763

NPS Form 10-900
(January 1992)
Wisconsin Word Processing Format (Approved 1/92)

OMB No. 10024-0018

United States Department of Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Registration Form

This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form* (National Register Bulletin 16A). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the information requested. If an item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. Place additional entries and narrative items on continuation sheets (NPS Form 10-900A). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer, to complete all items.

1. Name of Property

historic name Greendale Historic District
other names/site number N/A

2. Location

street & number Roughly bounded by West Grange Avenue and Catalpa Street N/A **not for publication**
city or town Greendale N/A **vicinity**