downtown from compact center to linear corridor followed closely the contemporary development of postwar resorts along Collins Avenue.

Bacardi Imports Tower, Miami. Enrique Gutierrez (SACMAG of Puerto Rico) and Francisco Brennand, muralist, 1963. Photograph, 1972. The Bacardi Archive.

The northern extension of downtown into Edgewater followed Biscayne Boulevard, a broad straight avenue lined with Royal Palms and decorative street-lighting – one of Miami's most prominent examples of City Beautiful planning. Privately developed by the Shoreland Company in the 1920s, and controlled by Henry Phipps of the U.S. Steel Corporation, the boulevard progressively acquired the character of an upscale shopping and residential district. Like Wilshire Boulevard in Los Angeles, to which comparisons may be drawn, its rapid transformation from shopping district to metropolitan spine followed the trajectory of the automobile. Designed to funnel traffic out of downtown Miami and toward the Shoreland Company suburb of Miami Shores, by the 1950s the tide had reversed, and the boulevard became a conduit bringing cars into the city. In this process, the boulevard was re-colonized by national and multi-national corporations seeking an appropriate context for smaller-scale, bespoke commercial buildings.

550 Brickell Building, Miami. Robert Law Weed & Associates, 1951. Detail of the façade. Photograph by Rada Photography. Courtesy of Johnson Associates Architects.

The office blocks rising along the Biscayne corridor were mostly unified by the use of layered concrete facades, offering intelligent responses to the sunny climate while challenging the glass curtainwall as a symbol of institutional and corporate prowess. The low-slung **Mead Building** (Pancoast Ferendino Skeels and Burnham, 1959) featured a sun-breaking egg-crate concrete façade, screened by aluminum mesh for extra sun protection. The **International Business Machines Building** (Herbert Johnson Associates, 1965) used a cellular system of vertical and horizontal precast concrete fins, translating the influence of Marcel Breuer (especially in his work for IBM in La Gaude, France in 1962 and 1969, and later at Boca Raton in 1970). [180] T. Trip Russell and Associates' **National Cash Register Building** (1965), one of a growing number of building where the housing of electronic equipment minimized the need for windows, was cocooned in precast-concrete sunscreen panels, giving a rich texture to an otherwise austere office block. The headquarters of **Maule Industries** (Pancoast, Ferendino, Skeels and Burnham, 1961), Miami's leading concrete maker, was a virtual essay in concrete product use, employing concrete brises-soleil, perforated concrete grills, concrete aggregate wall panels, and exposed concrete blocks. In the building lobby, the company's range of concrete products were molded into a prominent wall display.

The most expressive corporate headquarters along this stretch was in fact a glass tower: the **Bacardi Imports Tower** (1963). Following the Cuban Revolution in 1959, the seizure of the

Seaview Realty Building, Miami. Polevitzky, Johnson & Associates Architects, 1959. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Archive, Igor Polevitzky Collection.

company's Cuban assets, and the exile of the company and its leaders, the Miami Bacardi tower would play an important role in reimagining the Santiago, Cuba-founded company in exile, not only as a powerful corporate counter-narrative to the loss its valuable assets, but also as a statement of endurance and social solidarity with Cuban exiles in the capital of the Cuban diaspora. Architect Enrique Gutierrez, a former partner in the powerhouse Havana architectural outfit Sáenz, Cancio, Martín, Álvarez & Gutiérrez (SACMAG), had famously, and here meaningfully, collaborated with Mies van der Rohe on Bacardi projects in both Havana and Mexico City.[181] The influence of Mies and Phillip Johnson's Seagram Building in New York, completed five years earlier, was visible in the Bacardi tower's tall and statuesque proportions, and the broad plaza over which it seemed to hover.[182]

The Bacardi tower's gravity-defying exoskeletal tower achieved lightness through a feat of technical virtuosity – hoisted above its plaza on four giant, marble-clad piers, its floors were hung using a system of cables and pulleys from trusses at the roof. There was also a provocative duality in its skin, which contrasted tailored glass curtain wall on the east and west facades with muralized building sidewalls. While the tower's thin and taut skin of smoke-tinted plate glass offered a statement of global corporate purpose, the ceramic murals, executed in a cobalt oxide tint that recalled the Portuguese tradition of Azulejos, was intended to broadcast the distiller's "tropical, baroque sensuality." [183] Such a poignant use of graphic iconography to compound or contradict primary architectural forms might even be considered an early expression of Post Modernism. At the same time, the muralized walls came to signify rising Latin American influence in Miami.[184]

Roughly parallel to its northward expansion, downtown also extended southward into the Brickell Avenue corridor. The construction of the Brickell Bridge over the Miami River in 1929 had facilitated the transformation of this area, first by William and Mary Brickell, from Tequesta mounds into a "Millionaire's Row" of expensive homes, then as a postwar business and residential center. Among the first commercial structures to mark this urban transformation was the **Five-Fifty Building**, a cooperative office complex designed by Robert Law Weed & Associates (1951).

Proposed Miami City Hall across from County Courthouse, Miami. Robert Law Weed, 1953. From Miami News, August 30, 1953.
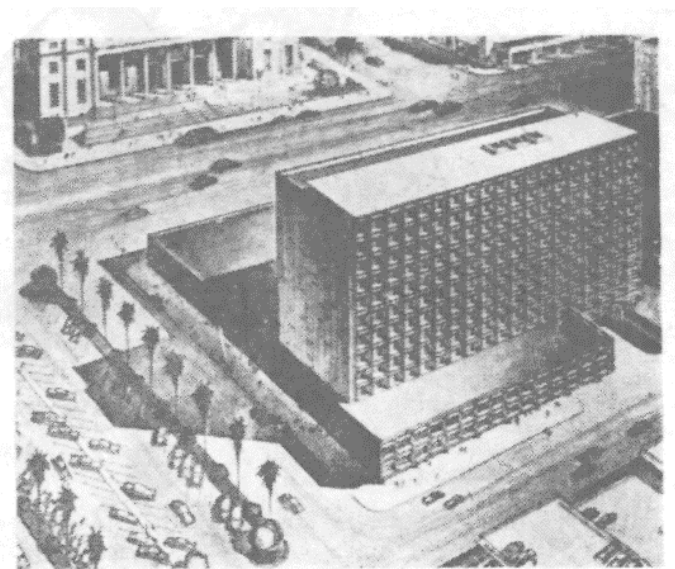
Proposed Downtown Civic Center, with Pan American Concourse and new Miami City Hall From "City Planning and Zoning Board of Miami Street Plans," The City Planning and Zoning Board Miami, 1951.

The 6-story block had a novel façade system that used precast concrete panels laid in place like overlapping shingles. [185] The 8-foot by 11-foot panels had a quartz-chip facing that gave the concrete a subtle sense of sparkle and depth, and window cutouts pre-installed with aluminum sun-control devices – vertical louvers toward the north and south, and horizontal to the east and west.

Polevitzky, Johnson & Associates' nearby **Seaview Realty Building** (1959), responded to the commercializing character of the avenue in a more introverted way, with a 250-foot-diameter cylindrical office block lifted on pilotis, and focused on an interior atrium. The cylindrical atrium – described by *Architectural Forum* as "an introverted system for a democratic arrangement" – was sheathed in glass and contained the building horizontal circulation.[186] On the outside, to shroud the building from the glare and the rising clutter along Brickell Avenue, the architects devised a wrapping system of brises-soleil using 6,000 knobby pre-cast ceramic units interlocked in variable combinations to create non-repetitive façade effects. [187] As with the building's rising further north on Biscayne Boulevard, the innovative use of readily available concrete for structure, building skin, and screening systems, helped define a regional design character in corporate architecture.
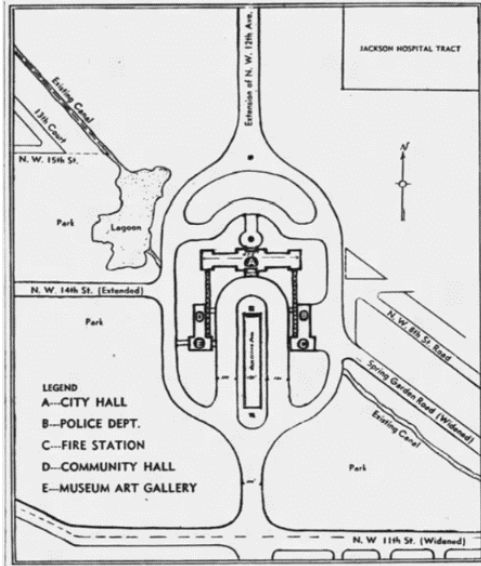
(left) Proposed Dade County Civic Center on the axis of 12th Avenue, Miami. Steward & Skinner, 1945. From "Proposed New Civic Center," Miami News, June 10, 1945. (right) Civic Center, Miami. Photo by Joe Rimkus, June 2, 1976. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection.

Imagining a Civic Center

The idea that an emerging great city required an appropriate civic, governmental, and cultural center circulated widely in the postwar era. Metropolitan growth and the creation of Metro-Dade, the region's new regional governance structure, in 1957 emphasized not only the need for more government services, but for a representative focus for those facilities. However, well into the 1960s, only the iconic 28-story **Dade County Courthouse**, built in 1928 and functioning as the government center of both City of Miami and Dade County, had any civic presence downtown. As an example of continuing metropolitan dispersion, a historical lack of civic planning, and persistent overcrowding, in 1953 "Operation Big Switch" established the disused **Pan American Airways Seaplane Base and Terminal**, four miles south of downtown at Dinner Key in Coconut Grove, as Miami's interim City Hall.[188]

Nevertheless, the goal of creating a "civic center" was a powerful motivator and initiated some of Miami's first real master plans. In the early 1950s, competing plans for this center took shape. One group of civic boosters believed that any civic complex should naturally be located in downtown. However, that plan was complicated by high land costs, traffic problems, a scarcity of parking, and most of all a lack of any original planning for a development of that magnitude. An alternate and more spacious location, one better centered within the geography of metropolitan Miami, was promoted by a group of pragmatists.[189] At stake in the choice were not just functional and spatial considerations, but downtown's relevancy, and the symbolic role a center would play within the multi-centric and expanding metropolis of postwar Dade County. The ensuing battle pitted civic activists, planners, architects and private interests against each other in a two decades-long battle that also juxtaposed City Beautiful civic planning ideas with emergent modernist planning paradigms.
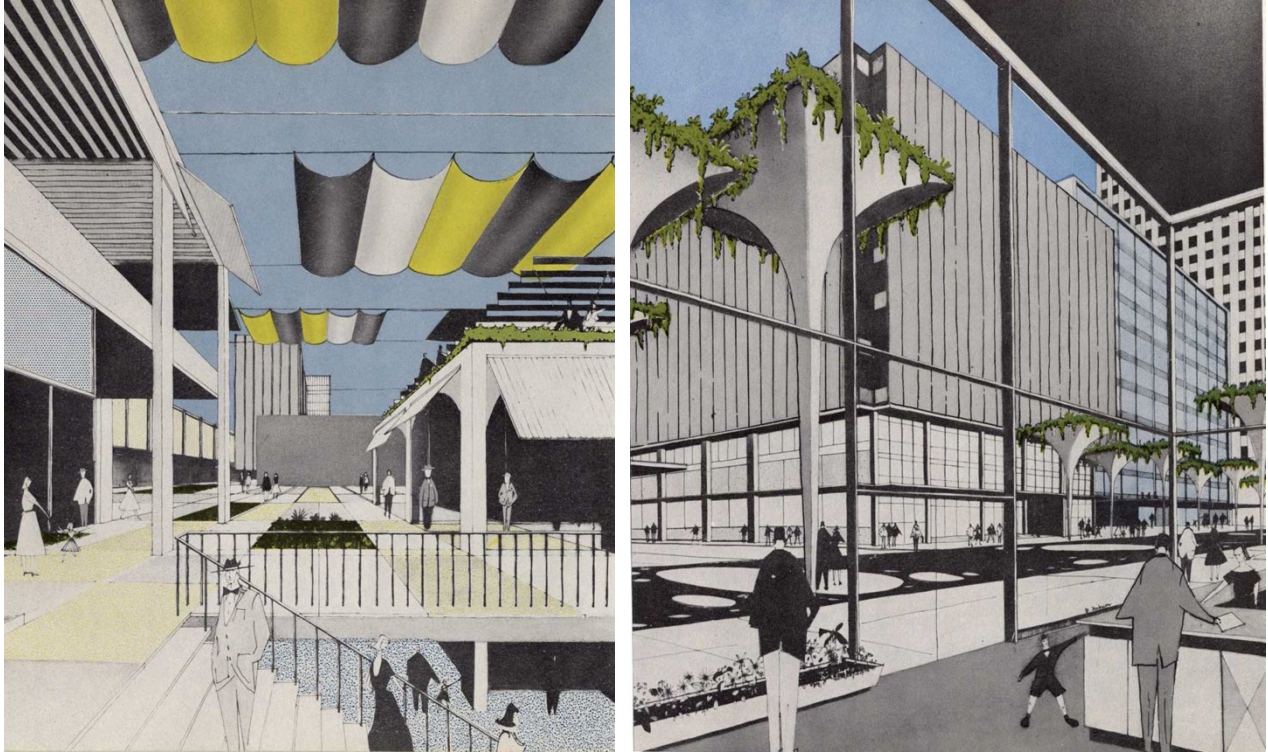
Elevated Pedestrian System in Civic Center area (left) and Flagler Street Mall (right). From Magic City Center Plan for Action: A General Framework for Revitalizing the Central Business District (Miami: Metropolitan Dade County Board of County Commissioners), 1960. p. 36, 40.

Plans to construct the civic center downtown, supported by the City of Miami and Miami Chamber of Commerce, focused on the area just west of the County Courthouse, where the Florida East Coast rail station and tracks would be replaced with a grand 200-foot wide Pan-American Concourse. The 1951 plan was tied to another plan – extending a leg of the Pan-American Highway through Miami toward Havana via the recently completed Overseas highway in the Keys (opened in 1938) – transforming the west flank of downtown into a "reception room of the United States."[190] A line of new civic buildings, most prominently a new Miami city hall, would join the County Courthouse tower facing this new concourse. In 1951, architect Robert Law Weed prepared plans for the city hall, illustrating a functionalist and transparent 12-story slab structure more reflective of modern business culture than traditional civic architecture. Indeed, the city hall turned a cold shoulder to the old courthouse, which Weed called the "most inefficient type of office building known to man."[191]
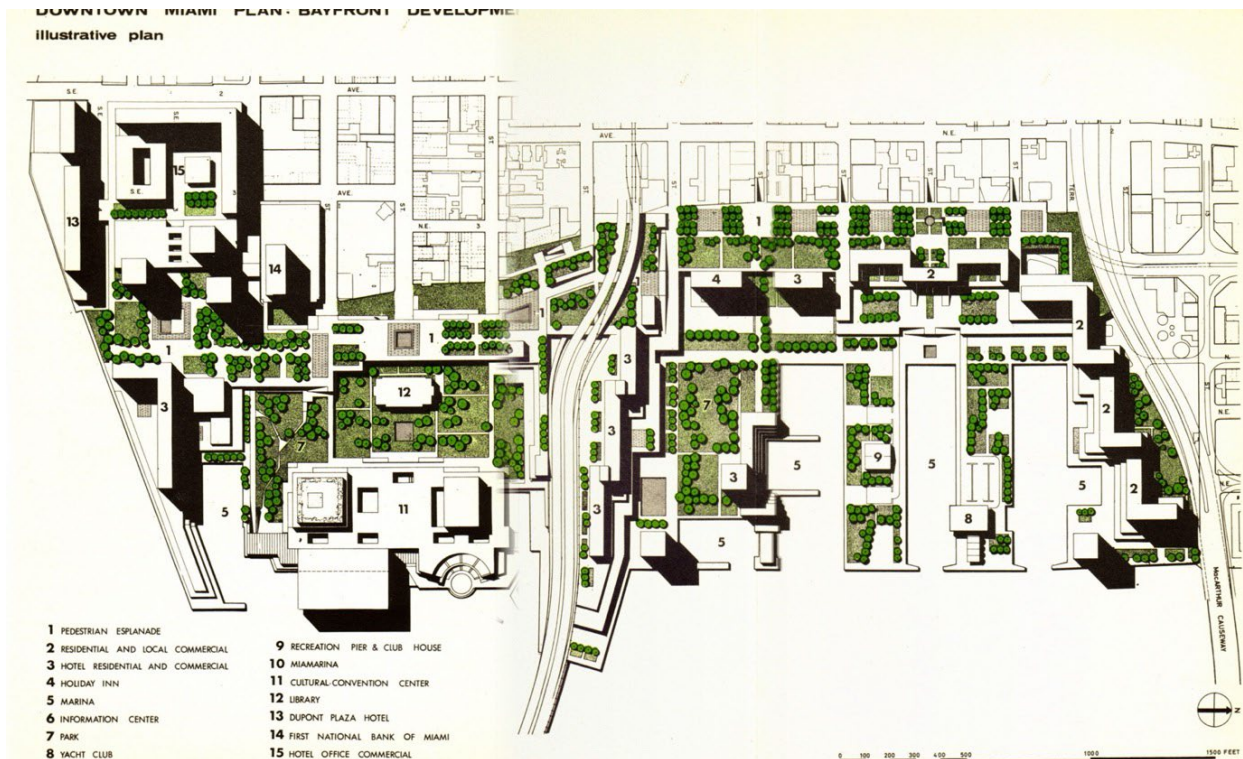
Proposed Bayfront development, Miami. Doxiadis Associates, 1967. Illustrative plan. From Downtown Miami: The Bayfront Development (Miami: Doxiadis Associates, 1967).

In the meantime, Dade County developed alternate plans for a new **Civic Center** district west of downtown, on the spacious 130-acre site of the Miami Country Club. [192] This open land on the north bank of the Miami River was closer to the county's center of population and was already eyed as the future crossroads of a high-speed traffic network. Steward & Skinner's 1945 Civic Center master plan proposed a ceremonial U-shaped arrangement of buildings on the axis of NW 12th Avenue, and in the Beaux Arts manner of similar civic complexes in the U.S. assembled a mix of civic functions there, including a city hall, police and fire department, community hall and art museum.[193] As planning advanced and new buildings were designed, formal planning fell by the wayside, replaced by piecemeal and pragmatic arrangements of large modernist blocks. The new 5-story **Police Station** (Civic Architects Associated, 1955), 10-story Y-shaped **County Jail** (1960) and 9-story **Criminal Court Building** (1960), both designed by CODA Associates, as well as the new **State Office Building** (Walter Butler, 1959), were all completed on the west side of 12th Avenue, opposite the emerging and equally chaotic Jackson Memorial medical center.[194] In this modern civic potpourri, commanding building skins of glass curtainwall and precast concrete panels were accented by stone, mosaic tile, and ornamental metalwork.

Plans for the new Civic Center were interrupted when, in January 1961, Metro-Dade and Miami City Planning authorities unveiled their new collaborative planning effort: the **Magic City Center Plan for Action (MCC)**.[195] Headed by Metro-Dade planner Paul Watt, this 25-year blueprint for the development of downtown argued that a downtown government district would strengthen the urban core's identity as a business center. The plan proposed interconnected business and civic

districts interlaced with pedestrian shopping streets and dotted with gardens and concrete parasols. The proposed six-block long Government Center complex at the west end of downtown, anchored by the powerful figure of the Dade County Courthouse, clustered city, county, state and federal agencies around pedestrian patios and raised concourses.[196] The plan notably omitted, as the *Miami Herald* critiqued, any notion of downtown residential space, relegating housing to an outer ring for tower-in-the-garden apartment buildings in Overtown, where urban renewal was to be used in Miami's continuing attempts to clear the neighborhood.[197] The MCC's evocation of a compact civic/commercial downtown, woven with pedestrian streets and raised concourses, surrounded by peripheral highways (including a ring that went into the bay) and suburban districts, and served by a megastructure-type transportation center – was certainly influenced by Victor Gruen's influential 1956 plan for downtown Fort Worth (Gruen had presented the Forth Worth plan to civic leaders in 1956). While the MCC plans were never explicitly followed, they did lay the groundwork for the return of government to downtown.

The 16-story **Claude Pepper Federal Office** (1964) was only major downtown civic building to rise in the period following the MCC plan, although it ignored the plan's specific recommendations and rose on the site of what was supposed to be the Miami City Hall. Designed by Steward and Skinner (planners of the County's other Civic Center) with Giller, Payne and Waxman, the slab-type tower faced west, perhaps in deference to the earlier notion of a Pan-American concourse but turning a cold shoulder on the old Dade County Courthouse. Raised on marble piers, the building's imposing façades, featuring precast concrete panel finished with marble aggregates, telegraphed a strong sense of solidity and order, while also exhibiting a strong sculptural quality achieved through a type of *bossage* – a term usually applied to rustic stonework but here used to describe the chiseled look of the panels.

In 1964, with little of the Magic City Center plan accomplished and the need to reinvigorate downtown redevelopment efforts, a newly created Downtown Development Board (formed to seek federal urban renewal funds for further project redevelopment) hired the internationally-prominent Athens-based planner Constantinos Doxiadis to advance downtown planning.[198] Doxiadis created his own master plan, affirming the general intent of the MCC plan while taking a markedly different approach to several elements. For one thing, the Doxiadis plan avoided any imposition of new highways downtown, advocating instead the idea of an effective mass transit system.[199] Also, Doxiadis emphasized the notion of downtown living, suggesting a frontage of hotels and apartment and office towers along Biscayne Boulevard. He removed the notion of pedestrian malls along downtown's most important thoroughfares, but conversely proposed a raised pedestrian esplanade over Biscayne Boulevard, which he illustrated as a series of interconnected plazas offering views over the park while hiding traffic and parking. Indeed, the plan focused heavily on re-making the city's bayfront edge as the "living room" of downtown Miami, with a Civic and Cultural Center there that would have included a museum, convention hall, and theater set in a system of green patios.[200] Conversely, Doxiadis agreed with the MMC plan for a downtown government center at downtown's west end but shifted the alignment westward over the FEC tracks into Overtown (likely another mindless reiteration of long-standing city plans to remove that district from the downtown mix).

Liberty Square, Liberty City, Miami, Paist and Stewart with associate architects Robert Law Weed, Vladimir Virrick and E.L. Robertson, 1934-37. From Raymond Mohl, "Shadows in the Sunshine: Race and Ethnicity in Miami," Tequesta, January 1989. p. 70.

Although neither the Magic City Center nor Doxiadis plans were implemented, both plans advanced a dialogue about downtown planning issues that was formerly absent. Further, they helped lay the groundwork for the city's two most important new civic initiatives of the 1970s-80s: the development of a Government and Cultural Center at the west end of downtown, and the civic redevelopment of the bayfront through new parks and infrastructure at its east end.

Public Housing

While projecting an image of wealth and leisure to the world, Miami lacked affordable housing for its sizable population of working poor, including Black residents in racially segregated districts, and elderly pensioners. Miami's affordable housing deficit could be traced in part to a lack of investment stretching from the devastation of the Great Hurricane of 1926 to the deprivations of the Great Depression and WWII. After the war, resurgent resort activities and the end of wartime rent controls further drove up rental costs, driving a housing crisis among disadvantaged Miamians.

Public housing was only a minor contributor to housing production in Miami – only about 10,000 units of public housing were created between the late-1930s-80s. Yet this government-sponsored contribution was conceived as a civil and urban-focused response to the housing crisis, even if it was orchestrated as a sometimes-fraught balancing of progressive ideals, pragmatic solutions, and often discriminatory practices. Public housing was one of the most conspicuous facets of the large role the federal government played in the postwar economy, sometimes called the "New Deal order," as expressed in the changing national housing policies of various presidential administrations. Yet it was also deeply enmeshed in local concerns and politics, as well as regional planning issues, building types and construction techniques.

The projects that were built through the collaboration of local housing agencies and many of Miami's leading architects, span a compelling range of civic priorities and evolving design paradigms. In the best cases, public housing demonstrated regionally distinctive design innovation, and offered a critical response to commercial practices.

*x*New Deal Beginnings

Liberty Square public housing project, Miami. Phineas E. Paist, C. Sheldon Tucker, Harold Steward, Walter C. De Garmo, E. L. Robertson and V. E. Virrick architects, 1937. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum.

James E. Scott Homes, Miami. Steward & Skinner with Robert Law Weed, 1953-55. 1955. From Janus Research, Historic Resource Survey and Evaluation for Scott Homes and Carver Homes. Miami-Dade County Housing Agency, October, 2001.

Public housing in Miami had its origins in the Depression-era New Deal, and mixed progressive federal goals of addressing housing scarcity and improving housing quality with popular policies like slum clearance. [201] In 1937, as a result of the National Housing (Wagner-Steagall) Act, which set the groundwork for the United States Housing Authority to work with local authorities to fund public housing, the Miami Housing Authority (MHA) was established.

From the start, Miami's public housing was distinguished by its general focus on low-scale garden apartments and rowhouse-type family units that fit well the city's predominant suburban contexts. The initial pattern was set just prior to the creation of the MHA at Miami's first public housing,

Scattered Housing projects. Alfred Browning Parker, 1969. Courtesy of George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Alfred Browning Parker Collection.

Liberty Square (1934-37), a 243-unit project financed by the Public Works Administration (PWA) and intended for Black families. Designed by Paist and Steward with associate architects Robert Law Weed, Vladimir Virrick and E.L. Robertson, the project comprised one- and two-story rowhouse-type structures that were new to Miami. More familiar were the front porches, which at Liberty Square (and **Edison Courts** (1941) – the 345-unit Whites-only project designed by the same architectural team following similar planning) were used as a unifying civic feature.

The planning of Liberty Square and Edison Courts was also distinctive. As John Stuart has demonstrated, New Deal federal projects like Liberty Square channeled progressive housing models promoted by American reformers, like Catherine Bauer, into practice.[202] Liberty Square's low-density (10-15 units per acre), and the manner in which its housing units were organized to form communal gardens on a park-like "superblock," can be traced to garden city planning practices promoted by housing reformers.

Although touted as a way to relieve overcrowding, Liberty Square also aimed to relocate Black families from Overtown (then known as the Central Negro District, or Colored Town) into what would become a new Black center in Liberty City. Such intentions reveal how, in developing public housing, federal priorities were filtered through local politics, and the goal of meeting housing needs accompanied the often-parochial interests and objectives of civic leaders.[203] Deeply entrenched racial thinking meant that public housing, like slum-clearance, could be used to reinforce existing racial boundaries, or to engineer new ones. In this way, the Miami Housing Authority became a de facto actor in planning in the urban core and exercised a powerful influence over the evolving geography of poverty and race, shaping the city through site selection, housing design, and eventually urban renewal.

Scattered Housing projects. Alfred Browning Parker, 1969. Courtesy of George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Alfred Browning Parker Collection.

From superblock to scattered-site housing

The political and polemical context surrounding public housing programs only increased following World War II. On the one hand, public concern and moral outrage over slum conditions was growing. Attention focused on Overtown, where large areas of crowded shotgun shacks lacked most basic services and were considered unsanitary. Against this context, the project of public housing was given massive impetus by the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Housing Act (1949), an element of President Harry Truman's "Fair Deal," which made the housing provisions of the New Deal more permanent, increased federal support for "slum clearance" and made "a decent standard of housing for all" national policy. At the same time, MHA's mission and scope were complicated by local fears of competition with private housing and skepticism about the perceived socialist tilt of government-initiated solutions.[204] Strong public opposition, promoted in particular by a group called the Committee Against Socialized Housing, also played out in the courts in fights over whether public housing was in fact a public purpose.

Nevertheless, in 1950, along with plans to clear more than 300 acres of "shacks and slums" in Overtown, MHA announced plans to develop 1,000 new low-rent housing units for Blacks "somewhere" in Dade County.[205] Eventually developed in the Gladeview area of northwest Miami, principally by condemnation of the mainly Black-owned Para Villa neighborhood, the 754-unit **James E. Scott Homes** (1953-55) was the largest public housing project in Dade County. Designed by Steward & Skinner with Robert Law Weed, substantially the team that developed Liberty Square and Edison Courts, it continued the superblock model of those earlier projects, although with less green areas and amenity. The linear row-house structures were organized in parallel with narrow intervening open spaces, demonstrating a space-efficient, even mechanical approach that calls to mind the German *Zeilenbau* housing of the 1920s (also promoted by progressives like Catherine Bauer). Like the planning, the architecture of the Scott Homes was austere and pragmatic, featuring long hipped roof over masonry walls with awning-type windows, and continuous one-story roof porches supported on pipe-columns. The increased density and

reduced ambition of the project seemed to confirm the rising sentiment that public housing was housing of last resort.

In the liberalizing context of the 1960s, MHA, and its successor, the Metro-Dade County Department of Housing and Urban Development (known as "Little HUD"), tried new planning approaches, including **scattered-site housing**. The scattered-site approach emerged from concerns over concentrating poverty, and with the intention of making public housing less identifiable and less institutional.[206] Nationally, scattered-site housing gained traction under the administration of President Lyndon B. Johnson as an alternative to high-rise housing, as a way for housing authorities to purchase single-family and duplex houses for public housing use, or as a way to disperse public housing into more ethnically diverse or affluent communities.[207] In Miami, scattered-site housing meant breaking large superblocks into smaller housing tracts that could be dispersed throughout a neighborhood, or several neighborhoods. Another innovation of the 1960s is that housing was increasingly put into the hands of a young architects concerned with design innovation, yielding more experimental architectural approaches.[208]

The first scattered-site public housing in Miami was prompted by the need to house the 12,000 people displaced by expressway construction around the area of the midtown interchange in Overtown, and by Miami's first Urban Renewal project in the same area. Haley Sofge, MHA director, promoted the approach as paving the way to a new and better life for the mainly Black residents displaced from Overtown: "There will be no multi-story monoliths, gray and institutional, of the type that has bred despair and crime in some northern cities…instead neighborly duplexes and small row apartment buildings will be scattered blocks apart over an existing residential neighborhood."[209] About 40 sites were chosen in Brownsville, Allapattah, and Little River, neighborhoods where Black settlement was either established or trending under private development.[210]

Annie Coleman Gardens in Brownsville (1966) was among the first scattered housing projects built in Miami. The two-story garden apartment blocks, angled to form diamond-shaped quadrangles and spread over several blocks on smaller superblocks, did little to connect to the surrounding neighborhood, but were elevated by their architectural quality and attention to constructability. Based on extensive materials research, architects Polevitzky and Johnson developed their own prefabricated kit of parts – tilt-up concrete end walls, modular door and window panels, and precast stairways and guardrails. The system was design to inexpensively achieve efficient volume production, but also to exploit mass production to produce high-quality components and customized patterns of textured concrete and specialty aggregate finishes. The panelized walls were then flexibly arranged, or syncopated, to achieve diversity.[211]

The largest scattered-sites project, comprising 745-units on 15 building sites, was awarded to Alfred Browning Parker in 1969.[212] The sites, mainly in Miami's Allapattah, Wynwood, and Lemon City neighborhoods, varied from duplex lots to tracts of multiple acres. Parker developed both garden apartment buildings and duplex townhouses, all conceived to look "as little like public housing as possible." The small cubic townhouse units had exterior stairs and projecting private balconies and roofs and were organized to create well-defined paved and landscaped courts.[213]

Elizabeth Virrick Village, Miami. Kenneth Treister, 1967. From "Housing Authority Buys First 'Turn Key Project'," Miami Herald, May 28, 1967.

An experiment in concentrating scattered-site housing rose on the 198-acre tract of Miami's first Urban Renewal Project (Urban Renewal Area no. 1), just northeast of the recently completed Midtown Interchange – the area that generated the surge of "expressway refugees" in the first place. In this area of Overtown more than 635 parcels, comprising a mix of large and small homes, apartment buildings, and small businesses, had been cleared. To ensure the erasure of memory of this once vibrant community, even the streets were removed. Only the St. Agnes Church, where the influential Reverend Culmer served as Rector, was saved. The resulting *terra incognita* was defined mainly by the rising pylons, embankments and viaducts of the highway. Into this vast void, scattered-site housing was deployed, undoubtedly in an attempt to lend some complexity. One of the most publicized new developments here was the 99-unit **Rainbow Village**, a reworking of Parker's earlier scattered-site townhouse projects, but vividly distinguished by assigning each unit a different color.[214] Also here was the 47-unit **Central Miami** (1969) townhouse project by Wilfredo Borroto and Don Lee, which organized L-shaped structures around communal patios intended as social generators, and which were located dynamically to preserve existing trees.[215]

Although slowed by "President Richard Nixon's 1973 moratorium on housing and community development assistance," by the mid-1970s, public housing was rising all over the county, from Hialeah and Miami Gardens in the north to Perrine and Florida City in South Dade and serving a broader range of constituents. For instance, responding to the needs of migrant agricultural workers in in Naranja, Little HUD coordinated with the OMICA (Organized Migrants in Community Action) Housing Corp and the University of Miami's Center for Urban and Regional Studies to develop 30 cluster-planned single-family homes with walled courtyards in the **Omica Housing Development**.[216]

Deploying private industry

In the mid-1960s, as President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society program gathered momentum, the federal government also turned increasingly toward "the genius of private industry" to rebuild American cities.[217] The **Turnkey Program**, authorized under the Housing Act of 1965, was
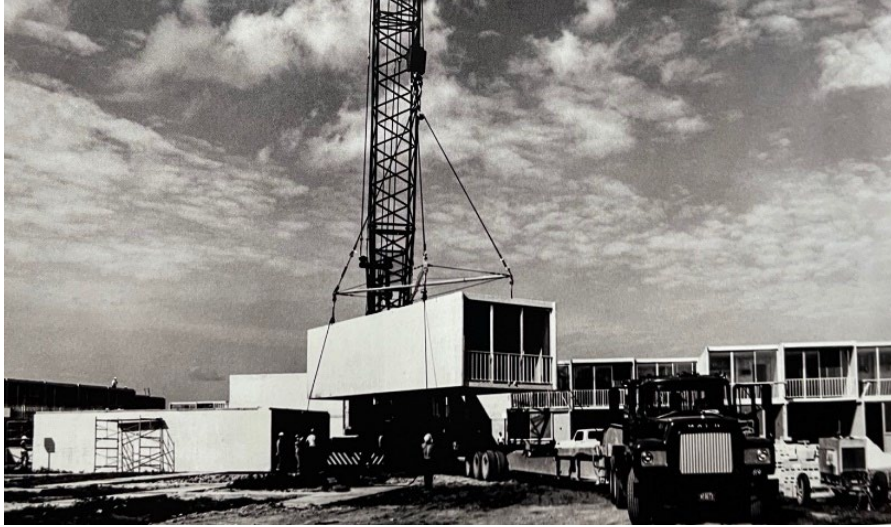
Modular Housing, North Miami. Housing Corporation of America (HCA), 1970. Courtesy of George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Kenneth Treister Collection.

conceived to expedite construction of new public housing while promoting the role of private enterprise in housing construction. Turnkey touted speed and efficiency by using private capital and initiative to build housing, which was then purchased using funds from HUD's Housing Assistance Administration.

The first turnkey projects in Miami, hewing consistently to low-density and height, were implemented in the late 1960s in collaboration with architect Kenneth Treister and his brother Leonard Treister. The Treisters' 28-unit **Elizabeth Virrick Village** (1967) on the Miami River, named for the Coconut Grove housing reformer, featured a checkerboard arrangement of two-story walk-up buildings joined by connecting the walkways on all floors to create a series of courtyards.[218] According to the *Miami Herald,* the promised speed was delivered (the project finished in only 143 days), but federal requirements for low ground coverage and other government standards, along with prevailing wage requirements and government bureaucracy, made Virrick Village, according to the *Miami Herald*, the "most costly garden-type apartment ever constructed by anybody anywhere in Dade County."[219]

In order to reduce costs and pursue Turnkey housing projects nationwide, the Treisters partnered with Alcoa Corporation to found the **Housing Corporation of America** (HCA) in 1968, becoming a leading builder of federal low-rent turnkey housing in the U.S.[220] HCA soon branched into modular prefabricated housing, and developed stackable concrete box-type systems that could be produced inexpensively using assembly line construction and shipped to site. The use of prefabricated housing as an economical way to construct single-family homes in higher-density configurations was likely inspired by the success of Moshe Safdie's modular Habitat 67 in Montreal (1967). Unlike the mountain-type planning of Habitat, however, Treister, working with Hernando Acosta, orchestrated the modular units to create a low-rise cluster of townhouses. Their tubular concrete modules with open end walls that could be infilled with a mix of louvered wall panels, sliding glass doors, balconies, and doors. Based on experiments using the modules at Paradise Mills Estates in St. Croix, VI, in 1970 HCA was funded under the Kaiser In-Cities Experimental Housing Research and Development Program to produce 342 townhouse units on

Abe Aronovitz Villas, Miami. 1962. Photo by Allan Shulman

three scattered sites in Dade County.[221] The 12-foot by 40-foot modules, comprising a mix of living/dining/kitchen units and bedroom units, were produced at a factory in Medley in northwest Dade county, shipped to the site and arranged in variable combinations.[222]

Housing the elderly

Public housing for the elderly rose to the top of the agenda in the 1960s as the Kennedy Administration offered multiple legislative initiatives to address the needs of America's growing population of senior citizens.[223] Florida was already a magnet for American retirees, and retirement villages built by private industry, labor unions, and churches, were popping up all over the state.[224] In Miami, many of the arriving elderly had modest incomes or were living entirely on Social Security, and could be counted among the urban poor.[225] By 1961, the *Miami News* counted as many as 30,000 retirees in Dade County living in substandard housing, including trailers, two-story walk-ups, rooming houses, and most famously in Miami Beach hotels, which took up a large part of the housing slack. [226]

The Miami Housing Authority's first low-cost elderly housing arrived, like most of its early public housing, in racially-segregated complexes – the 64-unit **Donn Gardens** complex for Whites in Allapattah (1961) and **Jollivette Plaza**, a 66-unit complex for the Black elderly in Liberty City (1962). Both were one-story garden-style apartment buildings, comparable in appearance to a ranch or "rambler"-type house, and featured large windows, easy garden access and generous street-facing porches. In 1965, the **Malcolm Ross Senior Day Center** was built near the Donn Gardens complex, establishing the practice of grouping senior housing with community centers that offered recreational activities, occupational therapy, and medical services.

Robert King High Towers, Miami, Ferendino, Grafton, Pancoast, 1964. Photo by Joseph W. Molitor Photography. Courtesy of Spillis Candela DMJM Archive.

By the mid-1960s, increased demand for elderly housing and a change of planning strategy at the Miami Housing Authority, produced Miami's first high-rise public housing. Theorized by architects like Marcel Breuer and Walter Gropius at the Bauhaus, and popularized through the work of Le Corbusier, "tower-in-the-garden" housing had become a staple of American public housing in many parts of the U.S. because of its efficiency and low cost. In Miami, however, the Housing Authority considered towers as appropriate only for the elderly.[227] In a reversal of the typical economics of high-rise construction, elderly housing benefited from higher per-unit budgets, reflecting standard cost allotment distributed among smaller efficiency units. The higher budgets permitted costlier, and more architecturally compelling, towers whose civic presence was emphasized by their surrounding spacious leafy gardens, which were designed to look and function as parks.

The first high-rise public housing in Miami, **Robert King High Towers** (1964), was set, along with its companion **Miami River Senior Center** (a social hall, workshop, and crafts space), in an expansive ten-acre site along the Miami River studded with mature Live Oak trees. Architects Pancoast Ferendino Grafton Skeels and Burnham designed the thirteen-story towers as staggered but interconnected slabs, divided by expressed circulation cores. A floor-through unit arrangement allowed cross-ventilation in the towers, which according to federal standards could not be air-conditioned. Facing northwest, and framed by a concrete egg-crate grid, the 322 apartment units had floor-to-ceiling glass walls and operable metal louvers, while the continuous outdoor circulation galleries faced southeast.[228] Such single-loaded apartment blocks were disappearing as a commercial model of multi-family dwelling in the 1960s, as air-conditioning allowed more efficient double-loaded configurations. Yet, the elongated riverfront tower, tall and thin and
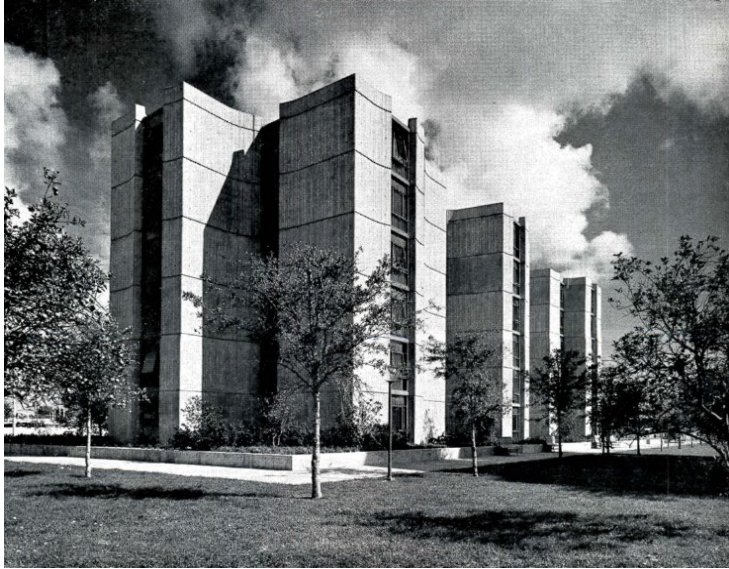
Smathers Plaza, Miami. Robert Bradford Browne, 1967. (left) Photo by Peter R. Brumer. (right) Plan of tower. From The Florida Architect, February 1968, pp. 22-25.

constructed in Brutalist flavors of both formed and precast concrete, gave the type a new monumental vitality. Its prominence acquired additional meaning when, as a result of President Kennedy's 1962 executive order banning racial discrimination in public housing, it became the first public housing project in Miami (and one of the first in the Southeast U.S.) with a racially mixed population.

Smathers Plaza (1967), located in Little Havana, further demonstrated the attraction of high-quality tower-in-the-garden planning to the elderly, while offering a more sculptural and expressive demonstration of Brutalist concrete architecture. Designed by Robert Bradford Browne with Charles Harrison Pawley and Hernando Acosta, its 182 residential units were broken into two structures, one a pin-wheeling 13-story tower and the other a long 6-story block. The two structures, along with the adjacent one-story **Smathers Senior Center**, floated askew of the Miami grid, enveloped on a 6.7-acre park-like site comprising groves of orange, live oak, and jacaranda.

Each of the Smathers towers was composed of exposed board-formed concrete walls, cast to form subtle convex and concave surfaces, and tinted green to better mesh into the park-like environment. The vertical rises of concrete alternated with fixed and operable glass panels, while the building volumes were also deeply incised to allow light and air to penetrate into the common corridors. The bold modeling of form, in which *Miami Herald* critic Fred Sherman found "an air of firmness and of drama," recalled poetic and monumental social housing produced in Latin America, like Abraham Zabludovsky and Teodoro González de León's Torres de Mixcoac and La Patera, outside Mexico City (1967). [229] When completed, Smathers was among the most celebrated public housing projects nationally.[230]

Bold and expressive concrete structures as identifiers of public purpose gave a progressive imprint to public housing for the elderly in Miami. In the 1970s, this imprint was channeled anew by Hernando Acosta at the six-story, 80-unit **Edison Plaza** complex in Lemon City (1975). The

Edison Plaza Homes, Miami. Hernando Acosta, 1975. Photo by Allan Shulman.

Edison Plaza Tower, Miami. Hernando Acosta, 1975. Photo by Allan Shulman.

selection of the Columbian-born Acosta, who had worked with Browne on
the Smathers project, as well as the project's bold angular massing, was taken by the *Miami Herald*
as a sign that Little HUD was "tuning into the Latin scene."[231] Amid a rising tide of postmodern
design citywide, the complex featured modernist and prismatic building shapes softened by the
rounded forms of private bullnose balconies, finished in painted stucco but still achieving the
sculptural complexity of concrete architecture. As another marker of public purpose, the
surrounding park and **Edison Senior Center** featured civic artwork, including a Corten steel
sundial by artists J. Fuhrman and William Brenner (1978) and an aluminum frieze by Robert Huff,
early fruits of Miami's Art in Public Places program (established locally in 1973) that in public
settings assigned a portion of building cost to commissioned art.

The Edison Plaza project was also the first in Miami to programmatically mix elderly housing with family units. Acosta designed a small enclave of 32 one- and two-story homes in the single-family neighborhood surrounding the tower. The cubic structures, adorned with giant pre-cast concrete sunshades over doors and windows, conveyed a striking modernist iconography, but Acosta also attempted a more fine-grained and contextual site planning approach, as the cubic modules were combined in small increments in order to fit neatly among and between the older existing homes. The peculiar balance of carefully knit cubic housing modules and superblock planning (even at small scale), visible in staggered front setbacks and in yards and parking lots that sprawled across lot boundaries, marked a new level of public housing integration while also identifying its limits.

Harry Cain Tower (1983), the last of the elderly high-rise projects during this period, was the boldest attempt by Miami housing authorities to consider public housing, planning and urban design in a more integrative way. The first public housing built in downtown Miami, it was located on the New World campus of Miami Junior College and, in coordination with the campus itself, was specifically coordinated to enhance the revival of the urban core. Befitting its urban location, it was the first public housing project in Dade County to have commercial uses like a grocery store, pharmacy and medical offices, at its base. But the idea of integrating the elderly into downtown went beyond building program and involved a broad collaboration with Dade Junior College. In announcing the project, College president Eduardo Padron declared, "We want [the elderly residents] to be part of the campus community," a position that came to include broad access to shared campus activities like classes and recreation, and to facilities like the art museum and library. [232] Architecturally, the 14-story tower, designed by Ferguson Glasgow & Schuster, tried to align with the naked concrete architecture of Ferendino Grafton Spillis Candela's adjacent campus (as well as the growing number of downtown buildings that also bore that firm's imprint), with a honeycomb façade of sculpted, precast concrete modules infilled with windows and louver panels. A half century from the progressive intentions of the New Deal Order, with its vision of low-rise housing for the masses in garden-city settings, public housing arrived in the discourse of the urban core, and thus of the metropolitan whole, in a new and powerful way.

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[1] "Miami's 50th Anniversary Exhibit: The Miami of Tomorrow," brochure for exhibit at the Miami Auditorium, November 25-December 1, 1946. Souvenir Magazine (Miami, Fla. : Miami's 50th Anniversary Committee, 1946). University of Miami Special Collections. See also Elizabeth Peeler, "Planners and Dreamers," *The Historical Association of Southern Florida Update*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (August 1984). The 'Miami of Tomorrow' vision was documented in a souvenir brochure. The brochure also illustrated three contemporary projects "of the future": the planned campus of the University of Miami, architect Charles P. Nieder's proposed 41-story rail terminal downtown, and the outline of a Pan-American Exposition and Merchandise Mart, a perennial project for this south-facing city.

[2] William D. Solecki and Robert T. Walker, "Transformation of the South Florida Landscape," in *Growing Populations, Changing Landscapes: Studies from India, China, and the United States* (Washington, D.C., The National Academies Press, 2001).

[3] N.D.B Connolly, *A World More Concrete: Real Estate and the Remaking of Jim Crow South Florida* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), p. 143.

[4] National Conference on City Planning (NCCP). 1926. John Hancock, "John Nolen: New Towns in Florida, 1922-29," *New City* No. 1, Fall 1991, p. 69.

[5] David M. P. Freund, *Colored Property*: *State Policy and White Racial Politics in Suburban America* (University of Chicago Press, 2010) p. 9. The Standard State Zoning Enabling Act of 1922 created the system by which cities were divided into single-use districts, giving rise to single-use subdivisions.

[6] H.F. Burga, "Spatial Politics in Metropolitan Miami, 1980-1992: Cuban American Crisis, Community Development and Empowerment," PhD dissertation, City and Regional Planning (University of California Berkeley December 18, 2012), p. 22.

[7] Gwendolyn Wright, *USA: modern architectures in history* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2008), p. 7.

[8] I rely on my previous research and writing about postwar Miami in Allan T. Shulman, "Paradox and Paradise," in Allan Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis*, p. 14.

[9] Robert C. Wood, *Suburbia: Its People and Their Politics* (1959), p, 65 quoted in W. B. Dickinson Jr., "Suburban migration". *Editorial research reports 1960* (Vol. II). http://library.cqpress.com/cqresearcher/cqresrre1960072000 Accessed http://library.cqpress.com/cqresearcher/cqresrre1960072000, August 18, 2022.

[10] William R. Grove Jr., "Metropolitan Planning?," 21 University of Miami Law Review, 60 (1966). Accessed online at https://repository.law.miami.edu/umlr/vol21/iss1/4

[11] Burga, "Spatial Politics," p. 29.

[12] Grover Theis, "Time and Geography Tie Miami To Volcanic Caribbean As Most Strategic City On Atlantic For Naval Base," *Miami Herald*, December 15, 1940.

[13] "Greater Miami and its role during World War II, Part I," *Miami's Community News*, accessed July 1, 2022. https://communitynewspapers.com/biscayne-bay/greater-miami-and-its-role-during-world-war-ii-part-i/

[14] Anton Garcia Carbonell, "Hemispheric Hub: Miami International Airport," in Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis:* pp. 158-165.

[15] Community News Releases, "Greater Miami and its Role in World War II, Part I," November 9, 2020. Accessed online at https://communitynewspapers.com/biscayne-bay/greater-miami-and-its-role-during-world-war-ii-part-i/, August 24, 2022.

[16] *Floribbean* came into wide use in the 1960s, but its first use was likely its use as the title of the National Airlines promotional in-flight magazine.

[17] I rely on Howard Kleinberg's extensive survey of Miami Beach. See Howard Kleinberg, *Miami Beach: A History* (Jackson, MS: Centennial Press) 1994, 143. See also David J. Coles, *Florida World War II Heritage Trail* (Tallahassee: Florida Department of State). https://files.floridados.gov/media/32351/worldwariiheritagetrail.pdf

[18] Ibid, 143. See also Miami Design Preservation League, "Photographs of WWII military in Miami Beach," accessed online at https://mdpl.org/archives/2020/04/photographs-of-wwii-military-in-miami-beach/.

[19] Steve Hach, *Cold War in South Florida Historic Resource Study* (National Park Service Southeast Regional Office, October 2004).

[20] Igor Polevitzky, Chair. "Theme Slated for Meeting of Architects," *Miami News*, April 28, 1946.

[21] "Harbor Islands Created in Biscayne Bay," *Miami News*, March 24, 1946. Also see "Bay Harbor Costly Plans Made Public," *Miami Herald*, April 21, 1946.

[22] "Bay Harbor Causeway Legislation is sought," *Miami News*, March 22, 1949. The causeway to be built using RFC funding, Bay Harbor owned and built, with toll to function on a self-liquidating basis, to be given to County.

[23] "Harbor Islands Created in Biscayne Bay," *Miami News*, March 24, 1946.

[24] I rely on previous research and writing about the new towns of Bay Harbor Islands and Bal Harbour in Allan T. Shulman and Jean-Francois Lejeune, "Postwar Towns: Bal Harbour Village and Bay Harbor Islands," in Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis*, pp. 172-179.

[25] Architect Mark Hampton, who partnered with mall architect Herbert H. Johnson & Associates in 1965, played an important role in the mall's later development. Howard Cohen, "Wolfsonian, Bal Harbour Shops architect Mark Hampton dies at 91," *Miami Herald*, March 2, 2015.

[26] Larry Birger, "Richest Shopping Center," *Miami News*, January 5, 1965.

[27] The U.S. Land Ordinance grid was extended to Florida after the Treaty with Spain concluded 1819. In Miami, Sections are generally defined by 10 avenue blocks east to west, and 16 street blocks north to south.

[28] Charles Siegel, *Unplanning: Livable Cities and Political Choices* (Preservation Institute, 2010)

[29] Clarence Arthur Perry, "The Neighborhood Unit, a Scheme of Arrangement for the Family-Life Community,'' (Published as Monograph 1 in Vol. 7 of Regional Plan of N.Y. Regional Survey of N.Y. and Its Environs, 1929).

[30] Jason Brody, "The neighborhood unit concept and the shaping of American land planning 1912-1968," pp. 11-12. Retrieved from http://krex.ksu.edu.

[31] Jean-Francois Lejeune, "Planning the Spectacle of Greater Miami," in Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis*, pp. 30. Clarence Perry's superblock model was developed further by Clarence Stein and Henry Wright during the 1930s in projects like Chatham Village in Pittsburgh, where attached houses enclosed an interior park, and at Radburn, New Jersey, where automobile and pedestrian circulation networks were split to support a continuous network of park spaces. These projects focused very much on the home as an affordable building block of middle-class neighborhoods, in the context of a planned regional framework of greenbelts and parks. Stein developed these models further in *Toward New Towns for America*. Yet, as Jean-Francois Lejeune has described, the socialist connotation of planned communities doomed both local and federal efforts, especially after the attacks of Senator Joseph McCarthy gave them an un-American tinge.

[32] See Federal Housing Administration, *Technical Bulletin No. 7: Planning Profitable Neighborhoods* (Washington D.C.: Federal Housing Administration, 1938) and Federal Housing Administration, *Successful Subdivisions: Planned as Neighborhoods for Profitable Investment and Appeal to Home Owners* (Land Planning Bulletin No. 1, Washington, D.C.: Superintendent of Documents, 1940). The "bulletin equated "subdivision" with "neighborhood" and directed subdividers to keep lots uniform in size and to "segregate uses," because, despite the benefits for pedestrians, "short blocks are not economical." See also *Community Builders' Handbook* (1947) by the Community Builders Council of the Urban Land Institute, and California Department of Transportation, *Tract Housing in California, 1945-1973: A Context for National Register Evaluation* (Sacramento, California: California Department of Transportation,2011), accessed online. https://planning.lacity.org/odocument/7b3709a9-42d8-44ad-ac78-0bcf7fd70312/TractHousinginCalifornia_1945-1973.pdf.

[33] Charles Leyden, "A House For The Average Purse," *Miami News*, January 19, 1947.

[34] "Tomorrow and all this week, see the plans for the $5,000 G.I. House, "Advertisement for Burdines, *Miami News*, May 13, 1946. In order to broadcast the GI House proposals to a large audience, and in coordination with the AIA's first national convention in Miami, the work was exhibited in the picture gallery of Burdines downtown store.

[35] "Low Cost House," *Arts & Architecture*, March, v. 64, 1947, p. 35, 44.

[36] In 1947, a group of young architects and designers formed the 'Florida Design Group' to stimulate and acknowledge high quality design and collaboration among the arts. Chairman Wahl Snyder. Haygood Lasseter, George Farkas, Robert Little, T. Trip Russell, Frederick Rank, Jack Cameron, J. D. Van Atten, Ralph Wilcox and Homer Shrewsberry Jr., Igor Polevitzky, Robert Law Weed, William E. Tchumy and Edwin T. Reeder. Goal to co-relate artistic phases. See Adelaide Handy, "Allied Artists Combine Talent," *Miami Herald*, June 8, 1947.

[37] "$5,000 Home Plans Drawn By Architect," *Miami Herald*, May 7, 1946. See also "Builders To Speed $5,000 GI Home," *Miami Herald*, May 12, 1946; and "Miami Shows Model $5,000 Home For Vets," *Tampa Tribune*, July 7, 1946. First place entry by Wahl Snyder with Rufus Nims, Charles Pulley and Joseph Swain. Second place entry by Igor Polevitzky. Third prize by Frederick I Sather and Honorable Mention went to Alfred Browning Parker and others. Parker's submission was an expandable single-room 'Ur-dwelling' with an attached screen porch; it showed the interest in modernist versions of the tropical primitive hut, a type he explored further in his "Tropex-pansible" house types of 1948.

[38] "Builders To Give Home To Veteran," *Miami News*, February 2, 1947. Snyder and Nims' home was constructed by the Gaines Construction Co. The mixed shopping and housing development was developed by Irving Feldman.

[39] Charles Leyden, "A House For The Average Purse," *Miami News*, January 19, 1947. Designer George Farkas developed further the Polevitzky home's open-plan living and dining areas, creating model postwar interiors that fused natural features like brick plant wells to bring nature in, with artificial materials like plastic cords to screen the rooms. Jan Streate, "Importance of Color," *Miami News*, November 28, 1948

[40] I have explored the development of the tropical home in Miami more fully in "The Tropical Home: Modernity and the Construction of Authenticity," in Allan Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis: Paradise and Paradox in Midcentury Architecture and Planning* (South Pasadena: Balcony Press, 2009). p. 78.

[41] I rely on my previous research and writing about Alfred Browning Parker, particularly the catalogue of the exhibition *The Discipline of Nature: Architect Alfred Browning Parking in Florida*: Allan T. Shulman, "The Discipline of Nature: Architect Alfred Browning Parker in Florida," in Shulman ed., *The Discipline of Nature: Architect Alfred Browning Parker in Florida* (Miami: HistoryMiami Museum), 2016.

[42] I rely on my previous research and writing about Rufus Nims. Allan T. Shulman, "Rufus Nims and the Fascination of the Concrete Home," in Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis*, p 331.

[43] Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, "The Three Traditions of Miami," Maurice Culot and Jean-François Lejeune, ed., *Miami: Architecture of the Tropics* (Miami: Center of Fine Arts; Brussels: Archives D'Architecture Moderne, 1992), 79-89.

[44] Alfred Browning Parker, "What you need to know before you build in the tropics," *House Beautiful* 106, January 1964, 102-103. Parker described the environmental strategy implicit in his design in *House Beautiful*: "By breaking the house down into smaller units this way, each room has more outside wall, therefore more chance for cooling breezes."

[45] "Four South Florida Houses…," *The Florida Architect*, August 1959, p. 14.

[46] Livability embodied a return to the old Muthesius theme, as elaborated by Francis Bacon: "houses are built to live in, not look at."[46] Francis Bacon quoted in relation to Hermann Muthesius' *Das englische* Haus, Annette Cire, "'Beyond the Metropolis': Urban Design and Architecture of the 'Country House Colonies' and Garden Cities in Berlin Suburbs before 1914." *City of Architecture of the City: Berlin 1900-2000*, p. 53.

[47] "Bird-cage House," *Architectural Forum* 92, part 2 (May 1950), pp. 138-141.

[48] Relman Morin, "The Great Stone Age: No Matter Who You Are This Story Will Hit Home," *Miami Herald*, June 28, 1959.

[49] "Builders Rush Air-Conditioning," *Miami Herald,* August 24, 1952

[50] "Man Plans Patios (With Nature in Mind)," *Tropical Homes and Gardening* 2 (August 1952), p. 4.

[51] Robert Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia* (Basic Books, 1987).

[52] Established in Jacksonville in 1910 and in Miami in 1937, the Mackles were a family organization, headed by brothers Elliot, Robert, and Frank Jr.

[53] Marie Anderson, "Dade's Levittowns: Boomtowns Reborn," *Miami Herald,* May 21, 1972.

[54] "Low-Cost Project of 1,000 Homes," *Miami Herald*, August 29, 1948.

[55] Colin Marshall, "Levittown, the prototypical American suburb – a history of cities in 50 buildings, day 25," *The Guardian*, April 28, 2015. Accessed online August 21, 2022. https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/apr/28/levittown-america-prototypical-suburb-history-cities

[56] "Key Biscayne, the 'Island Paradise'," advertisement for Mackle Company Inc., December 7, 1952.

[57] "Westwood Lake Brings South Miami one of the nation's most beautiful regional Shopping Centers," advertisement in the *Miami News*, December 5, 1954. According to its advertisement, "if Westwood Lake had municipal status, it would, with its 3,500 homes and inhabitants, rank 23rd in population among the cities of Florida."

[58] Teresa Van Dike, "Miami's Second Ghetto," (Schmidt College of Arts & the Humanities, thesis, 1994). Accessed April 4, 2022, p. 31.

[59] "Bunche Park Gets Big Loan," *Miami Herald*, Feb. 5, 1950.

[60] "Richmond Heights… Former Pilot is Developer," *Miami Herald*, May 20, 1951.

[61] Martin engaged Black community leaders in the development, making it one of the few communities to receive community input prior to construction. Black community leaders involved in the development of Richmond Heights included David Douglas, Rev. Edward T. Graham, Father Theodore R. Gibson, Associate Judge L.E. Thomas, and Charles Radcliff. Sara Cody, Designation Report for Richmond Heights Historic District, Office of Historic Preservation Regulatory and Economic Resources Department, Miami-Dade County, July 20, 2016.

[62] "Essex Village Houses," Architectural *R*ecord, February, 1948, p. 10, 12.

[63] "North Miami Tract At New Causeway is Selected as Site," *Miami Herald*, August 21, 1949. In order to build Keystone Point, the land, including the outlet of Arch Creek, was carved to create two storm harbors, a lake, and five miles of inland waterway threading through the site, publicized as the most waterfront land ever made

available in a development. The dredging pierced 30-feet into solid rock to achieve the necessary fill to raise the site and, unfortunately, straightened the picturesque Arch Creek to make for better boating. Note: before Robert Little, 20 houses were built in late 1949 according to plans by architect Irving E. Horsey.

[64] "Developer Speeds Up Timetable," *Miami Herald*, March 12, 1950.

[65] "Keystone Point Development Opens Model Home Today," *Miami Herald*, December 11, 1949.

[66] Advertisement for Florida Sundeck Homes Co., *Miami Herald*, January 29, 1950.

[67] "A Lavish Spender, Davis Indulged Whims," *Miami Herald*, December 12, 1965. See also Dom Bonafede, "A. V. Davis Firm Plans Vast S.W. Development: Has 70,000-Acre Holdings in Dade," *Miami Herald*, August 2, 1959.

[68] Audrey Ross, "Mangroves to Mansions," 2004. Accessed online https://www.miamirealestate.com/mangroves-to-mansions-by-audrey-ross-2004/

[69] Bernard Weiner, "Dadeland Work Starts Tomorrow," *Miami News*, August 6, 1961

[70] Fred Sherman, "South Dade Tract Sold to Builders: Arvida Approves $2,797,600 Deal," *Miami Herald*, December 12, 1959.

[71] "A Traditional Home—Florida Living With Dignity," *Miami Herald*. See also Kay Murphy, "Florida Living: Leave Modern To The Very Young, Say Mature Couple Who Prefer Traditional Style," *Miami Herald*, March 29, 1953.

[72] Ben Funk, "Mackles To Build 5,000 Homes In '58," *Miami News*, May 18, 1958.

[73] James Russell, "Florida Land – by the Share – Soars in Price," *Miami Herald*, April 21, 1968. Among the larger players were: Miami Beach-based Canaveral International, which conflated Indian River citrus and the emerging space program to sell Florida real estate at Cape Canaveral; Gulf American Corp (1958), which established offices in a new headquarters along Biscayne Boulevard, was the developer of Golden Gate Estates and Cape Coral in Collier County; Major Realty Corp (1959), based in the DuPont Building, which controlled 100 square miles in central Florid; Alico Land Development Co. (1960) spun off from the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad and leveraged its 230,000 acres of timber, cattle, oil, and farm property to become the largest land development company in Florida. The allure of Florida real estate also drew in established American companies from other industries, like Westinghouse Electric Corporation (1963-68), which created Urban Systems Development Corp (1968) to develop low-cost housing, and International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation (ITT), which developed its own Community Development Corp. (1968), the Miami-based developer of 68,000-acre Palm Coast in Flagler County. Levitt and Sons, one of the world's largest home developers, also created a subsidiary in Florida, ITT Levitt, projecting a new city of 750,000 on the Palm Coast.

[74] The Graham family included Ernest "Cap" Graham, and his sons William, Philip and Robert.

[75] Aristides J. Millas, "Miami Lakes: A Self-Contained Planned Community," in Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis*, p. 181.

[76] State Rep. Robert Graham quoted in "Miami Lakes Planned New Town for Future," *Miami Herald*, November 2, 1969.

[77] John O. Simonds, "Miami Lakes New Town," *Parks & Recreation* 5 (October 1970): 30 in Millas, "Miami Lakes," p. 181.

[78] Ibid

[79] Wayne Markham, "Miami Lakes Developer See Market on Rebound," *Miami Herald*, December 28, 1975.

[80] an arrangement inspired by prewar garden cities designed for the automobile, like Clarence Stein and Henry Wright's Radburn, New Jersey

[81] Eli Adams, "That Cemetery Plot's Real Estate, Too," *Miami Herald*, January 19, 1969.

[82] Dickinson Jr., "Suburban migration." As Dickinson writes, Max Lerner complained that what made suburbia's standardization even bleaker was "the uniformity of age, income and class outlook." While John Keats, in *The Crack in the Picture Window,* concluded that the physical monotony of mass suburban housing was "a leveling influence in itself, breeding swarms of neuter drones."

[83] David M.P. Freund, *Colored Property: State Policy and White Racial Politics in Suburban America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), accessed online through proquest, March 14, 2022.

[84] https://blogs.dickinson.edu/hist-117pinsker/2021/12/03/frederick-douglass-the-color-line-1881/. The theme of the color line was also famously explored by the sociologist and social activist W.E.B. Du Bois in the early 20th century.

[85] Raymond Mohl, "Whitening Miami: Race, Housing, and Government Policy in Twentieth Century Dade County," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 79, No. 3 (Winter 2001), 319-345.

[86] Smaller centers of Black settlement were dotted around the county – Opa Locka, Lemon City, Coconut Grove, Biscayne Park, North Miami Beach, South Miami, Hialeah, and Goulds.

[87] Historical Marker. Historic Negro Police Precinct and Courthouse Museum, Overtown. See also Connolly, *A World More Concrete*, 124-128.

[88] Connolly, *A World More Concrete*, pp. 76-77.

[89] Dickinson Jr., "Suburban migration."

[90] Mohl, "Whitening Miami," 322. The three areas were all distant from the center: Flagami, an area west of Perrine and north of Opa-locka.

[91] George E. Merrick, *Planning the Greater Miami for Tomorrow* (Miami, 1937), 11. In Mohl, "Whitening Miami," p. 323.

[92] Connolly, *A World More Concrete*, pp. 87-88.

[93] I rely here on the research of Raymond Mohl, who noted, the plans "are historically important for at least two reasons. First, they reveal the racial thinking of White civic leaders on housing issues, and the lengths to which they were willing to go to achieve their goals. Second, they provide insight into the purposes of subsequent policies and plans that Dade County ultimately implemented." Mohl, "Whitening Miami," 324.

[94] Connolly, *A World More Concrete*, pp. 93-98. See also Mohl, "Whitening Miami," 325-328, and John Archer, *Sennott R.S. Encyclopedia of twentieth century architecture*, Vol.3 (P-Z) (Fitzroy Dearborn, 2005). http://architecture-history.org/schools/SUBURBAN%20PLANNING.html

[95] "Buffer Strip Arrangement For Housing Projects Outlined By Architect," *Miami News*, July 16, 1939. Found in Chat Travieso, "A Nation of Walls: The Overlooked History of Race Barriers in the United State," *Places Journal*, September 2020, found online at https://placesjournal.org/article/a-nation-of-walls/?cn-reloaded=1.

[96] Connolly, *A World More Concrete*, pp. 86-87.

[97] "The Answer to Negro Housing?," *Miami Herald*, January 27, 1952.

[98] Van Dike, "Miami's Second Ghetto," 21. https://fau.digital.flvc.org/islandora/object/fau%3A11825/datastream/OBJ/view/Miami_s_second_ghetto.pdf

[99] Richard s. Sterne, *Social Problem Levels in City of Miami* (Miami: Welfare Planning Council of Dade County, 1965), v, 33-42, 63-73, 83; Miami Report, 1; Rose, "Metropolitan Miami's Changing Negro Population," 225, 227, quoted in Eric G. Tscheschlok, "Long Road to Rebellion, Miami's Liberty City Riot of 1968," thesis presented toward a Master of Arts, Florida Atlantic University, August 1995. See also Van Dike, "Miami's Second Ghetto."

[100] Eric Tscheschlok, "Long Time Coming: Miami's Liberty City Riot of 1968," *Florida Historical Quarterly*: Vol. 74: No. 4, Article 6 (Tallahassee: Florida Department of State, 1995). https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq/vol74/iss4/6

[101] A key figure in this endeavor was Luther Brooks, a White businessman whose Bonded Collection Agency was the city's largest Black landlord, managing 10,000 negro rental units in 1967, and who took an activist role in the politics and planning of Black communities.

[102] "Project in Florida May Solve Problem of Minority Housing," *The Pittsburgh Courier*, January 21, 1950.

[103] Raymond A. Mohl, "Elizabeth Virrick and the 'Concrete Monsters': Housing Reform in Postwar Miami," *Tequesta 51* (2001), in Connolly, *A World More Concrete*, p. 185.

[104] Kara Wood, "Highways: The Choreography of Expansion, in Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis*, p. 153.

[105] C.E. Wright, "Florida Highways," *New York Times*, October 23, 1955. See also John Pennekamp, "Behind the Front Page," *Miami Herald*, April 25, 1955.Pennekamp noted: "Aside from the defense thinking, which is a substantial part of the administration's purpose, lies the question of prosperity. The nation's economy is keyed to the automobile industry. Inadequate highways are a threat to the industry. And in Florida, the State's prosperity is keyed to the nation's economic well-being."

[106] The proposed routes proposed included a North-South Expressway (now part of I-95), an East-West Expressway (now the Dolphin Expressway), a 36th Street Expressway (now the Airport Expressway), the Biscayne Bay Malecon (a proposed downtown loop, never built), a Dixie Expressway (proposed and partly built), and the Palmetto Expressway. See "Questions on Expressway? – Here Are Some Answers". *Miami News*. December 19, 1956. p. 21. See also Kartik Krishnaiyer, "Flashback Friday: Sunshine State Parkway in the early 1960's," October 9, 2015.

https://thefloridasqueeze.com/2015/10/09/flashback-friday-sunshine-state-parkway-in-the-early-1960s/. Accessed March 1, 2022.

[107] Construction of Golden Glades Interchange started in 1962 and was completed 1964. It eventually joined and sorted the Seaboard Railroad, Golden Glades Drive (163rd Street), State Route 9, The Palmetto Expressway (State Route 826), the North-South Highway (I-95), and US 441, which had been extended to from Orlando to Miami in 1950.

[108] John Morton, "Expressway Brings New Headache," *Miami Herald*, September 8, 1958.

[109] As Kara Wood writes, "Miami's highways, created to increase access and foster interconnectedness in the expanding city, simultaneously served as a tool of disconnection and sometimes willful displacement. At the height of the civil rights movement, the city constructed bridges of concrete over its landscape and its most difficult social issues. It was a convenient way of turning a blind eye to the realities of everyday urban life." Wood, "Highways," p. 157.

[110] Brochure, "Invitation to a New Land; Crandon Park and Rickenbacker Causeway" (1947). Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum

[111] The 1947 opening day brochure for the area, talked of an "invitation to a new land". See https://viewfromvirginiakey.blogspot.com/2010/04/rickenbacker-as-parkway.html

[112] "New Ocean Road Would Open Land," *Miami Herald*, January 9, 1955.

[113] Even before the Mid-Bay Causeway proposals, the unbuilt north-south leg of the Venetian Causeway, planned in the 1920s, would have created a similar longitudinal north-south link bisecting the bay.

[114] "New Plan Offered: Broward to Monroe 'Malecon' in Bay," *Miami Herald*, January 7, 1959.
The 'Malecon' described the north 14.2mi portion of the proposed expressway, from US 1 at Broward County line to MacArthur Causeway (MH Jan 13, 1959 cit). The project built on an original 1947 proposal by T.K. Hodges of the U.S. Army Corp of Engineers. Revisions brought in 1948 and 1955 but failed because new proof there was enough traffic to make the project self-sustaining. See Jeanne Bellamy, "Gardner Revives 'Malecon' Proposal," *Miami Herald*, December 13, 1953.

[115] Nixon Smiley, "Architect Whips Up A Design For Miami's Future," *Miami Herald*, October 23, 1955.

[116] "Florida water management history 1900-1949," St. John River Water Management District, accessed online at https://www.sjrwmd.com/history/1900-1949/In the 1930's-40s, the state's mandate increased to cover flood protection but "also required to manage water supply and conservation, fish and wildlife, and other associated resources."

[117] Holland Beeber, "Vast Works Planned for Metropolitan Area," *Miami News*, December 10, 1950. See also "History," South Florida Water Management District, accessed online at https://www.sfwmd.gov/who-we-are/history

[118] Sandi Reed, "New FCD: Agency With Hand on Tap," *Miami Herald*, July 15, 1974.

[119] John Rennie Short, "Creating a Suburban Society," in *Alabaster Cities: Urban U.S. Since 1950* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2006), pp. 72-73, accessed online https://books.google.com/books?id=vhc9YTPkYwYC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false

[120] "Here's the Secret of Farm Stores' Success," *Miami Herald*, April 17, 1966.

[121] "New Restaurant Chain To Enter Miami Field," *Miami Herald*, July 16, 1950

[122] Marilys R. Nepomechie, "Biscayne Plaza: Miami's First Suburban Shopping Center," in Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis*, p. 216.

[123] "Land Firm's Faith - - $3 ¼ Million Building," *Miami News*, January 13, 1963. The Gulf American Corporation Building, wrapped in gold anodized aluminum screens, was designed by Steward-Skinner Associates.

[124] Jean-Francois Lejeune, "Suburban Squares: Miami's First Regional Malls, in Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis*, p. 209.

[125] Ibid, p. 21.

[126] "Shopping Centers to be Models for Downtown," *Miami Herald*, March 27, 1960.

[127] Morris Lapidus, interview with author, March 9, 1997.

[128] James Russell, "Big New Center About Ready To Bid For Shoppers' Dollars," *Miami Herald*, September 27, 1962.

[129] FIU Jorge M. Pérez Metropolitan Center, "MAKE IT MIAMI: Report on South Florida's Manufacturing Sector," 2019. Accessed online at https://issuu.com/fiumetrocenter/docs/make_it_miami/s/10222582

[130] Miami Chamber of Commerce, *Miami, Florida with Its Industrial Advantages: Gateway of the Americas*, (Miami: Miami Chamber of Commerce, Industrial Development Department, 1943). Accessed online at http://miami.fiu.edu. Miami's small consumer products industries included plastics, electronic equipment, aircraft parts, medical technology, and an extensive garment industry. Pérez Metropolitan Center, "MAKE IT MIAMI: Report on South Florida's Manufacturing Sector," 2019, P. 11. Accessed online at https://metropolitan.fiu.edu/research/periodic-publications/make-it-miami-manufacturing-report/make-it-miami-1.pdf

[131] I rely on my previous research and writing about the Sunshine State Industrial Park. Allan T. Shulman, "Garden City of Industry: Sunshine State Industrial Park," in Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis*, pp. 238-243.

[132] William C. Webb, "My Ideas of an Industrial Park," *Sunshine State Industrial Park: It is a Fresh Approach to Industrial Planning… a Bold New Concept… it is Florida's 'Showcase of Industry''*, Brochure (Miami: Wm. C. Webb & Associates, Inc., 1965), in Shulman, "Garden City of Industry."

[133] "Golden Model of the Suburban Age," *New York Times*, March 18, 1953, in Shulman, "Garden City of Industry."

[134] Webb's package plan was "based on the theory that a single company, devoted to service industry, can find sites, develop the land, design, engineer buildings and finance the project," from "Mills Now Built on 'Package Plan," *New York Times*, January 3, 1956, in Shulman, "Garden City of Enterprise."

[135] Bill Webb, Jr., interview with author, April 29, 2005. See also "$100 Million Industrial Park", *North Dade Hub – Progress Report*, March 17, 1957.

[136] As a theme structure, the powerful futuristic imagery of the Arch of Industry recalled Adalberto Libera's unrealized concrete "rainbow," symbol of the ill-fated E 42 Universal Exposition in Rome (1937-40), and Eero Saarinen's Saint Louis Gateway Arch (designed in 1948 and built between 1963-65), both of which functioned symbolically as thresholds.

[137] Sunshine State Industrial Park promotional brochure (undated). The brochure credits the design and engineering of the Arch of Industry to Walter C. Harry Associates.

[138] Eli Adams, "Commercial Boom Stirs Rush To Build Offices," *Miami Herald*, January 23, 1972.

[139] "Development booms in West Dade," *Miami Herald*, February 28, 1988. See also Betty Cortina, "Koger Center to open its 28th office building," *Miami Herald*, January 17, 1988.

[140] Further office parks included the **Westside Corporate Center** in West Dade (1988) which was planned for 2.5 million SF; **Doral Financial Plaza**; the **Airport Corporate Center**, developed by Prudential Life with Tishman Speyer Properties; **Miami International Park** (Edward J. DeBartolo Corporation) comprising 4-4.5 million SF of office, showroom and distribution space; the Lennar Corporate Center, 300,000 SF and including ca. 3,000 housing units at Doral Park. Such office spaces matched well the back-office functionality increasingly required by modern corporations.

[141] I rely on the work of Rocco Ceo, "Civilizing the Tropics: Miami's Park System," in Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis*, p. 159.

[142] I rely on the work of Gray Read, "Schools and Classrooms: Open and Closed," in Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis*, p. 374.

[143] Gray Read, "Spiritual Landscapes: Progressive Churches and Synagogues," in Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis*, p. 389.

[144] Carie Penabad, "University of Miami: Building a Postwar American Campus," in Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis*, p. 355.

[145] John Hertz, "Architecture as Transformation: Puerto Rican Modernism," ACSA Fall Conference Proceedings, *Local Identities Global Challenges*, 2011. Accessed online at https://www.acsa-arch.org/proceedings/Fall%20Conference%20Proceedings/ACSA.FALL.11/ACSA.FALL.11.1.pdf

[146] University of Miami Presidential Collection, Box 21, Robert Law Weed 1944-1960. From Penabad, "University of Miami," p. 356.

[147] Letter by Thomas H. Creighton, editor of *Progressive Architecture* to The Jury of Fellows, American Institute of Architects, December 30, 1957. Fellowship Records of the American Institute of Architects, Washington D.C.

[148] Penabad, "University of Miami," p. 360.

[149] Ibid, p. 361.

[150] Jean Francois Lejeune, "William Morgan in Florida: Tropical Brutalism in the Age of Consensus," Adaptive Reuse - the Modern Movement toward the Future, *Adaptive reuse – the Modern Movement towards the future* (Lisbon: Docomomo International, Casa da Arquitectura, 2016) pp. 425-431.

[151] Arthur M. Cohen and Florence B. Brawer. *The American community college* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1996, quoted in Richard L. Drury, "Community Colleges in America: A Historical Perspective," *Inquiry*, Volume 8, Number 1, Spring 200, Accessed online at https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ876835.pdf

[152] Dade County Junior College enrolled more freshmen than the Florida's large state universities, University of Florida, Florida State University and the University of South Florida combined. https://www.mdc.edu/about/history.aspx accessed July 22, 2022.

[153] Marvin Dunn, Black Miami in the Twentieth Century (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997) p. 239. Also, interview with Dr. Marvin Dunn, December 9, 2022.

[154] For a photo study of college supergraphics, see "Its Supergraphics," *The Florida Architect*, December, 1968, pp. 18-19. Accessed online at https://usmodernist.org/FA/FA-1968-12.pdf

[155] Interview of Hilario Candela by Jean-Francois Lejeune, January 25, 2016. See also Lejeune, "William Morgan in Florida," p. 426.

[156] Gray Read, "A Center in the Middle of Nowhere: Miami-Dade Junior College South Campus." in Allan Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis,* p. 366.

[157] Bobbi Walker (coordinated by David Rifkind and John Stuart), "Miami-Dade College North Campus," SAH Archipedia. Accessed online at https://sah-archipedia.org/buildings/FL-01-086-0058

[158] "FIU: The Birth of a University… And Plans for its Development," FIU and Greenleaf/Telesca Planners, Engineers, Architects. 1970. p. 97.

[159] As Antolin Garcia Carbonell notes, "The city's romance with flight originated with the aviator and developer Glenn H. Curtiss, who began to fashion Miami into an aviation center in the early 1900s. Curtis established airfields throughout the city while developing the Miami suburbs of Hialeah, Miami Springs and Opa-locka." Carbonell, "Hemispheric Hub," p. 201.

[160] Ibid, p. 203

[161] Ibid, p. 204.

[162] Larry Solloway, "At Miami Airport," *New York Times*, November 1, 1959. The Miami International Airport Hotel benefited from improvements in soundproofing, like plastic-sheathed walls, double ceilings, and triple-pane glass.

[163] Solloway, "At Miami Airport."

[164] As Carbonell writes, "non-White travelers connecting through Miami could neither stay in hotels nor eat in the restaurants near the airport, because all these facilities were racially segregated. By treating the hotel as an "International House" college dormitory, where students of all races could live, city officials assured that these discriminatory laws did not apply." Carbonell, "Hemispheric Hub," p. 203-204.

[165] "Her Task—Adapt Airport to People," *Miami Herald*, October 29, 1973.

[166] The Nose Hangar was based on a prototype developed by the New York structural engineering firm Amman and Whitney for Trans World Airlines in Kansas City. Carbonell, "Hemispheric Hub," p. 206-207.

[167] I rely on my previous research and writing about the Port of Miami terminals, including Allan T. Shulman, "Port and Passenger Terminals: Infrastructure as Spectacle," in Allan Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis,* p. 194-199. Also, "The Concrete Line: Miami's Marine Passenger Terminals" Annals of X Docomomo Brazil Seminar, *Modern and International: Brutalist Connections 1955-75*. Curitiba, 15-18 October 2013 [electronic device]/ Orgs.: Michelle Schneider Santos, Salvador Gnoato. Porto Alegre: PROPAR/UFRGS, 2013. [ISBN: 978-85-60188-14-7]

[168] A final report, prepared by the Planning Department for the County Commissioners of Metropolitan Dade County and approved by the Metropolitan Dade County Planning Advisory Board (Adrian McCune and Edwin T. Reeder, co-chairmen), recommended relocation of the port to Dodge Island and the redevelopment of the historic port area as a central business district. *Planning Review Report of the Miami Seaport Location* (Miami: Metropolitan Dade County Planning Department, July 1959), Project Report No. 1.

[169] Miami Chamber of Commerce, *Miami, Florida with its Industrial Advantages*.

[170] George Fox Mott, *Miami's Marine Destiny: Today's Decisions* (Washington, D.C.: Mott of Washington & Associates, 1955).

[171] "Miami Enjoys Boom as a Passenger Cruise Port," *New York Times*, January 9. 1972.

[172] "New Seaport Passenger Terminal to Open in Miami: Red Carpet Facility Likely to Cut Time of Clear Ships," *New York Times*, December 29, 1968.

[173] John Rennie Short has described the interests fighting to preserve downtowns generally in John R. Short, "Downtown: 'The Heart That Pumps the Blood of Commerce'," *Alabaster cities*, pp. 49-67.

[174] The Miami Parking Deck inspired countless successors, from the Split Level Garage by Aeck Associates in Atlanta (1954) to Herzog & De Meuron's 1111 building in Miami Beach (2010). Arguably, it also inspired tropical homes like Rufus Nims's Roman House and civic spaces, like Alfred Browning Parker's Bal Harbour Yacht Club.

[175] Holland Beeber, "New Bank Home Open Tomorrow," *Miami News*, February 8, 1959.

[176] "Bank Changes Miami Skyline," *Architectural Record*, January 1960, p. 2.

[177] "Ferre Corp. Building Is Top Of The Town," *Miami News*, June 17, 1966. See also James Russell, "Ferre Empire: It Grows in All Directions," *Miami Herald*, September 15, 1968. As Russell described, "In the world of business, Ferré means concrete, land, office buildings, glass and iron."

[178] "'100 Biscayne' Building Sets a Precedent," *Miami Herald*, December 1, 1963.

[179] "Tall Story and True," *Miami News*, June 17, 1966.

[180] "Watching Florida Grow," *Miami News*, February 11, 1966. Breuer's emerging concrete vocabulary was also illustrated at the UNESCO Headquarters in Paris (with Bernard Zehrfuss and Pier Luigi Nervi, 1958) and at the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development Building (with Herbert Beckhard, 1963-68).

[181] See Gray Read, "The Bacardi Building: Rum, Revolution and the Crafting of Identity," in Shulman ed. *Miami Modern Metropolis*, 232-237. See also Allan T. Shulman, *Building Bacardi: Architecture, Art & Identity* (New York: Rizzoli, 2016). Gutierrez produced the Miami Bacardi Tower with SACMAG of Puerto Rico. Note: Gutierrez also worked with Philip Johnson on the Veradero beach house of Bacardi president Jose 'Pepin' Bosch.

[182] In 1973, the Bacardi tower was expanded with a mushroom-like Annex building, designed by architect Ignacio Carrera-Justiz in 1973. The building's two office floors were cantilevered from a solid core, and hung by rods from a grid of deep, post-tensioned beams in the roof (an ambitious structural solution close in character to that of the original tower). Contrasting with the transparent tower, it was mysterious and opaque – its four equal walls sheathed in tapestries of colored glass that translated commissioned artwork by the German artist Johannes Maria Dietz into curtain wall.

[183] Emanoel Araujo, museum director, critic and curator in São Paulo, quoted in Larry Rohter, "In Brazil, Iconoclast Is Bearded In His Den; A Controversial Sculptor Revels in His Menagerie," *The New York Times*, April 22, 2004.

[184] Henry Russell Hitchcock, *Latin American Architecture Since 1945,* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1955), p. 26. According to historian Henry Russell Hitchcock, "tiled surfaces became one of the key character-defining elements of the international style in Latin America." Tile murals were also, as Hitchcock affirmed, an indicator of Latin influence in the U.S.

[185] "Unique Building Nears Finish, Complicated Details Told," *Miami Herald*, January 14, 1951.

[186] "Lawyers' Circle," *Architectural Forum*, August, 1960, v. 113, p. 106.

[187] "The Atmospheric Envelope: Igor Polevitzky Vision of a Modern Florida," *The Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts*, Miami: Wolfson Foundation of Decorative and Propaganda Arts, 1997: Volume 23, p. 359.

[188] "Dinner Key Is Ideal Site For Miami's City Hall," *Miami Herald*, December 5, 1952.

[189] The experience of other cities in the tearing out of existing urban blocks to accommodate civic expansion (as had been the experience of Detroit, for instance) was cautionary. George F. Emery, former Director of Planning in Detroit, led planning on that city's civic center, and was hired by Miami in 1952). "Plan Post Assumed by Emery," *Miami Herald*, August 13, 1952.

[190] The eastern branch of the Pan-American Highway, via the Overseas Highway and Key West, would shorten the distance between Latin America and the east coast of the U.S. According to Frank F. Stearns, Secretary of the City Planning Board, "Miami must never be considered a gateway city… Miami should become the hub of inter-American highway traffic." Stearns quoted in John Pennekamp, "Behind the Front Page," *Miami Herald*, December 17, 1942. See also "A 'Must' Exhibit," *Miami News*, November 27, 1946.

[191] Verne O. Williams, "City Commission Majority Proposes To 'Pin Down' Site Of New City Hall," *Miami News*, August 30, 1953. The new City Hall was designed to be convertible, in case the Civic Center would indeed move west. Its lack of monumentalism was conceived as appropriate to its future commercial use. Robert Law Weed quoted in Bill Baggs, "The City Hall We Don't Have," *Miami News*, April 11, 1952. See also Luther Voltz, "City Hall Bond Vote Nov. 24," *Miami Herald*, July 31, 1953.

[192] A 1937 plan promoted by George Merrick and Everest G. Sewell proposed a public park and 'ecological building' on the Miami County Club site. "Miami's Own Whirligig," *Miami News*, March 20, 1935.

[193] "Proposed Miami Civic Center," *Miami News*, June 10, 1945.

[194] Civic buildings of the period were often the product of architectural collaborations. Civic Architects Associated was a consortium of five local firms: Weed-Russell-Johnson Associates, Petersen and Shuflin, Watson and Deutschman, Robert Fitch Smith, and Steward-Skinner Associates. CODA Associates comprised Edwin T. Reeder and Robert Swartburg.

[195] The Magic City Center Plan for Action was issued as part of the Metro-Dade 1960 Preliminary Land Use Master Plan.

[196] Leo Adde and John Connors, "8-Block Government Center Proposed For Midtown Area," Miami Herald, April 12, 1960. See also Pete Weitzel, "Planners Will Push Government Center," *Miami Herald*, January 3, 1965 and John Connors, "City Center Cost Hits $660 Million: Project Will Take 25 Years," *Miami Herald*, January 10, 1961.

[197] Jeanne Belamy, "Planners Vision Downtown of 1985," *Miami Herald*, January 14, 1960. See also Juanita Greene, "Revitalization Question: It's Not If But Whether," *Miami Herald*, May 6, 1963.

[198] The Downtown Development Board (DDB) was replaced in 1965 by the Downtown Development Authority (DDA), with semi-autonomous powers to issue bonds and spend redevelopment monies. Rich Archibold, "Joint Effort On Governmental Center Urged," *Miami Herald*, May 12, 1967. See also Pat Mangan, "'New Look' Downtown Near Drawing Board," *Miami Herald*, August 14, 1966. Doxiadis was a leading thinker and practitioner on issues of urban development, with projects in the U.S. from Louisville to South Philadelphia and Washington D.C., and a global practice spanning from Khartoum, Accra, Caracas and Islamabad, to Baghdad.

[199] Phase 1 analysis presented maybe June 1966. "New Hope for Downtown," *Miami Herald*, June 27, 1966. See also, Rich Archbold, "Governmental Complex Gets City-Metro OK," Miami Herald, June 15, 1967. See also "Transit System's Buildup A 'Must'," *Miami Herald*, July 9, 1967 "New highways, rather than easing downtown traffic, are threatening to strangle the area in traffic, and ugly ground-level parking lots spread about in helter-skelter fashion waste land, isolate buildings and discourage potential shoppers and residents, he said." And Jeff Antevil, "Bold New Plan For Fading City," *Miami Herald*, June 3, 1967

[200] George Kennedy, "Miami Bayfront: Key To Dream City," *Miami Herald*, June 3, 1967.

[201] In 1933, U.S. Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes announced the formation of the Public Works Emergency Housing Corporation, with the intention to "construct, reconstruct, alter or repair, and to aid others in the construction of low-cost housing or slum clearance projects, apartments or houses." See "U.S. To Enter Housing Field," *Miami News*, October 29, 1933.

[202] John Stuart, "Liberty Square: Florida's First Public Housing Project," in John A Stuart and John F. Stack Jr. eds, *The New Deal In South Florida: Design, Policy, and Community Building, 1933-40* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2008). John Stuart, "Liberty Square" in SAH Archipedia, https://sah-archipedia.org/buildings/FL-01-086-0043, accessed July 18, 2022.

[203] The racialized biases of public housing in Miami were similar to those in Chicago, documented by Martin Meyerson and Edward Banfield in "Politics, Planning, and the Public Interest: The Case of Public Housing in Chicago, a landmark case study on race and public housing." Meyerson and Banfield found that attempts by urban planners to implement progressive policies were subverted by societal racism." https://www.planning.org/timeline/

[204] First Federal Savings & Loan Association of Miami published, in the form of an advertisement, an argument for the role of private enterprise in affordable housing, and against public housing, in "Slum Clearance and Public Housing in Greater Miami," *Miami News*, 16 April, 1950.

[205] "Low-Cost Home Site Is Selected," *Miami News*, February 28, 1950. See also Connolly, *A World More Concrete*, p. 196. Despite lawsuits by opponents of public housing, and by Black homeowners in the Para Villa neighborhood whose property would be condemned, the project moved forward.

[206] William R. Amlong, "Public Townhouses OKd in Poor Area," *Miami Herald*, July 27, 1969.

[207] "She Sees Better Way for PHA," *Miami Herald*, January 14, 1962.

[208] The role of architect George Reed, appointed as a member of the HUD Advisory Board in the late 1960s. and who later became an influential chairman of the board, was particularly important in promoting good design. Shelia Peyton, "Little HUD Fights Plan to Cut Fund," *Miami Herald*, January 5, 1973.

[209] Haley Sofge, director of the Miami Housing Authority, quoted in Verne O. Williams, "X-Way Leads To New Life," *Miami News*, May 4, 1964.

[210] As Raymond Mohl documents, a 1944 federal housing document, "Special Note on Site Selection," recommended Black projects in Black neighborhoods and White projects in White neighborhoods. If a project were to have a mixed occupancy, "the effort was always to locate the project in or adjacent to a traditional Negro neighborhood." U.S. Housing Authority, *Site Selection: A Discussion of the Fundamental Factors Involved in Selecting Sites for USHA-Aided Projects* (Washington, D.C., 1939). From Mohl, "Whitening Miami," p. 332-333.

[211] "Pre-Fab Walls a Key to Public Housing," *Miami Herald*, March 20, 1966.

[212] Jeff Antevil, "Housing Authority Asks 5,000 Units," *Miami Herald*, May 12, 1967.

[213] "Public Housing Ready," *Miami Herald*, January 30, 1972.

[214] Mike Power, "100 Units Planned in Renewal," *Miami Herald*, November 30, 1967.

[215] "Apartment Provides A Home," *Miami Herald*, December 13, 1970.

[216] Shelia Peyton, "Families Build Homes With UM's assistance," *Miami Herald*, May 5, 1974. Coordinating architects for UM included UM program director Joseph Middlebrooks and Rosendo Lopez

[217] Quoted from President Lyndon Johnson's 1967 State of the Union address. See Alexander von Hoffman, "The Quest for a New Frontier in Housing," Joint Center for Housing Studies Working Paper, W10-5, 2010. From Alexander von Hoffman, "History Lessons for Today's Housing Policy: The Political Processes of Making Low-Income Housing Policy," Joint Center for Housing Studies, Harvard University, August 2012.

[218] Morton Lucoff, "City Will Use Private Funds To Construct Public Housing," *Miami News*, September 19, 1966.

[219] Juanita Greene, "Housing for Poor Costs More Than Luxury Projects," *Miami Herald*, June 23, 1968.

[220] Obituary of Leonard Treister, published in the *Miami Herald* on Sep. 7, 2016. Accessed online, https://www.legacy.com/us/obituaries/herald/name/leonard-treister-obituary?id=9310435

[221] Louise Blanchard, "Factory will be set up here to turn out 'shell houses'," *Miami News*, October 23, 1970. See also "St. Croix Caught Up in Real Estate Rush," *Miami Herald*, January 17, 1971.

[222] The scattered sites were in unincorporated Dade County, including at Douglas Road and 199th Street and SW 202nd Street and 118th Place. Eli Adams, "The Have A Home and Responsibility," *Miami Herald*, February 11, 1973.

[223] Marie C. McGuire, Commissioner of the Public Housing Administration, dedicated half of earmarked funds to housing for the elderly. Edward Cowan, "Marie McGuire Works to Erase Stygma of PHA," *Miami Herald*, September 2, 1962. See also Eleanor Dixon, "We'll Help Oldsters," *Miami Herald*, December 8, 1960.

[224] "Retirement Village Idea Is Growing Over Florida," *Miami Herald*, February 20, 1962.

[225] A special 1960 U.S. Census Report for the MHA. Letter to Mr. Martin Adelman from Haley Sofge, Executive Director of the Miami Housing Authority, Feb. 12, 1962, published in *Problems of the Aging: Hearings before the sub-committee on Federal and State Activities of the Special Committee on Aging, United States Senate, Part 8*. Nov. 17, 1961.

[226] Hotels like the Blackstone, Floridian, Fleetwood, Helene, Wofford Beach and Boulevard were dedicated to providing single room occupancy to elderly residents. Sanford Schnier, "A Residence Godsend in Golden Years," *Miami News*, 19 October, 1961.

[227] Paul S. George, "Robert King High Towers: The Tall Face of Public Housing," in Shulman Ed. *Miami Modern Metropolis*, p. 316.

[228] Ibid, pp. 314-319. As Paul George notes, Architect Donald G. Smith of the Miami firm of Smith and Korach was responsible for some initial planning for Robert King High Towers.

[229] Frederic Sherman, "Housing To Give Thanks For," *Miami Herald*, November 23, 1967. See also "High-Rise Suites for Elderly Grace Broad Plaza in Miami," *New York Times*, March 31, 1968.

[230] "Fluted concrete in the Florida sun: Miami public housing complex for the elderly,"
Architectural Forum, Mar., v. 128, n. 2, 1968. p. 28-35. See also Eli Adams, "Bold Approach Marks Designs," *Miami Herald*, October 19, 1969.

[231] Hilda Inclan, "Housing project architect named," *Miami News*, May 12, 1975.

[232] Named after Harry Cain, U.S. Senator and Dade County Commissioner. J. P. Faber, "Retirement home opens downtown," *Miami News*, January 20, 1984.

Part III:

The Global City

Dadeland Mall, Kendall, 1962. Photo by James L. Gaines, 1969. Courtesy of the Florida Photographic Collection, Department of Commerce Collection, Florida Memory, https://www.floridamemory.com/items/show/320991, accessed 19 August 2022.

Crisis and Re-invention

To understand late mid-century suburban development in Miami, take a drive along Southwest 88th Street. The six- to eight-lane thoroughfare, better known as Kendall Drive, runs 13 miles from the Everglades to Biscayne Bay. At its west end is the Hammocks, a landmark of 1970s cluster planning in Miami. Driving eastward, beneath the overpasses of the Don Shula Expressway and the Florida Turnpike Extension, to the nexus of US Highway 1 and the Palmetto Expressway, one arrives at Dadeland, once a suburban crossroads elevated to urban center by the arrival of Metrorail in 1983. While not a main street in any traditional sense, Kendall Drive forms one of the great suburban axes of Miami, both connecting and cutting across generations of suburban sprawl. Once known as "the road to nowhere,"[1] and for its median landscape plantings, it emerged as a spot-zoned potpourri of strip shopping centers, filling stations, apartment houses, townhouses, a convalescent home and even a golf course. Even more than its schizophrenic identity, the road was defined by congested traffic. The start and stop along Kendall Drive could be seen as an early indicator of trouble in Miami's postwar suburban scene – and as a metaphor for Miami-Dade County's postwar crisis and reinvention.

Typical of arterial roads in Dade County, Kendall Drive corresponds to the mile-square grid that organizes Florida real estate, and which provided a critical framework for development. The one-time rural road was four-laned in the mid-1960s at the request of Arthur Vining Davis, who created Dadeland Mall on its east end, and owned most of the land westward as well. The widening of the road facilitated development along it, generating the community of Kendall, a large, unincorporated suburb where housing, infrastructure, commercial, industrial and civic works responded to ever-shifting paradigms, and struggled to keep up with the messy ambition and complexity of the city.

Kendall Drive symbolized the postwar narrative of "inevitable progress" -- and that narrative's demise. Uncontrolled sprawl produced the fragmented landscape, and the resulting fears of over-development and ever-worsening traffic that undermined the suburbs' appeal. Kendall Drive fit squarely into the argument historian Peter Blake launched in 1964 when, in *God's Own Junkyard: The Planned Deterioration of America's Landscape*, he decried suburban sprawl as "uglification."[2]

By the 1970s, the visual and traffic effects of sprawl were conflated with fear of environmental devastation and a looming water crisis in South Florida, provoked by drought, the over-development of wetlands, and consequent salt intrusion in the Biscayne Aquifer. The trouble helped instigate county planning efforts as the model of suburbia was reinvented, initially through cluster planning techniques in southwest Dade, and later through high-rise tower-in-the-park developments in northwest Dade County. Eventually the dysfunctions of suburbia would also help initiate the development of a new field of practice in urban design, the New Urbanism, a movement advocating a return to traditional town-design principles.

The demise of consensual postwar optimism about the city was not limited to suburbia. The *Miami Herald's* home editor Frederic Sherman found "young Miami is already facing the challenge of urban decay and a downtown wounded by a civic indifference to planning."[3] Resorts, once a mainstay of Miami's culture and identity, were not faring much better. By the 1970s, Miami Beach was no longer a "watering hole of the rich," or even of the middle class. South Beach, once the world-famous resort center of Miami Beach, had been discarded as modern resort development moved northward, but even there, construction of new resorts had come to an end, decline was obvious, and retirees were moving in.

Sometime in the 1970s, Miami reached a nadir. Immigration seemed to top local concerns. The population of Dade County had crossed 1.25 million, a five-fold increase since 1940 as waves of new immigrants filled the city and upended its traditional social, cultural and demographic structures. The immigration crisis came to a head in 1980, when a boatlift from the Cuban port of Mariel to Miami created a surge of more than 120,000 new migrants. That same year, riots erupted after the acquittal of police officers charged with the killing of Black motorcyclist, Arthur McDuffie. The killing highlighted Miami's long history of racism and segregation, as long suppressed inequities were thrust into relief. As Alejandro Portes and Alex Stepick point out,

Time Magazine cover, November 23,1981, Vol. 118 No. 21. South Florida: Paradise Lost?

Miami, the city of fantasy was "shedding its lighthearted past to become a serious, some say tragic place."[4] *Time Magazine's* November 23, 1981 cover article, *Paradise Lost?,* conveyed that immigration, crime, and drugs now dominated headlines about the city, and more importantly that conflicting social and cultural forces frayed Miami's sense of destiny.

Urban decline and social strife were not uniquely Miami themes. Across the United States in the 1970s, slipping living standards, fuel shortages, increasing crime, political scandal, racial unrest, environmental devastation, and the Vietnam War led author Tom Hine to label the period the "Great Funk."[5] As Hine points out, though, the term funk applies equally to the crisis of the 1970s and to period's remarkable defiance, improvisation, and reinvention.

Miami's "funk" challenged both the city's foundational narrative as a national playground and its postwar reinvention as a working city. Miami's subsequent reinvention took many forms and defined the late postwar as a distinct new era of the city's development. Among the most important changes, suburbia was reinvented. The southwestern suburb of Kendall became a testing ground of cluster planning, higher density housing and increased accessed to open space and civic amenities. New centers of commerce, business, industry and urban life also appeared in the

suburbs, making them destinations within an increasingly interconnected metropolitan area. Suburban centers were often built around existing or proposed shopping centers. Dadeland, and the village center of Coconut Grove, were transformed into expansive commercial and shopping experiences, attracting both locals and transnational shoppers. Ethnic centers offered culturally relevant retailing and place-making.

A newly minted search for sustainable regional identity through environmental conservation and historic preservation had particular impact, given the city's foundation on invented landscapes and traditions. Conservationists advocated for new national, state, and county preserves, conceptually reframing the city as an island surrounded by protected native landscapes. Meanwhile, the historic preservation movement of the 1970s-1980s played a critical role in identifying and reviving built heritage, from Miami Beach's Art Deco traditions to the Mediterranean vision of Coral Gables and the wood-built architecture of the rural Redlands. Historic preservation helped to advance a new ethos of development, even in such a young city, which took into account the region's spatially and historically layered identity.

Another critical re-invention came with the arrival of hundreds of thousands of Cuban exiles who transformed Miami, first by re-populating neighborhoods near the city's historic core, then initiating a wave of entrepreneurship that produced thousands of new businesses and transformed the economic framework of the city.[6] These businesses plugged in to networks across Latin America, making Miami a multi-lingual, multi-cultural trade center and a hub in the global economy. Transnational linkages and massive capital flows followed. Ironically, this was the role Miami had sought since the establishment of the city in the late 19th century, but it was achieved from the ground up through immigration, rather than through paternalistic civic planning. In 1980, the *New York Times* branded the city's evolving character as the **"Latinization of Miami."**[7]

With Latin American economies on the rise, Miami became a hub for US firms doing business in Latin America. Many of these new industries concentrated in the suburbs, like *Editorial América,* a landmark of made-in-Miami enterprise, which assembled a hemisphere-wide publishing empire that combined homegrown Spanish language magazines with Spanish editions of major U.S. publications.[8] Other suburbs hosted oil companies doing business in Venezuela, aerospace companies with work at the airport, and telecommunications companies with hemispheric reach. In Coral Gables alone, 80 multi-national companies, including DuPont and General Electric, set up Latin American headquarters.[9] Behind Miami International Airport, the county developed one of the largest free trade zones in the U.S.

The late-postwar transformation of Miami re-asserted a sense of exceptionalism in Miami. As sociologists Portes and Stepick have posited, "Miami was not a microcosm of the American city. It never was." [10] Social, spatial, and architectural environments that combined Latin and North American traditions, a product of immigrant assimilation, reaffirmed this exceptionalism. The creative and professional efforts of Cuban architects, a robust architectural diaspora, helped fashion this cultural infusion. The size of this group was impressive: a *Colegio National de Arquitectos de Cuba* (National Association of Cuban Architects) was regrouped in exile in Miami in 1961, and by 1985 it had 600 members. The diaspora's far-reaching architectural works took

many forms, as Victor Deupi and Jean-Francois Lejeune have recently revealed in *Cuban Modernism, Mid-Century Architecture 1940–1970*.[11] Cuba's thriving Modernist movement, fed by progressive education, global contacts, and the interest of architects in molding Modernism to fit the tropical climate and issues of cultural identity – or *cubanidad* – translated well to Miami, similarly concerned with its place in the modern world, its tropical heritage and regional identity.[12]

Immigrants followed North American migrations from the urban core to the suburbs, transforming subdivisions, like those surrounding Kendall Drive, into versions of "ethnoburbs." This term typically refers to a suburban area inhabited by a particular ethnic minority, however, emergent middle-class communities like Kendale Lakes and the Hammocks comprised a mix of pan-Americans from both North and South America.

Miami's hemispheric reach was not exclusively Latin. High returns and comparatively lax rules for development attracted foreign investment, especially Canadians. Canada sent more investors and tourists to Florida than any other single country in the 1970s, reaffirming the connection between airline links, touristic flows, residency, and enterprise.[13] Canadians were also the largest real estate developers in South Florida; Toronto-based Genstar alone was ten times larger than Dade County's largest local land developer, Lennar. Big and well-financed, Canadian land developers were especially well-suited to the inflationary U.S. home development market of the 1970s, and to the increasingly complex land development ecosystem evolving around Miami. By the late 1970s, Canadian companies were developing roughly 20,000 acres in Dade County, for a projected population of more than 160,000 new residents.[14]

However dynamic, the new social and economic architecture of Dade County failed to deliver benefits to all Miamians. Miami's Black community, historically excluded and disadvantaged, found itself left out of another wave of growth. Waves of immigration introduced new social and cultural systems into Miami, further marginalized Miami's Black community. The successes of the Civil Rights movement in the 1960s ended many structural systems of exclusion, but de facto segregation continued.[15] As "separate but equal," was replaced by the fight for full use, and the struggle to stabilize affected communities, the role of Black architects and planners would be critical.[16] Although prodigious builders of early Miami, exclusionary practices at American universities and architectural firms, as well as Jim Crow practices, kept many Blacks out of the profession. In a 1968 keynote address to the American Institute of Architects (AIA), Urban League executive director Whitney Young Jr. called out the organization for "thunderous silence and your complete irrelevance" on inclusiveness and social equity (a situation the AIA would begin to redress in the 1970s).[17] Around the same time, federally-sponsored community planning efforts under the Johnson Administration, including the Neighborhood Development Program and the Model City Program, drew many of Miami's first licensed Black architects, including Joseph Middlebrooks, Paul Devrouax, and Ron Frazier. By becoming directly engaged in advocacy planning, these architects brought their cultural experiences into decision making.[18]

Downtown Miami Looking North from Brickell Avenue, Miami. Photo by Bill Reinke, August 10, 1987. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection (1995-277-1582).

Miami's late postwar demographic and economic transformation came to a head downtown and along Brickell Avenue, reshaping the urban core with a surge of new buildings, especially banks. Bank buildings rose as symbols that Miami had become what Saskia Sassen and Alejandro Portes have termed a "global city," playing a strategic role in the Western Hemisphere, and globally. [19] The passage of Florida's International Banking Act of 1977 facilitated Miami's transformation into a foreign banking center, building on the federal Edge Act of 1919, which allowed foreign banks to take deposits from foreign customers and make loans in Florida. Edge Act banking facilitated the global movement of capital and local investment, the materialization of national and foreign capital and investment moving southward and northward. By 1980, at least 32 Edge Act banks and a further 20 major foreign bank agencies had opened in Miami, joining local banking corporations and S&Ls and financing the city's 1980s building boom.[20]

As financial services replaced tourism as the most important local business, banks displaced hotels as the region's most recognizable emblems. Miami's swaggering corporate titans, banks built the boldest structures as expressions of wealth and power. In this work, any notion of architecture as a tool of consensus dissipated into jumble of approaches, from the use of historical forms to the filtering of modernism through new curtainwall skin systems, and expressive sculptural work.

Plans for a downtown civic and cultural center that had gone unrealized for more than 80 years also rose to the top of the agenda. The racial, social, and ethnic tensions of the 1970s may have made any expression of civic solidarity seem even further out of reach. However, Miami's late postwar transformation made such a civic expression not just necessary, but inevitable, leading to the expansion and redevelopment of downtown parks and infrastructure, new attractions and cultural institutions, and a Government Center complex for federal, state, county, and local governments.

Changing Patterns on the Suburban Frontier

The late-1960s were a planning watershed in Dade County. The booming real estate market of the mid-1960s crested with explosive force, a high-water mark of postwar mono-cultural suburbia that brought into focus troubling patterns: profligate land use, monotonous sprawl, high costs, environmental damage and lack of civic infrastructure. The detached single-family home on a standard lot, once *the* passport to the American Dream, became an object of scorn among critics. Arguments for better land use crystalized in the 1970s around alternative housing types and planning paradigms.

In facing issues of land use, the example of California loomed large, both as both as the nation's cautionary illustration of overbuilding, and as a generator of new directions. Having confronted diminishing land, rising development costs, and mounting environmental regulation, California became a center of planning and housing innovation. Matthew Lasner has documented how California developers invented home and community typologies that "better replicated the spacious indoor-outdoor conditions of the detached house, while consuming less land."[21]

In Miami, the developments coming out of California aligned with new thinking about the city's physical expansion, and with important social and economic changes that were underway but had yet to be reflected architecturally or in terms of planning. For instance, the elderly, as well as new categories of residents like working families, singles, un-married couples and immigrants, were increasingly open to more communal arrangements. Further, changing social and cultural expectations in the turbulent 1970s placed less emphasis on the iconic suburban home, and introduced other paradigms of the good life.

Structural changes in land development and planning set the stage for new suburban paradigms. The physical size of the metropolitan area had grown considerably since the 1940s, and available land was increasingly further from the center, encumbered by wetlands, and more costly to develop. Environmental planning efforts that valued wetlands as an environmental resource (an ongoing process for sure) further constrained available land. Metropolitan planning efforts

Town n'Lake Estates, Miami. Harvey Ehrlich, 1966. From Advertisement for Town n'Lake Estates, Miami Herald, January 9, 1966. Adler-Built townhouses, Hialeah. Wahl Snyder, 1964. "How To Retain Privacy In The Middle Of A Mob," Miami News, June 7, 1964.

initiated in the early 1960s to control sprawl emphasized higher density and more compact development. Suburban density in Miami came in three types: high-density single-family housing, low- and medium-density apartment buildings, and high-rise towers and tower groups.

Townhomes, Patio Homes and Cluster Housing

The popularization of higher-density house types, like townhomes and patio homes, was an important part of the 1960s-70s transformation of suburbia toward higher density. While pioneered in California, the new types were adapted for Miami and eventually became constituents of cluster planned subdivision development, where they quietly doubled or tripled the density of the emerging suburban districts.[22] By the mid-1970s the development of the single-family home on a fee-simple lot became the exception in an increasingly diverse market.

Townhomes, while a foundational American housing type, were rare in South Florida until the 1960s. Early townhouse models in Dade County were generally touristic, like the maisonette units of L. Murray Dixon's **Forde Ocean Apartments** (1935), or postwar studio apartments like Igor Polevitzky's **Wahl Studio Apartments** (1948), both on Miami Beach. As vacation rentals, they were usually arranged into intimate planned developments that highlighted both private and public amenities. Outside tourist areas, townhomes were a curiosity, like John and Colton Skinner's 11 **French Village Townhouses** (1926-1927), a stagey reproduction of French village architecture conceived as part of the Mediterranean-inspired scenography of Coral Gables.

By the 1960s, the need for low-cost housing propelled the townhouse as an important component in suburban subdivisions. Mort Adler developed the first commercial postwar townhouses in Florida in the late 1950s. A builder of conventional homes in Hialeah and Cutler Ridge, Adler quietly found another successful real estate formula constructing hundred one- and two-story townhouses around rock pit lakes in Hialeah, reframing these leftover industrial landscapes as residential amenities. Architect Wahl Snyder staggered the New Orleans-style units to create sheltered courts on either the street or water side and left small gaps between the units so they
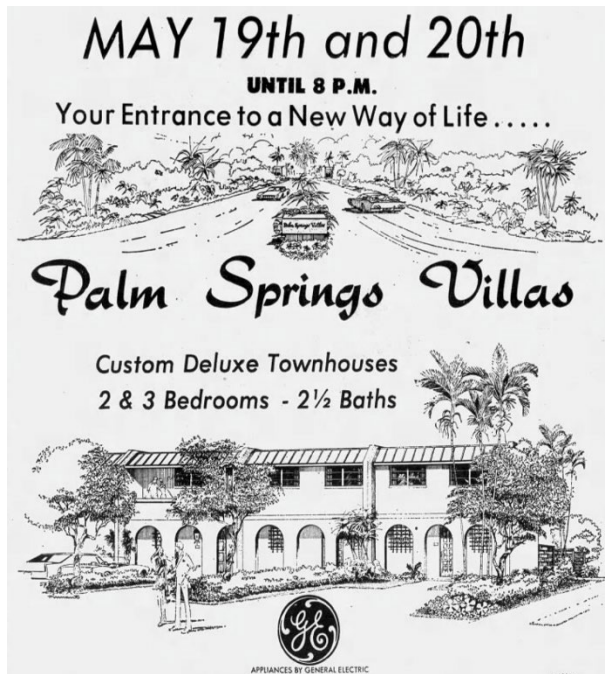
Palm Springs Villas, Hialeah. Ray and Ellis Lovell of Lovell Homes, 1973. From "Your Entrance to a New Way of Life," Advertisement, Miami News, May 18, 1973.

would qualify as "free-standing" under the rules that governed homestead tax exemption, an important incentive toward home ownership.

Inexpensive and popular, Adler's townhouses were considered a blight by the residents of neighboring single-family homes, who filed suit unsuccessfully to prevent more being built.[23] By the mid-1960s the fee-simple townhouse had become a regular strategy for low-cost housing, and the rockpit lakes of Hialeah continued to be its foundational laboratory. Here, builders honed variations that allowed each unit to have its own identity. Alesam Corp's **Town n'Lake Estates** (c. 1966), designed by Harvey Ehrlich, took the approach of compressed suburban ranch houses into parti-wall adjacencies so that one leg appeared free-standing.[24] The **Lake Royall Townhouses** (c. 1965), designed by Reuben Schneider and Associates, mixed models differentiated by style, like the Georgian-inspired Eaton, the clapboard Cape Cod, and the Deauville, which had broad Gallic arches opening to deep recessed balconies and porches.[25] The lakes in these early townhouse projects were often advertised as resort features, with sailboats and sun worshipers.

Palm Springs Villas in Hialeah (1973), among the first large townhouse settlements, had no water feature. The compact 23-block subdivision of fee-simple townhouses was organized around a gridiron of streets and narrow service alleys.[26] Designed and developed by Ray and Ellis Lovell, the townhouses offered arcaded facades like those of urban Havana, hybridized for the North American city by setting back behind landscape buffers and off-street parking courts. In the private fenced backyards, buyers could choose either a landscaped yard or swimming pool and deck. In North Miami, another early center of townhouse development, Cliff Bretthauer's **Executive Manors** (1967) mitigated the concerns and lawsuits of adjacent homeowners by deploying buffer zones, five-foot concrete separation walls, and off-street parking.

Harbour-Club Villas, Miami Shores. James Deen, 1971. From "Premiere Showing," Advertisement, Miami Herald, April 13, 1969.

Although criticized by some as out-of-place feature of obsolete northeastern cities, or "bunched-up dwelling units offering wall-to-wall neighbors," in 1965 Metro-Dade adopted its first townhouse ordinance.[27] While the county zoned the type only in commercial areas with high densities and with restrictions to guarantee a suburban look, by the late-1960s large townhouses concentrations were under construction throughout West Dade.

While initially marketed as affordable family housing, an important paradigm shift came as townhouse development moved from fee-simple to condominium ownership in the mid-1960s, paving the way for projects that maintained a more consistent character and provided shared amenities. By offering a sense of community, townhouses attracted part-time residents, older couples, and families without children.[28] The lifestyle advantages of condominium townhouses were explored first in Broward County, where Charles Sumwalt's **Townhouse Isle** project (1962) in the Wilton Manors section of Fort Lauderdale offered a sheltered island of attached single family townhouse clusters. Designed by Gamble, Pownall, and Gilroy, the attraction was home-like two-story living, a private front garden court, no required maintenance, and plenty of amenities. A feature of these early South Florida townhouses seems a parody of the name: seclusion. Indeed,

Townhouses at Quayside, North Miami. Alfred Browning Parker, 1974. Courtesy of George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Alfred Browning Parker Collection.

most were part of so-called club communities, featuring clubhouses, swimming pools, and boat dockage. In Dade County, the 80-unit **Harbour-Club Villas** (1971) on the Miami Shores Waterway was as an early expression of townhouse condominium leisure. Developer Budd Laurence leveraged frontage along a canal to create a community for boaters, accessorized with tennis courts, a swimming pool, and a clubhouse. The townhouses by James Deen had a split-level vertical design that allowed the convenience of parking beneath the home.

In order to avoid the regimented look of traditional rowhouses, developers often broke townhouse developments into groups of three or four units, called "cluster houses" or "quadrominiums." **The Oasis** (1975), west of Coral Gables, was organized in connected pods of four-units each, aggregated into U- and L-shaped groups accessed from a perimeter road. The complex offered the seclusion of an urban superblock, following the planning archetype of Radburn N.J. with an internal pedestrian greenway-system that connected all clusters to common gardens, the pool, and the clubhouse. A village feel was emphasized by the intimate scale of the cubic building volumes, which had jaunty mono-pitch roofs, masonry site walls that enclosed private patios, and projecting balconies.

The most ambitious development in the townhouse genre was Burt Haft's 32-acre **Quayside** development (1974) in North Miami, designed by Alfred Browning Parker. Parker saw the project as a way of luring wealthy home dwellers out of the suburbs. His explanation might serve as a manifesto for the entire late-postwar planning enterprise: "What we're trying to do is find ways to respond to that (suburban) dream within the framework of intelligent planning."[29] Although secluded in a well-landscaped and guardhouse-protected enclave, Quayside offered a pedestrian street-level environment in the spirit of a European village center, with cars relegated to hidden garages accessed from a rear perimeter road. The two, three, and four-story townhouses were organized around a series of internal manmade lagoons and connected by a network of courtyards and reflecting pools leading to Biscayne Bay. Like Mies van der Rohe's Lafayette Park
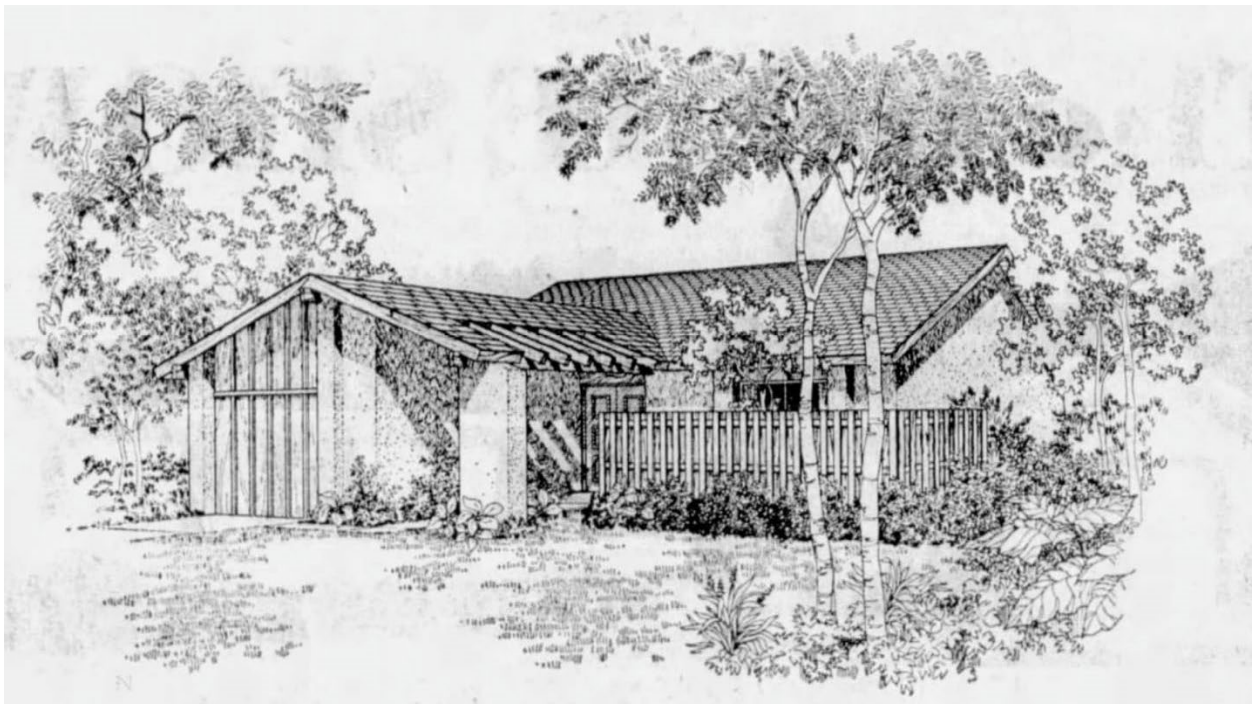
Patio Home at the Crossings, 1976. From Wayne Markham, "How Do You Get More Home In Less Space?" Miami Herald, September 19, 1976

townhouses in Detroit (1959), the Hyde Park townhomes by I.M. Pei and Harry Weese in Chicago (late-1958-61), and Charles Goodman's Hickory Cluster in Reston, Virginia (1964), Parker's Quayside demonstrated the potential of modernist architecture to form a village urbanism. Unified in character by the use of red brick, Regency-style details like elliptical windows, prominent roofs, and recessed ground-level alcoves, they formed a carefully arranged ensemble. As a catchy provocation, a floating swimming pool was placed in one of the lagoons, a reference to the then acclaimed Villa D'Este Sporting Club on Lake Como, Italy.

Eventually, the townhouse type was appropriated into golf course communities and cluster-planned developments, often as part of a package with adjacent towers and garden apartment buildings. The "townhouse-on-the-green" emphasized family-friendly, villa-style luxury, elaborated as picturesque, rambling structures. Sometimes advertised as "California townhouses," they built on the evolution in California of attached houses offering direct access to natural settings (the private park setting of the golf course, in Miami, offering a simulacrum of the great outdoors).[30] In Aventura, the **Delvista** townhouses faced onto the rolling hills of the complex's two championship golf courses and were marketed as "ideal for growing families with children and pets."[31] The picturesque complex had red clay tile roofs, private courtyards, and terraces, as well as luxe interior features like sunken living rooms, separate den and family rooms, eat-in kitchens, and skylit double-height dining rooms.

Patio homes, also called cluster housing, were a postwar variant on the detached home that grouped houses on smaller lots, using less land and making them more affordable. Used extensively starting in the 1970s, the type paradoxically did not refer to the meaning derived from Spanish tradition – a home built around a patio. In spite of Miami's long entanglement with

Oasis Patio Townhouses, Kendall. architect unknown, 1975. From "An Oasis of reality in a paper housing market," Advertisement of Oasis Patio Townhomes, Miami Herald, April 13, 1975.

Mediterranean architecture, and Latin American immigrants' likely familiarity with patio traditions, houses built around an internal patio were almost non-existent in Miami. Rather, the postwar patio home was a variation of zero-lot line development, eliminating ordinary suburban lot size and setback restrictions to achieve higher densities. Patio homes derived from practices in California in the 1960s, where they emerged from the flexibility cluster planning gave subdivision planners to arrange units for greater efficiency. They also reflected changing suburban sensibilities that emphasized reduced maintenance, greater privacy, and more usable outdoor spaces. Most featured patio-like yards in the front, side, or back of the home, or some combination – private worlds for residents that were defined by screens, fencing, or walls, and which broke the continuity of the open lawn in the suburban landscape.[32] Tightly organized around courts and cul-de-sacs, patio homes often suggested a village urbanism and conveyed a strong sense of community.

The Hammocks, initiated in 1974 and developed by the Canadian firm Genstar, was the first to deploy patio homes on a large scale. According to the *Miami Herald*, planners Sasaki Associates, the Watertown Massachusetts-based landscape architecture firm headed by Hideo Sasaki, spent two years seeking approval for the patio concept in Dade County.[33] Patio home options, designed by architect Thomas M. Kruempelstaedter, ranged from the 1,400-square foot **Cedar Landing** starter homes, neatly organized around squared cul-de-sac closes, to the larger 1,800-square foot "pool homes" at **Oak Lake**. Compensating for the loss of lot area, builders offered open interior spaces, and better integration of interior and exterior spaces. The patio houses at Arvida's **The Crossings** (1976) targeted young professionals and blue-collar workers by using glass walls to expand indoor living space into walled front and rear patios, and by "imported West Coast design" that included vaulted ceilings and exposed beams.[34]

Beginning in the early 1970s, **cluster planning** (also known as planned unit development**)**, emerged as the dominant paradigm of suburban development in Dade County. Cluster planning effectively merged developer, municipal, and environmental interests by matching higher subdivision densities with more internal open space and environmental planning.[35] It abandoned strict minimum lot size and building separation requirements and gave developers freedom to arrange the preset density of a land parcel according to a unified master plan. In achieving the allowable density, developers could use a greater variety of housing types, producing mixed-income communities and offering new avenues to home ownership. In practice, higher density housing (like townhouses and patio homes), as well as multi-family housing types, were concentrated, requiring less roads and other infrastructure, and leaving portions of the land open as a communal benefit.

William H. Whyte, the American sociologist and critic of suburban sprawl, was among the first proponents of a cluster approach, arguing in *Life* that the aesthetic, social, and ecological benefits of open space should be provided within subdivision design.[36] His book *Cluster Development*, a landmark 1964 study commissioned by the American Conservation Association, demonstrated the application of the system and influenced a generation of planners and urbanists, especially in California where it was first picked up in the 1960s.

Cluster planning aligned well with the geography of late postwar suburbs in Dade County, which focused development in partially or fully flooded lowlands. Re-engineering the landscape to create dry land raised the cost of investment and resulted in larger master planned developments, a precondition of cluster planning. Also, the very process of raising land, achieved through dredge-and-fill operations, created lakes and waterways that contributed to the open space network of cluster-planned developments.

The open space created by cluster planning produced a new category of common land that belonged to the subdivision. While the need and desirability of larger open space systems was well-understood, these open spaces were designed in relation to the subdivision planning specifically, without input from Metro planners. While idealized by promoters like Laurence S. Rockefeller, who writing in Whyte's *Cluster Development* imagined "tremendous opportunities for local governments to join the separate open spaces into a network that will weave the outdoors into the very heart of the metropolitan areas," [37] in practice such common open spaces remained internalized and insular.

Further, while cluster planning could provide welcome greenbelts, internal park systems, or preserves, most open spaces initially ended up as golf courses. Indeed, cluster-planned greenbelts were a way back to the historic relationship between golf courses and town development in Florida. Once symbols of upper-class comfort and affluence, the popularity of these landscapes of leisure soared among the growing middle class in the 1920s, corresponding with the Great Florida Land Boom.[38] In Dade County, municipal golf club houses and golf courses catalyzed the town plans of Coral Gables, Miami Beach, Miami Springs, Miami Shores and others. When popular interest in golf returned in the 1960s (with Florida as its national epicenter),[39] golf course development shifted from municipal courses to private ones, where they gave an upscale and recreational

character to new development. Guy Bailey's **Country Club of Miami** (1960) on the north end of the county, and Alfred L. and Doris Kaskel's **Doral Country Club** (1961) on the west side, were early examples of for-profit facilities that became the nucleus of expansive postwar urban districts. Golf courses also set the pace for the reformulation of landscapes, from wetland into something more like the British Isles: broad greens, hills, bunkers, waterfalls, and fish-stocked lakes. These "Bonnie bits of Scotland" were Miami's first suburban greenbelts.

Metro-Dade approved its first Cluster Zoning ordinance in September 1970.[40] One of the first communities to follow was **Fontainebleau Park** (1970), which rose west of Miami between Flagler Street and the recently completed East-West Expressway. Like many of the first cluster-planned projects, Fontainebleau was initially advertised as a New Town with a country club environment. In this, it sought to emulate the success of Miami Lakes, which set the postwar standard in Miami for combining recreational amenities like golf courses and clubhouses with clustered housing pods to offer a new type of suburbia.

Developed by Trafalgar Developers (a subsidiary of General Electric Credit Corp.) with Prudential Life Insurance Co, Fontainebleau Park was built according to a master plan by the influential planner Victor Gruen.[41] Although a trailblazer of suburban mall development, Gruen was a sharp critic of suburban sprawl, over-segregation of land uses and planning dominated by the car. In books like *The Heart of Our Cities* (1964) and *Centers for the Urban Environment* (1973), Gruen argued for urban compactness and a clear differentiation between built and natural landscapes. In pursuing these goals, Fontainebleau Park was an early laboratory for cluster planning and mixed housing types in Miami. It comprised two square mile sections joined by Fontainebleau Boulevard, a broad and winding tree-lined collector road. Each of the two sections featured a compact settlement with a lake at its heart, surrounded by clusters of housing and wrapped by the "greenbelt" of a championship golf course. Further mixed uses, outside of the greenbelts, lined the adjacent arterial roads. The compact, almost medieval amoeboid urban form of these settlements (recalling perhaps the core of Gruen's native Vienna) offered a strong contrast with the surrounding gridirons.

Fontainebleau lacked both the central focus and mixed uses of a New Town, but its 21 distinct residential villages, each with its own park, represented a range of housing options, including mid-rise apartments, garden apartments, townhouses, patio apartments, clustered village homes and garden homes, along with schools, religious buildings, and limited retail areas. Housing was organized by market segment, using sociological distillations of potential renters that corresponded to "the four seasons of man." The village of Banyanwoods was for "swinging singles," advertised under the motto "Come See the Wildlife in The Park."[42] Married adults were directed to Fernwoods and families to Lemonwoods. Lest the segregation not appeal, the Parkwoods section offered a mix of singles, young-marrieds, and empty nesters. Above all, the villages advertised "guilt-free" living in condominiums.[43] Gruen had imagined a mix of low- and high-rise buildings forming the core of each section, but a more uniform four- and five-story arrangement of single-loaded apartment buildings emerged instead, orchestrated by architects Pelayo Fraga, Jorge Khuly, and others with a congruous menu of architectural and decorative treatments.

Fontainebleau Park, Victor Gruen, 1970. From "Taking Shape," Miami Herald, November 8, 1970.

A planned 600-room **Fontainebleau Hotel and Country Club**, conceived by Ben Novack of the eponymous Miami Beach super hotel as a competitor to the Doral Beach and Golf Club, never materialized, and the complex evolved instead as a blue-collar utopia, socially and racially mixed. The *Miami Herald's* Norma Orovitz found there a "modern-day Levittown," albeit a high-density one, explaining: "There is a Disney World…a monotonous blur of vanilla concrete punctuated by shots of brown wood (California Style) and barrel-tile roofs…While a neighborhood concept of parallel streets, front yards, backyards, intersections and a corner drugstore just doesn't work here, there is something to be said for a neat, clean, manicured, condominium-maintained, integrated, make-believe town." [44]

Farther south, flanking Kendall Drive, Janis Homes developed the sprawling **Kendale Lakes** (1970) complex, eyeing an eventual community of 25,000 people.[45] Janis planned to mix houses, apartment buildings, and townhomes, with shopping, offices, and recreational amenities (although the shopping area, eventually just a 60-acre shopping center, lacked any integration into the complex). Seeing themselves as community builders rather than developers, Janis invited a diverse coalition of designers and builders to construct various components, lending diversity to the overall complexes. As with most developments in western Dade, the lakes and waterways excavated in the process of raising the site became primary features. So were the two golf courses, which formed a U-shaped greenbelt of almost 170 acres around the core of the development. Notwithstanding
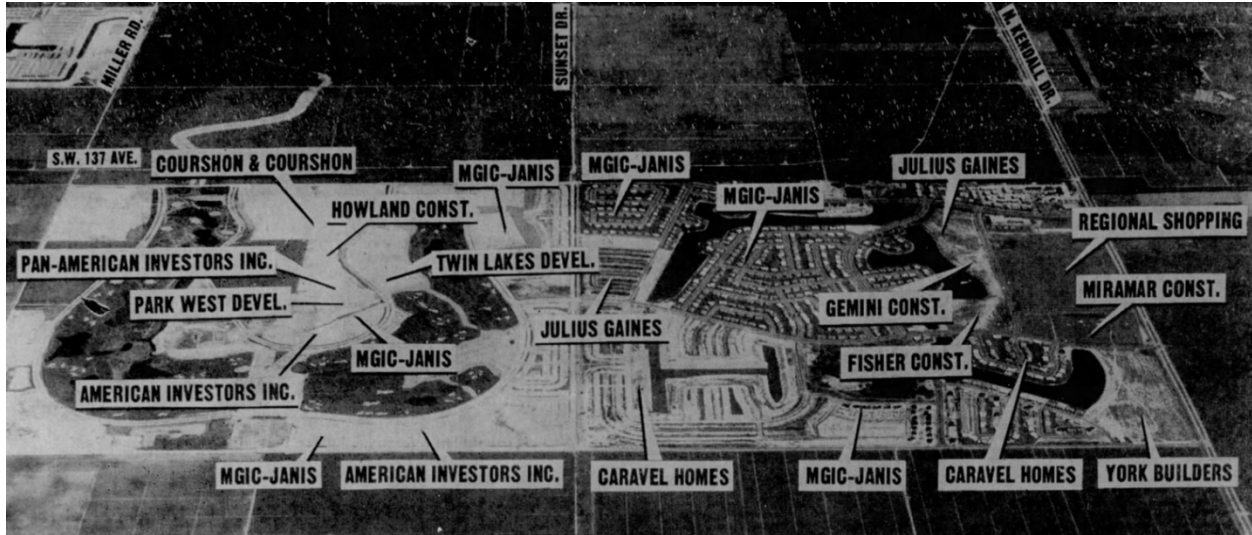
Kendale Lakes, Miami. Courtesy HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Archive.

the benefit of the open spaces, as at Fontainebleau Park, the waterways and green spaces were privatized behind housing, and not integrated into to any public spaces or circulation.

When the economic potential of golf courses waned in the mid-1970s, developers explored other types of public amenity. Arvida's 17-acre **Sabal Chase** (1974), a cluster development of 850 units adjacent to the South Dade Expressway (later Florida Turnpike Extension, opened 1975), featured a network of pedestrian and landscaped greenways woven around housing clusters, integrated with the subdivision's central park, schools and recreational facilities. In compact clusters around this core, free standing village homes and patriotically-themed Village '76 homes gathered in four-plex groups combining wood-clad, one- and two-story Western-themed structures with shed-type roofs pitched in various directions. The central living spaces, called FlexiRooms, had cathedral-style dining rooms and living room conversation pits, around which all the rooms congregate. Arvida also developed the 1,280-acre **Country Walk** (1978) complex, in concert with the developments around the Tamiami Airport, including the **Tamiair Industrial Park** (1978) and 1,000-acre **Metro Zoo**. Its 1,150 homes included a landscaped greenway system that likely gave the project its name, although its larger legacy was forged by Hurricane Andrew in 1992, which destroyed 90% of homes and made the subdivision synonymous with disaster.

Just to the north of Tamiami Airport, **The Hammocks** was the most enlightened project of the period. Developed initially by Abbey Glen Properties International (1974, later acquired by Genstar Eastern Development Corporation, 1977), The Hammocks was projected as an 1,100-acre self-contained mini-city targeting medium densities and 20,000 residents. The Canadian developers took a progressive approach, commissioning a master plan by Sasaki Associates (the acclaimed designer of corporate landscapes for John Deere and Upjohn, but also of the innovative cluster-planned development at Sea Pines Plantation at Hilton Head Island, 1964). Sasaki designed three distinct villages clustering around a system of naturalistic lakes (a system that resonated with the earlier design of Miami Lakes) tied together with a greenway system. Although not the first greenways in Dade County, they were unique in the way they formed "lineal parks" that served as

Kendale Lakes, Miami. Courtesy HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Archive.

an internal pedestrian traffic system. Extending eight miles without a single street crossing, the network connected parks, schools, a library, police and fire stations, recreational areas and a town center, as well as all the component neighborhoods. Significantly, all lake frontages were incorporated in the common space network.

The Hammocks was also significant for the variety of housing created, including the townhouses and the first patio homes in Dade County. As part of the approval of the project, the development included more than 500 units of moderate cost and federally-financed low-cost housing, along with housing for fixed-income seniors – an arrangement incentivized by zoning advantages that allowed more density in return.[46]

While increasing housing density and housing choices, cluster-planned communities were also testing grounds for new stylistic trends that appeared as the influence of modernism waned in the 1960s. One of the most important stylistic influences came, like the housing types themselves, from the West Coast. The **California Style** had meanings that sprawled from trends in contemporary housing there to specific building types, open interior arrangements, rustic materials, and even lifestyle. California's postwar ascendance in popular culture spread from planning and architecture to the state's mythology of wide-open spaces, its progressive social culture (especially after the 1967 Summer of Love), the glamour of its movie industry, and the swankiness of resorts like Palm Springs.

Translated to Miami, the California Style comprised character features that specifically evoked postwar western ranch houses– broad sweeping roofs, the visual expression of post and beam construction, facades clad in rustic wood siding (often California redwood), bungaloid elements like projecting wood beams, and broad window areas that spanned between structural members. On the interior, tall roofs were exposed as open beamed "cathedral" ceilings to give a sense of volume. In Miami, the evocation of post and beam construction and wood sheathing were fictions
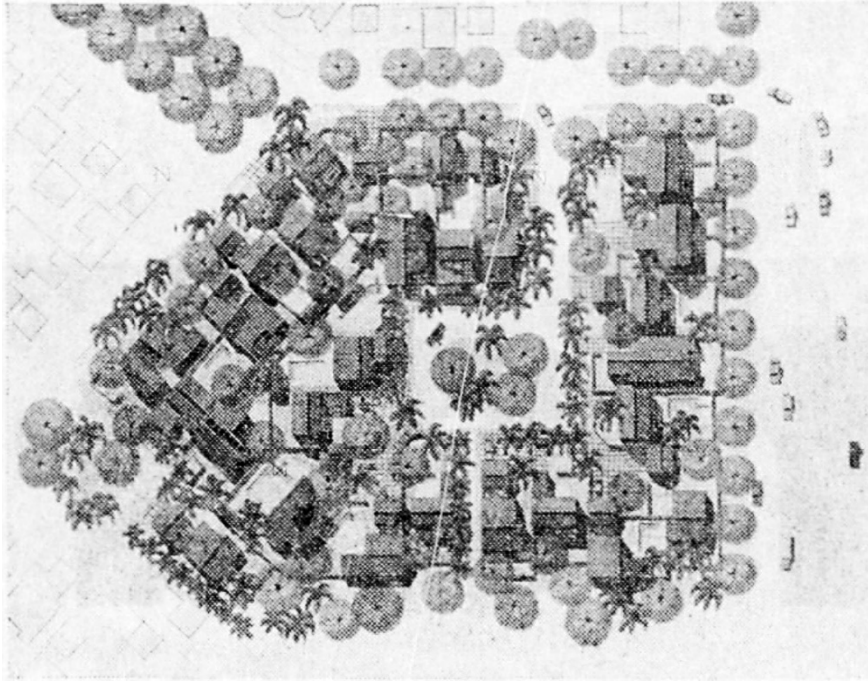
Patio Housing Schematic by Sasaki for The Hammocks, Kendall. Sasaki Associates, 1974. From Wayne Markham, "Does Miami Face Los Angeles' Fate?" Miami Herald, March 7, 1976.

constructed over masonry walls. Nevertheless, they pointed to a crisp geometric façade character, softened by earthy colors that were used to integrate with the surrounding landscape.

The California Style influenced developments like **Calusa Club Estates** (1976) and **Calusa Corners** (1978) in Kendall, both designed by Thomas M. Kruempelstaedter, a specialist in the genre. Calusa Club's Malibu model faced the street with stucco piers, wood beams and board and batten wood paneling. Steep gables stepped back, adding a sense of complexity, while extending over the tall entrance as a trellis. The California theme was developed further at the aptly named **Califorida** at **Snapper Village** (1975), a gated community where every house was covered in western red cedar and tall gabled roofs of hand-split cedar shakes. Snapper Village created the fiction of clustered building volumes, each identified by shed roofs placed in varying orientations, a scheme that surely relates to another California theme: the cultural impact of the iconic Sea Ranch community in northern Sonoma County of the mid 1960s by Joseph Esherick and MLTW (Charles Moore, Donlyn Lyndon, William Turnbull and Richard Whitaker).

Architect Charles Sieger and designer Cindi Mufson ventured a bit farther afield at **Pinetree Village** (1977), with smaller cabin-like patio houses that advertised a "Colorado lifestyle."[47] Here, the emphasis was on warmth, with interior and exterior vertical wood paneling covering every surface, high-beamed ceilings and sunken living room. The Western qualities were paired with Florida features like screened patios and a landscape that offered an ironic twist: the planting of Rocky-appropriate pine trees on the once native pine rockland landscape, all but disappeared and forgotten. As advertised, "You'll have to think twice to remember you're in Florida."[48]

The **Mansard**, while deriving originally from Europe, also has California roots, at least in its contemporary American manifestation. Historically, mansards were a type of roof configured

Malibu Model at California Contemporaries, Calusa Club Estates. Thomas M. Kruempelstaedter, 1976. From "Introducing... The most distinguished homes in Calusa Club Estates, California Contemporaries," Miami Herald, November 25, 1976.

using two pitches, a steep lower one and a shallow upper one, making more of the attic level of a building habitable. In its late mid-20th-century iteration, the mansard roofs showing up nationally and locally were hardly roofs at all, but more of a stylistic flourish. Tilting the roofs into closer alignment with the walls made them an important figure in the façade, incorporating striking panels of texture and sometimes natural materials, like wooden shingles, terra cotta, copper or bronze, and even brick and concrete.

The postwar popularity of mansard roofs owes much to the influence of Hollywood, and to the work of John Elgin Woolf. [49] In late 1950s-1960s, influenced by set décor and working for movie stars, Woolf developed a stagey architectural manner later referred to as "Hollywood Regency." The style featured a mansard roof along with skinny columns, oval windows, and neoclassical urns, often using eccentric proportions for elements like door frames that broke the roofline.[50] Miami architect James Deen, credited with popularizing the Mansard locally, called them a "practical version for our time." [51] Indeed, mansards were popular with builders because they could be built in combination with flat roofs, using only the wall for support. As part of the wall, mansards shaded windows and doors, and sometimes the walls themselves. By extending vertically, mansards were capable of hiding increasingly common rooftop-mounted air-conditioning units, and were practical in townhouse units, where each unit's mansard could be individualized.
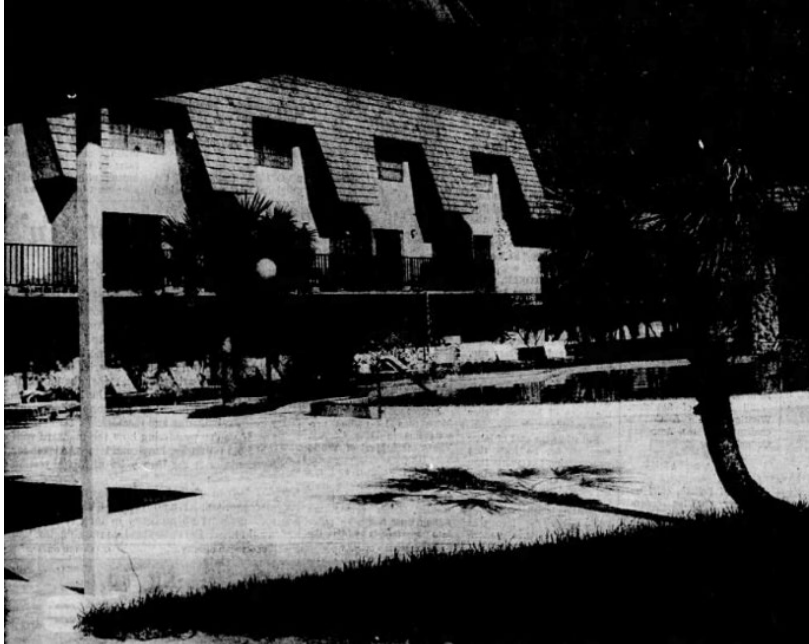
Apartment building with Mansard roofs (Colony Apartments, 9355 SW 77th Avenue), Miami. From Kay Murphy, "French Roofs," Miami Herald, October 6, 1968.

The mansard roof's steeply-pitched planes could be configured to amplify the apparent height of a structure, increasing its visual prominence.[52] James Deen's 80-unit complex **Kendall House** (1965), a cluster of 20 interconnected square apartment blocks, used mansards to give more vertical prominence to each block, while adding the embellishment of rustic materials. The green-stained wood-shingled mansards combined with similarly stained fir siding to emphasize rusticity and connections with the surrounding gardens.[53] Conversely, mansards could also be used to establish the top level of a building as an attic and virtually bring the roof line of a building down, reducing apparent scale of blocky modern buildings to better blend with nearby single-family homes.[54] Such floor-high mansards were used at **The Cloisters** (1967) in Coral Gables, where the mansard capped a palatial U-shaped building of maisonettes by architect Jerome Filer. In later years, and especially on apartment buildings, the mansard retreated to a decorative treatment above windows and doors, often used in combination with concrete ribs that joined the doors, windows, and mansards into vertical bands that broke up continuous stucco planes of large buildings.

A third style that re-emerged in the 1970s was a reprise of the region's earlier **Mediterranean Revival**. Like the California Style and Mansard, its popularity may have been influenced by developments in California, where the Spanish Revival flourished even before it influenced developments in Florida in the 1920s. In the Miami context, however, the Mediterranean Revival didn't just connect with local architecture traditions, it embodied architectural expressions familiar to the city's growing Caribbean population. It merged especially well with building types like townhouses and patio homes, where compact planning and a proliferation of walled courts might suggest, in their aggregation, a type of *pueblo*.

Unlike the 1920s Mediterranean Revival, which applied rigorously studied building types and architectural treatments, the late post-war version was married to contemporary building types, forms and building technologies. The style was re-imagined by architects with modernist training

and constructed by builders ill-equipped to duplicate the scale, proportion, and artisanal features that made the 1920s boom era construction so intriguing. Stepping away from earlier movement's well-studied romanticism, the late postwar revival featured a broad abstraction of elements, often a mix of rustic materials like textured stucco walls, clay tile roofs, paneled wood doors, ornamental ironwork, and decorative ceramic details, providing variety to large subdivisions. The 1,300- to 1,400-square foot units at **The Crossings Village South** (1979), a development originally templated on the California Style, offered heavy masonry walls pierced by an assortment of arched openings, broad gabled roofs covered in red terra cotta tiles, and low masonry walls that enclosed front patios and added continuity along the street.

Suburban Density

While cluster planning brought modest increases in the density of new suburban subdivisions, parts of the metropolitan body were densifying faster and growing vertically. Starting in the late 1950s, suburban variants of multi-family housing thrived. High land costs, Miami's attraction as a leisure destination, and the popularity of the region with upper-income corporate workers and the elderly made apartment living relevant anew, especially as many of these groups aspired to be near urban, cultural, and recreational amenities.[55] "Fleeing from the lawn mower and the steering wheel" into "tall stalks of glass and concrete" had a particular meaning in Miami, where residents could still claim the rest of the suburban package in a resort setting. [56]

The urbanism of high-rise, amenity-rich suburban apartment buildings was previewed in the late 1950s, and especially during the 1960s, along Collins Avenue in Miami Beach. Apartment towers, the successors of full-service hotels, attracted tourists who used to vacation in the city and came back to live. Multi-family living along the oceanfront was especially fed by elderly snowbirds and immigrants. As Matthew Gordon Lasner and Deborah Dash Moore have emphasized, this group was living longer and better thanks to improved health care, Social Security, and union pensions, which permitted independent living in a state of "permanent tourism."[57] For this group, the qualities of apartment living – like greater amenities, built-in maintenance, and the prospect of community – offered a useful counternarrative to the detached home as quintessential Florida living. The apartment living boom was, in some respects, a new resort trade.[58]

As the formula of multi-family percolated across the metropolitan area, low and mid-rise catwalk-type apartment buildings initially took center stage. Organized into linear blocks comprising single-loaded, floor-through apartments, the heritage of this type was both global and local. As envisioned by Bauhaus planners in the 1920s, these so-called *Laubengang*, inexpensive and utilitarian, were a scalable housing solution as they were growable in height, and as their narrow forms were easily adaptable in plan according to site conditions. Locally, the type connected to the tradition of garden apartment buildings, low-rise walk-up type buildings with floor-through apartments that could be naturally cross-ventilated. Garden apartments were emphasized by the FHA in prewar guidelines,[59] and were well established throughout Miami in the 1930s as a popular and humane model of commercial housing.

Keystone Arms Cooperative Residences, North Miami, Gilbert Fein, 1959. From "A miracle of a bargain," Advertisement for Keystone Arms, Miami Heald, August 30, 1959.

Catwalks, or exterior circulation galleries, were a defining characteristic of the postwar garden apartment type. Loaded on one side of the building (allowing private balconies on the other), the catwalk maximized efficiency by placing the shared circulation corridor on the outside of the building and allowing all units on a floor to be accessed by a single elevator core and at least two stair cores. To further maximize construction efficiency, the vertical circulation cores were usually constructed built independent of the housing block, their tower-like appearance contrasting with the horizontal thrust of the building catwalks. Sometimes sheathed in breezeblock, textured stucco, tilework, or even decorative metalwork, these discrete circulation cores generally embodied the building's principal embellishment.

Low cost, conditioned to the concrete construction technology of the 1950s-60, and well-adapted to Miami's breezy humid climate, catwalk-type garden apartment buildings became widespread in Dade County. The type generated many variations and acquired different meanings depending on where they were built. In Miami Beach, the two-story garden apartment buildings that infilled previously platted residential neighborhoods in North Beach were particularly attractive to retirees. In the more populated South Beach district, the type flourished in the mid- to late-1960s in a form known as the "**Dingbat.**" Occupying most typically a single building lot, these four to five-story buildings were raised over a ground floor dedicated almost exclusively to open-air parking, a reflection of mid-1960s zoning changes that required on-site parking. Critic Reyner Banham famously decried the similar dingbats that sprung up in 1950s-60s Los Angeles as symptoms of the city's urban Id "trying to cope with the unprecedented appearance of residential densities too high to be subsumed within the illusions of homestead living."[60] Yet in Miami Beach, where the surrounding urban context had developed at even higher densities in previous decades, these generally clumsy example of urban infill – their austere facades generally stood in stark relief against the rich street architecture built in the 1920s-30s – more likely reflected a utilitarian compromise between lot size, allowable density, and novel parking requirements.

In predominantly Black residential areas of the urban core, especially in Liberty City and Brownsville, the type developed a more complex symbolism. As a replacement for crowded wood frame shotgun-type housing in Overtown, they marked a "concrete" improvement, as N.B.D. Connolly demonstrated, "an invitation for Black Miami to join the wider, more modern tropics."[61] While some progressive models were built, like Dr. W. B. Sawyer's **Alberta Heights** (1950) in Brownsville, hundreds more, the result of an early-1950s commercial development boom, produced a variant crudely organized on tight lots without amenity or parking. The buildings became synonymous with "tenements," and were memorably branded by housing activist Elizabeth Virrick as "concrete monsters."

On spacious suburban sites, the catwalk type grew in size to become full-service residential communities for a mainly elderly middle class. The T-shaped **Keystone Arms Cooperative Residences** (1959), a three-story co-op apartment building designed by Gilbert Fein at Keystone Point in North Miami, had long, bar-shaped wings configured to embrace parking on one side and amenities like the pool and pool deck on the other. Detached from the alignment of surrounding streets, the wings were arranged freely to catch breezes and views. The sensibility of concrete construction was emphasized by cantilevered catwalks and balconies wrapped by breezeblock guardrails. A flat wood roof overhung the walls, providing sun and rain protection to the galleries, balconies, and windows. Developers Leonard Schreiber, Leonard Pearl, Marcos Gesundheit and Sidney Gordon, created a particularly large cluster of six-story catwalk apartment buildings at **Point East** (Frese and Camner, 1967) that comprised more than 1,400 units and a clubhouse loosely arrayed along the landscaped perimeter of the Point East peninsula, at Maule Lake. The marriage of density, amenity, and green space previewed the urban potential of mid-rise developments.

Until the early 1960s, most apartment buildings in Dade County were either rentals or cooperatives, a corporate ownership arrangement pioneered in late 19th century. However, it was condominium ownership, initiated in the early 1960s, brought out the full potential of multi-family apartment buildings to draw large numbers of "permanent tourists." Already popular in Europe and Latin America, condominiums were virtually unknown in the U.S. until the mid-1950s, when authorizing legislation designed to promote urban housing to middle-income families made Puerto Rico a North American laboratory of condominium development.[62] The change came to Miami and the rest of the U.S. under Section 234 of the Federal Housing Act of 1961, which authorized low-cost FHA-financed mortgages on individual units in multi-unit buildings. Where co-operative apartments were technically an investment, condominium ownership offered legal title and the advantages of home ownership to apartment-type units, allowing them to be individually mortgaged and rented, and permitting its owners to claim the Homestead Tax exemption. [63]

While many studies have highlighted the role of the Federal Government in creating low-density suburban sprawl, through programs like FHA mortgage financing, such programs benefited multi-family housing as well. The Federal Housing Act of 1961 ignited an apartment development frenzy, unlocking a new density equation in large areas of the metropolitan area. From April 1961 to October 1962, 79% of all units built in Miami were apartments, while in Dade County the figure
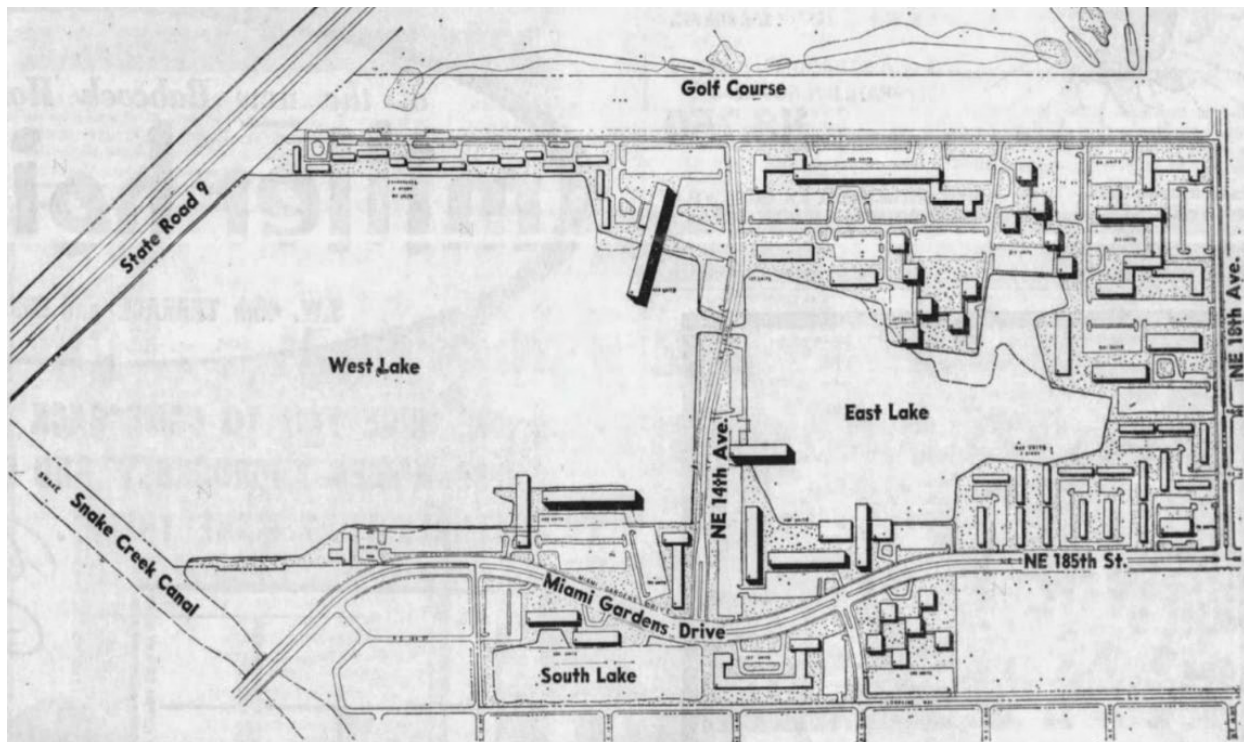
Skylake West, North Miami Beach. Master Plan by Collins & Simmonds, 1963. From Frederic Sherman, "Satellite City to Replace a Wasteland," Miami Herald, June 16, 1963.

was 45% (and rose to 99% in Miami Beach).[64] By 1968, Dade and Broward counties had more apartment houses under construction than anywhere else in the nation.[65]

Condominiums inaugurated a "new frontier of housing" that fostered greater densities. As explained by the FHA, Act 234 represented a change of focus, emphasizing "urban areas, low- and moderate-income families, the preservation and rehabilitation of existing housing, greater efficiency in the production of new housing, and a broadening of opportunities for home ownership." [66] Raymond T. O'Keefe, Vice-president of Chase Manhattan Bank of New York, predicted that the condominium would reverse migration to the suburbs, and restore middle-income families to the cities.[67] Park Layne in suburban Hallandale Beach (1962) was the first FHA-insured condominium project in South Florida, and the model spread quickly in Broward and Palm Beach counties before making its way to Dade County. Condominium development adopted various building types, including townhouses, duplex homes, low and mid-rise developments. In attracting residents, size mattered because larger complexes could afford more community and recreational amenity. The largest were virtual country clubs, introducing a new standard of suburban living.

One of the most complete condominium developments, and one of the few that was master planned, was **Skylake West** – a "Satellite City" of more than 4,100 apartments on 300 acres adjacent to Miami Gardens Drive. The area, formerly known as Ojus and famous for its rock mining, [68] was defined by open rock pits. The postwar development of Ojus points to how rockpits, while byproducts of industry, became significant geographical features, singularities in the

Jade Winds Condominium and recreational tower, North Miami Beach. Harvey J. Ehrlich, 1966. From "This is no new song for us," Advertisement for Jade Winds in Miami Herald, March 26, 1967.

otherwise re-processed landscape of Miami.[69] On the east side, the excavations of the Ojus Rock Company had been transformed by landscape architect William Lyman Philips and the New Deal Civilian Conservation Corp (CCC) into **Greynolds Park** (1936). Rockpits further west, including Skylake and Greyknoll Lake, were developed by Fleeman Brothers in the 1950s as the centerpieces of new home development. **Skylake West** (and Maule Lake farther east), on the other hand, were among the first developments to reposition rock pit landscapes as urban lakefront living. Developers Alec Courtelis and Jay Kislak hired Collins, Simonds and Simonds, the planning firm responsible for the new town of Miami Lakes, to master plan a district of terraced townhouses, two-story garden apartment blocks, and mid-rise residential buildings. Targeting retirees, their 1963 plan shows modernist residential building types built around, and in some cases over, the rockpit lakes.

The master plan prepared by Collins, Simmonds and Simmonds was only loosely followed. Yet the planners' formula for an adult condominium community mixing housing types at various scales along the shores of Skylake West was realized. Among the earliest developments was **Skylake Gardens** (1963), a honeycomb arrangement of hexagonal apartments grouped around common gardens and stair cores. Within this crystalline arrangement of more than 400 low-scale units was the hexagonal community center, comprising an auditorium for 380 people,[70] as well as a pool, shuffleboard courts, and parking lots (all disappointingly rectangular). The only townhouses completed were the **Pickwick Lakehouses** (c. 1965)**,** designed by Polevitzky and Johnson, which grouped 58 units of attached one- and two-story structures, and featured breezeblock-screened front patios.

The largest part of the area was taken up by mid-rise, catwalk-type apartment buildings. The **Jade Winds Condominium** (c. 1966), developed by Milton H. and Fred Bernstein, was one of Skylake's larger complexes, occupying a 30-acre site and comprising 800-units. Architect Harvey J. Ehrlich deployed a mix of four- and eight-story buildings, articulating the banal slab-like structures to delimit spacious lagoons and amenity areas from the surrounding parking lots. The
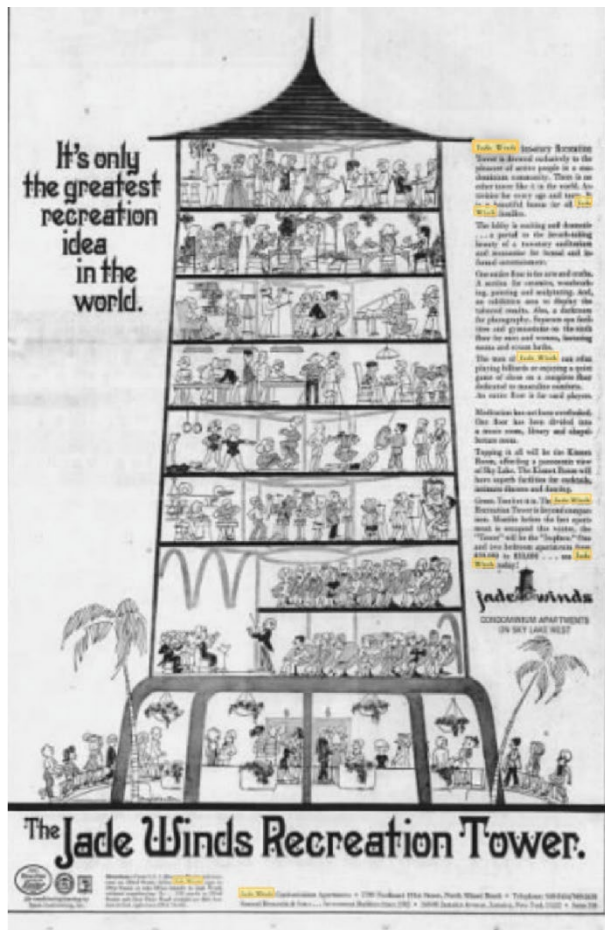
Jade Winds Condominium and recreational tower, North Miami Beach. Harvey J. Ehrlich, 1966. From "This is no new song for us," Advertisement for Jade Winds in Miami Herald, March 26, 1967.

focal point of the complex was the 10-story, 140-foot **Tower of a Thousand Joys**, a tapered cylindrical pagoda topped by an upswept roof constructed of gunnite and a steel pipe spire. Marketed as "the world's only ten-story recreation tower," it housed a spa, sauna baths, separate gymnasiums for men and women, a two-story auditorium, party rooms, arts and crafts spaces, a library, a floor devoted to card playing and, at the top, the Kismet lounge.[71] Mounted on two-story high concrete bents, the tower was a monument to the civilization of recreation, its faux loggia of parabolic openings suggesting an interiorized modernist Colosseum. Miami radio personality Larry King quipped that it "looks like Indonesia's entry into the space race; – 140 feet high and with a Balinese design theme. Dull it is not."[72] In the competition to position condominium projects with ever more extensive (and expressive) recreational amenities, this tower "devoted exclusively to the pleasure of active people in a condominium community" was a decisive weapon.

The theme of articulating single-loaded housing around broad open spaces continued next door at **New Horizons** (1962), and especially at neighboring **Rolling Green** (1968), both also designed by Ehrlich. The latter project used repetitive four-story housing blocks to form a 3,500 foot-long crenelated, or "redent," profile edge toward the Diplomat-Presidential Golf Course, adroitly transfiguring the golf-course into an urban greenbelt. In each complex, the grouping of structures around shared amenity decks and gardens suggested a model of self-contained community. Overall, the Skylake West complex reveals the anti-street influence of Le Corbusier's horizontal

Brickell Master Plan by Robert Little, c. 1962. From Frederic Sherman, "We've a Chance To Save Brickell," Miami Herald, September 23, 1962.

urbanisms, for instance his Radiant City proposal, in the long and articulated space-defining walls of the slab buildings. Yet the buildings lacked the lightness of Le Corbusier's raised structures, which maintained the continuity of open space and amenities at ground level. Skylake West, instead, created islands of green surrounded by parking lots and winding collector roads, revealing how suburban super blocks could be parceled into semi-private realms.

Similar developments could be found throughout Dade County, as high-density housing pushed west from the coast. Kendall Drive became an important conduit of this density. In 1974, only seven months after affirming its single-family and agricultural future, Metro-Dade commissioners approved the first multi-story apartment buildings there.[73] Within a decade, multitudes of low- and mid-rise multi-family housing type were established along the suburban corridor – free-standing blocks, perimeter blocks, linear as well as U-, L- and Y-shaped blocks, buildings that stepped, zig-zagged, and pin-wheeled across their sites. The largest complex was Lennar's **Horizons West** (1980), a group of ten four-story cruciform-shaped condominium buildings packing 960 apartments around radial linear gardens and offering yet another flavor of suburban density in a county that was rapidly urbanizing.

Condominium Metropolis

High-rise housing created another threshold of suburban housing density. Mainly structured as cooperative apartments or as condominiums, high-rise housing thrived for reasons particular to the region's demographics, climate and combination of retirement and resort economies.[74] Height and density were most often translated into increased luxury, amenity, a sense of community, and views. They aligned especially well with the needs of an increasingly transient citizenry (retired people and snowbirds to be sure, but also transnationals. Vertical suburban living became the face of a construction boom that made Florida a "cradle of the condominium in America," as the *Miami News* reported in 1973, and Miami the state's "condominium metropolis."[75] Tower blocks

sprouted across the metropolitan area, gathering with particular intensity on waterfronts, along arterial corridors, and in emergent metropolitan districts.

Towers, emphatic urban features of the 1920s boom as well as of the prewar modern 1930s – slender skyscraper hotels, compact residential towers and office or governmental buildings – were already a characteristic Miami building type, and even the commercial buildings were often dramatized as civic landmarks. But by the early-1960s the tower type had evolved toward a new form: the slab. Slab towers were influenced by canonical modernist types, as well as by commercial formulas for drawing value from the land, based on maximizing lot coverage, density, views, and parking spaces. Linear in plan and featuring units double-loaded around a single corridor, the slab offered greater efficiency even as they discarded cross-ventilation as an environmental strategy, and produced long, artificially-lit hallways. Generally built for middle-class and affluent residents, they were efficient and sturdy. Their broad facades were metered by alternating windows and balconies, often producing a numbing repetition.

Following the success of tower housing along Collins Avenue, Brickell Avenue became an early focus of high-rise development. Development there was driven by the area's Millionaire's Row pedigree, its water frontage, its proximity to Miami Beach and Key Biscayne, and most importantly its closeness to downtown. There, also, civic consensus coalesced around the benefits of high-rise residential development, both as an adjunct to downtown revitalization – *Miami Herald* home editor Frederic Sherman called Brickell development "our last chance to create a fine residential area near downtown" – and as a response to the encroachment of Brickell office towers from the north. A 1962 master plan by architect Robert Little shared a vision of the avenue as a corridor of towers ranging from 13 to 21-stories, set back from both the road and water and set among broad areas of greenery and parking. The first waterfront tower to realize this vision was New York developer Sydney Kessler's **Brickell Town House** (1962), a 21-story Y-shaped tower designed by veteran modernists Steward & Skinner.

Key Biscayne's growing appeal as an affluent and well-connected tropical paradise, just over the causeway from downtown, drove the rapid development of oceanfront condominium towers there starting in the late 1960s . Following the establishment of Biscayne National Monument, 30-miles of anticipated residential and resort development between Key Biscayne and Key Largo, known as Islandia, were wiped out, eliminating any future competition and raising land values. The notoriety of the island grew with President Richard Nixon's residency in the 1970s.

The **Towers of Key Biscayne** (1970), developed by Stephen Muss with Equitable Life, was among the most impactful of the new high-rises responding to the "tropical island" narrative. Muss encouraged the notion that the towers would have a light footprint, nestled into the tropical foliage and dune system north of the newly established Bill Baggs State Park.[76] Architect Don Reiff (Reiff & Fellman) and landscape architect Taft Bradshaw developed a strategy of concealing two levels of automobile and service functions beneath a fully landscaped platform, or "garden floor," that presumptively merged with the surrounding oceanfront dune. [77] Above the platform, Reiff designed each of the 12-story towers as a branching system that formed a six-leaf clover, using multiple circulation cores to make each wing more private. Reiff used a simple modernist palette
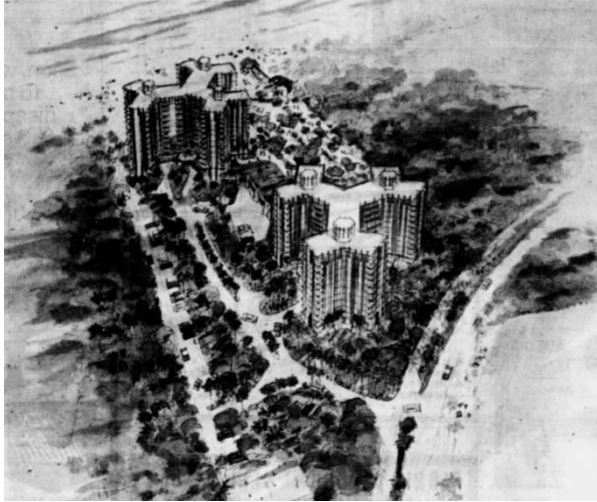
(left) Towers of Key Biscayne, Key Biscayne. Don Reiff of Reiff & Fellman, 1970. From "The Towers of Key Biscayne," Miami News, November 27, 1970. (right) Brickell Townhouse, Miami. Steward-Skinner, 1962. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection (1995-277-5021)

of exposed floor slabs, floor to ceiling windows, balconies with precast concrete decorative guardrails and rooftop finials, noting that "working with a non-stylized structure emphasizes the environment as opposed to the traditional focal point – the building."[78] Whatever its architectural qualities, the enormous building became a factor in the creation of a Key Biscayne Property Taxpayers Association, which sought a moratorium on high-rise construction on the island. A wall of residential and hotel towers was eventually developed there anyway.[79]

Not all new centers of tower construction were on the water. In 1964, developer Al Sokolsky's 14-story **David William Apartment-Hotel** (1964) went up along Biltmore Way, overlooking the Granada golf course – the first high rise in Coral Gables since the Biltmore Hotel. The City Beautiful, whose character was set by its low-scale Mediterranean architecture and an extensive tree canopy, had no zoning allowance for such high-rise buildings, which had to be approved by the city commission. Even as it caused consternation, the commission approved the project in parallel with a campaign to attract multi-national corporations to its downtown center.

Designed by Maurice Weintraub, the David Williams combined 200 apartment and hotel units in a slab-type tower articulated with a concrete eggcrate façade and solid building cores. Taking the building's massive size into account, the two-acres of required parking were concealed beneath the ground floor, and the pool deck was located on the rooftop. Power-generating turbines, also on the roof, supplied electricity as well as the heat and coolant necessary to operate its hot water and air-conditioning systems, increasing its efficiency and making the building a quasi-autonomous living machine.[80]

The 1968 designation of Biscayne National Monument and Metro-Dade's 1975 Land Use Master Plan essentially shut down new high-rise development along the shores of Biscayne Bay in South Dade. In northeast Dade, however, the bayfront was dredged and shaped into a complex geography of inlets, canals, lakes, finger islands and peninsulas, providing lots of new waterfront real estate for homes, and especially multi-family buildings and condominium complexes. The Biscayne

David William Apartment-Hotel, Coral Gables, Maurice Weintraub, 1964. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection.

Boulevard corridor, running through multiple jurisdictions, became the center of the most important concentration of mid- and high-rise apartment buildings in Dade County.[81]

Along this stretch, private for-profit membership clubs were initially an important driver of new condominium development. Clubs created new opportunities for lifestyle innovations by mixing luxurious residential towers with country club facilities and yacht basins. The exclusivity they promoted conveyed social status, although the *Miami Herald* found such clubs were "built around accomplishment more than around bloodlines."[82]

The **Palm Bay Club**, the first and most extravagant of the club condominiums, opened 1965 on the site of the failed Emerald Bay Yacht Club, itself a 1960 redevelopment of The Sentinels, the 9- and 1/2-acre estate of Miami's pioneer naturalist Charles Torrey Simpson (the estate's native forest hammock, rare plants, and trees had failed to attract the public action necessary for its preservation). Cornelia Vandegaer Dinkler, a society figure newly arrived in Miami, created here a new institution built around her personality and social connections. Fresh from the sale of the Dinkler Hotel company in 1960, she created a "club for fun people," catering "to people who enjoy

Palm Bay Tower, Miami. Lawrence & Belk with James Deen, 1972. Photo by Allan Shulman.

life."[83] The club's crown jewel was the marina, which accommodated yachts up to 145-foot. Around this were the tennis courts, pool, club building, 12-unit guest lodges, and a 40-unit, 9-story block of catwalk-type condominium apartments, designed by Eugene Lawrence and Ronald Belk. The futuristic structure, designed to tightly line the yacht basin, had an all-glass façade that was broken by white concrete pylons that rose to mushroom-like canopies at the roof. The architectural drama was amplified in 1968, with the construction of the 26-story **Palm Bay Tower** condominium, a svelte rocket ship-like structure with bell-bottomed legs that plunged directly into the waters of Biscayne Bay, where a marine plaza allowed boats to unload guests directly to the lobby. Lawrence & Belk, with James Deen, enveloped the tower's concrete walls with a fine Chattahoochee stone aggregate, whose warm brown tones were dramatically offset by solid white balconies that traced parabolic lines across the building's curving facades. The success of the Palm Bay Club spurred further new developments, like Walter Troutman's **Jockey Club** (Bleemer and Levine, 1968) [84] and Alvin Malnick's **Cricket Club** (1975).[85]

While not a club condominium *per se,* the redevelopment in 1981 of the unfinished 32-acre **Quayside** complex by Sol Taplin, Stephen Muss, and Jack Friedman merged new apartment towers with club and resort facilities. The core of Burt Haft and Alfred Browning Parker's earlier townhouse village was surrounded by a larger and better-equipped complex with 1,000 new residential units. In addition to further townhouse development, there were three large towers, rising 21- to 24-stories. Departing from the plaza-urbanism of the earlier plan, the towers were set in a lush green park, embedded in deep folds of landscape, creating a sense of urban oasis. [86] To
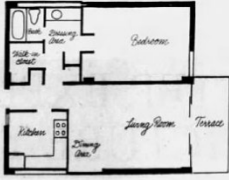
Aventura. Hall & Goodhue, 1970. https://www.swedroe.com/multi-phase-development/.

enhance the seclusion, Biscayne Boulevard-facing commercial buildings, including the Apache Resort Motel (and its golden Apache warrior statue), were removed to provide a greenbelt around the complex.[87] Behind the gated entrance, a health and spa facility, a private tennis complex (designed in the Newport, R.I. casino-style), and a market and coffee shop were added. Along the waterfront was a 35-slip marina and a bayside restaurant complex, known as The Great House, designed by Joseph Baum, famed restaurant impresario and creator of Windows on the World atop the World Trade Center in Manhattan.
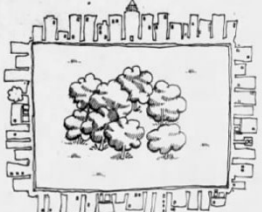
As condominium towers climbed northward, they found an apotheosis on Dade County's northern border at Aventura. Initiated in 1968 as a planned community of multi-family residences with a target population between 17,000-23,900, Aventura offered a novel blend of metropolitan density, amenity, seclusion and comprehensive planning. It was a demonstration of what the homebuilding industry called "total community," indicating a positive balance of private and public amenity.[88] In these planned condominium communities, highly amenitized apartments joined to a larger urban structure offering maximum amenity. Developed by Pittsburgh entrepreneur Donald Soffer, in joint venture with Arthur G. Cohen and Arthur Levine (Arlen Properties), and master planned by the California firm Hall & Goodhue around 1970, Aventura's 785 acres of landfill comprised a simple diagram that was used in advertising the development. In the diagram, buildings line the edge of a broad park – an allusion to Central Park in New York City.

True to that diagram, high-, mid- and low-rise apartment buildings, townhouses and a hotel, were arranged as a ring around an expansive 40-acre open space. Based on the scale of the shared "park," Aventura achieved the "tower-in-the-park" ideal that otherwise rarely worked in Miami, because each building's need for parking usually blocked its relationship with green space. The park's principal amenities were two golf courses and a country club, but it also contained lakes, bicycle paths, landscaped walks and bird sanctuaries.[89] Country Club Drive, the beltway ringing the central park, was Aventura's main street, offering continuous park views on one side.

Lining Country Club Drive at regular intervals and overlooking the park, was a mix of high- and mid-rise buildings. Within the park were developments like **Coronado** and **Delvista** that mixed towers and townhomes.

Advertisement for Aventura, "The condominium with a country club complex." From Miami News, November 27, 1970.

The various scales of the buildings added variety and also attracted different residents. The elderly preferred mid- and high-rise types, including Lapidus's eight-story **Biscaya Three Condominium** (1970s), which like Skylake West had single-loaded blocks with articulated, angled wings that created a varied massing toward the green. Families were attracted to low-rise building and townhouses like the Morris Lapidus's **Villa Dorada** "townhouse" complex (c. 1972), which featured penthouse units over two-story maisonette units. The austere masonry building identified the penthouse level with an abstracted mansard comprised of projecting fins. Morris Lapidus and his associate Robert Swedroe were the principal architects of these buildings until the former closed his office in 1974. As Swedroe explained, the architects took a pragmatic approach characteristic of high-rise towers in Miami: "We keep the architecture in mind," he said, "but we are not going to let the shape of the building ruin any layouts."[90]

Aventura eventually developed into a functionally mixed urbanism, a New Town calibrated for a community of condominium dwellers. **Aventura Mall** (1982), organized on the condominium development's west side and facing Biscayne Boulevard, provided premium shopping, restaurants, and a movie theater. More shopping, like the 75-store **Loehmann's Plaza,** part of the 95-acre **Marina del Rey** development, as well as office buildings and a medical center, were added. The whole complex was wired into the city and the beaches by the contemporary development of the **William Lehman Causeway** (1983). In the 1990s, Aventura was officially incorporated as a city.

Following the success of Aventura, the most exclusive enclave of late mid-century condominium development in Miami came about on Fisher Island. The roughly 200-acre island, located south of

Biscaya Three Condominium, Aventura, Morris Lapidus, 1970s. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection.

Miami Beach, and originally part of that city's land mass, had been cut off by the construction of Government Cut in 1905, and remained isolated. The island's seclusion appealed to African American millionaire Dana Albert (D.A.) Dorsey, who purchased it in Miami.[91] Instead, Dorsey sold the land, which passed through the hands of Miami Beach developer Carl Fisher, William Vanderbilt (who built a 13.5-acre estate there in 1936 and lent his name to the island's mystique), and inventor and boat racer Garfield Wood, before being sold in the 1950s to Fisher Island Holdings, LLC., a consortium of developers that included powerful figures like Charles G. "Bebe" Rebozo, U.S. Senator George Smathers and U.S. Vice President Richard Nixon. 1918 intending to create a resort and residential subdivision for well-to-do Black Miamians – an island apart from the depredations of Jim Crow

Plans for Fisher Island included a high-density residential development around a major shopping center, connected via bridge to the Rickenbacker Causeway, and/or via a tunnel to Miami Beach. Architect James Deen was the chief advocate and planner as the project progressed through years of fight over use and zoning. Opposition to the island's development included on-again off-again state and county plans to buy the land for park, which were finally defeated in court in 1977. After finally securing development rights on the island, Rebozo, the project's lead developer, scrapped plans for a bridge and high-density development, and returned to Dorsey's idea of a sanctuary,

albeit one for security-minded, wealthy individuals. Its privacy and exclusivity were sealed by the decision to allow only ferry access to the island. Rebozo explained the appeal: "We are selling a way of life that has quality, exclusivity, and security – and there isn't anything like it anywhere in the whole country."[92]

When construction started in 1980, San Francisco-based Sandy & Babcock Architects played an important role in shaping Fisher Island's architectural character. The venerable Vanderbilt Estate, designed in the 1920s by Palm Beach architect Maurice Fatio, was repurposed as a club house, and its Mediterranean Revival-style architecture set the tone for further developments. Emulating the strategy of Aventura, plans for the island included a series of low-, mid-, and high-rise condominium blocks wrapping the west, south, and east ends of the island, surrounding a lushly landscaped central park comprising a nine-hole golf course and marina. The housing blocks, coordinated in style and organized informally, were designed to evoke a Mediterranean village, albeit one extenuated in vertical scale, an urban landscape of terraces, red tile roofs, chimneys and dovecote-type elevator towers.

In the new towers rising across Dade County, developers competed to define luxury and amenity, as well as a sense of community targeted to increasingly transient residents. Surveying the area in 1982, the *New York Times* found a "lucrative luxury condominium apartment market [with] finishes and amenities that are probably the most sumptuous offered on a large scale anywhere in the United States."[93] It also found a real estate market promoted increasingly to foreign investors. Multi-lingual sales programs championed Miami, Florida and the U.S. not just as lifestyle, but also as bulwarks against socialism and communism, making the towers odd sentinels of the Cold War.[94]

Challenging Patterns

If the late postwar was a period of social change, and even upheaval, it was for many young architects in the 1970s still rife with static approaches. Predictable design and planning orthodoxies defined practices in Miami and inspired some local architects to a local brand of disruption.
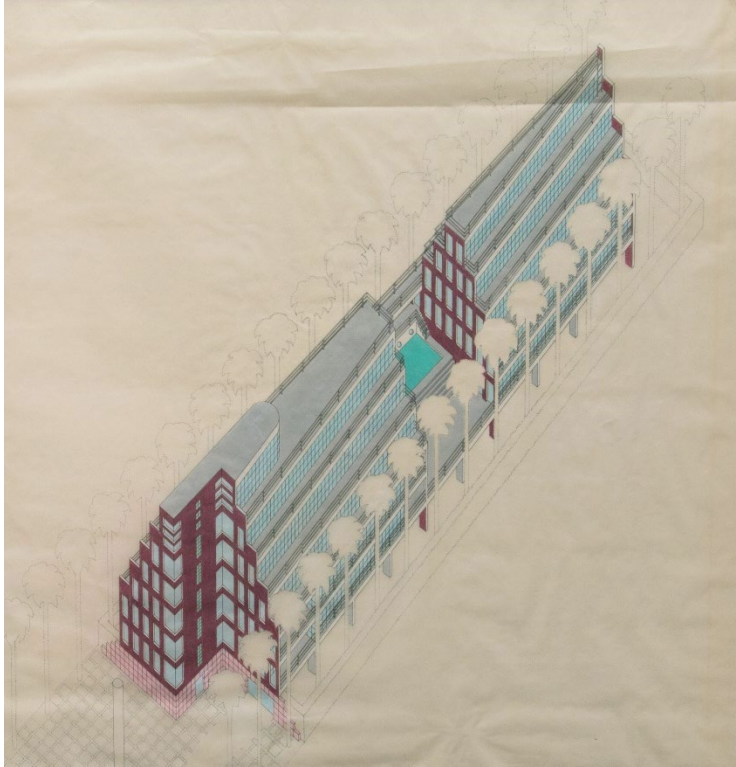
Babylon, Miami. Arquitectonica, 1982. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Arquitectonica Collection.

Spurred in part by crumbling consensus about architectural modernism and planning approaches, in part by the postmodern moment in architecture, and in part by increasing diversity, new horizons for young architects were opened.

The young Miami firm Arquitectonica embodied one challenge to late-postwar architectural forms and expressions. Founded in 1977 by Laurinda Spear, Bernardo Fort-Brescia, Andres Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, and Hervin Romney (although the latter three would soon leave the firm), Arquitectonica did not so much contest the fundamental assumptions of the Miami real estate market (condominium housing, tower forms, auto-centric urbanisms) as confront its banality, and tap into deep sources of image and identity. The subdued 1970s spirit that followed the exuberant tastes of the 1950s – safe, repetitive, efficient, functional, and conveyed by the term 'beigeing,' offered a return to simple, forms and natural tones that eventually transformed the city into a dun regularity. Arquitectonica used a bold new graphic approach to façade-making and typological experimentation, to create dynamic and emotive environments, and re-repackage multi-family residential buildings as urban icons.

Arquitectonica gave shape to trends that were transforming Miami in the 1970s – urban transformation by density, Latinization, and a competitive luxury housing market where bold architectural expression could be construed as an element of luxury. The firm took a postmodern approach (without using postmodern architecture), creating meaning through bold and playful use of Modern architectural syntax – stepped and pyramidal forms that broke the modernist box, taut glass skins, and super-graphic approaches. Along the Brickell corridor, where condo towers were

replacing the mansions of Millionaire's Row, and where Latin American condo buyers were concentrated, Arquitectonica wrangled high-density Miami into iconic new shapes and forms. *Miami Herald* writer Jayne Merkel called the arrival of these new buildings "radical surgeries," asserting that "not everyone knows that some of those condominiums will be more significant as architecture than their pretentious predecessors were [and] contain more innovative new ideas for high-rise building than any group of buildings under construction anywhere in America."[95]

Near Brickell, the firm built the **Babylon** (1982), an elongated and stepped ziggurat, with continuous open-to-the-sky terraces lining both sides of the structure. The idea had historical roots in the helio-tropic architecture of early 20th century sanatoria (a response to tuberculosis), which **was picked up in the work of Henri Sauvage in Paris but discarded by the modern movement** because of its lack of formal efficiency. In Miami, the stepped building re-introduced something intrinsic to tropical living but rarely achieved in multi-family living – deep and continuous connections between indoor and outdoor space, and a nautical wrapping of enclosed space by exterior decks. Stepped and glazed on both sides, the Babylon's floor-through apartment offered sunlit quarters, embraced by the outdoors. Typologically related to the unloved dingbat (built over ground-level parking and occupying most of the site) but cut by an internal patio and represented on the street by a playfully abstracted façade, it demonstrated the power of invention and poignant imagery that resonated through the firm's subsequent and influential work.

A series of towers along Brickell created further opportunity for type innovation. the 20-story **Atlantis** (1981), designed by Arquitectonica for Chilean developer Hugo Zamorano, Atlantis was only 37 feet wide, roughly half the width of a typical double-loaded residential tower, and comprised only six apartments per floor, allowing most units to run through the building and open on both sides, accessed via multiple elevator cores for privacy. The firm used the 300-foot-long walls in the tall and narrow structure as a graphic billboard, with a mirrored curtainwall on one side, on the other a blue-grid super graphic screen that framed balconies and windows and challenged the typical cadence of the façade. The most eye-catching feature was the multi-story sky court at the center, a void staged with icons of fantasy and leisure–a palm tree, jacuzzi, spiral stair and framed views of the sky--an architectural folly designed to be appreciated by car, speedboat, or helicopter, as when the building appeared in the intro credits of *Miami Vice* in September 1984. As *New York Times* architecture critic Paul Goldberger noted, "Amid the dullness of conventional high-rise condominiums, all of this brashness can only be called a noble act of public benefit."[96] Adding to the noble act, the design preserved the Tiffany Estate that occupied the waterfront, and adapted it to the needs of the building's residents, an early example of adaptive use and mixing new and old.

Arquitectonica quickly added the 41-story **Palace** (1982), a play between slab tower and steeped form that intersected theatrically on a stagey platform, and the 30-story **Imperial** (1983). The grouping of new towers was not so much contextual, as self- or cross-referential. The staginess emphasized by the buildings' strange and contrasting forms, color coding, and podiums, which created a new foundation for a city that emerged out of the water--and that also required lots of parking spaces. In the Surrealist mixing of sculptural elements, textures and colors, there is something of the painterly approach of Le Corbusier. As Merkel describes, the juxtaposition of
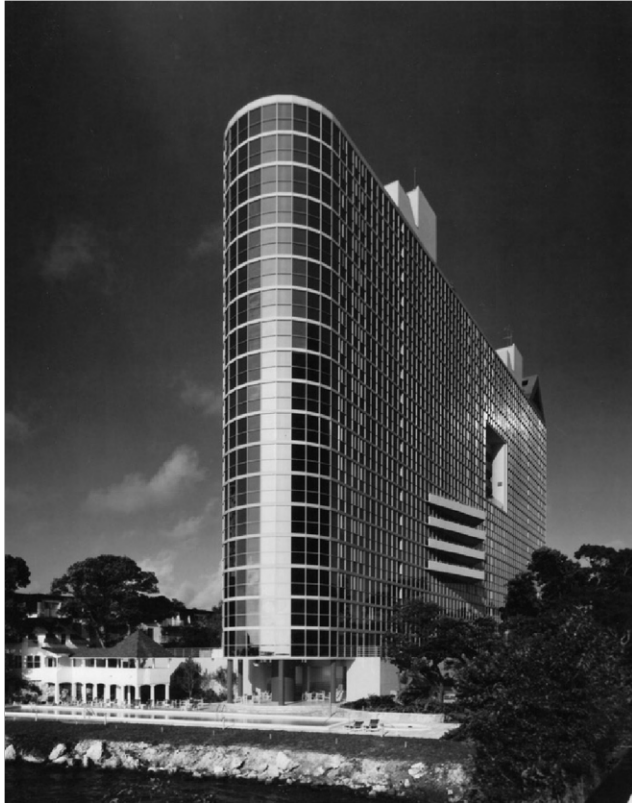
(left) Atlantis on Brickell, Miami. Arquitectonica, 1981. From Exhibition Arquitectonica: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection (1989-011-871). (right) The Palace, Miami. Arquitectonica, 1982. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection (1995-277-1593).

contrasting forms and scales seemed appropriate in the complex physical space of Brickell – an urban district that already was a sort of collage. Arquitectonica's freedom of invention reflected the radical engineering that shaped Miami in the first half of the 20th Century. Alastair Gordon writes that the "new structures were anything but predictable, taunting the old order, verging on subversive."[97] Like the hotels of Lapidus, Arquitectonica produced a new, exportable Miami style and architectural practice.

The **New Urbanism** posed another challenge to Miami's late mid-century norms, in particular its suburban planning paradigms that placed the car at the center of urban life. Coined by architect Stefanos Polyzoides in 1991, the New Urbanism was a pragmatic urban planning movement founded on careful study of historic precedent and principles, with emphasis on creating walkable communities and civic spaces and structures. In a parallel movement in Europe, a new wave of European architects rejected modernist planning and design principles and explored a revival of the value of precedent in architecture.[98] Retaining the centrality of the single-family home and the contemporary features of American life, like the car, New Urbanism tapped into the collective consciousness of American town design and civic art as it developed up to the 1940s, a consciousness that had historical resonance in Florida where progressive traditions of town-making in the 1920s, based strongly on the Garden City Movement,[99] made the state a "great laboratory of town and city building."[100] Although New Urbanism was a national movement, it

sprung in great part from the academic and professional work of Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk and Andres Duany, founders who established their planning firm Duany Plater-Zyberk (DPZ) in Miami in 1980. The firm famously challenged North American planning practices and postwar patterns of suburban growth from its base in one of the primary exemplars of these practices.

Florida would host dozens of New Urbanism projects. Based partly on progressive growth management legislation in Florida in the 1970s, the state once again became a laboratory of new practices. Among DPZ's first projects were the resort community of **Seaside** in the Florida panhandle (1980), and **Charleston Place** in Boca Raton (1983). Here the firm tested many of the tools of New Urbanism: on-site *charrettes* (community workshops); the planning of street systems based on traditional principles and hierarchies; the development of a vocabulary of street and building types based on established precedents: the use of the five-minute walk to guarantee compact design; and form-based coding.

Other local New Urbanist firms followed DPZ, with some principals trained at the University of Miami, such Dover, Kohl & Partners, established in 1987, and Corea Valle, in the late 1980s.[101] In 1988, the University of Miami established the Suburb and Town Design Program to educate planners in the New Urbanism. Teaching at UM came to emphasize the city,[102] and Miami became an early platform and logistical base for the movement, which organized its first Congress for the New Urbanism in 1993 and signed its New Urbanism Charter (modeled after CIAM) in 1996.

New Urban/Suburban Centers

Urban megastructures, Metrorail boomtowns, resurgent suburban downtowns, and emergent ethnic enclaves appeared across the metropolitan area in the 1970s, reverberating Miami's traditional polycentric nature in new concentrations of intensity, mixed-uses, and vertical development. The shopping center, a still nascent and evolving urban model, inspired many of these developments, which became destinations in the larger mosaic of the county.

Plaza Venetia

Miami's first postwar urban/suburban hub was **Plaza Venetia**, an enclosed shopping center coupled with a complex of residential and hotel towers. Located just north of downtown along Biscayne Boulevard, on the spine of the city's first prewar suburban extension, it was developed by Tibor Hollo, the Hungarian-born high-rise impresario and advocate for high-density urban development in Miami.[103] Hollo saw Miami as a rising international city with an urban future, but likened the city to a hurricane, whose ill-defined downtown, like the eye, lacked inner strength. Hollo proposed a new center of whose "focal magnetism" would draw Miamians back to the urban core, believing that "This concept of living, working and playing in one central location is the key to saving our city." [104] The plan was influenced by recently completed mixed-use urban centers like Victor Gruen's Midtown Plaza in Rochester, New York and John Portman's Peachtree Center in Atlanta, Georgia (both early 1960s), especially in the centrality of the shopping experience, the

Omni International Motel, Miami, 1977. Courtesy HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News collection.

mix of offices, restaurants, residential, hotels, and convention facilities, and the reliance on private initiative.

Plaza Venetia's one-million-square-foot, multi-story shopping center and hotel, both designed by the Atlanta firm of Toombs, Amisano and Wells, were built first. The mall, developed by Atlanta-based International City Corporation and branded as the **Omni International Mall** (1977), was an entirely introverted multi-level complex with 115 shops, a movie theater, and a small theme park. Stretching several blocks along Biscayne Boulevard, it was a nearly window-less structure enclosed in a skin of precast concrete panels with a brown aggregate finish. An eight-story, 2,700-car parking garage flanked the east side of the structure over its entire length. Omni was not the first enclosed urban mall in Miami, as enclosed mini-malls were transforming downtown Miami at about the same time, but it was the first to make the suburban mall a paradigm of urban redevelopment, and of urban life.

The 556-room **Omni International Hotel** (1977) was also very introverted, and tightly integrated into the mall complex. The hotel's multi-story atrium lobby opened toward the boulevard through a slanted curtainwall of glass, a cyclops lens onto the activity of the street. In this secure and climate-controlled bubble, landscape features like a waterfall, bubbling brook, and coral rock grottos, set atmospheric notes in an otherwise functional, low-key, and beige space that was imagined as a calming rejoinder to earlier excesses of hotels on Miami Beach. As the first major new hotel built in Dade County since Melvin Grossman's **Hilton Plaza** in Miami Beach eleven years earlier, the Omni exemplified the migration of hotel development from beach resorts to urban centers. As they became centers of urban life, the model of sprawling public spaces in an expansive

Omni International Motel, Miami, 1977. Courtesy HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News collection.

pedestal, which worked so well for beach hotels on larger sites, migrated toward interiorized mall-like architecture extrapolated vertically through interior atria.

The Omni, which Hollo predicted would become the "mercantile center of Miami," was supposed to function as "catalyst" for surrounding development. A system of aerial skyways was planned to connect the shopping complex to satellite buildings, allowing pedestrians to journey as many as six blocks in a protected way and without touching the ground – the type of network John Portman had achieved at the Peachtree Center in Atlanta. [105] The satellites that were built included **Plaza Venetia** condominium (William Dorsky, 1980), a 600-room **Marriott Hotel** (Toombs, Amissano and Wells, 1983), and **Venetia** (Toombs, Amissano and Wells, 1982). Venetia, a city-within-the-city in its own right, combining hotel and condominium apartments over a two-story retail concourse that opened to a private marina. The capacious 42-story tower (purportedly containing more interior space than the Empire State Building) packed a stunning 820 apartments and 152 hotel suites, organized around two vertiginous 32-story interior atria (another Portman feature). It was another demonstration of just how introverted urban commerce, housing and hospitality had become in the 1970s.[106]

The development of mega-structures that integrated mixed urban functions in a single package, and the utopianism of continuous and pedestrianized air-conditioned environments, was in tune with the fraught urban ethos of the late 20th century, which craved vibrant urban life but was concerned with comfort, security, and parking. While heralded as a way to pump life back into the city, a "Great Concrete Hope" according to the *Miami Herald*'s Patrick May,[107] the problem with luring suburbanites into the urban core into self-contained fortresses was soon apparent in bulk,
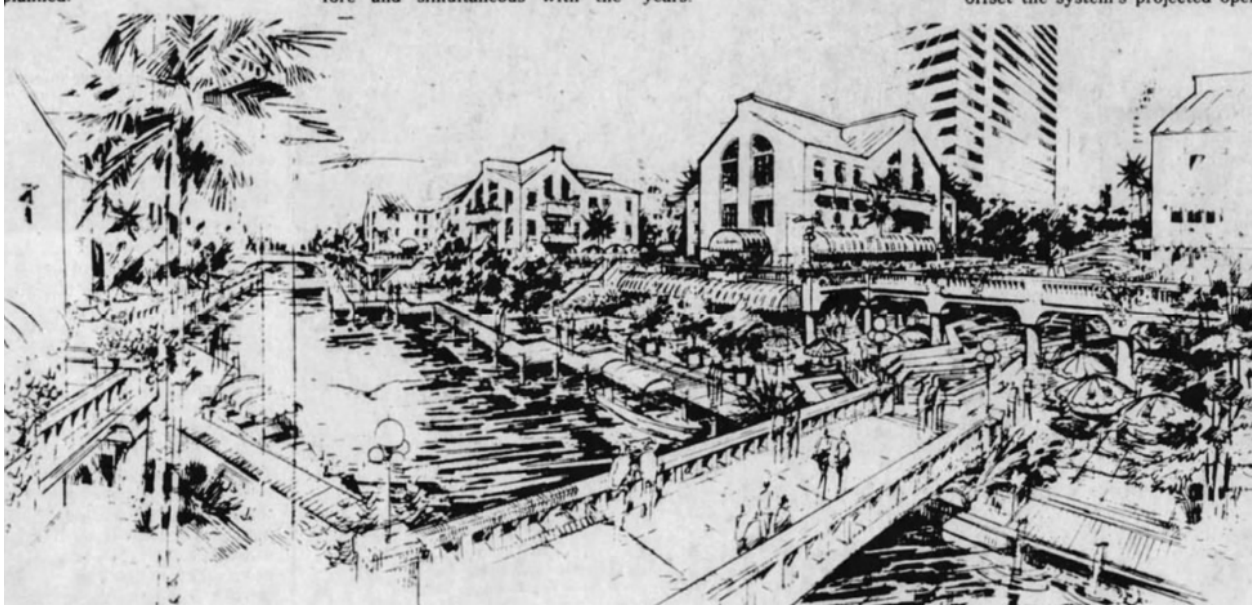
Landscaped Riverwalk at Snapper Creek Canal, Kendall. From "Projects Rising Along Rapid-Transit Rail Line," Miami Herald, May 14, 1984.

faceless street frontages, and traffic snarls. Set in the otherwise low-rise suburban Edgewater neighborhood, Plaza Venetia's physical isolation and dramatic scale stirred the *Miami Herald*'s Margarita Fichtner to complain that the building "stands out from its surroundings as prominently as an ancient desert pyramid or a sore thumb…set apart from the rest of the Miami skyline like a naughty child sent packing, an aggressive, bull-clumsy monument to capitalism."[108]

Datran Center

Datran Center (1983), another megastructure, rose just south of the Dadeland Mall in Kendall. The idea of an urban center here was partly a result of Dadeland's success, as the mall, enclosed and air-conditioned in 1969, grew along with suburban Kendall and drew Latin tourists. With the arrival of Metrorail in 1983, this important suburban junction was reconceptualized as the natural office and retail hub of Miami's southwestern suburbs, forming what University of Miami urban geographer Ira Sheskin described as a "counterweight" to downtown Miami.[109] However, the chemistry of this new hub wasn't just a factor of its geography. In 1984, the *Miami Herald* credited Metrorail with producing "high-rises in suburbia, office towers in Kendall" and noted that "around the stations of Dade's new transit line, little downtowns are in the making."

Developed as a partnership between the Green Companies and Metro-Dade County, the nearly 1 million square foot office, hospitality, and retail complex was conceived as a type of intermodal hub, a pedestrian nucleus at the intersection of the Dadeland South Metrorail station and a 3,000-space parking garage, all in proximity to the mall. The 17-story office buildings and retail atrium, designed by Nichols & Associates, were no-nonsense, employing a vocabulary of sand-colored stucco walls punctured by square windows with reflective glass and cutaway corners. The heart of the project was the glass-skylit retail atrium, a festive interior urbanism of soaring spaces, rich plantings, water basins, and park-like walks. The addition of the 275 room, 28-story Marriott hotel

suggested that suburban districts were "ripe for hotel development," and demonstrated how hotels could be deployed to support emerging suburban hubs.[110]

Datran was viewed as a harbinger of further transit station developments, each a catalyst for further urban development. Such joint-use projects were understood as a key to the success of Metrorail, not only because they supported ridership, but because the anticipated joint-development fees contributed to Metrorail's bottom line.[111] In 1984, the Metro-Dade Transit Administration predicted 25-million-square-feet of new development around the county's 20 transit stations, with projects "blooming like flowers."[112] Ambitious projects were planned, like the Green Companies' concept for an even larger 1.8-million-square-foot complex at the Dadeland North station, inspired by the San Antonio Riverwalk in Texas and including low-rise office, apartment, and hotel buildings clustered around shops and restaurants along Snapper Creek. At Brickell Station, Hatcher, Zeigler, Gunn & Associates completed **One International Place** (1985), a 30-story mixed-use tower, sheathed in reflective green glass and sculpted with a reverse stair-step motif at its crown, a structure that turned its back on the Brickell banking district that until then was the magnet of office development in the area.

Unfortunately, Metrorail stations near Black urban centers in the West Grove and in Overtown were contrastingly leveraged for yet more slum clearance and urban renewal. For instance, the City of Miami used a $6.7 million grant from the Urban Mass Transit Administration to assemble and clear parcels west of the Overtown station, offering them to developers with incentives to develop middle-income housing and office and retail space, none of which was built.[113]

Coconut Grove Village Center

Another type of urban center arrived through commercial and residential intensification of existing village or neighborhood centers. One example is **Coconut Grove**, the oldest modern settlement in Dade County (predating Miami, which absorbed it in 1925), where early settlers, including Black Bahamians and Bohemian's from the northeastern United States, forged a separatist cultural identity that inspired the village's postwar reinvention as a nonconformist arts center. **Grove House** (1960), a cooperative gallery, marketplace and art school, founded by Lester and Hélène Pancoast, Otto Holbein and James Merrick Smith, was a landmark of its emerging cultural role within the metropolitan area. By the 1970s, as observed in the *Miami Herald*, the Grove's sense of authenticity, enhanced by a growing youth counterculture movement, served as a "psychological-geographical escape valve for thousands of South Floridians who don't even live there…[offering an] enclave of tolerance, a redoubt of nonconformity, the one place in the urban sprawl of Dade County that has intimacy and scale, that has a sense of history, place and style."[114] Precisely this tangible sense of place and hippie-meets-tourist ambiance spurred a surge of development that transformed the Grove into a regional magnet of urban activity.

Large-scale developments began with the so-called "Bayshore Boom." The Grove's bayfront escarpment facing South Bayshore Drive and the waters of Biscayne Bay was transformed with high-rise hotels, condominiums and office buildings (joining the Miami City Hall, which in 1953 began operating from the former waterfront base of the Pan American World Airways Clipper

Office in the Grove, Coconut Grove. Kenneth Treister, 1973. Courtesy of George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Kenneth Treister Collection.

Fleet). The Grove's first high-rise, developer Burton Goldberg's 12-story **Sailboat Bay Apartments** (1968) (later the **Mutiny Hotel**), broke the quiet ambiance along this stretch with an infamous basement club called the **Mutiny** (1971) that attracted celebrities. The Mutiny was joined by the **Grand Bay Hotel and Plaza** (1982)**,** developed by the Continental Companies of Miami and Sherwood Weiser and designed by Nichols & Associates. The Grand Bay featured a stair-stepping profile of landscaped terraces that overlooked the bay and was topped by a club called **Regine's**. Both clubs, built on the Grove's reputation as a party center, and were compared with New York's "Studio 54," the disco club that defined late-1970s nightlife.

Architect Kenneth Treister's **Office in the Grove** (1973), a midrise office block, reflected the allure of this stretch for office building development. Its distinctive pentagonal form, generated by the exigencies of its triangular site, was wrapped in a sand-hued concrete honeycomb of precast-concrete window frames, and featured a balconied loggia at the top of the building that faced south toward the marina. The structure was set back from adjacent streets over battered concrete plinths and tall earthen berms that concealed multiple parking decks, a suburban alternative to the more common exposed parking podium. Just to the south, Treister also designed and built the **Yacht Harbor Condominium** (1975), an 18-story tower slab with prow-like balconies that faced out to the harbor. In both projects, Treister mixed modern architecture with signature artistic treatments that would identify his work, including the depiction of local flora and fauna cast into the building's concrete shell and bronze elevator doors, and carved into mahogany panels that lined the elevator cabs.

(left)Mayfair in the Grove, Coconut Grove. Kenneth Treister with Antonio Cantillo , 1979. Courtesy of George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Kenneth Treister Collection. (right) Mayfair in the Grove, Coconut Grove. Kenneth Treister with Antonio Cantillo, 1979. Courtesy of George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Kenneth Treister Collection.

Treister would emerge as a driving force in the next phase of Coconut Grove development: the re-imagination of the village core with a multi-block shopping, dining, hotel, and entertainment center atop subterranean parking decks. In 1979, Treister, with the Edward J. DeBartolo Corporation, developed the boutique shopping complex **Mayfair in the Grove,** which (n 10 years after the launch of Bal Harbour Shops) conceived the luxury mall as an in-town boutique center focused on experience and artistic conception.[115] Mayfair tested new zoning regulations limiting height to five stories and encouraging mixed-use development. Treister and Antonio Cantillo emphasized careful integration with surrounding sidewalks, but the three-level Mayfair mall was principally an oasis of interior patios and courts, sidewalk cafés, fountains, art, and landscaping, aspiring to an atmosphere of European urbanity with a cultivated Mediterranean/West London vibe. The adjacent **Mayfair House Hotel** (Treister with Cantillo, 1983-85) was similarly organized around garden patios that functioned as outdoor lobbies. Richly planted galleries transformed the patios, as author Tom Wolfe has observed, into "hanging gardens," filled with copses of trees, reflecting pools, ceramics, and copper sculpture.[116]

Treister used the Mayfair complex as a platform to further explore his ideas of the integration of architecture and the arts. The buildings rejected modern styling and engaged eclectic references, from Frank Lloyd Wright to Art Nouveau and especially the Catalan Modernisme of Antoni Gaudi. Treister pursued a renaissance of art and ornament, a celebration of flora and fauna encapsulated in an efflorescence of detail, including relief cast in concrete, copper and iron work, carved wood, tile, painted murals, and stained-glass work. The result was something of an American Rococo,

International Design Center, Photo by Ezra Stoller. March 20, 1962. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection (1995-277-6397).

exuberant, theatrical, playful and immersive. The architectural extravagance, combined with new categories of specialty retail, reflected an evolving social and economic order in the Grove, which was trending toward the appeal of California spots like Carmel, Laguna Beach, and Sausalito.

Mayfair set the pace for developments in the village center and was succeeded by **CocoWalk** (John Clark, 1989), a complex based on similar urban principles (but stylistically less inspired) and a series of other mini-urban malls. The European village aesthetic also resonated in surrounding residential districts, in the explosion of posh multi-story townhome projects, like Quincy Jones's **Kings Wharf** and Carson Bennett Wright's **Abitare** (1978), where units were clustered around intimate brick courts.

The expanding urbanization of Coconut Grove largely excluded the Grove's Black community, whose traditional commercial district along Grand Street remained disconnected and underdeveloped. The urbanization also stoked battles between civic leaders, developers, and government officials. The Coconut Grove Civic Club, Biscayne Bay Civic Association, Tigertail Civic Association, and Bayshore Homeowners Association organized in opposition to further high-rise development. However lovely, many also criticized the loss of authentic character the new developments helped shape. The *Herald's* Michael Putney, referring to the developments as
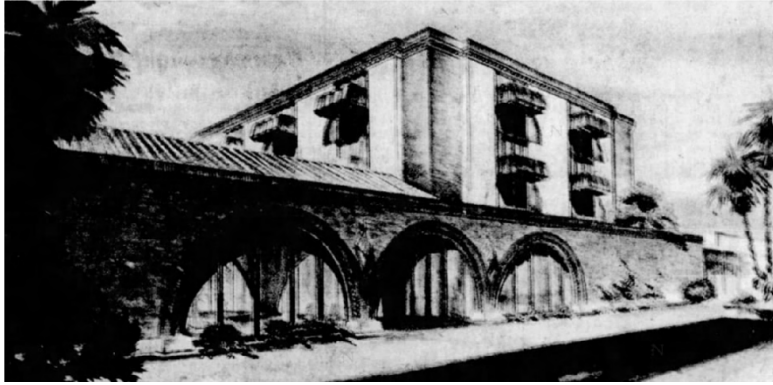
Decorators Showcase Building, Miami Design Plaza. Thurston Hatcher, 1971. From "Showcase Building to Go Up in Miami Design Plaza," Miami Herald, August 10, 1969.

the "second greening" of Coconut Grove, rued the loss: "No longer a haven for hippies and patchouli and incense and strummin' guitars and singin' protest songs." [117]

Miami Design Plaza

The evolution of **Miami Design Plaza** (now the Design District), as a design-focused specialty retail center demonstrated the rising centrality of the mall paradigm in American life, but also how specialty retailing could produce new hybrid mall types adapted to existing urban centers. The Design Plaza was a 1965 rebranding of the commercial district of Buena Vista, a settlement founded by the Moore Furniture Company in the 1920s as a manufacturing and retail hub.[118] During the 1950s, the district served Miami's highly competitive home furnishing and design market, and NE 40th Street was recast as a center of showrooms and galleries known as "Decorator's Row."

Attempts to group designers and showrooms into mall-like structures (paralleling national retail trends) began with the **International Design Centre** (IDC) in 1961. Henry End, the Kansas City and Miami-based designer of themed hotel interiors,[119] conceived the IDC as a meeting space for designers and manufacturers patterned on the National Design Center in New York City (1958), where manufacturers exhibited furnishings usually offered exclusively to decorators directly to the consumer market.[120] The building, designed by James Deen, was imagined as an attraction in its own right, comprising multi-level internal showrooms organized around an atrium. Visitors could travel to the top of the building by elevator and descend among the various levels using a stagey open stair emblazoned with a collaged multi-story abstract metal screen by artist James McLaughlin. The building's closed exterior was enlivened with white mosaic tile surfaces and contrasting black concrete piers that rose from the earth on forking piers inspired most likely by the Venetian façade motifs of Edward Durrell Stone's 1961 Gallery of Modern Art in New York.

The **Decorators Showcase** (1971), developed almost a decade later by Emil and Dennis Gould and designed by Thurston Hatcher, was not a mall *per se*, but a series of showrooms, meeting rooms and a restaurant organized around a secret patio. Behind a low, street-facing arcade of broad brick arches, designers and the public could experience space, sound, and landscape. Eclectic materials and visible craftsmanship were exhibited in the patio's central fountain and rustic loggia
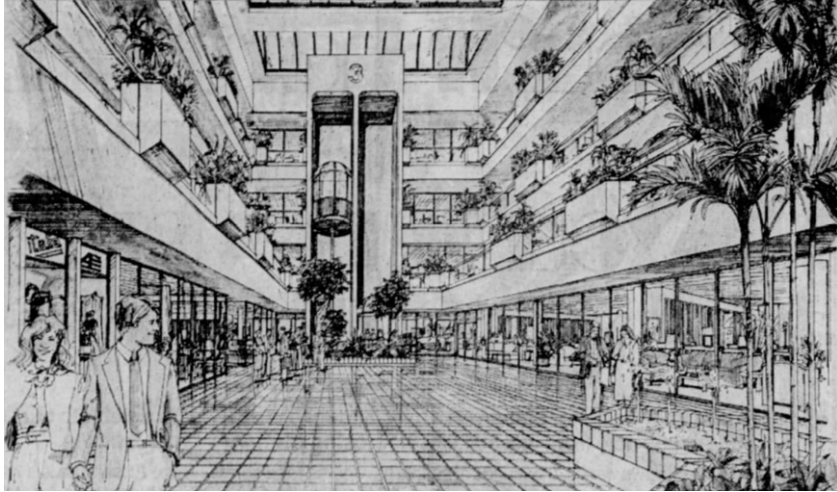
Proposal for Plaza 3, Miami Decorating and Design Center, Miami Design Plaza. Bleemer, Levine & Associates, 1983. From "Miami Design Plaza is having a building boom," Miami Herald, September 25, 1983.

supported on piers of bundled square stained cypress batons. An attached three-story wing with weathered copper bay windows contained accessory office spaces for designers.

The use of introverted atria or patios as incremental units of a more complex neighborhood urbanism took off in the 1980s. During this period, the district grew while also facing competition from a new competitor: the Design Center of the Americas (DCOTA, 1985), a massive, air-conditioned home interiors shopping center on a sprawling suburban site in Fort Lauderdale. The competition mirrored the larger dilemma in American retailing, where clean, safe, convenient, and air-conditioned shopping centers with abundant parking were replacing urban retailing. To compete, developers in the Miami Design Plaza evolved a model of commercial building that had the character of a mall, could fit on a restricted urban site, and responded to the surrounding context. The first of these, **Plaza 2**, was designed by Bleemer, Levine & Associates (1980) and had an atrium at its center, arcades that fed into the surrounding streets in three directions, and underground parking that allowed patrons to arrive by car and rise to the atrium by elevator. The building's street facades reflected a new approach, mixing broad expanses of plate glass with built-in planters on the street level, and mansard-type roofs sheltering the windows above. Plaza 2 was limited in size but connected by aerial bridges to other new showroom buildings, like **Plaza 3** and **Plaza 4**, also by Bleemer, Levine & Associates, networking the buildings into multi-block complex called the **Miami Decorating and Design Center** (MDDC).

Another multi-block concept, **Miami Inter/Design Center** (MID), developed a couple of blocks northward. Aspiring to create the "Bal Harbour Mall of the Design District," in 1983 Canadian fashion entrepreneur Jacques Lallouz and architect Patrick Danan redeveloped the existing 1920s **Vanleigh Building,** carving a sky-lit courtyard into the structure and wrapping the facades in a glossy curtainwall of blue glass that made explicit reference to Cesar Pelli's admired "Blue Whale" at the Pacific Design Center in Los Angeles.[121] On the other side of NE 2nd Avenue, phase 2 of the project in 1985 featured a large new atrium building with rooftop parking, and plans for a rooftop hotel. As at the MDDC, the complex was linked by a pedestrian bridge.

Miracle Mile, Coral Gables, 1950. From "Skyscraper Shopping on a Street Level Basis," Advertisement for the Miracle Mile Association of Coral Gables, Miami Herald, November 19, 1950.

By 1984, the hybrid urbanism of street architecture, arcades, and sky lit courts comprised an astonishing 1.2 million square feet of designer and showroom space, most belonging to internally networked retail archipelagos.[122] Even **Decorative Arts Plaza**, the shopping plaza at the east terminus of NE 40th Street, renovated by Arquitectonica (1981) and endowed with modest and amusing follies around its small parking lot, belonged to this urban network. When Miami-Dade County Public Schools launched the **Design and Architecture Senior High** magnet school in 1988, it chose the Decorative Arts Plaza for its campus, transforming the parking lot into a schoolyard and further enriching the mix of urban spaces.

Coral Gables Corporate Giant

Not all emergent urban centers were driven by retail development, although many began that way. The redevelopment of downtown Coral Gables began with the reconstruction of its retail main street, Coral Way. "We believe that Coral Gables is destined to become the shopping center of a wide area," developer Lee Gebhart noted. "The city's business district will draw from Southwest Miami, Coconut Grove, South Miami and the rural sections beyond… all of which are building up rapidly."[123] By the 1950s Coral Way was rebranded as a high-end shopping district of modern shopfronts called **Miracle Mile**.

By 1964, however, the City Beautiful had "business on its mind."[124] The city's population had quadrupled since 1945, with new ranch homes filling open lots left by the 1920s real estate collapse. Following affluent suburbs nationwide, the City of Coral Gables and Chamber of Commerce launched a drive for economic development, stalking the white-collar flank of American industry as employment centers and to bolster their tax base.[125] Downtown Coral Gables, envisioned four decades earlier as a suburban town center and where a core of Mediterranean-inspired structures embodied city founder George Merrick's vision of an American *Riviera*, was now pitched as a corporate base for American enterprise.[126]

As a local manifestation of the suburban migration of corporations nationwide, the bases corporate America built in Coral Gables had a well-defined business purpose: expanding Latin American

Miracle Mile, Coral Gables, 1950. From "Skyscraper Shopping on a Street Level Basis," Advertisement for the Miracle Mile Association of Coral Gables, Miami Herald, November 19, 1950.

operations. Coral Gables offered fast access to Miami International Airport, proximity to the University of Miami, and above all a high quality of life. The city's Latin American context, however, was the decisive factor in attracting top corporations. Miami had an educated bilingual population, Spanish language newspapers, radio, and TV, and an increasingly Latin business character. Even the physical context, dotted with romantic Mediterranean-inspired monuments, seemed to instill a Latin context. Jack Suiter, the Coral Gables community development coordinator, promoted the idea that "Latin visitors can feel at home while enjoying the local version of the American way of life."[127]

The first major corporate base was the **International Petroleum Company Building** (1963-64)**,** built for the Latin American subsidiary of Standard Oil of New Jersey. The seven-story modernist slab was designed by New York-based Lathrop Douglass, whose work for the petroleum industry in Latin America and Europe established his reputation as a specialist in the genre. International Petroleum's new headquarters disregarded the Mediterranean vision of the city (as did the

International Petroleum Company Building, Coral Gables, Lathrop Douglass, 1963-64. Courtesy HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection

contemporary development of the University of Miami); its brilliant white skin of modular precast concrete panels was an expression of global corporate identity, interrupting and rivaling the city's masonry-walled architecture and historic towers. The planning was equally disruptive, adapting a tower-in-the-garden arrangement to the restricted downtown Coral Gables site, and stepping back behind a generous landscaped street front plaza where a floating glass conference center enfolded in bronze metal screens met the street.[128]

Coral Gables drew more than 80 American corporate giants, including Esso, Gulf Oil, 3M, Corning Glass, Eastman Kodak, Dow Chemical, General Electric and Coca Cola – industrial doppelgangers to the hemispheric banking action on Brickell. Within a decade, millions of square feet of new office buildings were built in downtown Coral Gables, most centering on the Alhambra Circle district north of Miracle Mile, but also on the axis of Ponce de Leon. The suburb had become a headquarters city, as well as a nexus of Miami's globalization.

The modernism erupting in Coral Gables found expressions ranging from the mundane, like the large glass curtain-walled office building at **201 Alhambra Circle** by Spillis Candela (1973), to

Gables Corporate Plaza, Coral Gables. Albert Socol, 1983. Advertisement from Miami News, August 16, 1982.

the expressionist concrete and glass towers developed by entrepreneur Michael Katz and Argentine-born architect Albert Socol in the 1970s. Socol's **Gables Corporate Plaza** (1979) was sculpted by bold effects of mass and volume, abrupt setbacks, the powerful use of voids, and the expression of features like open elevator shafts and spiraling car ramps.

Although later derided for departing from the city's founding architectural charter, modern corporate architecture lured North American and Latin American business elites to Coral Gables and produced a second source of identity for the city. Even civic buildings, like the **Coral Gables Public Safety Building** (1973), deployed modern architecture. Designed by Walter S. Klements, the Brutalist structure's bold curving surfaces, sheathed with a skin of terra cotta brick, were interrupted by expanses of dark solar glass that corresponded with the four-story lobby within.

The modern architecture erupting in downtown Coral Gables also laid the groundwork for a stylistic reversal, back to the Mediterranean Revival. In 1964, the year that the International Petroleum Building was completed, plans to demolish a revered monument, **Douglas Entrance,** and replace it with a Food Fair supermarket, spurred Miami's first documented historic preservation battle. The gateway, completed in 1924 and designed by Phineas Paist, Denman Fink (both principal architects of Coral Gables), and Walter De Garmo, framed the northeast entrance to Coral Gables from 8th Street, or Tamiami Trail, establishing the framework for a future entrance

Coral Gables Public Safety Building, Coral Gables. Walter S. Klements, 1973. Photo by Coral Gables. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection (1994-370-1221)

plaza that was never completed. The building's collage of civic urban features, including a belfry and a broad archway spanning a street, as well as its characteristic Mediterranean styling, were considered markers the city's inaugural identity.[129]

A group of mainly modernist architects, led by James Deen, became primary advocates for the preservation of this identity, creating the Coral Gables Society for the Preservation of Historic Landmarks in 1964 to fight the demolition, and later Douglas Entrance Village Inc., (a syndicate of 60 architects, engineers and decorators) to purchase the site in 1965.[130] The building became the headquarters of the local chapter of the American Institute of Architects, a meeting place for allied design professions, and a venue for events. In 1970, Andrew Ferendino and Edward G. Grafton, partners in Miami's most prestigious architectural firm, purchased a controlling interest to create offices for their 125-person firm in the building. The controversy rallied architects to the cause of preservation, but increased consciousness about the city's Mediterranean heritage eventually influenced the debate over postmodernism in Miami.

Indeed, by the 1980s, the rise of postmodernism was palpable in Miami, the way paved by Philip Johnson and John Burgee's 1980 Miami-Dade Cultural Plaza. The headquarters of the newly formed **Bank of Coral Gables** (1984) was one of the first major commercial projects to reassert the city's Mediterranean identity, advertised as projecting a local flavor reflecting "our commitment to some old-time values."[131] Initially, architect Ron Robison was hired to gut and adaptively re-use the Phineas Paist-designed **Boake Building Apartments** (1920s) that occupied

Bank of Coral Gables, Coral Gables. Ferguson, Glasgow, Schuster, Inc. , 1984. Rendering December 7,1981. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection (1984-370-13).

the site.[132] That effort ended with Ferguson, Glasgow, Schuster replacing it with an entirely new and larger structure that re-created its spirit. Firm principal Richard Schuster, a leader in advocating a return to Mediterranean-architecture, saved fragments of the original structure, like carved wood doors, metal balcony railings and lanterns, and reinterpreted its corner rotunda, wrapping ground floor loggia, and clay-tile roofs into a new three-story office block, setting the tone for a generation of traditionally inspired corporate architecture. The bank also built its city-wide drive-through tellers in emulation of the town's small residential cottage architecture.

Miami Beach Civic Center

Another process of urban center creation involved the elaboration of new civic centers in the constituent cities of Dade County. The most ambitious was in Miami Beach, a city with no planned center. The **Miami Beach Civic Center** evolved from a onetime municipal golf course into a district that mixed roles as government center, business center, support system for the city's tourism industry, and cultural facility.

The **Miami Beach Municipal Auditorium** (1948) and the **Miami Beach Exhibition Hall** (1959-74) were the first acts of civic center development. Both complexes were conceived to bolster the cultural and convention capacity of the city and were built north of the multi-family district of South Beach, where Martin Luther Hampton's nine-story City Hall tower on Washington Avenue stood proudly since just after the Great Hurricane of 1926. Their location reflected the northward migration of hospitality and population in Miami Beach.[133]

Miami Beach Civic Center, including convention center, theater, hotels and City Hall. Courtesy Miami Herald.

The Auditorium was conceived for the staging of major cultural events, but its most famous role was as the stage for the national broadcast of popular television variety programs like The Dick Clark Show, The Ed Sullivan Show, and, in 1964, the Jackie Gleason Show (becoming an iconic promotion of the city). Designed by a consortium of the city's most prolific architects: Henry Hohauser, Lawrence Murray Dixon, and Russell T. Pancoast, it spoke the austere language of immediate-postwar civic architecture, with simple box-like forms tailored to building functions, and a broad fronting marquee and canopy that faced Washington Avenue.[134] In contrast to the condensed urban character of South Beach, it was set back behind a wide lawns and featured an entrance drive.

Next door, the Exhibition Hall (future convention center) was opened in 1957, allowing the city to host events up to 15,000 participants.[135] Designed by Robert Swartburg, the 108,000 square foot space was the largest such hall in the southeast U.S., reflecting the intention of local hoteliers to nurture the convention industry and drive demand for hotel rooms. The facility hosted such disparate events as the 1961 Billy Graham Crusade and the Cassius Clay versus Sonny Liston match in 1964, as well as Republican National Convention in 1968 and the Democratic National Convention in 1972, briefly putting Miami Beach at the center of national politics.

The exhibition hall joined the auditorium facing Washington Avenue across a broad expanse of greenery, and its entrance was conceived as a major work of civic art. Swartburg, the only one of Miami's eclectic architectural corps to have studied at the Ecole de Beaux Arts in Paris and the American Academy in Rome, developed a 70- by 40-foot cast-stone screen wall bearing the building's dedication to *peace, achievement* and *progress,* and comprising narrative works by

Miami Beach City Hall, Bouterse, Perez & Fabregas Architects, 1977. Photo courtesy EBWindows.

Cuban-born sculptor Jan Stacholy representing culture, art, religion, music, government, science, sports and industry.[136]

In the early 1970s, a comprehensive master plan for the civic center took shape, showing the convention center and auditorium joined by a new city hall, city offices, hotels, parking garages and a botanical garden. At the center of the district, on the convention center's west side, was a central park. A feature of the plan was that all the buildings were to be connected by elevated pedestrian and transit bridges, allowing passengers to be whisked efficiently around the facilities on mini-buses. The designation of the third floor as a pedestrian level would play a role in the design of the City Hall, then under development. In order to provide an appropriate edge to the anticipated park, Edward Durrell Stone and Associates with Watson, Deutschman, and Kruse expanded the convention center toward the west, creating a monumental facade nearly 1,000 foot-long to face the central park. The deep roof canopy, whose profile accommodated the convention center's powerful trusses, cantilevered broadly over a linear plaza that connected south toward Lincoln Road.[137]

The crowning element of the civic center was the new **Miami Beach City Hall**, designed by Grove-Haack Crawford Associates with Bouterse, Perez and Fabregas (1977), which offered a monumental figure toward both the traditional urban center of the city to the south and the anticipated civic facilities and park to the north. Painted white with orange ceilings in the public areas, it connected visually to the traditional Art Deco architecture of the city, as revealed through Miami Beach's budding preservation movement. Its whitewashed body conceals Brutalist bones, remarkable for strong sculptural effects, expression of internal functions, and deep cut-aways that opened to the building's interior sky-lit courtyard. There, flying bridges distributed from the center elevator core to outdoor platforms that constituted the building's main public spaces, and gave the building a well-ventilated indoor-outdoor feel. Within the courtyard, visual transparency encouraged public access and browsing. In contrast to the urban street architecture of Miami

Miami Beach Police & Court Facility, Miami Beach, Borrelli Frankel Blitstein Dezarraga Donnel Duquense David Volkert & Assoc., 1987. Rendering courtesy of Miami Beach Public Information Office, February 1985. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection (1994-370-1340).

Beach, City Hall was set back behind bermed approaches that framed a small sunken plaza occupied by Coral Gables artist Barbara Martinez's voluptuous red sculpture, Red Sea Road.[138]

Due to proximity and natural synergies, the developing civic center worked in concert with Lincoln Road. Its conversion into a pedestrian mall in 1960 amplified the civic potential of the district and created an important public space tied into shopping, theaters, and dining, all supported by expansive new off-street parking facilities. The function of Lincoln Road was also bolstered by a series of new offices buildings. At the mall's east end was the dark slab of the **Miami Beach Federal Savings and Loan Tower** (1955), designed by Edwin T. Reeder and featuring walls of black granite, a curtain wall with darkly tinted glass and reflective silver spandrel panels, glazed brick, and at the top of the building a digital clock and thermometer. Morris Lapidus's eight-story **1688 Meridian Building (1961),** whose clear glass windows were set behind gold-anodized aluminum sunscreens.

A final piece of the puzzle was the **Miami Beach Police and Court Facility** (1987). Separated from the civic center, it was located in the heart of South Beach and incorporated the preservation and re-use of Hampton's old city hall.[139] The massive complex required the use of eminent domain to demolish an entire block of modest South Beach apartment buildings that had recently been placed on the National Register of Historic Places. Designed by Jaime Borelli, Marcus Frankel, Peter Blitstein, the bleached white forms, stepped and rounded with a fronting loggia, fit well with the district, and created a substantial public plaza in front. Architecture critic Beth Dunlop was among those who remarked on the irony of locating a police facility in the midst of a neighborhood
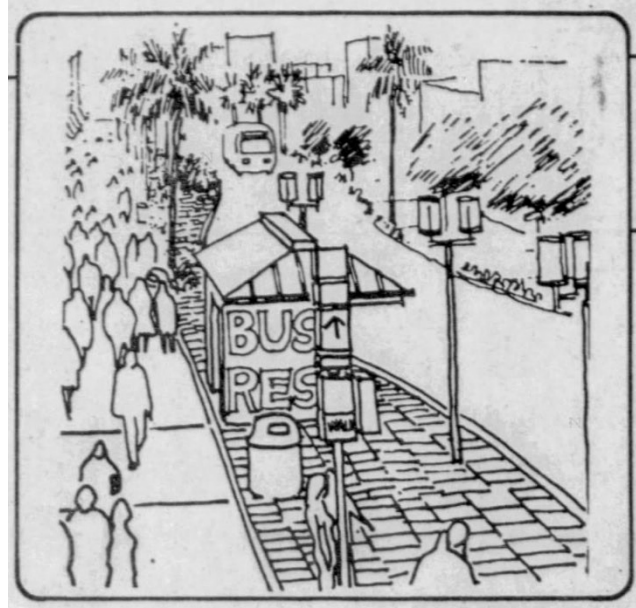
(left) Plaza de la Cubanidad, Little Havana, 1984. Photo courtesy Robin Hill. (right) Pilot project to create a more pedestrianized street scape on Calle Ocho, between 17th and 27th Avenues, Miami. Wallace, McHarg, Roberts and Todd (WMRT), 1976. From Beth Dunlop, "The Greening of Miami," Miami Herald, May 29, 1976.

of hotels, apartments, and shops: "In a way, it is like a hothouse flower in a field where everything else grew wild; it is elegant and out of place."[140] While its successes and failures may be debated, the efflorescence of public buildings and spaces in Miami Beach bolstered civic life in a city still dominated by its iconic hotels.

Model City and the development of a new center of Black Miami

In the Liberty City and Brownsville area of northwest Miami, initiated by racial planning and Black migration, and motivated by private initiative and eventually federal intervention, other new types of urban center were bubbling up. The postwar housing boom and abundant public housing transformed this once suburban area into an urban district, which by 1967 was home to one third of metropolitan Miami's Black population. As Overtown declined, spurred by slum clearance and highway construction, Liberty City became the center of Black Miami.

Liberty City was an alternative to Overtown, its lower-density housing more modern and more permanent. Yet as it grew, with government sanction but little public investment, Liberty City also acquired some of Dade County's most intractable urban problems – overcrowding, deficient housing with low rates of home ownership, lack of sewer service, sidewalks, lighting and open space, poor educational opportunities, health care deficiencies, a poverty level double the county's rate, and a high crime rate.[141]

In 1967, as a spur to redevelopment, a 1,000-block area here was selected for inclusion in the federal **Model City Program**, a keystone of President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society programs. Authorized under the 1966 Cities Demonstration and Metropolitan Development Act, the Model City Program reflected progressive thinking about improving urban life (intended partly as a

corrective to earlier federal support for slum clearance and public housing construction), predicated on a more comprehensive approach to building up communities focused on human welfare.[142] The program was designed to foment self-help and local initiatives in coordination with federal, state and county programs, and each Model City, led by residents, was responsible for devising well-coordinated plans for the physical, social, and economic reconstruction.[143]

Model City was bounded south to north by the Airport Expressway and NW 79th Street, and east to west by I-95 and NW 37th Avenue, encompassing 80,000 residents. Efforts focused on social infrastructure, like the development of schools, parks, and public health and recreation facilities. In this "model community," facilities targeted to improving the quality of education for disadvantaged students, provided visible progressive "showcases." "Little schools," like the **Neighborhood Educational Cultural Centerette** (current Thena Crowder Early Learning Center, 1967), mixed pre-school education with health and dental clinics. The **Olinda Demonstration School (**1969), designed by Murray Blair Wright, featured an open-plan pod-type organization where "adaptive, exemplary and innovative instructional programs could be introduced and evaluated in an efficient and flexible setting."[144] Temporary vest pocket parks, created throughout Liberty City, as well as larger permanent parks, increased parkland from five to 40 acres, and were another element of civic amenity.

Efforts to redevelop NW 62nd Street, once Liberty City's thriving commercial corridor, damaged during the riots associated with the 1968 Republican National Convention in Miami, generated further new planning for civic structures and spaces. In coordination with plans for the Bicentennial, three-miles of 62nd street were transformed into **Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard** (MLK), a parkway accessorized by wayside parklets and seating areas, and conceived to be lined with apartment towers, retail businesses, apartments, entertainment, cultural facilities, and parks.[145] The intention, as the *Miami News* described, was "to attack an environment of squalor, deterioration, low-grade public services, high density housing and poverty by imposing in the midst of a degrading area an avenue of pleasant greenery, a collection of community service

Cuban Memorial Plaza, Miami, 1973. Photo courtesy Wally Gobetz.

establishments and an attractive commercial area."[146] If the efforts to rehabilitate its commercial role were unsuccessful, MLK provided an important new civic spine. Along the parkway were new facilities like **African Square Park** (1976), which comprised an open-air marketplace and theater. Here also was the **Model City Cultural Arts Center** (current African Heritage Cultural Arts Center, 1974-75), designed by Lester Pancoast as a complex of three structures, its walls intended for graphic treatment, which wrapped around a central patio linked by covered walkways.

Eventually, notions of a civic-cultural center in Model City were channeled away from MLK, into a new multi-use governmental facility located at the center of Model City: the **Joseph Caleb Community Center** (1977). Located on NW 22nd Avenue at 54th Street and named for the leader of the International Union of North American Laborers, a Black construction union, the center comprised more than 160,000 square feet of governmental, service and cultural functions. Designed by a consortium of architects, including Ronald E. Frazier, Hatcher Ziegler Gunn, and Harold L. Sanders, the campus arrangement was internally focused, with a 1,000-seat auditorium, a daycare center, library, and eight-story tower all organized around a landscaped courtyard with a reflecting pool and tiled seating.[147] Designed to function as a focal point for the Model City area, this "huge, handsome fortress," as the *Miami News* called it, featured a Brutalist mix of architectural concrete, split-face masonry blocks, and bronze-toned metals. The tower was lifted above a grand atrium where Chicago sculptor Richard Hunt's "Ascending-Descending Forms," a brass, bronze and copper sculpture "in perfect harmony with the strength of the building," was suspended.[148] With the Caleb Center, Model City, a programmatic invention, was given its most

powerful physical representation, helping to assemble the disparate pieces of Miami's first Black suburb around a new center.

Centers of Ethnic Urban Reinvention

Another type of urban focus occurred spontaneously as older urban and suburban landscapes of Miami were transformed by immigration, especially from the Caribbean and Central and South America. As refugees transitioned from visitors to exiles and then to immigrants, they acted as a regenerative force, counteracting the suburban migration that drained the aging core. Further, the concentrated nature of immigrant settlement spatialized ethnic identities, transforming neighborhoods and re-writing the character of streets and centers. In this process, habitual North American urbanisms and building types were infused with new, more complex meanings and transnational character.

The most far-reaching transformation came with Cuban immigration in the 1960s, which concentrated on an East-West axis between downtown Miami, Westchester and Hialeah. At the east end of this axis, SW 8ᵗʰ Street, also known as the Tamiami Trail, was rebranded **Calle Ocho**, the center of **Little Havana**. The street took on an ethnic character reflected in the proliferation of *panederías*, *dulcerías*, and *ventanitas* (bakeries, sweets shops, and coffee shop windows). Civic monuments, parks, and new cultural institutions also infused immigrant districts, as in the case of the **Maximo Gomez Mini-Park–Parque Domino** (1976). Originally an informal arrangement of domino tables, shade structures, and trees that acquired significance as a place to congregate and play dominos, it was later formally established as a park.

Dedicated attempts to nurture or expand the character of Calle Ocho included a pilot project led by Philadelphia-based planners Wallace, McHarg, Roberts and Todd (WMRT), and sponsored by the Committee of 1,000, an organization founded originally in Matanzas Cuba and that specialized in mobilizing residents and the city. The committee worked with University of Miami students to canvas Little Havana and explore ideas for more pedestrianized streetscapes. WMRT then prepared plans showing cobblestone street corners with fountains, wide sidewalks, dense tree canopies, awnings, open air cafes, and mini-parks. [149]

The City of Miami's attempts to wrangle the ethnic character arising on Calle Ocho into something more formal included the formation of a "Latin Quarter," and a 1976 initiative suggesting Miamians travel within their own city to experience the exotic and the unknown.[150] Yet the true economic and cultural potential of ethnic quarters was found in their dynamism and entrepreneurialism, reflected in expanding businesses and industries, and growing affluence.

Lacking the plazas typical in Caribbean towns, streets often functioned as civic space, and sometimes became repositories of memory, political ideologies, and national identities.[151] SW Thirteenth Avenue, a broad avenue with a planted median, was reshaped in 1973 as **Memorial Boulevard** and **Cuban Memorial Plaza** by a Cuban exile community galvanized by the debacle of the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion. The **Eternal Torch of Brigade 2506** (1971), a six-sided marble spire sculpted by Mario Santi, mounted on a marble plinth and surrounded by bollards in the shape of bullets, paid tribute to those who lost their lives in the invasion. Behind the torch, monumental

busts, statues, murals, and an obelisk commemorated themes from Cuban independence to aspirations for democracy and the Virgin Mary. Describing the adaptation of monuments to the scale of the median, Gisele Lopez-Mata notes that "…sometimes the result was the miniaturization of architectural elements that had to be accommodated to a new context. Folk references reached the proportion of myths."[152] Among the memorials was a mature ceiba, or kapok tree, which is sacred to practitioners of Afro-Cuban orisha worship (also known as *santería*). Similarly, a "parkette" called **Plaza de la Cubanidad** on West Flagler Street, established under a 1984 street beautification program, features six royal palm trees and a bronze sculpture by artist Tony Lopez that honors Jose Marti and other heroes of the fight for Cuban independence in the 19th Century.

The arrival of more than 40,000 Haitian exiles in the 1970s-80s generated another important urban ethnic enclave called **Little Haiti.** Layered onto the old village of Lemon City, and the nearby Black neighborhoods of Nazarene, Knightsville, and Boles Town, Little Haiti's center developed organically along NE 2nd Avenue, where the Haitian presence was increasingly celebrated in the transformation of storefronts, churches, and parks, and in the suddenly bright colors used to paint homes. Plans to reinforce Haitian identity on NE 2nd Avenue included the 1983 **Little Haiti-Lemon City Architecture Competition**, sponsored by the City of Miami and the Haitian Task Force, along with the Florida South Chapter of the American Institute of Architects. A **Caribbean Marketplace,** the winning entry by Haitian-born Charles H. Pawley and Rufus Nims, proposed a shopping district as cultural signifier and neighborhood centrum. Rejecting the dominant U.S. paradigm of the shopping center, the proposal followed the Caribbean prototypes of market plaza, inhabiting the center of the avenue with a 1,200-foot long series of tin-roof market stalls and restaurant pavilions recalling the Iron Market in Port au Prince.[153] Eventually built in much reduced form, Charles Harrison Pawley's 1990 **Caribbean Marketplace** occupied a corner lot, a postmodern work that appropriated vernacular roof forms, and used decorative fretwork and Caribbean colors, retaining the marketplace idea in the use of large garage doors that opened the market to the sidewalk.

Miami's new suburban centers had one thing in common. They represented attempts to remodel the city, engage urban life, and to build or reinforce a "sense of place" (a term popularized in the 1970s to address the failure of contemporary planned environments to provide memorable urban environments). Some were privately driven, and the intensification they proposed was in their own interests, but these enclaves represented new degrees of private-public discussion, negotiation and even collaboration. Overall, these suburban centers abandoned Miami's frontier development psyche, and proposed "successional urbanisms," later drafts or urban blueprints for an increasing complex city.

(left) One Biscayne Tower, Miami. Enrique Gutierrez with Humberto Alonso, and Pelay One Biscayne Tower, Miami. Enrique Gutierrez with Humberto Alonso, and Pelayo Fraga & Associates, 1973. Photo by Joe Rimkus, June 8, 1978. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection (989-011-11950). (right) Miami Center, Miami. Pietro Belluschi, 1983 & Southeast Financial Center, Miami. Edward C. Bassett and Skidmore, Owings & Merrill, 1985. October 1984. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection (1995-277-9096).

New World Center

The revitalization of downtown Miami as a viable urban center was one of the most far-reaching goals of the late postwar period, and required a locally unparalleled synergy of private enterprise, government initiative, and civic leadership.[154] Miami's legendary publicist Hank Meyer furnished, in 1976, the conceptual framework that encompassed the goal, and the period's themes of physical expansion, cultural awakening and hemispheric orientation: the **New World Center**. The term, borrowing from the European conception of the hemisphere, defined the city as an Atlantic lynchpin. The project was promotional and myopic (it completely neglected Overtown, for instance, as well as other urban core areas). For more than a decade, however, it reframed the Miami's perennial ideal of a pan-American hub for the age of globalization. It reflected both the real and mythical dimensions of the city's role in banking, trade, corporate logistics, and culture, as well as its pan-American population. Presented to the city by the Greater Miami Chamber of Commerce and its influential chair, *Miami Herald* President Alvah H. Chapman Jr., the moniker was immediately applied to planning a wide range of commercial, civic and cultural efforts downtown.[155]

The commercial leg of the New World Center was manifested first along Miami's Bayfront, where an eruption of giant new office buildings, initially referred to locally as "boxtops," reshaped the downtown skyline and marked the city's emergence as a global financial center. The growth of

local banking was partly a corollary to the financing of breakneck suburban growth. Yet a large number of the new buildings were financed by Latin American concerns, products of a new global banking landscape that unleashed tremendous capital in the city.

Along Flagler Street, Miami's main street, the first experiments in late mid-century corporate architecture were afoot in the late 1960s. Miami banking giant **First Federal** (1969), the nation's first chartered savings and loan bank, set the pace with a new headquarters that was the largest and tallest in the county. Designed by Connell, Pierce, Garland, & Friedman, the 325-foot-high tower shaft featured tapered piers of polished white marble alternating with dark bronze curtainwall and rose to support an attic-level "entablature" that carried the bank's signage. As the building met the ground, it merged into a giant parking garage, manifesting forthrightly the struggle to hide the mountain of cars that were part of any modern commercial building.

One Biscayne Tower (1973) stood even taller at 456 feet. The Cuban émigré design team of Enrique Gutierrez, Humberto Alonso, and Pelayo Fraga & Associates was led by Gutierrez, who also was the project developer. A decade after completing the daring Miami Bacardi tower, Gutierrez brought comparably innovative construction techniques to One Biscayne, including slip-form construction (then a novelty in U.S.), and a Verendeel truss system that transformed the building shell into a hurricane-resistant cocoon. In contrast to First Federal, the building celebrated the dichotomy between office tower and parking pedestal, articulating the latter as a Brutalist concrete expression of parking decks and sloping automobile ramps. The buttressed shaft of the tower was a contrastingly cool, precise order of dark glass curtainwall sliced by white concrete piers. The building's most extraordinary feature was the circular lobby, where Cuban artist Rolando Lopez Dirube and architect Raul Alvarez (his former partner at SACMAG) collaborated to create *Timeless Cylinder*, an experiential artwork in which rustic concrete wall panels and a polished metal drum combined to create changing reflections.

The integration of architecture and art continued at the **Bank of Miami** (1973), designed by Fraga & Associates. The otherwise 10-story blank wall of the building's circulation core was covered in a high-relief ceramic mural by Barcelona artist Jose Maria Gual Barnades. It was an abstract collage representing coins, checks and banknotes, glazed in shades of brown and tan with accents of yellow, red, and blue. The mural, suggesting according to Gual the role of the bank in serving "as a connecting link or lubricant that enables the wheels of industry and commerce to mesh without clashing," could have served as a flag for Miami's late postwar banking expansion.[156]

The changing shape of office building design aroused interest and inspired a 1980 documentary produced by Miami's public television station, WPBT, to ask: "**After the Glass Box, What?**"[157] The modest buildings and neutral curtainwalls of earlier postwar commercial architectures gave way to behemoths of much larger complexity and scale. Most were more formal, structurally expressive, decorative, and some even more classically-inspired than earlier modern work. Clothed

Southeast Financial Center, Miami. Edward C. Bassett and Skidmore, Owings & Merrill, 1985. Photos by Bill Reinke, June 25, 1980. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection (1995-277-9091).

in marble, granite, and efficient solar glass, the buildings vied for size, height, and prominence as monuments to corporate power.

By that time, a full-blown boom was underway downtown. In August 1980, the *Miami News* tallied 64 major projects between the Omni and Brickell,[158] including three particularly large commercial office projects: Miami Center, Southeast Financial Center Tower, and the Miami World Trade Center. In these three projects, competing planning ideas and the monumental hubris of their developers, banks, and big-name architects were on full display. **Miami Center** (1980) was the first and most controversial. At the prominent mouth of the Miami River, Washington, DC-based developer Theodore Gould planned four skyscrapers atop a massive six-story mixed-use pedestal. Noting that he considered the skyscraper both an embodiment of American technological achievement, and "the ultimate architectural statement of American democracy,"[159] Gould entrusted the design to Pietro Bellocchi, the Italian-born American architect and former Dean of MIT School of Architecture, along with Vlastimil Koubek. Belluschi planned the largest of the towers – at 60 stories – along the lines of the Pan Am Building in NYC, designed by Belluschi with Marcel Breuer and Emery Roth & Sons in 1963.[160]

The mega-project elicited strong critique, not least because the site had been eyed by civic activists seeking to extend Bayfront Park to the Miami River; also, because, as Miami attorney and civic

Centrust Tower, Downtown. I.M. Pei + Associates, 1987. SE Second St + First Ave. Designed by I.M. Pei + Associates. May 2, 1985. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection (1995-277-2065).

activist Dan Paul made clear, the sprawling podium would obscure views from Biscayne Boulevard to the water.[161] Paul established himself as a crusader for public access to ocean beaches, and later fought to guarantee the right of public access to the riverfront and Bayfront downtown.[162] In 1979, largely based on the controversy around Miami Center, Paul forced the City of Miami to pass a law requiring new buildings on the waterfront to be set back 50 feet from the water's edge and requiring owners to build and maintain a 25-foot public pedestrian promenade along either Biscayne Bay or the Miami River. While the ordinance did not affect the Miami Center project directly, over time it laid the framework for continuous waterfront access and enjoyment.

Miami Center was eventually reduced in scope and only two towers were built: the 34-story Intercontinental Hotel and the 36-story Edward Ball Office Building.[163] Belluschi designed the towers as sheer volumes clad entirely in travertine, yielding a crisp, ornate finish – "pieces of sculpture that will look like ivory on the Miami Skyline," according to Gould.[164] The podium, which included more than 2,300 parking spaces, provided a spacious platform for recreational amenities like a swimming pool, tennis courts, and a picturesque garden with meandering paths. Within, all the building's public functions were centripetally organized around an 80-foot-high internal skylit atrium. This type of atrium-in-pedestal design, which regrettably turned its back on the city, was characteristic of late-postwar megastructures. The *Herald*'s Beth Dunlop called the

complex "a fortress… a product of the citadel school of urban planning… in the city, but not of the city."[165]

Across the street, Southeast Bank partnered with Houston-based developer Gerald D. Hines to build the **Southeast Financial Center** (1985), a building intended to refute Miami Center's inward-looking planning. Designed by Edward C. Bassett of the San Francisco office of Skidmore, Owings & Merrill, the tower came straight down to the street and engaged the site on all sides. To facilitate this, the bank lobby and parking garage were located not in a pedestal, but in a separate 12-story structure separated by a multi-story galleria. The galleria, an outdoor plaza covered by modular skylights, and landscaped with rows of tall Royal Palm trees, was influenced by architect Robert Geddes, whose work for Metro-Dade County managing the Government Center development made him an intellectual force and tastemaker in downtown development. Southeast initially planned to extend the galleria all the way to the river, but that portion of the project was never realized. [166] The 750-foot, 55-story tower, Miami's tallest for several decades, was sheathed with polished granite and reflective glass organized to suggest a modular grid that conveyed an abstract opulence. The tower's unusual stepped and serrated profile directed views diagonally around the visual obstacle of Miami Center's towers and created a sculptural icon on the downtown skyline.

Meanwhile, another blockbuster project was underway to the West, just off the Miami River. The **James L. Knight Center** (1982) – billed as a multipurpose entertainment, cultural, and convention complex – was built by Hyatt Regency developer Earl Worsham in collaboration with the City of Miami, the University of Miami, and the Knight Foundation (named in memory of *Miami Herald* publisher James Landon Knight). Located at the landfall of the Brickell Bridge, the Knight Center began a redevelopment of the riverfront along the Miami River modeled on San Antonio's Paseo del Alamo Riverwalk.[167] Designed by Ferendino Grafton Spillis, Candela, the Knight Center's multiple facilities, including the lobby of the 600-room Hyatt Regency Hotel, a pie-shaped 5,000-seat auditorium, a riverfront exhibition hall, and the University of Miami's James L. Knight School of Continuing Education, were oriented around an interior atrium.

The Knight Center's 1,500-car parking garage, on an adjacent site split by the exit ramps of I-95 sponsored another phase of the project's development, as the City of Miami solicited proposals for a **Miami World Trade Center** atop the pedestal of the garage. Eventually called the **Centrust Tower** (1987)**,** the project was developed by Dade Federal Savings and Loan (future Centrust) partnered with Atlanta developer Earl Worsham and French concern SEFRIUS. Harold Fredenburgh of I. M. Pei & Partners led the design of the 45-story structure, which featured a shear, chamfered façade facing the northwest corner, and a radiused façade that rose three tiers toward the southeast.[168] The streamlined sweep of the tower seemed inspired by the ultramodern towers of GM's Futurama exhibit at the 1939 World Fair, a connection made more resonant by the ribbons of highway and rail that zoomed into and around the structure. The tower's lightweight skin featured alternating bands of white aluminum panels and reflective glass were dramatically highlighted at night by 174 1,000-amp lamps that converted the building into an iconic lantern.
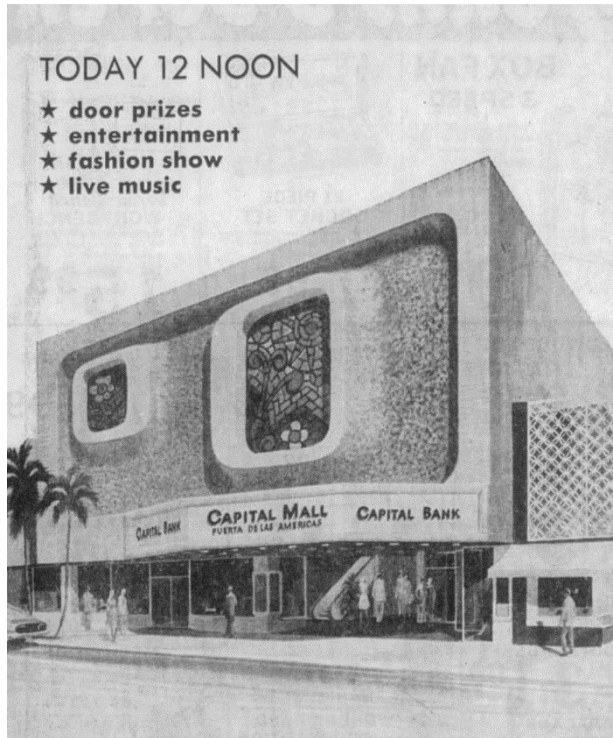
Capital Mall, Miami. Oscar Sklar, 1975. From "Grand Opening, Capital Mall," Advertisement, Miami Herald, May 31, 1979.

As eye-grabbing new buildings rose along the waterfront, immigration and tourism reinvigorated the downtown area behind it as a shopping destination. Mini-shopping centers appeared in the business district surrounding Flagler Street, where multi-lingual Cuban and other Latin American entrepreneurs catered to the growing Latin American tourist trade that, for a time, avoided suburban shopping centers where English was spoken primarily.[169] Reviving the tradition of urban arcades popular in Miami in the 1920s, Puerta de las Americas converted the abandoned Miami Theater into the **Capital Mall** (1975), creating a multi-story arcade of 40 shops that crossed through the block and was anchored by a local version of Havana's **Floridita Bar**. Designed by Cuban émigré Oscar Sklar, the project included a remarkable façade transformation that reinterpreted the theater's marquee as an abstract painterly tableau, a bas relief composition of floating oculae containing Latin American-themed glass murals by artist Ann Wolf.

Similar specialty malls sprung up on the empty lots that were a legacy of postwar demolition, multiplying the retail vitality of downtown. Developer Maurice Rizikow, an Argentine native, built two-, three-, and four-story malls throughout downtown, including the 45-shop **La Galleria International** on Flagler Street in 1977. These economical infill buildings without anchors or major tenants focused inward on sky-lit atria, and spanned through urban blocks, opening in multiple directions to surrounding streets. While these modest efforts were seen by civic leaders as temporary uses, they were an important manifestation of the city's emerging commercial role as a mall of the Americas. Further, the confluence of Latin American shopping and business downtown influenced the demographics of nearby residential districts as these same shoppers and shop owners invested in condominiums on nearby Brickell Avenue, Key Biscayne, and elsewhere.
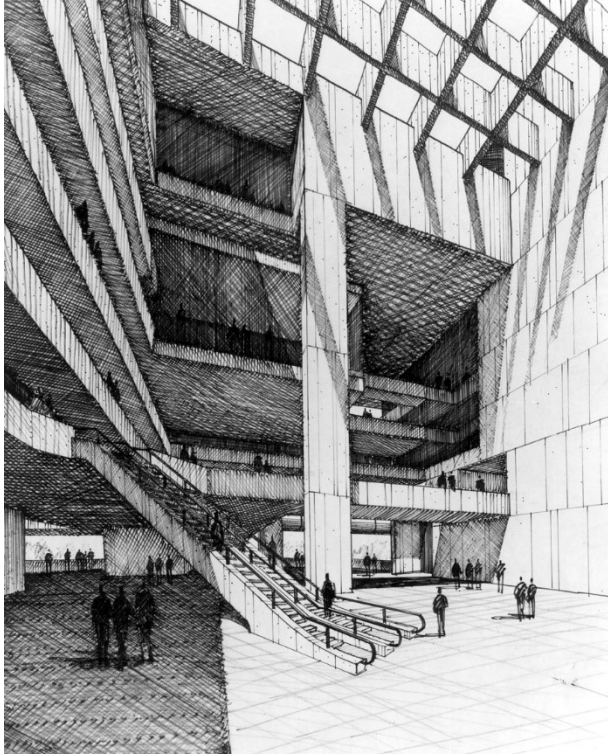
New World Campus of Miami Junior College (later Wolfson Campus), Atrium view, Miami, Ferendino, Grafton, Spillis, Candela, 1972. Courtesy Spillis Candela DMJM Archives.

The New World Center vision included major cultural venues. Public institutions and public-private partnerships countered the popular perception of Miami as a cultural wasteland with new cultural and academic centers that might balance the function of downtown. Besides the University of Miami's Knight Center, the most important was the **New World Campus of Miami Junior College** (1972, later Wolfson Campus), which rose just north of downtown as the first new urban community college campus in the United States. In a way that was never achieved at the Knight Center, architect Hilario Candela of Ferendino, Grafton, Spillis, Candela integrated the campus into the fabric of commercial and governmental structures that surrounded it. He saw the whole downtown – Biscayne Bay, Bayfront Park, the shopping arcades, department stores, recreation centers, government agencies, courthouses, hotels, restaurants and offices – as part of the campus, so he set the main building in a vast public plaza integrated with the surrounding environment and set on an angle to detach from the surrounding walls of buildings.[170] The plaza offered views to landmarks, like the old Courthouse, but also allowed passers-by to participate vicariously in college activities. Candela used poured-in-place concrete to define a play of intersecting closed volumes, cut with large windows in dark bronzed glass, and organized around a multi-story atrium with an eggcrate roof.

Sponsored and unsponsored, a cultural surge was underway in the 1980s, partly a consequence of two decades of immigration. The 1982 New World Festival of the Arts sponsored landmark cultural events, including strong public programming. The Festival lay the groundwork for the formation of major cultural institutions in the ensuing years, including the New World Symphony (1986), the New World School of the Arts (1986), and Miami City Ballet (1987). Plans were also
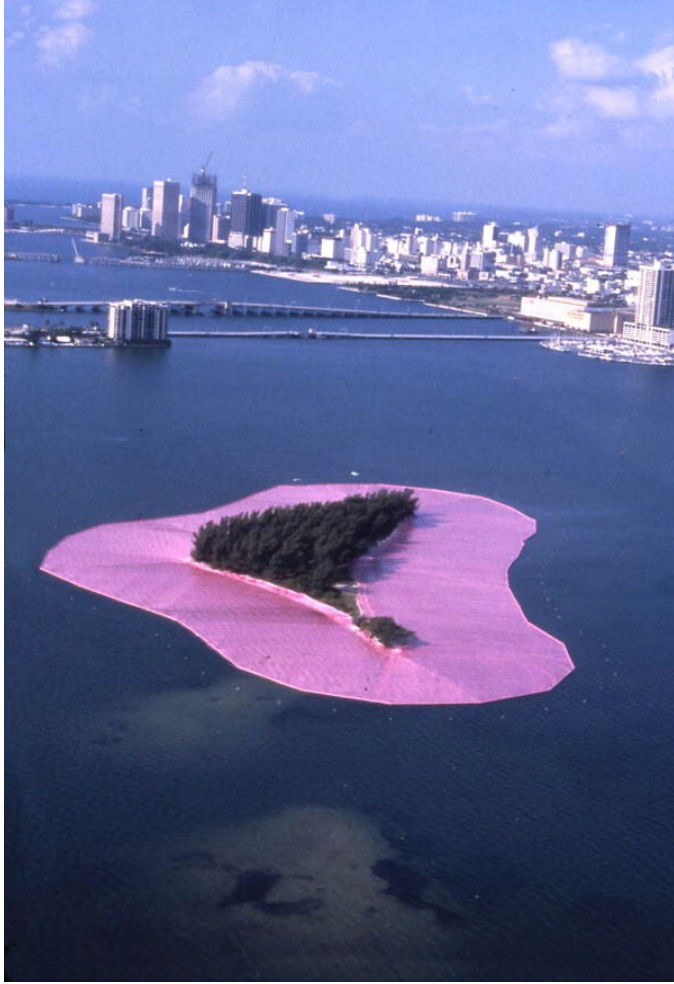
Surrounded Islands, Miami. Christo and Jeanne-Claude, 1883. Courtesy of Florida Memory, Department of Commerce Collection (K020638).

made to build a world-class performing arts facility for opera, ballet, and symphony downtown, a project that would take 30 years to complete. Perhaps the most celebrated event of the festival was the 1983 public artwork **Surrounded Islands** created by Christo and Jean Claude in Biscayne Bay (1983). This work of art, which wrapped eleven uninhabited islands in luminous pink fabric, fit Miami's tradition of reformulating the bay on a large scale, the floating pink amoeboid reasonably passing as stand-ins for future real estate developments, or as a critique of past ones.

The elements of the New World Center were eclectic. While offering a catchy framework in the broadest terms, it offered commercial downtown little in the way of real master planning. Yet contrast may have been the most appropriate representation of Miami as a multi-cultural metropolis, and the real cultural and economic transformation the New World Center implied was not limited to downtown. As Andy Warhol observed in 1986, "Miami just might be the home of the renaissance: not Los Angeles, Tokyo, or Berlin, but Little Havana, [Miami] Beach and Overtown. Three vivid cultures—Latin American, European American, and Black American— simmering together alongside the Atlantic, separated by fear, but neighbors, nonetheless. They can't ignore each other. They have to hear the music, smell the food and witness the architecture scattered along I-95 or sticking straight up into the sky. It rubs off. There are imaginations at work in the shade there, choreographing a revelation. Miami is in heat." [171]

Mutual of Omaha, Miami. Minoru Yamasaki with Houston, Albury, Baldwin and Parish. Archive of Infinities https://archiveofaffinities.tumblr.com/post/184111131 663/ minoru-yamasaki-mutual-of-omaha-regional-office.

The Banking District

As was already clear in the 1950s, Miami's downtown business district was taking shape as a linear arrangement, extending north and south from its traditional center downtown. While the early-postwar vector of this linear expansion years was northward, by the 1970s-80s it turned to the south. The developments along Brickell Avenue primarily served a new category of financial players who emerged from banking deregulation, and by some accounts capital raised from drug trafficking and money laundering. This new banking center, where office buildings replaced mansions in a suburban to urban transition zone, offered a hectic display of forms, materials, sizes and flavors,

First along the avenue was the corporate temple that insurance giant **Mutual of Omaha** (1967) built for its regional headquarters in Miami.[172] Architect Minoru Yamasaki, with Houston, Albury, Baldwin, and Parish, emphasized corporate authority through the reiteration of classical sources like the Acropolis in Athens that historian Siegfried Giedion has called the "the buildings of perennial power."[173] Raised on a landscaped plinth to increase its prominence (while concealing the necessary parking), the office block paired dark solar bronze curtainwalls with a wrapping

Northern Trust Interamerican Bank, Miami. David Kaplan, 1973.1985. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection (1989-011-11920).

Citizens Federal Savings & Loan, Miami. Morris Lapidus, 1975.Photo by Ray Fisher, 1975. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection (1995-277-2581).

colonnade of delicate white precast columns – a strong diametric contrast that accentuated its monumentality. The colonnade rose over 100-feet to support the top floor executive suite, expressed as an entablature formed of scalloped concrete grilles. The marriage of curtainwall to classical elements, order and proportion fit well the emerging stylistic label "New Formalism," of which Yamasaki, along with Philip Johnson and Edward Durell Stone, were major proponents.

In contrast to the monumentalism of Mutual of Omaha, the 10-story **Northern Trust Interamerican Bank** (1973), one of the first Edge Act banking facilities on Brickell, offered a powerful horizontality. Designed by David Kaplan, the building's powerful cantilevered planes were a sleek update of the local tradition of sun-cutting eyebrows for the age of polished dark glass planes of curtainwall.

Morris Lapidus took a different approach with **Citizens Federal Savings & Loan** (1972), another early Edge Act bank. Always conscious of the advertising value of dramatic architecture, Lapidus

offered eye-grabbing sculptural effects by configuring the 14-story tower as a play of geometries, a box-within-a-box based on a rotation of squares wrapped in expressive, multifaceted walls of stucco and curtainwall.[174] Lapidus lavished particular attention on the bank lobby, a curvy, glass-wrapped rotunda that projected in front of the tower, just the type of folly-like pavilion he had mastered in his hotel designs.

As corporate towers multiplied along the avenue, many incorporated new taut curtainwall treatments that were mirrored or color-tinted, or that paired materials like mirrored glass with insulated steel or aluminum panels, or lithic elements like precast concrete or stone. The **Flagship Building** (1980), designed by the Dallas office of Hellmuth, Obata + Kassabaum (HOK), was wrapped in polished stainless-steel panels and reflective glass, a combination that in many light conditions poetically reflected the sky but was also capable of causing blinding glare at the street.[175] HOK also designed the adjacent **Lincoln Center** (1986), a 450-foot-tall slab of glossy russet-colored granite and silver reflective glass that came down to the ground on polished chrome cylindrical piers. Notably, the two buildings framed a rare public connection to the bay where, beyond the large garages, a narrow lawn and baywalk reflected the recent requirement of public water access.

In addition to more ornate and distinctive skins, architects here were exploring audacious sculptural effects achieved by curving or eroding building masses, and faceting volumes, creating prismatic shapes and chiseled forms.[176] Skidmore, Owings & Merrill's **One Brickell Square** (1984), developed by Tishman Speyer and Equitable Life Insurance Company, had a stepped facade of precast concrete panels and tinted green glass, an approach related to the nearly contemporary **Southeast Financial Center** in downtown, also by SOM. The architects paid particular attention to the qualities of the broad pedestrian areas where the sculpted building met the ground. sheltering the broad street front plaza and sidewalks with a multi-story concrete trellis through which a grove of sabal palms rose. A sculptural approach was also used at **1221 Brickell**, designed by Dallas-based Harwood K. Smith & Partners (1986). The 27-story office building's crystalline façade comprised faceted planes of mirrored glass that produced 22 bay-window type corner offices on every floor. The corner was distinguished with a contrasting ebony black glass-sheathed elevator bank, emphasized at night by ten electric-blue neon lines that traced the coming and going of workers, and made building circulation part of the theater of the street.

By the mid-1980s, more than 2.3 million square feet of office space had sprung up on Brickell,[177] yielding its own characteristic urbanism of freestanding towers, street front plazas, entrance drives designed for the sweep of the car, and connected parking garages with gaping entrances. The car-oriented urban pattern persisted even after the arrival of the Metromover, and its promise of a more interconnected downtown, in 1986.

In the face of this additive and highly individualized development pattern, a remarkable – if totalizing – alternative vision of a business center was offered on nearby Claughton Island (later Brickell Key) by Brazilian architect Oscar Niemeyer in 1972.[178] Taking a comprehensive and modernist approach, Niemeyer proposed a two-story mat of parking and infrastructure that spanned the whole island, topped by a car-less landscaped platform – a "second nature" –

1221 Brickell Avenue, Miami. Harwood K. Smith & Partners, 1986 Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection (1995-277-1580).

surrounded by office and residential towers. Displacing the car from the landscape, this project became the boldest evocation of "tower in the garden" planning in Miami. Niemeyer's serpentine tower slabs, offering an organic expression generally lacking in Miami, were tied together by a low connective structure that contained shops, a convention center, and meeting rooms. Rebranded as Brickell Key and eventually developed by Hong Kong-based Swire Development in the 1980s, Niemeyer's holistic ideal was abandoned, and the pattern of development there eventually matched that on Brickell Avenue. While never built, Niemeyer's Claughton proposal was still influential in its evocation of a vertical architecture paired with platforms open enough to function as scenographic stage, predicting in many ways the work of Arquitectonica on Brickell Avenue a decade later.

The Bayfront

After a decade of stalled master plans, piece by piece, the remodeling of Miami's waterfront was underway in the late 1960s. The Bayfront, an emblematic space that had always been understood as the face of the city, evolved according to shifting civic priorities and urban or landscape design

CENTRE D'AFFAIRES MIAMI 1972
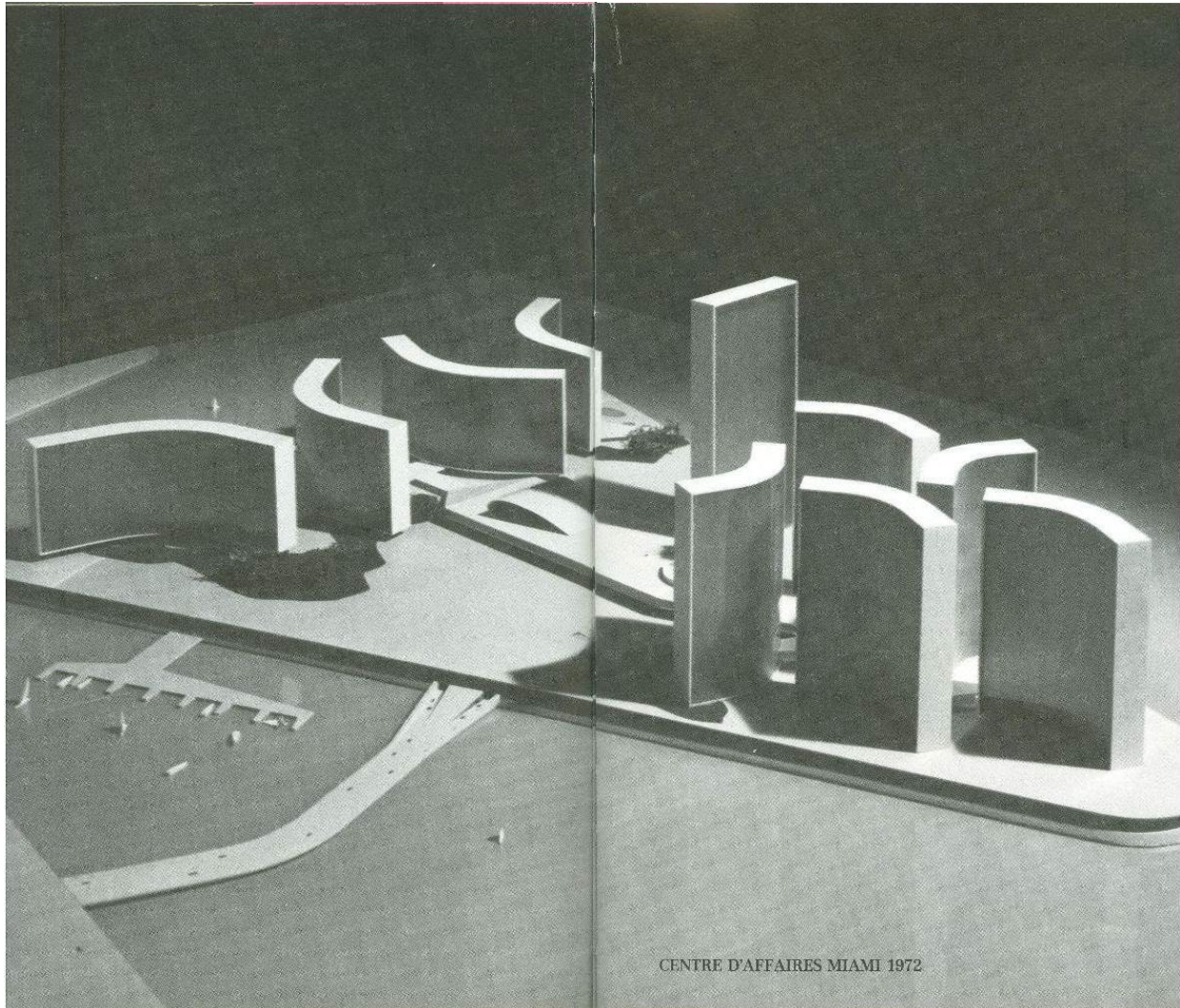
Proposal for Claughton Island (later Brickell Key), Miami. Oscar Niemeyer, 1972. From Niemeyer O., 1997. Les courbes du temps, mémoires. Paris, Gallimard, (trad. H. Raillard).

paradigms. Consistently, themes of expanding the park came to the fore as disused waterfronts to the north and south (the old Port of Miami, the FEC port terminal and the site of the former Royal Palm Hotel) were considered for redevelopment. Naturally, each piece became a battleground for the shape of the public realm, the balance of private and public interests, and the image of the city.

The first major step in rethinking the park frontage was **Miamarina** (1967), a new 300-slip marina at the north end of Bayfront Park. What began as a plan to replace the aging Bayfront Marina (damaged by Hurricane Betsy in 1965) was translated by architect Alfred Browning Parker into an ambitious project designed to lure the public back to the downtown waterfront.[179] To encourage public access, Parker devised a three-level system of traffic distribution, allowing the public to stroll the site on raised promenades, bypassing the operations of the marina on the ground level. Where the marina and park met, Parker located an eye-catching faceted octagonal restaurant, perched at the water's edge like a jewel and constructed of heat-absorbing glass prisms set on a
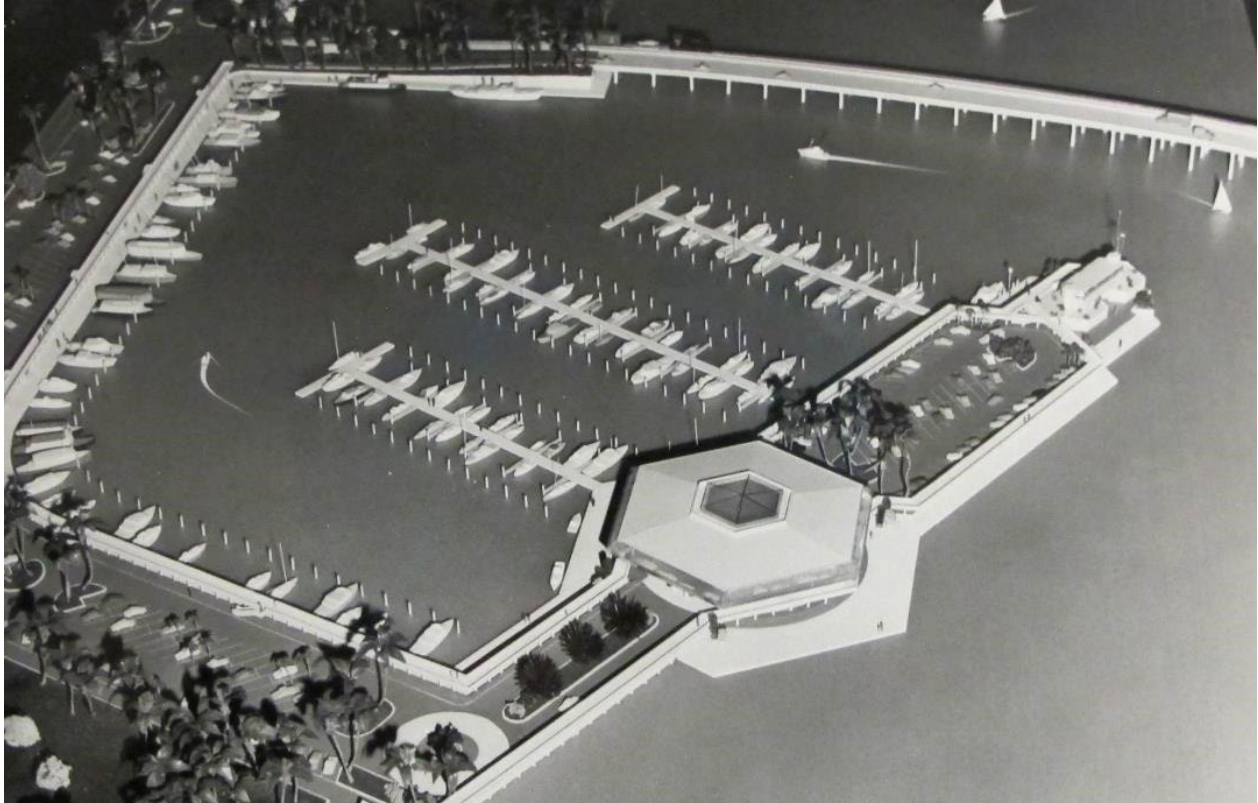
Miamarina, Miami. Alfred Browning Parker, 1966. Photo by Miami Metro News Bureau. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection.

skeleton of bronzed aluminum frames.[180] Since the late 1950s, this type of glass panoramic restaurant had cast growing allure as focal attractions atop TV towers, space needles, and hotels. By placing such an attraction on the edge of the bay, Parker signified the potential of this public space as a magnet.

As a next step, Parker expanded his Miamarina into a full bayfront master plan he called the **Bay-Urban project** in 1971. Attempting to fill the void created by the collapse of previous Bayfront planning initiatives like the Magic City Center and Doxiadis plans, Parker advocated a "great green ribbon" of parkland spanning from the Miami River to the piers of the old port, a pedestrian zone animated by public spaces, greenery, and a convention center in the waters of the bay. [181] Controversially, he advocated for the redevelopment of the parks as mixed-use urban districts, embraced by terraced commercial and residential megastructures that would bring natural and man-made features into a new landscape synthesis.[182]

Parker imagined even more ambitious urbanisms along Miami's waterfronts, partly based on the power of infrastructure and urban renewal to reformulate urban areas. Working for Florida Power and Light to reconceive the company's downtown land holdings, he proposed refiguring the industrial riverbanks around the new viaducts of the North-South Highway (I-95) as a park landscape, using sculpted landforms to conceal parking garages and framing new public plazas with retail space and private residential developments. The organic landscape would have swelled into Miami's downtown grid, isolating the iconic Dade County Courthouse tower as an object in
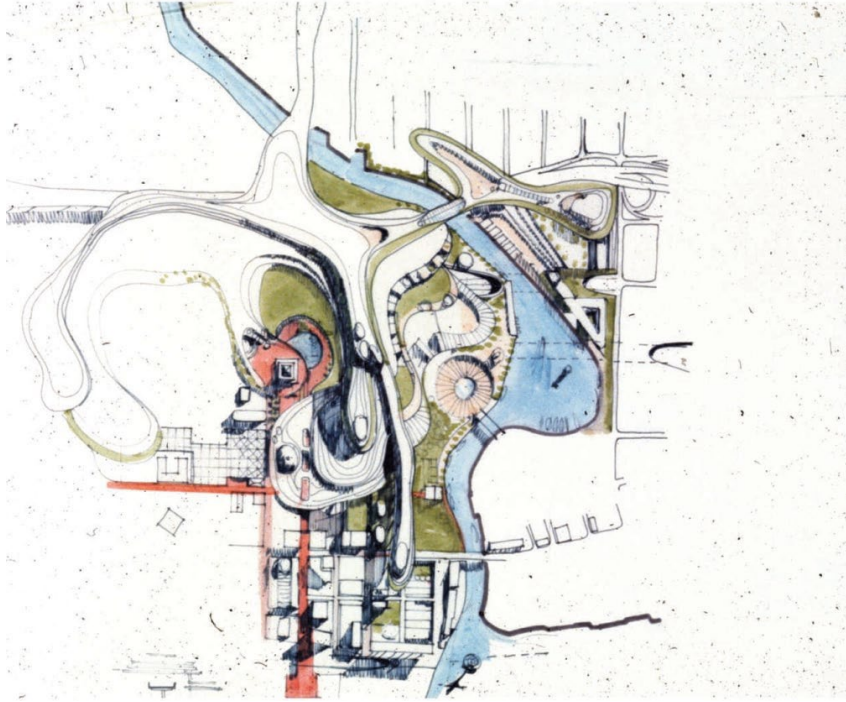
The Bay-Urban (Parker) Plan, Miami. Alfred Browning Parker, 1970 (unbuilt). From Nixon Smiley, "Miami at Bay," Miami Herald, Tropic Magazine, January 2, 1972. University of Florida, Alfred Browning Parker Collection.

a garden landscape.[183] While radical, these proposals illustrated the unrestrained visions that could emerge in the absence of more practical planning.

The idea of one large Bayfront Park, a greenbelt spanning from the MacArthur Causeway to the Miami River, was taken up by landscape architect Edward Durrell Stone Jr., who the City of Miami commissioned in 1971 to deliver a park master plan. Rejecting the tightly-knit urban plazas and civic buildings proposed by Doxiadis, as well as Parker's notions of the park as an urban district, Stone proposed a picturesque arrangement of green spaces, accessorized with cultural and recreational facilities like a sports complex, museums, and a "historic village" made up of reproductions of early Miami buildings (including Miami pioneer Julia Tuttle's 1890 boarding house).[184] Where the Doxiadis and Parker plans tried to integrate the city and park, Stone's plan created walled and bermed edges facing Biscayne Boulevard to shield the park from traffic. Using the same terraforming strategies upon which most of Miami was built, Stone designed a more irregular urban-bay edge, with serrated edges, ins and outs, and a new scenic lagoon. Within these new edges, the park was to be organized around scenic lawns, dense clumps of trees, and curvilinear drives that led to scenic overlooks.

When in 1970 Miami was selected by US President Richard Nixon and the National Bicentennial Commission as a "major Bicentennial Site," the city put forward its Bayfront Park extension, renamed "Bicentennial Park," in anticipation of federal funding under the commission's plan to create a nationwide system of "urban parks." [185] However, hopes for a continuous park landscape along the waterfront were squashed in 1973 when a court nullified the condemnation of key

River-Urban, Miami. Alfred Browning Parker, 1974 (unbuilt). Master Plan. Courtesy of George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida Alfred Browning Parker Collection.

intervening land parcels, effectively dividing the overall park plan. With the Bicentennial only three years away, only the northern 35-acre portion of Stone's plan moved forward, producing an insular park cut off from both the city and Bayfront Park. Designed for large crowds, it declined almost immediately and by 1983 the park's greenswards were broken by the racecourse of the **Grand Prix of Miami** (1983-85), whose 40-foot-wide black asphalt track wound through the park "like a supine roller coaster." [186]

Redeveloping the city's historic Bayfront Park remained a high priority for downtown civic leaders, and a centerpiece of downtown revitalization as imagined in the New World Center vision. In 1980 the Downtown Development Authority abandoned the Stone plan and hired artist **Isamu Noguchi** to redesign the park, contemplating an attraction that would reflect Miami's growing cultural ambitions.[187] Noguchi's designs transformed the park from the picturesque garden originally of the 1920s into a canvas of sculptural landforms, ceremonial spaces, and manmade objects – a work of municipal art as much as a park. Among the important park set pieces was the 170-foot diameter Pepper Fountain whose basin and 36 powerful water jets served as a visual terminus to Flagler Street, a 90-foot-tall cylindrical laser tower placed in a sunken garden, and a bowl-shaped 2,400-seat amphitheater surrounded by a crescent of lawn. The rest of the site was a playscape of more intimate moments, like the fringe of palm groves bordering the water's edge, and Noguchi's spiraling *Slide Mantra*, a working slide/play feature sculpted of Carrara marble that was exhibited by the United States at the Venice Biennale in 1986.

(left) Bayfront Park, Miami. Isamu Noguchi, c. 1981.https://www.dwell.com/article/5-public-landscapes-of-isamu-noguchi-d8555f5a/6133566349537685504. (right) Bicentennial Park, Miami. Edward Durrell Stone, Jr., 1976. Photo by Bob East, Miami. Herald, June 23, 1977.

In the mid-1980s, to further draw suburban dwellers and tourists into the park, the City of Miami requested proposals to create a "festival marketplace" offering waterfront dining, shopping, and entertainment on a 16-acre site around Miamarina.[188] The resulting **Bayside Marketplace** (1987) was inspired by the national success of specialty waterfront shopping malls, like Ghirardelli Square in San Francisco (1964), Faneuil Hall in Boston (1976) and Harborplace in Baltimore (1980).[189] The winning proposal by the Rouse Company, developers of Faneuil Hall and Harborplace, was Benjamin Thompson & Associates' design for picturesque Caribbean-type metal-roofed market pavilions wrapping Miamarina, activating the waterfront but turning its back on the city.[190]

Nearly 20 years of waterfront and park redevelopment had, by the late 1980s, produced an episodic and disconnected series of landscapes. In 1988, Brazilian designer **Roberto Burle Marx** presented a plan to connect the disparate pieces of the Bayfront along Biscayne Boulevard with 15,500 linear feet of patterned sidewalk. Stretching 23 blocks from Miami Center to the Omni district, the plan expanded the boulevard's right-of-way to about 200 feet and created plazas at strategic landmarks like the Torch of Friendship, the Sears Tower, and most significantly at the inlet that linked Bicentennial Park, Bayside Marketplace, and Bayfront Park. [191] As he had famously done along the Avenida Atlantica at Copacabana Beach in Rio de Janeiro, Burle Marx transformed the planar surfaces of sidewalk and median into artwork. In contrast to the characteristic black and white patterns used in Brazil, in Miami the surfaces had an earth tone mix of terracotta, beige, and dark brown pavers, and were arranged in a painterly composition with "wild serpentine patterns, waves, zebra stripes, giant graphics resembling piano keys, a masterpiece of functional modern art."[192] On this tableau, Burle Marx planted 75 varieties of native trees, vines, hedges, and flower beds, using "washes of purple, yellow, pink and orange and white, with touches of mauve and even blue," transforming the boulevard into "a garden in the city."[193]
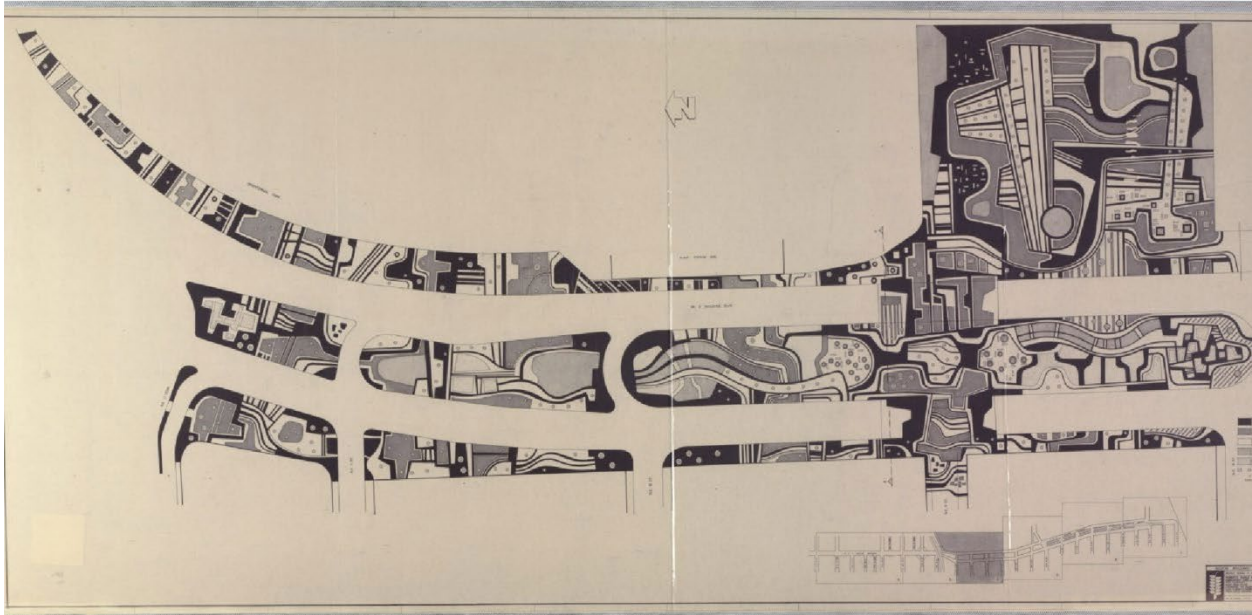
Portion of the Biscayne Boulevard concept development plan, 1988. Roberto Burle Marx. Courtesy of University of Miami School of Architecture Digital Collection.

Decade of Progress

West of downtown, meaningful civic rejoinders to the commercial and cultural activities redefining the Bayfront were underway. The sand-colored tower of the **Metro-Dade Administration Building,** the tall viaducts of the **Metrorail**, and the transit hub of **Government Center Station**, all developed in the 1980s, offered new types of civic representation. Symbols of county governance and metropolitan mobility, these were the capstone projects of a rising **Government Center** district where the long-held dream of combining federal, state, county, and city administration with public spaces, museums and other cultural facilities was finally realized. Where many similar efforts failed in Miami, often for lack of resources, County Manager Ray Goode pushed planning and construction forward with a giant "**Decade of Progress**" bond issue, unveiled in 1972. Goode expressed the impatience many Miamians felt over the continuous deferral of meaningful planning. "It is regrettable that this proposed capital expansion program has not been completed earlier in the history of Metropolitan government," he complained, "having wasted thousands of man hours on previous master planning efforts."[194]

The first product of the Decade of Progress was a new **Government Center Master Plan** by Connell, Metcalf, & Eddy (1974-76). Anchored by the prominent County Courthouse tower, a 30-acre Government Center complex was laid out, sprawling to the north and west and bracketed by the now-abandoned FEC tracks and the new viaducts of I- 95. Abandoning the gridiron of streets, the plan envisaged an integrated precinct of buildings framing ground-level pedestrian courts, gardens, and glazed atria. Low- and mid-rise buildings, comprising a library, art museum, commercial space, and parking formed a type of perimeter edge for the campus. Rising from this group were high-rise towers representing the federal, state, county, and city governments, many interconnected by aerial walkways. Feeding the complex were two lines of elevated rapid transit
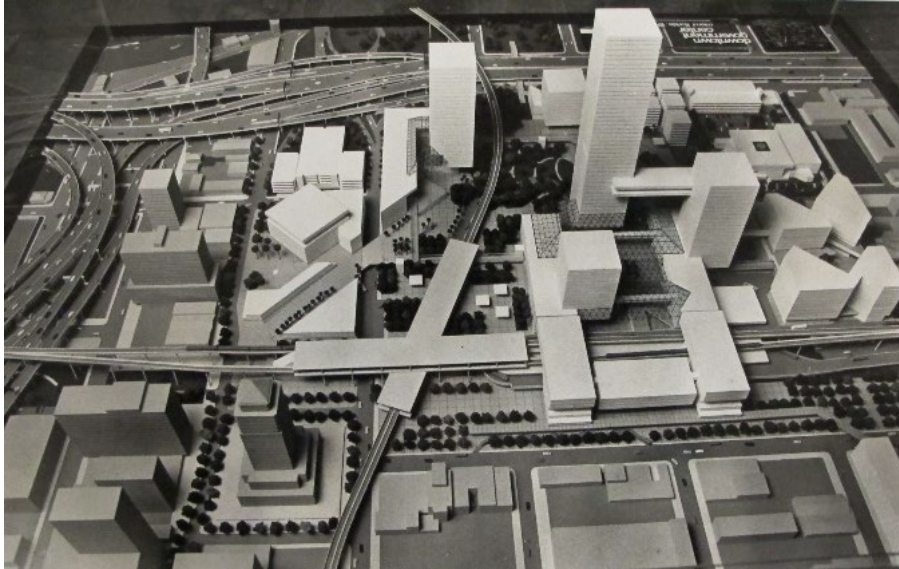
Model of proposed master plan for Government Center, Miami. Connell, Metcalf & Eddy, 1974-76. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection.

crossing in front of the County Courthouse.[195] A civic complex of this magnitude was unprecedented in Miami. The *Miami Herald*'s Fred Tasker remarked that while the concept of civic center hearkens back to ancient Greece, "On paper it looks like the illustration on the cover of a science fiction novel."[196] While a triumph of civic representation, the complex came at the expense of the adjacent Culmer Park/Overtown neighborhood, the historically Black urban center already critically wounded by earlier highway construction. To make matters worse, the five-story **Miami Police Headquarters**, situated on the northern edge of the Government Center district was the first building completed, and by some accounts was conceived as a bulwark against the Culmer Park district.[197]

Nevertheless, the Police Headquarters marked a watershed in civic construction downtown. Designed by Lester Pancoast with Jaime Borrelli of Bouterse Borrelli Albaisa (1976), the naked concrete structure, with a skin of precast concrete window units and terra cotta-tiled wall panels, produced a rustic Brutalism intended by the architects as a pace-setter for the coming campus of City of Miami buildings, if not the whole district.[198] Many of the building's features, including its breezy covered spaces, deep overhangs, hooded windows, and sun screens, were posed as a direct response to the energy crisis of 1973, and heralded by Pancoast as a return to the "verities of tropical design."[199] Completed the same year as the Miami Beach City Hall (which shares many of the same qualities), the police headquarters was sculpted and tiered, with contrasting forms that expressed the major interior elements of the complex, and cutaway voids that reduced the building mass and created pools of shade. Sorting tropical motifs from functional administration, the building featured an unusual, layered plan organization, developed in coordination with the Menlo Park-based Stanford Research Institute,[200] where naturally ventilated exterior offices wrapped an internal air-conditioned core that housed the building's state of the art computer systems.[201]

Although the proposed 20-story Miami City Hall was never built, the beige and orange-themed municipal complex grew with the addition of the **Don A. Hickman Miami Administration Building** (1980), also designed by the Pancoast Albaisa team using the same syntax, and organized
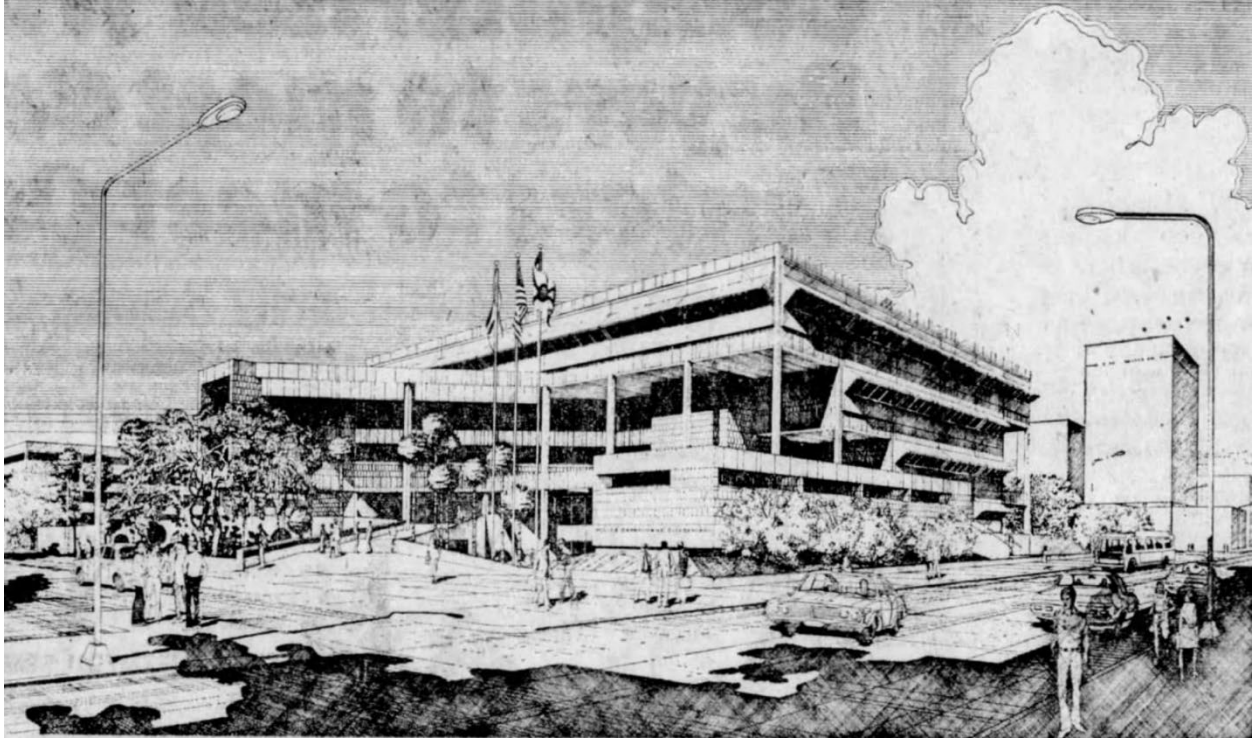
Miami Police Headquarters, Miami. Lester Pancoast with Bouterse Borrelli Albaisa Architects, 1976. From Leo Adde, "Police Building Was Designed For All, Except Place for Officers to Leave Dogs," Miami Herald, March 10, 1974.

as an L-shape around a "rakishly modern" bright orange 90-foot diameter silo (housing the building core).[202]

Florida promoted a different but related Brutalist modern syntax across NW 2ⁿᵈ Avenue at **One State Center** (currently the Rohde State Office Building, 1978-1985). The complex, a "mini-capital" designed to house more than 20 decentralized departments of state government,[203] was designed by Russell-Wooster Architects. Its chamfered triangular blocks were organized around a plaza that preserved a grove of mature live oak trees. To project a modern, efficient and progressive image, the architects used the language of institutional and corporate prowess that Marcel Breuer honed in projects like the UNESCO Headquarters in Paris. The pedestal featured continuous concrete arcades that shaded the glassy VIP office suites of visiting Tallahassee officials. Above, the building's cellular skin comprised finely molded precast concrete frames that tapered to deeply inset windows.

Into the modernist milieu of the emerging government center came Philip Johnson and John Burgee's **Miami-Dade Cultural Plaza** (1980), occupying a prominent 3.3-acre site facing the old Courthouse. Johnson was selected in 1977, likely based on projects like his recently completed Boston Public Library addition, a Brutalist landmark. When he unveiled his plans in 1978, however, he surprised civic leaders with an emphatically postmodern work, a "Spanish-Italian-Palladian" blend that drew inspiration from Miami's own Mediterranean-inspired traditions.[204] Its three main structures, the **Center for Fine Arts**, **Historical Museum**, and the **Public Library Main Branch**, were assembled like independent palaces around a large plaza, intended to be

One State Center (currently the Rohde State Office Building), Miami. Russell-Wooster Architects, 1978-1985. From Sandi Reed, "Governmental Center is Moving Downtown," Miami Herald, April 26, 1976.

shaded by souk-like fabric canopies hung from supporting cables. The plaza was raised 14 feet off the street on a seemingly fortified podium and accessed by stairs, ramps, and bridges from adjacent properties – a type of civic-cultural *acropolis* that, knowingly or not produced the type of raised civic platforms suggested in the Magic City Center plan 20 years earlier.

From its unveiling, the Cultural Plaza raised controversy, pitting an emerging group of postmodernists, who believed that the Mediterranean styling was a living vernacular in Miami, against modernist tropicalists like Lester Pancoast, who caustically argued that "Miami should know that it is a contemporary city, not a theme park for leftover stage sets."[205] The question of style was a particularly sensitive topic here, since these new cultural facilities would embody the cultural and civic ambitions of the city.[206] Indeed, the conflicting principles and languages of traditionalists and modernists would animate architectural discourse in Miami over the next decades, producing both discord and moments of synthesis.

In response to the style controversy, in 1978 Metro-Dade hired Robert Geddes, the Dean of Princeton University's School of Architecture, to act as coordinator of Government Center design projects and sort out what some viewed as a "governmental hodge-podge."[207] Exerting a new level of master planning in the guise of architectural diplomacy, Geddes diverted the conversation away from the style of individual buildings and toward the question of coherent architectural groupings.[208] He prepared his own master plan, reasserting the downtown gridiron and separating Government Center into "precincts" arranged around a new three-block long central park.[209]

Open Space Park, the central park Geddes envisioned, was eventually built according to a design by Sasaki & Associates, providing tree groves, plazas, and lawns at the heart of the governmental

Miami-Dade Cultural Plaza, Miami. Philip Johnson and John Burgee, 1980. From "The $25-Million Bet On Downtown Culture," Miami Herald, May 4, 1980.

complex. Under the County's Art in Public Places program, initiated in 1973 and which dedicated 1.5% of construction costs toward public art, Pop artists Claes Oldenburg and Coosje van Bruggen were commissioned to add a piece at the southern end of the park. **Dropped Bowl with Scattered Slices and Peels**, a steel, concrete, and fiberglass fountain, was intended by the artists as a commentary on multicultural Miami. As the *Miami Herald*'s Helen Kohen described, "Oranges and diversity, fractures and patterns—these were the images that came to the artists as they contemplated their charge and the site. It would be 'disorder at the foot of order.'"[210]

The crowning elements of the Government Center complex were Cambridge Seven Associates' design for the **Government Center Station** (1982) and the **Metro-Dade Administration Building** (Stephen P. Clark Center, 1984) by Cambridge-based Hugh Stubbins Associates with Collaborative 3. The administration building, headquarters of Miami's powerful metropolitan government, was intended to be the largest and most symbolically important component of the ensemble, sparking a hotly contested competition to design it among an international group of architects, locally referred to as "Star Wars."[211]

In terms of height, crisp geometry, and de Chirico-esque monumentality, Stubbins's 500-foot-tall, faceted tower made a bold statement. The building's signature elongated hexagon form placed elevator and stair cores at the tapered ends and allowed uninterrupted open-plan workspace on each floor. The form was also touted as enhancing wind resistance. Clad in a curtainwall of buff-colored tan limestone cut by horizontal window slots, the tower was carried, like Stubbins's acclaimed 1976 Citicorp Building in New York, on massive piers that rose from an open ground-level plaza. In front of the tower, and connected by bridge through its tall piers, was the octagonal

Claes Oldenburg and Coosje van Bruggen, "Dropped Bowl with Scattered Slices and Peels," Government Center, Miami. Photo courtesy Miami Herald.

County Commission chambers, whose shallow stepped ziggurat roof echoed the iconic crown of the earlier County Courthouse.

Government Center Station, the intermodal hub of Dade County's mass transit system, was originally imagined as a stand-alone facility, plugged into the multi-level transit viaducts that replaced the Florida East Coast Railway, and carried both Metrorail and Metromover tracks and platforms. In their development, the rail hub and Metro-Dade Administration Building were connected by a spacious, glass-roofed atrium and mall modeled loosely on Stubbins' Citicorp tower atrium, activating the lobby of the County building with cafés, restaurants, and retail in a great civic space that Robert Geddes argued would "serve as a symbol of openness in government."[212]

A Search for Authenticity

Until WWII, Miami was largely held up as an invented city, unencumbered by history and even the facts of its natural landscape. From its foundation as a city in the late 19th century, *tabula rasa*, or clean slate, was the development principle upon which most of Dade County was built. Constructed landscapes, like the real estate produced out of wetlands by the suction dredge, were just one aspect of *tabula rasa*; other aspects included origin stories that began with White settlement in the late 19th century, thematic and exotic development narratives like the 1920s fantasy of Mediterranean civilization along the shores of Biscayne Bay, and the radical invention
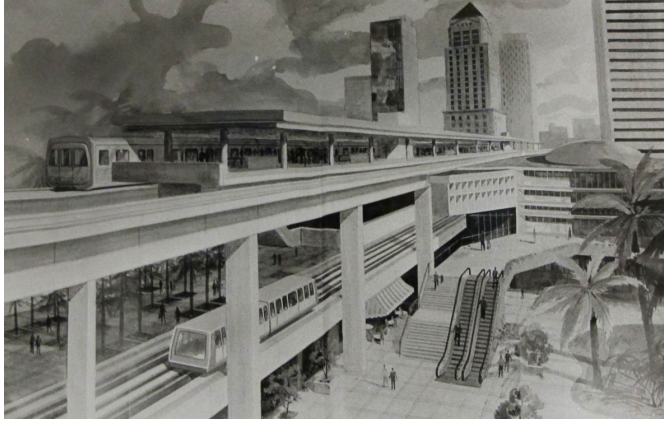
Government Center Station, Miami. Metrorail and People Mover Viaduct. Cambridge Seven Associates, 1981.Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection (1995-277-8301).
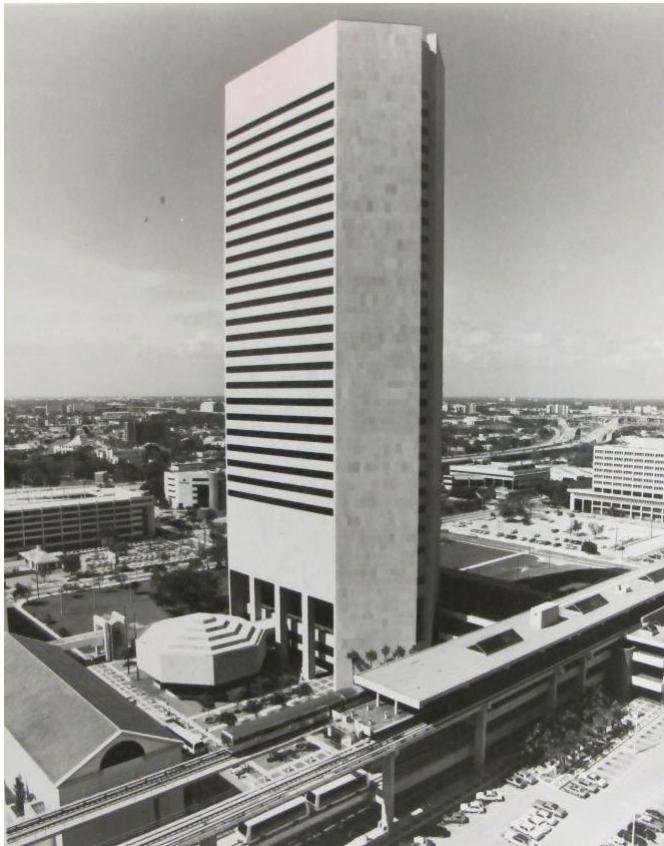
Proposed Metro-Dade Administration Building (Stephen P. Clark Center), Miami. Hugh Stubbins Associates with Collaborative 3, 1984. Appeared August 30, 1986. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection (1995-277-8221).

of identity that surrounded everything from resorts to residential subdivisions. The discontinuity of material facts, practices and ideas were just part of the nature of a place that accepted artificiality as a natural condition.

After the war, many Miamians demonstrated a thirst for precisely the opposite of *tabula rasa* – a sense of rootedness, authentic regional identity, and connection to context. The postwar era, with its accelerated pace of haphazard sprawl and replacement of native landscapes, perpetually, by definition, new (or renewing), was also the breeding ground of the identity backlash. By the mid-1970s, dissatisfaction with the material achievements of the postwar was wide-spread. Practices like land conservation and historic preservation emerged as important agents of new thinking about

Miami as a place, and powerful counter-narratives to *tabula rasa*. A more layered identity evolved, based on consciousness of the evolutionary story of the city's landscapes and architecture, and nurtured by a sense of collective memory, settings the stage for new types of identity making, placemaking, and community building.

Land Conservation

Conservation and preservation movements were not entirely new or without precedent in Miami. A small but dedicated group of naturalist pioneers – botanists, landscape enthusiasts, architects, bohemians, utopians and humanists, drawn to Miami by the strange beauty of one of America's last frontiers, laid the roots of the local landscape conservation movement.[213] As Rocco Ceo has pointed out, many of the first landscape preserves in Dade County, like **Greynolds Park** (1936) and **Matheson Hammock Park** (1930), originated with the private initiatives of landscape enthusiasts (sometimes with the assistance of Civilian Conservation Corps). Landscape preserves and botanical gardens were also fashioned from touristic sites, like Parrot Jungle and Orchid Jungle, which had preserved fragments of native landscape.[214]

As the increasingly engineered landscape of South Florida and metropolitan sprawl caused the degradation of natural systems and prompted the need for conservation of soil and water resources, federal, state and county authorities emphasized a new scale and ambition of land conservation. Miami entered the postwar era with President Harry Truman's designation of **Everglades National Park** in December, 1947. Long considered a useless swamp, the Everglades wetlands were, for more than 50 years, the subject of agricultural and land development schemes made possible by intrusive drainage infrastructure. Metropolitan Miami's western frontier encroached the eastern fringes of these wetlands, tying their future to that of the city.

The meaning of the Everglades was progressively recast in the 1930s, partly under the influence of the wilderness movement in America, as a delicate and irreplaceable botanical and zoological bonanza. The *New York Times* noting its mangrove tunnels, sawgrass prairie marshes, shell beaches and extensive rookeries, called it "one of the great virginal forests of North America."[215] Marjory Stoneman Douglas's ***Everglades, River of Grass***, published the same year as the park's creation, went beyond romantic attachments and conservation ethos, nurturing a new understanding of these lands as an integrated system of landscape, water, people, birds, fish, and animals, central to the hydrological functioning and identity of South Florida. The degradation of that system, including destruction of the exotic rookeries of plume birds and the near extinction of the alligator and the flamingo, as featured in books like John Kunkel Small's *From Eden to Sahara: Florida's Tragedy* (1929), contributed to a rising clamor for Everglades conservation.

To some degree, the creation of Everglades National Park also served an urban purpose. The wilderness movement in America emphasized wilderness preservation as a necessary complement to urbanization and the material progress of civilization.[216] Truman used the dedication of Everglades National Park to argue for conservation as an "enrichment of the human spirit."[217] What better opportunity to advance the link between wilderness and urbanity than in South Florida,

Proposal for Oleta River State Park, North Miami. Roberto Burle Marx, 1981.Courtesy of University of Miami School of Architecture.

where these conditions met brutally, mostly unmitigated by a longstanding agricultural back country.

The park also served a compelling local purpose: stimulating new tourism. As national parks were reframed in the postwar era as "playgrounds of the people,"[218] Everglades National Park gave Miami another mega-attraction. The vast 2,500 square mile park rivaled the great Eastern park systems (Great Smokey Mountains National Park, Acadia Park and Shenandoah National Park), and Yellowstone and Yosemite as well, spreading tourism to the largely agricultural community of Homestead.

Biscayne National Park (1968-80), Miami's second national park, was even more closely tied to the processes of urban development. It was instigated by a long battle over development in south Biscayne Bay, and in particular the fight over Islandia, a causeway city that would have forever altered the mostly pristine Florida Keys spanning from Key Biscayne to Key Largo. Conservationists, led by the Florida Audubon Society, battled Islandia developers over the future of the island chain throughout the mid-60s, a period when public consciousness of landscape despoliation had reached a high. U.S. Rep. Dante Fascell, whose congressional district included Islandia, led the creation of this "great national water park" in the heart of metropolitan Dade County, and labored to make it a reality.[219] This effort culminated with the recognition that Dade County's eastern bay frontier was, like the Everglades, a great wilderness. Designated as Biscayne National Monument in 1968 (and eventually Biscayne National Park in 1980), the park stretched more than 20 miles from Sands Key in the north to John Pennekamp Coral Reef State Park in the

Superintendent Dale Enquist at Biscayne National Monument. Homestead, 1968. Photo by George Kochaniec, September 22, 1972. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection (1989-011-13290).

south, covering 33 islands and occupying more than 100,000 acres (most of it underwater) – the only protected complex of submerged living coral reef, emergent keys and sheltered bay bottoms in the U.S.[220] Miami, the most artificial city, was effectively framed by the singular aqueous landscapes of two national parks.

Florida became another postwar agent of conservation and preservation as it stepped in to repurpose sensitive sites threatened by real estate development. In 1966 Florida purchased 50 cleared acres at Cape Florida on the southern tip of Key Biscayne, including its famous eponymous lighthouse, and established **Bill Baggs State Park**. The state also purchased the iconic wood-framed home, boat house and surrounding forested hammock of Coconut Grove pioneer Ralph Munroe, making the **Barnacle Historic State Park** (1973) in the heart of Coconut Grove's commercial center. In these parks, the need to save landscapes and historic structures was paired with areas for hiking, biking, sailing, canoeing and picnicking.

Oleta River State Park, established in 1980 on the land created for never-built 1967 Interama Worlds Fair, was the most ambitious of Miami's state parks. The almost 1,000-acre land area was, conceived as part of Governor Bob Graham's vision for a state network of urban parks, became an environmental lung for the urbanizing northeast corridor of Miami, which by the 1980s was the most densely populated community in Florida.[221] The park's original master plan, prepared by Brazilian artist and designer Roberto Burle Marx in 1981, showed an integration of natural systems with geometric landscapes that partly a byproduct of the interrupted land development plans, but also a characteristic feature of the landscape architect. Employing a painterly approach, Burle Marx wove the fair's original bulkheads, his own sinuous landscape contours, and native stands of mangroves into a provocative synthesis. At its center, he organized a great public space, a plaza organized around a monumental ziggurat-like observation mound that rose to a lookout offering views to Biscayne Bay and the surrounding city. [222]

Metro-Dade Parks also emphasized the preservation of native landscapes, creating a new category of park preserve devoted to outdoor education and camping instead of traditional recreational programs.[223] The 110-acre **Bauer Drive Hammock** (1954, later Camp Owaissa Bauer) near Homestead, and the 112-acre **Castellow Hammock** (1962) in the agricultural Redlands, preserved islands of original Rockland pine forest and hardwood hammock within its metropolitan area.

Douglas Entrance (La Puerta del Sol), Coral Gables. Phineas Paist, Denman Fink and Walter De Garmo, 1924. Photo by Caryn Levy, April 19, 1983. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection (1989-011-4159).

Historic Preservation

In 1965, writing in the *Miami News*, columnist Marilyn Lane noticed an "aesthetic hemorrhaging" happening throughout Miami as fine older buildings "are crushed to make way for 'progress'." [224] Lane also reported that in some cases (the preservation of Douglas Entrance in Coral Gables and the Coconut Grove Public Library, to name a couple), "a tourniquet has been applied, the bloodletting has been slowed and the wound sutured for permanent healing." By 1965, a year before the groundbreaking **Historic Preservation Act of 1966** made conservation of the built environment a national priority, battles to preserve local landmarks and contexts were underway. Over the next 20 years, historic preservation would grow past a few isolated struggles, or "tourniquets," to become a defining force in the physical development of Dade County. It would set the stage for a more historically layered conception of the city and change how communities valued the existing urban landscapes they inhabited.

For many, the notion that cities so new could acquire historic landmarks or districts was mind boggling. Yet the city's very newness, and its propensity for constant change, gave preservation a distinct character in Miami. Historic preservation found particular meaning in the region's own

development history, promoting a sense of continuity and inspiring the emergent idea that the cultural past was part of the cultural present and future of the city.

The **Historical Association of South Florida**, organized in 1940 (only 44 years after Miami's incorporation) with the goal of building a repository of historic artifacts, was the earliest and most continuous group dedicated to preserving and interpreting the cultural past. Its focus was regional, comprising South Florida and the Caribbean – "a region so strikingly different from that of the rest of America, that it would be tragic if an effort were not made to foster an interest in our heritage and preserve the materials which depict its development."[225] The Association had several homes in Miami before developing the Historical Museum of South Florida at the downtown Cultural Plaza in 1980. The Historical Association also developed an important focus on telling the stories of South Florida and the Caribbean through the historical journal *Tequesta*, which became a force in promoting local research.[226] By the 1970s, a collaboration directed by Dorothy Jenkins Fields between the Historical Association and Dade School Board to develop the **Black Photographic Archives and Oral History Collection,** a racially-balanced supplement to the county schools curriculum,[227] culminated in the creation of the **Black Archives History & Research Foundation**. Established in 1977 at the **Joseph Caleb Community Center and Model City Library** on NW 22nd Avenue under the federal Model City program, the Black Archives played a similar role to the Historical Association, reflecting the African American experience in Miami-Dade County.

After World War II, building preservation efforts began with well-regarded landmarks that garnered quiet consensus. In 1952 Dade County acquired **Villa Viscaya,** the home and gardens of industrialist James Deering built between 1914 and 1922 that was an icon and forerunner of Miami's romantic Mediterranean Revival architectural movement.[228] After the villa opened to the public as the **Dade County Art Museum** in 1953, a volunteer group called the Vizcayans was organized to support the museum's preservation and function, likely the first such group in Miami.[229] The 95-foot **Cape Florida Lighthouse** on Key Biscayne, built between 1844-57, was preserved when Florida acquired the property as part of the development of **Bill Baggs State Park** in the late 1960s. Another early effort was the renovation and relocation of the **First Coconut Grove School House**, an early vernacular wood structure, in 1970. According to many, the preservation movement was really initiated in Coral Gables with the 1964 fight to preserve the **Douglas Entrance**, an effort that mobilized architects, designers, and a broad-based group of community activists,[230] and was also the first such effort to confront Miami's powerful real estate development interests. The preservation of Douglas Entrance resonated not only as a historic preservation success, but as it stimulated further efforts to preserve the City Beautiful's inventory of Spanish Mediterranean landmarks, including buildings, plazas, entrances, and fountains.

Another outcome of the Douglas Entrance fight was the creation in 1965 of the **Villagers** (named after Douglas Village, another name for the Douglas Entrance), the first Miami group dedicated to preservation and restoration of historic landmarks. The group soon established a local historic trust, **Dade Heritage Trust,** in 1972 with a mission "to preserve, restore, utilize and maintain historical, aesthetic and cultural properties to the heritage of Florida and Dade County in particular." [231] The efforts of Dade Heritage Trust extended through the county, including the designation of the 1912

700 Block Ocean Drive, view to south showing west side of street. Miami Beach Art Deco Historic District, Miami, Miami-Dade County, FL Photos from Survey HABS FL-322. Historic American Buildings Survey (Library of Congress) Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/pp.print

Anderson's Corners in Goulds, Florida, one of the few remaining pioneer structures in Rural South Dade (1977), helped bring attention to the rural heritage of Dade County at a moment when it was increasingly threatened by suburban sprawl. By publishing books, taping oral histories, and designating historic sites and structures, Dade Heritage Trust became a powerful mover of a preservation agenda in Dade County.[232]

The **National Historic Preservation Act of 1966**, signed by President Johnson, changed the goals and practices of historic preservation by fostering a broad national emphasis on preservation, and creating a framework for preservation action directed by the Secretary of the Interior, who established professional standards and guidance on preservation practice. The National Park Service (NPS) acquired responsibility for two important elements of the framework, approving new listings on the **National Register of Historic Places**, a national list of places worthy of preservation, and administering the **Federal Historic Preservation Tax Incentives Program**, a powerful tool that financially incentivized buildings conservation. Beyond its national function, the Historic Preservation Act was foundational to most local and state preservation ordinances.

As preservation came of age in the 1970s, Miami developed both county-wide and localized historic preservation movements and institutions. Dade Heritage Trust added at least 20 sites to
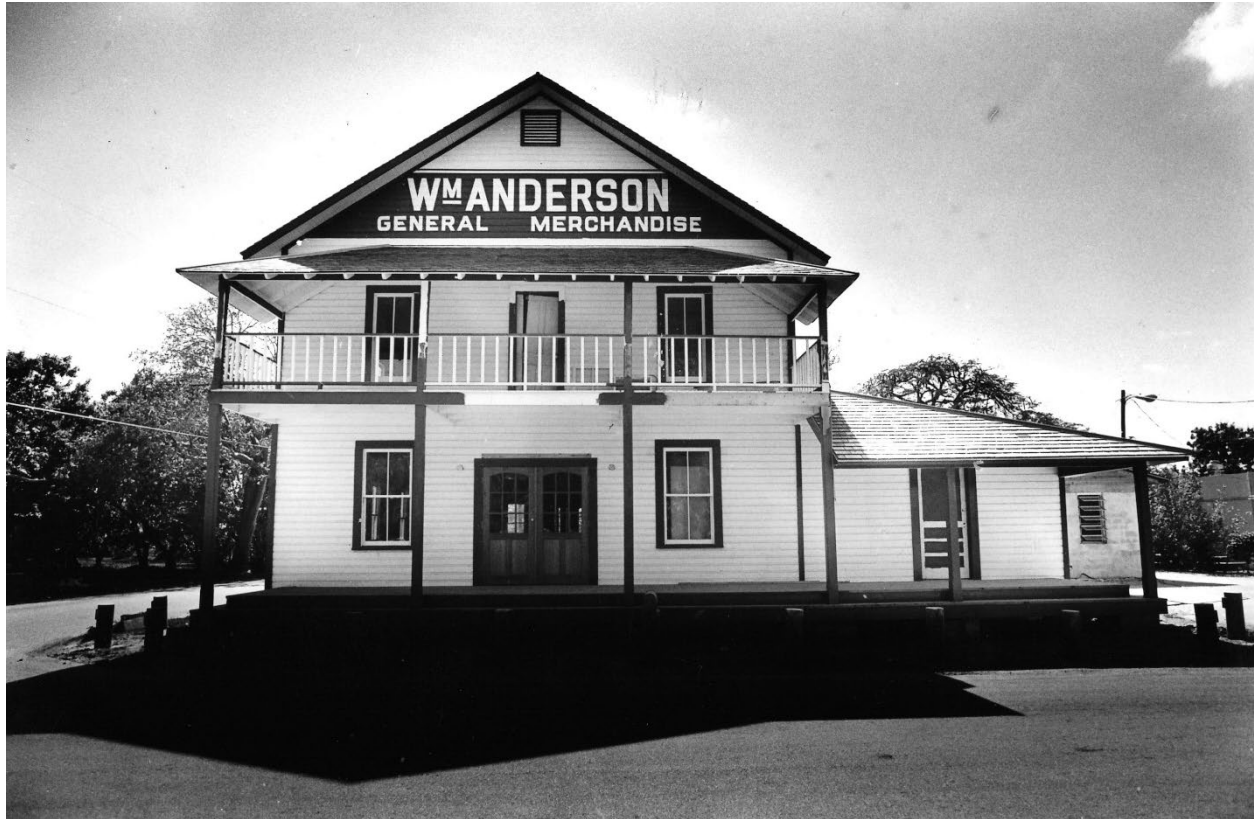
Andersons Corner, Homestead. William "Popp" Anderson, 1911.Photo by Rick McCawley, May 5, 1985. Courtesy of HistoryMiami Museum, Miami News Collection (1989-011-24916).

the National Register of Historic Places by 1977. In 1973 the City of Coral Gables enacted the county's first historic preservation law/ordinance.[233] The same year, using the recently approved Historic Preservation Act and the Nixon-era **Legacy of Parks** program, the city acquired for preservation one of its most important landmarks from the federal government: the **Biltmore Hotel**.[234]

The contentious late-1970s movement to preserve the **South Beach** district of Miami Beach made neighborhood conservation another consequential frontier of historic preservation. Once a vibrant urban resort community, South Beach was then largely inhabited by elderly residents who embraced its urban way of life and sociability even as the areas reputation as a resort, and the buildings themselves, deteriorated around them. In 1975 Miami Beach declared its southernmost section "blighted" – a prelude to the authorization of a municipal redevelopment area with powers of slum clearance (which became fact in 1976). Rebranded as the South Shore Redevelopment Area, master plans by the prestigious San Francisco-based planners Wurster, Bernardi, and Emmons, and Toronto architect Raymond Moriyama, revealed the intention to clear the area's elderly population of about 6,000 and reformulate the neighborhood's 40-block landmass into a Venetian system of lagoons and canals as the setting for a new upscale new resort community. The movement to conserve South Beach, triggered by its designation as a blighted area, challenged the erasure of built context through urban renewal. Motivated by a desire to preserve the neighborhood scale and way of life of its residents, it evolved into a demonstration of how preservation of cultural

heritage could further the economic revitalization of a built urban environment.[235] Because of its size and scope, the preservation fight engaged a mix of local, regional and national actors, and developed complex meanings.

Barbara Baer Capitman, a journalist, marketing manager and community activist who arrived in Miami Beach in 1973, emerged as the leader and catalyst of preservation efforts in Miami Beach. Capitman employed diverse strategies to draw support to the movement, targeting both global and local audiences. She presented revitalization as an alternative to urban renewal, an issue with national relevance. She used the district's unique urban character and modern aesthetic as a rallying cry, diffusing architectural imagery in prestigious national newspapers and journals, and later, with photographer Steven Brooke, publishing her photo essay, *Deco Delights* (1988). Lacking any support from local government, she worked with federal authorities to apply top-down pressure – a strategy that would eventually lead to listing on the National Register of Historic Places before any local recognition or historic designation.[236]

On the other hand, realizing the preservation of Miami Beach would be a large and public effort, Capitman rallied local architects, preservationists, and citizens. In 1977, she co-founded the **Miami Design Preservation League**, which provided an organizational platform for efforts to survey and designate the district now being referred to as 'Old Miami Beach,' as well as to apply political pressure.[237] She also joined forces with local environmentalists, who had their own reasons for trying to stop the plans of the South Shore Redevelopment Agency.

Capitman shaped the movement's objectives, first by pursuing the preservation of most of South Beach, not just the portion under the jurisdiction of the redevelopment agency (which was not included in the subsequent National Register listing). Also, while initially focused on the South Beach's Art Deco architectural legacy, she later extended the district's period of significance, capturing the first four decades of construction on Miami Beach as an "ensemble of contiguous contributing structures," and yielding a more comprehensive and layered district.[238] Further, progress on advancing listing on the National Register of Historic Places, as well as subsequent local preservation district designations, was politically traded against the continuity of the Miami Beach Redevelopment Agency, and its redevelopment plans in South Shore – an arrangement referred to locally as the "grand bargain."[239]

The first success of the movement in Miami came in 1979, when the **Miami Beach Architectural District** was listed on the National Register of Historic Places, the largest such district and the only one at that time to recognize modern architecture. In 1980, MDPL contracted the Boston-based preservation firm Anderson, Notter and Finegold, to develop a preservation plan for the district that protected not just the buildings, but also the elderly and "their special social and economic needs." The team specifically included a gerontologist, and their mission was to plan a "community that will be economically integrated."[240] Progressively over the next 13 years, local historic districts and ordinances were enacted in Miami Beach, beginning with the creation of the city's Historic Preservation Ordinance and Historic Preservation Board in 1982.

As preservation districts became a principal tool of community planning and economic revitalization, the already considerable size and scope of the initial local historic districts was further expanded, eventually comprising most multi-family and commercial areas of the city. The preservation districts developed a unique local character that plugged into the roots of Miami Beach as an American playground, reversing the city's decline as a resort, promoting the notion of cultural tourism, and advancing new categories of boutique hotel resorts. Further, preservation became a principal avenue of community building, and the window through which much planning has taken place.

While historic preservation was strongly driven by local factors, Metro-Dade, the countywide governing body in Dade County, advanced historic preservation in a more comprehensive way. In 1980 it completed the **Dade County Historic Survey**, directed by Ivan Rodriguez, the first county-wide survey of resources, which recognized approximately 6,000 sites of historical, architectural and archaeological significance.[241] Following the survey, in 1981 the county passed its **Historic Preservation Ordinance,** an umbrella ordinance that set minimum standards throughout the metropolitan area, and extended preservation to districts where it did not yet have strong local support. In 1982 Metro-Dade published Ivan A. Rodriguez and Margot Ammidown's *From Wilderness to Metropolis: The History and Architecture of Dade County, Florida, 1825-1940,* the influential first edition of the book that this narrative succeeds.

[1] Jack Roberts, "Kendall drive may be defaced," *Miami News*, July 28, 1969.

[2] Peter Blake, *God's Own Junkyard: The Planned Deterioration of America's Landscape* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston) 1979. For a regional take, see also Gerhard Selzer, "Why must our cities be ugly?" *The Florida Architect*, May, 1965,

[3] Frederic Sherman, "We've a Chance to Save Brickell," *Miami Herald*, 23 September 1962.

[4] "During the last three decades or so Miami has evolved, shedding its light-hearted past to become a serious, some say tragic place." See Alejandro Portes and Alex Stepick, *City on Edge: The Transformation of Miami* (Berkeley, University of California Press) 1993, p. XI.

[5] Tom Hine, *The Great Funk* (New York: Sarah Crichton Books: 2007)

[6] Saskia Sassen and Alejandro Portes, "Miami: A New Global City," *Contemporary Sociology* , Jul., 1993, Vol. 22, No. 4 (Jul., 1993), pp. 471-477.

[7] The term 'Latinization' is used frequently in the *Miami Herald* starting in 1965. See also Herbert Burkholz, "The Latinization of Miami," *New York Times*, September 21, 1980.

[8] When *Editorial América* constructed its corporate headquarters in Virginia Gardens in 1978, architects Willy Bermello and Adolfo Albaisa created a monumental yet playful architecture, an office block of modular concrete components sculpted by dynamic cut-aways.

[9] William Tucker, "County in change: from football champs and traffic jams to a new hub of Latin commerce," *Miami News*, January 2, 1980.

[10] Portes and Stepick, *City on the Edge*, Preface, xi.

[11] Victor Deupi and Jean-François Lejeune, *Cuban Modernism, Mid-Century Architecture 1940–1970* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2021)

[12] At the time of the Cuban revolution, established architects like Adolfo Albaisa, Humberto Alonso, Ignacio Carrera-Justiz, Jose Feito, Pelayo Fraga, Enrique Gutierrez, Frank Martinez, Ermina Odoardo and Ricardo Eguillor, and Nicholas Quintana, had already emerged onto the scene with important works. In Miami, this group moved into established offices, created partnerships or their own offices, practiced in Miami and throughout Latin America, and taught in local schools of architecture. Pancoast Ferendino Grafton, Miami's largest and most

prestigious architectural firm, hired many of the immigrants, including Hilario Candela, who emerged as one of the firm's most important designers and an important translator of Latin American architectural themes and the urban motifs of his native Havana. In the 1970s, a new generation of Cuban born architects, educated in American universities, also came on the scene, including Herando Acosta, Willy Bermello, Jaime Borrelli, Willy Borroto, Donald Bouterse, Jaime Canaves, Antonio Cantillo, Hector Carillo, Andres Duany, Andres Fabregas, Jorge Khuly, Roney Mateu, Rafael Portuondo, Antonio Quiroga, Raul Rodriguez and Oscar Sklar. Some were graduates of the University of Miami's fledgling School of Architecture.

[13] Jane Scholz, "Dollars Pour in From The North," *Miami Herald*, May 2, 1976. See also Wayne Markham, "Canada Developers Head South – With Money," *Miami Herald*, May 20, 1979. According to the Herald, Canada had most companies doing business in the state, as Canadian developers diversified their real-estate holding in the wake political events like the election of an independence party in Quebec in 1976, or perceived "creeping socialism" in Canada.

[14] Among the project developed by Canadian developers: Saga Bay (at one point the largest approved project in Dade with a projected population of 50,000); The Hammocks (Caddilac-Fairview, projected population of 20,000); Homestead Lakes (projected population of 40,000); Key Colony (Fininvest, 1,200 units); Mango Hill and Brandywine (Kendall); The Villages of Homestead (Markborough Properties Inc. – Hudsons Bay Corp – and Wimpey Development, projected population of 50,000).

[15] Ibid, p. 335.

[16] TK Maybe 211-212

[17] The American Institute of Architects DIVERSITY TIMELINE 1968-2022. Accessed online October 1, 2022, at https://sites.google.com/site/aiadiversityhistory/

[18] Marie Anderson, "Black Architects Are a Rarity in Miami," *Miami Herald* April 23, 1972. Anderson identified Joe Middlebrooks, Paul Devrouax, Ron Frazier, Edna Mingo and Eddie Strachan as Miami's only Black architects in 1972. Joe Middlebrooks, the first registered Black architect in Florida, as well as Professor and Director of community development at the University of Miami's Center for Urban Studies, worked with cities and Neighborhood Development Programs on planning and to establish redevelopment priorities. Paul Devrouax worked on issues of public housing, and Ron Frazier, an architect-planner, worked directly on the 1970s Model Cities project.

[19] Sassen and Portes, "Miami: A New Global City," p. 472. Sassen and Portes identify banking and trade as key predictors in making a global city.

[20] "Behind Miami's Surge in International Banking," *Economic Review*, April 1981, pp. 9-15.

[21] Matthew Gordon Lasner, "No Lawn to Mow: Co-ops, Condominiums, and the Revolution in Collective Homeownership in Metropolitan America, 1881-1973," PhD dissertation presented to the Harvard University Department of Architecture, Landscape Architecture, and Urban Planning, 2007. p. 319. Accessed online.

[22] Eli Adams, "New Look for an Old Idea," *Miami Herald*, March 23, 1969. Townhouses and Patio Homes were combined to increase suburban density from 6 to 12 units per acre.

[23] Harry Rape, "Adler Plan Denied by Hialeah," *Miami Herald*, March 25, 1965.

[24] "Discover a wonderful… New concept in residential Lakefront Living," advertisement for Town N' Lake, *Miami Herald*, January 9, 1966.

[25] "Unique Lakefront Townhouse Models Open," advertisement for Lake Royall Townhouses, *Miami Herald*, May 2, 1965.

[26] "Grand Opening," advertisement for Palm Springs Villas, *Miami Herald*, July 7, 1974. The same developers also developed Palm Springs Villas South in Hialeah.

[27] Zoning Director Robert F. Cook declared "This is a new way of living and I think Dade ought to have it." Charles Whited, "Townhouse Builders Win Metro Approval," *Miami Herald*, Nov. 10, 1965.

[28] Larry Devine, "Thomas Landings Changes Pace," *Miami Herald*, February 29, 1964.

[29] Terry Johnson King, "Individual house is still part of the American Dream," *Miami News*, August 30, 1976.

[30] The Hills of Inveraray in Fort Lauderdale (1971) offered a founding model for the type locally, but it soon spread through country club communities in Dade County.

[31] "Sneak Preview," advertisement in the *Miami Herald*, September 10, 1972.

[32] Before patio homes were used in cluster planning, an early version of patio home was built by Heftler Construction in the Sunset Park district of South Miami (1968), using zero-lot line zoning on to create completely walled side and rear yards, and promoting an enhanced sense of security and privacy. Heftler exploited the romance of patio-style homes, using Mediterranean elements and styling to produce rows of homes forming relatively closed walls toward the street and pronounced zaguan-type passageways protected by grilled gateways.

[33] Wayne Markham, "Does Miami Face Los Angeles' Fate?" *Miami Herald*, March 7, 1976.

[34] Wayne Markham, "How Do You Get More Home in Less Space," *Miami Herald*, September 19, 1976.

[35] Robert C. Weaver, Review: Better Living via Clustering, *Landscape Architecture*, Vol. 55, No. 2 (JANUARY 1965), p. 144

[36] Adam W. Rome, "William Whyte, Open Space, and Environmental Activism," *Geographical Review*, Apr., 1998, Vol. 88, No. 2, p. 264.

[37] H. S. Coblentz, "Review of Cluster Development," *Natural Resources Journal*, Volume 6, Issue 1, Winter 1966, p. 174. Accessed online through Jstor, August 23, 2022.

[38] James M. Mayo, "The American County Club: An Evolving Elite Landscape," *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research*, 15:1 (Spring, 1998) 24. Examples of golf club tied to real estate developments include Country Club Estates in Kansas City, and River Oaks in Houston TX.

[39] The Miami flavor of golf course development included new types of courses, including short courses (Key Colony, Colonial Palms) perfect for elderly players.

[40] Carlos Alvarado and Barry McCabe quoted in Fred Tasker, "Zoning Remains Firm, Commissioners Wilt," *Miami Herald*, 21 April 1972. Creeping Nimbyism was reflected in residents objecting to recreational facilities in their communities drawing outside users and increased traffic.

[41] The development team included Connell Associates, Inc., Fraga Associates and New Orleans-based Curtis & Davis architects and planners. See "Taking Shape," *Miami Herald*, February 24, 1974.

[42] "I'm Single and I Love It… At The Banyanwoods," advertisement in the *Miami Herald*, February 24, 1974.

[43] Eli Adams, "Development is Underway on Fontainebleau Park Project," *Miami Herald*, April 18, 1971.

[44] Norma A. Orovitz, "The look is uniform; the neighbors aren't," *Miami News*, November 10, 1980.

[45] Eli Adams, "Janis to Launch Kendale Lakes," Miami Herald, July 5, 1970. Kendale Lakes was developed by former home builders Bernard and Jay Janis.

[46] "Hammocks to be City of 20,000," *Miami Herald*, October 30, 1977.

[47] "Come to Colorado this afternoon," advertisement for Pinetree Village, *Miami Herald*, 30 January, 1977.

[48] "Come to Colorado this afternoon," advertisement for Pinetree Village, *Miami Herald*, August 15, 1976.

[49] See "Mansard: 1960 – 1985," Washington Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, accessed online August 23, 2022. https://dahp.wa.gov/historic-preservation/historic-buildings/architectural-style-guide/mansard. Many of Elgin's homes were featured in period shelter magazines such as *Better Homes & Gardens* and *House Beautiful*.

[50] Brad Dunning, "John Elgin Woolf, Master of Hollywood Regency," accessed online August 23, 2022. https://johnelginwoolf.com/

[51] Kay Murphy, "French Roofs," *Miami Herald*, October 6, 1968.

[52] California Department of Transportation, *Tract Housing in California: 1945-1974* (Sacramento, CA: The California Department of Transportation, 2011), p. 90.

[53] "Ehmann Dispels Gloom, Rockets Along At Big Money Clip," *Miami News*, July 4, 1965.

[54] 6701 North Kendall Drive. "Townhouses Included in Apartment Complex," *Miami Herald*, August 7, 1966.

[55] Matthew Gordon Lasner and Deborah Dash Moore, "The Social Origins of the Miami Condo." Lasner and Moore have emphasized the particular appeal of apartment living to the elderly in South Florida, and the attraction of community.

[56] Juanita Greene, "High Life Has Drawbacks, The FHA Here Discovers," *Miami Herald*, January 12, 1964.

[57] Lasner and Moore, "The Social Origins of the Miami Condo."

[58] Ibid

[59] Lasner, "No Lawn to Mow," p. 271.

[60] Reyner Banham, *Los Angeles: The Architecture of Four Ecologies* (University of California Press, 2009)

[61] Connolly, *A World More Concrete*, p. 185

[62] 1960 condominium purchase qualifies for FHA mortgage loan in Puerto Rico. Sylvia Porter, "Puerto Rican Housing Plan May Be Answer," *Miami Herald*, December 9, 1960.

[63] Lasner and Moore, "The Social Origins of the Miami Condo." According to Lasner and Moore, between 1945 and 1962 at least 200 co-ops were built in South Florida.

[64] "Apartments Sprout Here, But Is There A Demand?" *Miami News*, February 13, 1963.

[65] See "20 Years Age You Couldn't Give an Apartment Away," *Miami Herald*, 28 February 1965. Polly Redford, Billion-dollar Sandbar: A Biography of Miami Beach (New York: Dutton, 1970), 255.

[66] Neal J. Hardy, "FHA Chief Cites Big Gains To Industry, Public in '61," *Miami News*, February 2, 1962.

[67] Raymond T. O'Keefe, Vice President of the Chase Manhattan Bank of New York, quoted in "Condominiums To Aid in Urban Redevelopment," *Miami News*, November 4, 1962.

[68] The rock quarried in Ojus was called 'Ojus rock', and particularly well-suited to road construction.

[69] John Senning, "Waterfront Homes for Anyone," *Miami Herald*, February 19, 1956.

[70] "Apartment City is Springing Up," *Miami Herald*, December 13, 1964.

[71] Advertisement. "Fight Inflation The Jade Winds Way!," *Miami Herald*, April 5, 1970. Interiors were by Eileen Fried, interior designer. Ehrlich had previously used a circular motif at the unusual Rotunda House prototype, designed for the Catalina Estates Subdivision in Miami (1964).

[72] Larry King, "Facts Never Get In Way Of Phone-In Radio Show," *Miami Herald*, April 29, 1969.

[73] Steve Sink, "Metro Reverses Stand, Approves Apartments, *Miami Herald*, January 9, 1974.

[74] Lasner, "No Lawn to Mow," p. 428.

[75] "Condos Popular; Problems Remain," *Miami News*, September 24, 1973. See also Lasner, "No Lawn to Mow," p. 312, 428 and 518. Lasner used the term 'condominium metropolis' in referring to South Florida, and notes that South Florida became the "national center of condominium production in the late 1960s and early 1970s." See also "Condos Popular; Problems Remain," *Miami News*, September 24, 1973. According to this article, in 1973, the NAHB predicted 50% of new homes in Dade County would be condominiums.

[76] "The Towers of Key Biscayne," *Miami News*, November 27, 1970.

[77] "Woodsmen Spared Those Pretty Trees," *Miami Herald*, November 8, 1970.

[78] Ibid.

[79] Key Biscayne residents, upset over the development of towers on the island, hired attorney Harvey Ruvin to petition for a moratorium. In soliciting the signature of residents President and Mrs. Richard Nixon, Ruvin wrote: "We believe that the time has come in this country when the so-called 'sacred' property rights of large investors must be balanced toward the more far-reaching stake which the community as a whole has in an environment which will allow an ever-increasing quality of life, rather than one which can only breed congestion, despair, crime and deterioration." Before a moratorium was initiated however, a series of other towers were rushed into development, including Island Towers, a 12-story condo (1970), the 27-story Casa del Mar (1971), the four-building complex of the Cape Florida Beach Club Apartments (1972) and the 3-tower Commodore Club (1971-74), transforming the skyline of the tropical island.

[80] The David Williams's so-called "total energy system" was new to Miami. Georgia Tasker, "New Sights on Old Sites," *Miami Herald*, July 18, 1976. The David William paved the way for further condominium construction, like Biltmore II (1976), the 13-story "behemoth" occupying an entire city block and located just next door. Developed by MGIC-Janis and designed by Tom Spain of Hammond, deSoto, Spain, the expansive façade was cleverly broken by graphic contrasts of cream stucco and dark glazed tile work, as well as the sculptural effect of rounded balconies cascading down the facades.

[81] The jurisdictions lining the corridor include Miami, El Portal, Miami Shores, North Miami, North Miami Beach and Metro-Dade.

[82] Frank Greve, "In a Sea of Change," *Miami Herald*, April 28, 1974.

[83] "Gold Knobs Get A Turn In Court," *Miami Herald*, April 29, 1965.

[84] Further up Biscayne Boulevard, at 112th Street, Walter Troutman, former partner of Connie Dinkler in the Palm Bay Club, led the development the Jockey Club, which opened 1968 and quickly acquired thousands of members. Designed by Bleemer and Levine, the banal 21-story apartment building was built over the club and outfitted by fashionable interior designer Henry End. Troutman colored his project with the idea of stocking the site with airline stewardesses – adding a second building for beautiful people and declaring that "Pretty people are… the greatest landscaping you can get." Troutman's own rooftop penthouse included a "landscaped Roman bath and a see-through rooftop swimming pool giving bar sitters an underwater action peek from the living room below." Nancy

Beth Jackson, "Meet Walter Troutman: Middle-Aged Teeny-Bopper of the Jockey Club," *Miami Herald*, March 31, 1968.

[85] The Cricket Club began as Bernard Berkley's Colony Club, 1969. Just to the north of the Jockey Club, entrepreneur on a nearly island-like peninsula. Malnick, founder of the stagey and opulent Forge nightclub and restaurant in Miami Beach (1968), furnished the Cricket Club with wood paneled walls and over the top chandeliers and was well-stocked with antiques and artwork, a hangout of the entertainment world. Designed by Marchesani and Cohen with John Pierce Fullerton, an otherwise unremarkable slab of apartments was syncopated with bold and jaunty curvilinear forms corresponding to interior features like circular dining rooms. The clubhouse, and "party chic basement discotheque" were designed by Henry End. Croquet lawns, putting greens and a freeform pool joined the usual club amenities.

[86] Dee Wedemeyer, "Where Luxury Has No Bounds," *New York Times*, March 14, 1982.

[87] Wayne Markham, "Dutch made water taxi to carry Miami passengers, *Miami Herald*, March 8, 1981.

[88] Lasner, "No Lawn to Mow," p. 500.

[89] "Sneak Preview," advertisement in the *Miami Herald*, September 10, 1972.

[90] Lasner, "No Lawn to Mow," p. 500, note 65.

[91] George E. Jordan, "Historic Feud over Vanderbilt Mansion," *Miami News*, August 10, 1987

[92] Larry Birger, "Island Dream Looking More Like a Reality," *Miami Herald*, January 30, 1984.

[93] Dee Wedemeyer, "Where Luxury Has No Bounds," *New York Times*, March 14, 1982.

[94] As the market cooled in the early 1980, a result partially of a strengthening dollar that shrunk the pool of Latin American buyers, it became clear that between 50 to 85 percent of buyers in Miami's condo market were speculators and investors who had no intention of living in the units. See Dee Wedemeyer, "Miami Market Readjusts As Surge in Buying Ends," *New York Times*, March 7, 1982.

[95] Jayne Merkel, "The Architecture of The Future," *The Miami News*, 1981

[96] Paul Goldberger, "Glitter of Miami, From Afar, Dulls in a Close-Up," *New York Times*, December 25, 1983.

[97] Alastair Gordon, Arquitectonica (New York, NY. Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 2018) p. 16

[98] Robert Stern editor; John Montague Massengale, *The Anglo-American Suburb* (London: Architectural Design, 1981).

[99] David Brain, "An Introduction to New Urbanism in Florida," *A Guidebook to New Urbanism in Florida* ([Miami Beach, Congress for the New Urbanism, 2002), pp. 1-4.

[100] National Conference on City Planning (NCCP). 1926. John Hancock, "John Nolen: New Towns in Florida, 1922-29," *New City* No. 1, Fall 1991, p. 69.

[101] Although New Urbanism had less immediate effect on Dade County at first, New Urbanist retrofit projects would come to Miami in the 1990s, including the Miami Lakes Town Center (Dover, Kohl & Partners), Miami Springs Downtown (Dover, Kohl & Partners), Kendall Downtown (Dover, Kohl & Partners and Duany Plater-Zyberk & Company), Hialeah Downtown (Correa Valle and Partners with Gary Greenan Landscape Architect), Aqua (Duany Plater-Zyberk & Company with Gary Greenan Landscape Architect), South Miami Hometown (Dover, Kohl & Partners).

[102] Bruce Stephenson, "The Roots of the New Urbanism: John Nolen's Garden City Vision for Florida," *A Guidebook to New Urbanism in Florida* (Dutton Press, Florida Chapter CNU, 2005) pp. 5-8.

[103] Hollo's Florida East Coast Properties was already at work on towers across Miami, including Centre House, in Miami's Civic Center (James Deen architect), Vizcaya Towers, Rivergate on Brickell Avenue (Morris Lapidus architect) and the Tropicana Apartments in Sans Souci.

[104] Raleigh C. Mann, "$88-Million Complex in Works for Miami," *Miami Herald*, October 1, 1971.

[105] Larry Birger, "Hollo: Expansion at Plaza Venetia costs $750 million," *Miami Herald*, June 29, 1981. See also Lawrence Josephs, "Miami: A Concept of Living Complete With Room Service," *New York Times*, October 28, 1984.

[106] Robert A.M. Stern, Thomas Mellins and David Fishman, *New York 1960* (The Monacelli Press, 1997). P. 450. The authors point out that the atrium was "Portman's most famous trademark," drawing on the tradition of open halls or palm courts in American hotels.

[107] Patrick May, "Omni mall merchants fear Burdines' closing," *Miami Herald*, April 6, 1992

[108] Margarita Fichtner, "Omni, Miami's Newest Hotel: Taste Accents Natural Flavor," *Miami Herald*, June 8, 1977

[109] Craig Gilbert, "Metrorail Sites Draw Developers Complexes Grow Around Stations," *Miami Herald*, May 14, 1984.

[110] Laurie Baum, "Marriott Hotel Planned At Dadeland," *Miami Herald*, February 18, 1984.

[111] County Planning Director Reginald Walters quoted in Craig Gilbert, "Metrorail Sites Draw Developers; Complexes Grow Around Stations," *Miami Herald*, May 14, 1984. See also Sandra Dibble, "Start On 17-Story Tower By Dadeland To Be Soon," *Miami Herald*, March 13, 1983.

[112] Metro Commissioner Harvey Ruvin quoted in Craig Gilbert, "Metrorail Sites Draw Developers; Complexes Grow Around Stations," Miami Herald, May 14, 1984.

[113] Gilbert, "Metrorail Sites."

[114] Michael Putney, "The Second Greening of Coconut Grove: Its crowded, dangerous, expensive, and they're clamoring to get it," *Miami Herald*, November 5, 1978.

[115] Kenneth Treister, "Mayfair in the Grove," in *Gardens, Architecture & Art: The Humanistic Architecture of Kenneth Treister* (Coral Gables: Books & Books Press) 2017. P. 2

[116] Tom Wolfe, "The Hanging Gardens of Coconut Grove," in *Gardens, Architecture & Art: The Humanistic Architecture of Kenneth Treister* (Coral Gables: Books & Books Press) 2017. P. 2

[117] Putney, "The Second Greening."

[118] "New Name Is Given To Area," *Miami Herald*, May 16, 1965. Although the primary area of the Miami Design Plaza corresponded to the older Buena Vista Commercial district, officially it extended as far north as NW 79th Street and as far west as NW 7th Avenue.

[119] "Mr. End is Our Beginning," *Miami Herald*, June 16, 1957. End's interiors included the Seville, Lucerne, Dupont Plaza and Deauville hotels in Miami, as well as the Beverly Hill Hotel in Los Angeles

[120] "A 500,000 Center to Beautify Homes," *Miami News*, August 13, 1961. See also Cynthia Kellogg, "Available Through Decorators," *New York Times*, September 6, 1959.

[121] Jo Werne, "Innovative buildings changing face of Design Plaza," *Miami Herald*, September 25, 1983.

[122] Jo Werne, "Designer showrooms compete in S. Florida," *Miami Herald*, August 14, 1984.

[123] "Gables Gets Block-Long Stores Unit," *Miami Herald*, August 26, 1945.

[124] "A Tale of Two Cities," *Miami Herald*, November 29, 1964.

[125] Memo to the *Coral Gables Times* from Jack Suiter, August 4, 1967. "Coral Gables Corporate Giant," Coral Gables Times Guide Photograph Collection, HistoryMiami Museum. According to the Community Development Department formed to entice business, they were competing against as many as 15-20,000 development organizations for the same attractive industries.

[126] *Coral Gables Miami Riviera* is the name of an architectural guide edited by Aristides J. Millas and Ellen Uguccioni (Miami: Dade Heritage Trust, 2003).

[127] Memo to the *Coral Gables Times.*

[128] "Lofty Proposal," *Miami Herald*, July 21, 1963. See also "Petroleum Building," *Florida Architecture*, v. 32, pp. 90-93.

[129] John Blades, "Food Mart May Erase Landmark," *Miami Herald*, July 10, 1964.

[130] Marilyn Lane, "We've Lost A Few Ourselves, What With Progress And Such Junk," *Miami News*, August 8, 1965.

[131] "Our commitment to some old-time values…," advertisement in the *Miami Herald*, June 10, 1984. See also Glenda Wright-McQueen, "Bank aims to transform building without erasing history," *Miami News*, December 7, 1981.

[132] *Miami Herald*, April 19, 1981.

[133] Reflecting another demographic shift that had made Miami Beach a solidly Jewish city by the mid-1940s, **Congregation Jacob Joseph** (today known as Temple Emanu-el) chose this new civic center location to build a grand new modern Moorish-style synagogue (1948).

[134] A series of renovations by Morris Lapidus and Associates in 1974, James Stewart Polshek in 1984, and Borelli, Frankel, Blitstein and Sasaki Associates in 1988, gave the auditorium a more festive appeal.

[135] "Expansion and Enhancement: Miami Beach Convention Center and Conference Facility," January 31, 2010. Report downloaded https://www.miamibeachfl.gov/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/MBCC-2696-2011-01-31-BODR-BOOK-FINAL-DRAFT.pdf

[136] The sculptures represented culture, art, religion, music, government, science, sports and industry. Jack E. Anderson, "Studio Is as Big as All Outdoors," *Miami Herald*, August 14, 1960. See also Joan Crowder, "A Sigh of Relief," *Miami News*, September 4, 1960.

[137] The next phase of its expansion came in the 1980's, which added an iconic postmodern façade toward the now nationally-designated Miami Beach architectural district on its east side.

[138] The city hall sculpture represented "freedom, liberation and new hope" according to artist.

[139] Beth Dunlop, "Right design on wrong Beach site," *Miami Herald*, November 27, 1983.

[140] Ibid.

[141] Model City profile (Miami: Metropolitan Dade County (Fla.). Community Improvement Program, the Model City Program (Metropolitan Dade County, Fla.), and the Metropolitan Dade County (Fla.). Model Cities Division, 1973.

[142] The Model City program was managed by Metro-Dade Housing and Urban Development (Little HUD) and led by a 21-member governing board formed of residents. "Rent Aid May Spur New Housing Units," *Miami News*, December 5, 1966.

[143] "Critique Precedes HUD Suit," *Miami Herald*, May 22, 1970.

[144] "Two New Elementary Schools to Open," *Miami Herald*, February 8, 1970.

[145] Leo Adde, "62nd Street Will Never Be the Same," *Miami Herald*, February 16, 1973. The Dr. Martin Luther King Boulevard Development Corporation, a sponsor of the MLK Boulevard redevelopment, also developed plans for commercial and civic development along the new boulevard, seen as a key to economic revitalization. Freedom Towers (a name interestingly also used since 1962 for the Cuban immigration center in the Miami News Tower downtown, and the signature tower of the Interama fair), comprised two office buildings of 20 and 11 stories. Designed by Michael Gallis, MLK chief architect, and San Francisco-based Rai Okamoto, the tower complex sat on an elevated plaza that would have spanned MLK Boulevard with aerial bridges and would have connected to the imminent Metrorail line on NW 27th Avenue.

[146] Sylvan Meyer, "Editor's Corner: boulevard idea needs more help," *Miami News*, July 28, 1972.

[147] "New $6.8 Million Center Opens in Model City Area," *Miami Herald*, September 25, 1977.

[148] Lillian Dobbs, "New Caleb Community Center serves its practical purpose without neglecting the aesthetic," Miami News, September 30, 1977.

[149] Gloria Marina, "The Greening of Miami," *Miami Herald,* May 29, 1976. See also Gloria Marina, "Little Havana, Its Deteriorating," *Miami Herald*, June 28, 1976.

[150] Anne B. Freedman, "Four Adventures in Little Havana," *Miami Herald*, April 25, 1976.

[151] I rely here on the thesis of Gray Read's "Many Miamis: The Theater of Public Space," in Allan Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis: Paradise and Paradox in Midcentury Architecture and Planning* (South Pasadena: Balcony Press, 2009).

[152] Gisela Lopez-Mata, "From Riverside to Little Havana," *Cuban Heritage* I (Fall 1987), in Benitez, Pilar L., "Calle Ocho revived : artists studios commemorate the role of Cuban exiles (1960-1973) in the development of Calle Ocho" (2001). FIU Electronic Theses and Dissertations. 1508. https://digitalcommons.fiu.edu/etd/1508

[153] Kathleen Turner, "A Street of Dreams," *Miami News*, November 2, 1983.

[154] Larry Birger, "New World to Conquer Downtown," *Miami News*, 13 January, 1979. The New World Center plan illustrated a remarkable synergy between Metro-Dade planners, government leaders, and civic boosters, the Downtown Development Authority, Miami-Dade Chamber of Commerce, newspapers, banks, Latin commercial interests, big developers, and local universities

[155] John Arnold, "Chamber Vision for Downtown: World Center," *Miami Herald*, November 23, 1976. For an overview of the New World Center idea, see Nancy Wolcott, "The 80s: Miami's Cultural Flowering," *AMH 2079*, December 2005

[156] Jo Werne, "Constructing With Color," *Miami Herald*, October 19, 1973.

[157] Beth Dunlop, "TV Opens Window to Architecture," *Miami Herald*, February 10, 1980.

[158] "64 Steps to a New Downtown," *Miami News*, August 7, 1980.

[159] Beth Dunlop, *Miami Herald*, March 9, 1980.

[160] Gould also proposed a Belluschi-designed master plan for the entire DuPont Plaza site, including more towers and a galleria-type shopping center beneath a large parking garage.

[161] Larry Birger, "Ball Point's big facelift getting off the ground," *Miami News*, July 19,1979.

[162] Susan Miller and Joseph P. Averill, "Miami Beach: Just A Handful of Sand," *Miami Herald*, May 24, 1970. The issue crystalized on Miami Beach at the Maison Grande, where a new condominium building proposed extending its waterfront bulkhead into the sea. A combination of beach erosion and greed allowed builders to extend platforms and groins (a type of dividing wall) directly into the ocean. Shoulder-to-shoulder building construction also walled the waterfront from public use.

[163] Larry Birger, "Shape of Ball Point project hinges on decision of Southeast officials," *Miami News*, April 17, 1979.

[164] Beth Dunlop, "'Miami Center' Will Be A Downtown Fortress," *Miami Herald*, March 9, 1980.

[165] Ibid

[166] Steve Sidlo, "Office Space Glut Feared," *Miami Herald*, June 22, 1979. See also Larry Birger, "Southeast, Gould may link on Dupont Project," *Miami News*, June 22, 1979.

[167] Allan T. Shulman, James F. Donnelly, Randall C. Robinson Jr., *Miami Architecture: An AIA Guide Featuring Downtown, the Beaches and Coconut* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida) 2010, p. 71.

[168] "Miami to get its own towering 45-story World Trade Center," *Miami News*, May 16, 1985.

[169] Larry Birger, "New World to Conquer Downtown," *Miami News*, January 13, 1979.

[170] Ellis Berger, "M-DJC, new boost for downtown," *Miami News*, July 10, 1971.

[171] Robert Becker, "Creating a Scene," Andy Warhol's Interview, *XXVI*, September 9, 1986, p. 78, in Nancy Wolcott, "The 80s: Miami's Cultural Flowering," *AMH 2079*, December 2005

[172] Larry Birger, "Biggest Health Insurer Will Build In Miami," *Miami News*, April 22, 1966.

[173] Siegfried Giedion, "The Need for a New Monumentality," Paul Zucker, ed., *New Architecture and City Planning* (New York: Philisophical Library, 1944) p. 550.

[174] Georgia Tasker, "New Sights on Old Sites," *Miami Herald*, July 18, 1976. See also "Scale Model," *Miami Herald*, June 3, 1973.

[175] Beth Dunlop, "Flagship Center: The Sun Takes A Shine to New Brickell Neighbor," *Miami Herald*, Sunday, May 4, 1980.

[176] Paul Goldberger, "80s Design: Wallowing in Opulence and Luxury," *New York Times*, November 13, 1988.

[177] Downtown had highest concentration of office space in the county, 5.7m sq. ft. (29%); area west of MIA, 3.3m, (17%); Brickell 2.3m 12%. Seth Lubove, "Build, build, build! But where are all the tenants for Dade's new office space?" *Miami Herald*, October 21, 1984.

[178] Oscar Niemeyer, *La forme en architecture* (Paris, Les éditions Metropolis, 1978). See also *Oscar Niemeyer, Les courbes du temps*, mémoires (Paris, Gallimard, 1997).

[179] Nixon Smiley, "Miami Occupied, Pedestrianized and Greened," *Tropic Magazine, The Miami Herald*, January 2, 1972. See also Jack Kassewitz, "Don't give up hope - Miamarina's almost finished," *The Miami News*, May 27, 1970.

[180] Allan T. Shulman, "The Discipline of Nature: Architect Alfred Browning Parker in Florida," in Shulman ed., *The Discipline of Nature: Architect Alfred Browning Parker in Florida* (Miami: HistoryMiami Museum), 2016. The glass jewel motif was well-known to Parker, who experimented with a similar type of elevated restaurant at the Sip and Sup on North Bayshore Drive (1963), and with glass prisms at Abney Mills Corporate Headquarters (1965).

[181] Nixon Smiley, "Miami At Bay," *Tropic Magazine of the Miami Herald*, January 2, 1972.

[182] Shulman, *Discipline of Nature,* unpaginated.

[183] Ibid. In 1974 Parker was hired by Florida Power & Light to study the redevelopment its riverfront properties. Calling the area " ... a kind of neglected municipal cellar," and based on the proximity of high-density development north and south, he argued for redevelopment with a mix of all uses, including commercial, cultural and religious. FPL Report, Randolph C. Henning Parker Collection. *e*

[184] Sam Jacobs, "Bayfront Expansion Endorsed," *Miami Herald*, October 17, 1972.

[185] Fred Tasker, "Troubled Bicentennial," *Miami Herald*, July 9, 1972. See also Martin Weston, "Bonds Would Purchase Old Port, Park sites," *Miami Herald*, July 10, 1971, and Fred Tasker, "Troubled Bicentennial," *Miami Herald*, July 9, 1972. Under federal plans to transform bicentennial celebrations into international exhibitions, enticing foreign visitors to come and see what their countrymen have built in the U.S., Nixon named Philadelphia an International 'Exposition City for the Bicentennial', and Boston, Washington DC and Miami 'major Bicentennial Sites' in 1970. Bicentennial Park plans originally were tied back to the 1,700 acre Interama site, which was touted by promoters like Elmer Jones, head of Third Century, USA, as ready to go.

[186] Ron Sachs, "Expansion of Bayfront Park Can't Wait; New Plan OKd," *Miami Herald*, November 8, 1974. See also Luis Feldstein Soto, "Bicentennial Park development is off track," *Miami Herald*, June 23, 1986.

[187] Jon Nordheimer, Miami's Bayfront Park is Focus of New Design for Downtown," *New York Times*, May 23, 1985. Noguchi developed the park with collaborators Shogi Sadao, Pancoast Albaisa, and landscape architects Seymour, Henderson, Rosenberg, and Scully.

[188] Beth Dunlop, "Sprit of Miami missing from Bayside designs," *Miami Herald*, September 25, 1983. The RFP for Bayside Marketplace resulted in two proposals. Beside the Rouse proposal, a project by JMB/Federated (the parent firm of Miami's Burdines Department Store), designed by RTKL, suggested a glass conservatory-type galleria.

[189] Ghirardelli Square was an adaptive use of industrial buildings by San Francisco-based Wurster, Bernardi & Emmons with Lawrence Halprin as Landscape Architect.

[190] Beth Dunlop, "Sprit of Miami missing from Bayside designs," *Miami Herald*, September 25, 1983. Dunlop, Miami criticized Bayside as "the type of gimmicky-sentimental architecture that makes for easy marketing" while also celebrating it for offering "fun, frivolity, shopping, [and] spectacle." See also Jon Nordheimer, "Miami's Bayfront Park is Focus of New Design for Downtown," *New York Times*, May 23, 1985

[191] See Craig Gemoules, "Artist's Design for Boulevard: a Tropical 'Garden for Man, *Miami Herald*, May 12, 1988. See also Beth Dunlop, "New Look for a Battered Boulevard: Brazilian Designer Wants to Transform Blocks of Biscayne into Lyrical, Tropical 'Garden in the City," *Miami Herald*, May 22, 1988.

[192] Ibid.

[193] Ibid. See also Georgia Tasker, "Planner Explores Landscaped Walks," *Miami Herald*, December 11, 1988.

[194] Fred Tasker, "Record $612-Million Bond Package Is Urged For 'Decade Of Progress," *Miami Herald*, August 13, 1972.

[195] Sam Jacobs, "Government Center Soars 52-Stories, All on Paper," *Miami Herald*, February 5, 1976. The Government Center master plan included a 55-story county office building; 32-story federal building, 14-story city hall, four 10-story state office buildings and art museum and rapid transit station, with elevated walkways between the buildings. See also Sandi Reed, "Government Center Is Moving Downtown, "*Miami Herald*, April 25, 1976, and John Arnold, "Chamber Vision for Downtown: World Center," *Miami Herald*, November 23, 1976.

[196] Fred Tasker, "Metro Faces Civic Center Bond Vote," *Miami Herald*, November 14, 1977.

[197] William Tucker, "County in Change: From Football Champs and…" *Miami News*, January 2, 1980.

[198] "…a catalyst for modern design of future buildings in the planned government center." Charles Whited, "Posh Quarters," *Miami Herald*, March 15, 1974.

[199] Leo Adde, "Turning Back to Tropical," *Miami Herald*, January 27, 1974. As Pancoast describes, "the energy situation will guide the Miami area back to regionalism in architecture."

[200] Leo Adde, "Police Building To Last Century*," Miami Herald*, March 10, 1974. The program for the police building was developed in coordination with the Stanford Research Institute, "the California consultant hired to give advice on how to build the most modern cophouse that technology and a massive amount of money could provide."

[201] Adde, "Turning Back to Tropical."

[202] Fred Tasker, "Can Cultural Center Come Together When Architects Are Drifting Apart?," *Miami Herald*, March 29, 1978.

[203] Sandi Reed, "State Office Building to House 20 Departments on 10 Stories, *Miami Herald*, April 26, 1976.

[204] Beth Dunlop, "The $25-Million Bet On Downtown Culture," *Miami Herald*, May 4, 1980.

[205] Lester Pancoast quoted in Frederic Tasker and Ellen Edwards, "U.S. Architectural Stars War in Miami, *Miami Herald*, April 9, 1978.

[206] The Cultural Plaza represented Miami's ambition to host a prominent civic art museum like those in other great cities and to promote a sense of the city's past. When it opened, the Historical Museum of Southern Florida highlighted two major themes: the arrival of diverse peoples and their relationship to a unique natural environment.

[207] Edward D. Levinson in "Two Views of City Development," *Miami Herald*, February, 19, 1981.

[208] Joe Oglesby, "Urban Planner Warns of 'Mishmash' Danger," *Miami Herald*, August 25, 1979. As Oglesby describes, "In Geddes' concept, cities are not distinguished by isolated pretty structures, but by architectural groupings that serve cultural, financial, governmental or other needs as well as provide public access and aesthetic beauty."

[209] John Camp and Pat Cronin, "Architect Revises Plan for Government Center," *Miami Herald*, October 17, 1978. See also Beth Dunlop, "People should have say in parks' design," *Miami Herald*, May 17, 1981.

[210] Helen L. Kohen, "Playful sculpture captures essence of The Big Orange," *Miami Herald*, March 25, 1990. See also Gail Meadows, "Made-for-Miami work is artists' most complex to date," *Miami Herald*, March 25, 1990.

[211] Architects competing to design the Metro-Dade Administration Building included: Oscar Niemeyer with Smith, Korach, Hayet, Haynie Partnership; Philip Johnson; Hugh Stubbins with Collaborative 3 (Robert Little, Donald Rider, Robert Abele, Donald Forfar and Anthony Novo); Sert, Jackson and Associates with Pancoast, Borelli, Albaisa; Skidmore Owings and Merrill with Alfred Browning Parker; Holabird and Root; John Carl Warnecke and Associates; Bellante Clauss, Miller & Partners; The Architects Collaborative (TAC); Shaver Partnership; Edward Durrell Stone, Sr.; Kenzo Tange with Shiffer and Landskronen; 3D/International) with Morton/Wolfberg/Alvarez/Taracido; C.F.

Murphey with Nichols/Fullerton and Associates; DMJM with Watson, Deutchman, Krusé and Lyon; Walter Netsch; and Ferendino, Grafton, Spill is, Candela. When a selection committee awarded the project to Miami's powerhouse architectural firm Ferendino, Grafton, Spillis, Candela, protesters argued that the decision indicated an insular culture. In response, County Manager Merrett Stierheim awarded the project to Stubbins Associates, while Ferendino, Grafton, Spillis, Candela received the commission for the utility building servicing the complex. See Frederic Tasker and Ellen Edwards, "U.S. Architectural Stars War in Miami, *Miami Herald*, April 9, 1978. See also John Arnold, "Metro Places Tall Order," *Miami Herald*, October 4, 1978.

[212] Bill Rose, "Atrium Sought for Dade Office Tower," *Miami Herald*, December 9, 1978

[213] Allan T. Shulman, "The Tropical Home: Modernity and the Construction of Authenticity," in Allan Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis: Paradise and Paradox in Midcentury Architecture and Planning* (South Pasadena: Balcony Press, 2009). p. 78.

[214] Rocco Ceo, "Civilizing the Tropics: Miami's Park System," in Allan Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis: Paradise and Paradox in Midcentury Architecture and Planning* (South Pasadena: Balcony Press, 2009). p. 165.

[215] Arno B. Cammerer, "Parks Look For A Big Season," *New York Times*, April 14, 1935.

[216] Arno B. Cammerer, "Parks Look For A Big Season," *New York Times*, April 14, 1935.

[217] "Text of President's Appeal for Conservation of Natural Resources," *New York Times*, December 7, 1947.

[218] Isabelle F. Story, "Playgrounds of the People," *New York Times*, May 2, 1948.

[219] Jack Greene, "'Tough Fight Ahead' For Park on Islandia," *Miami Herald*, January 15, 1967.

[220] Stewart Udall, Interior Secretary, in George Kennedy and Peter Laine, "Udall Oks Islandia Park Plan," *Miami Herald*, November 14, 1967.

[221] Jonathan D. Salant, "Oleta Park Plans Move Ahead Slowly," *Miami Herald*, December 25, 1980. See also Morton Lucoff, "Interama site likely candidate for new state park and marina," *Miami News*, January 4, 1980.

[222] The consortium of landscape architects who competed for the Oleta project include Friedman Walmsley of New York; Howard, Needles, Tammen, and Bergendoff of Miami; Roberto Burle Marx of Brazil. Second place Edward Durrell stone Jr. of FLL and third place Sasaki Associates of Coral Gables. Elton Gissendanner, director of state department of natural resources.

[223] Ceo, "Civilizing the Tropics," p. 165.

[224] Marilyn Lane, "We've Lost A Few Ourselves, What With Progress And Such Junk," Miami News, August 8, 1965. Lane references Huntington Hartford as the source of the wording "aesthetic hemorrhaging."

[225] "A museum for South Florida," *Miami News*, March 18, 1953.

[226] "A museum for South Florida," *Miami News*, March 18, 1953. The Historical Association was initially involved in placing historical markers, for instance marking the Tequesta settlement at the base of the SE 2nd Avenue bridge during the 1950s. From the mid-1950s, the association struggled to find a home – at first in the county's civic center, then in Simpson Park, at the University of Miami's Railroad Historical Society Museum, and at the old FEC terminal. In 1962, the HASF purchased a home on North Bayshore Drive where, like an attic, were assembled its eclectic holdings: a 1,500-year-old sharks tooth utensil, the inventor's model of the Bendix washing machine, Indian dugout canoe, a working model of a coontie starch mill, firearms, paintings and photographs, and original cartoons by Zack Mosley, Smilin' Jack Comic Strip. Low attendance led to its closing in 1967, and tie-up with the science museums that same year. The association opened its first real museum, the Historical Museum of Southern Florida at the new Cultural Plaza in downtown's Government Center in 1980. See *Miami News*, October 2, 1956; *Miami Herald*, March 19, 1958; *Miami Herald*, January 16, 1959; *Miami News*, September 13, 1960; *Miami Herald*, September 22, 1960.

[227] Dorothy Gaiter, "Funding Cut Jeopardizes Black Center," *Miami Herald*, June 21, 1976.

[228] The Villa Vizcaya was designed by F. Burrell Hoffman, Paul Chalfin and Diego Suarez.

[229] A major restoration of the museum between 1978-89, designed by David Wolfberg installed a glass roof over its central courtyard. Viscaya was an example for a number of other important Bayfront villas and estates that would also go public in the late postwar (the James Deering Estate purchased by the State of Florida in 1986; Fairchild Tropical Garden (1938), the Montgomery Estate Botanical Center, established in 1959.

[230] 1972 National Register of Historic Places. Photos by Joseph W. Molitor.

[231] Marie Anderson, "Historical Trust Gains Local Support," *Miami Herald*, April 23, 1972. See also "Inventory of Historic Sites," *Miami Herald*, July 25, 1972.

[232] Susan Burnside, "Preserving Dade's Past," *Miami Herald*, January 25, 1976. See also Weinstein Berman, *Historic Preservation in Miami Beach*, pp. 70-71.

[233] Laura Weinstein-Berman, *The Progression of Historic Preservation in Miami Beach and the Challenges of Sea Level Rise*, Thesis presented in fulfillment of a Master of Science in Preservation, Graduate School of Architecture, Planning and Preservation, Columbia University, 2017

[234] Susan Burnside, "Julie Will Hand Deed For Biltmore to Gables," *Miami Herald*, April 19, 1973.

[235] Aristides Millas, Ed., Old Miami Beach: A Case Study of Historic Preservation, July 1976-July 1980, (Miami Beach: Miami Design Preservation League, 1994) III.

[236] Weinstein-Berman, "Progression of Historic Preservation," p. 75.

[237] Ibid, p. 73.

[238] "Miami Beach Architectural District," National Register of Historic Places, May 14, 1979. https://npgallery.nps.gov/nrhp/AssetDetail?assetID=d6af8385-db57-443f-b7a3-1c7dcf448c02

[239] Weinstein Berman, "Progression of Historic Preservation," p. 77.

[240] Beth Dunlop, "Job's Cut Out for Deco District Planner," *Miami Herald*, March 16, 1980

[241] A first Dade County historic survey by Mary Evans from Florida's Department of State (1972) is documented by the *Miami Herald*. "Dade History Under Survey," *Miami Herald*, June 18, 1972.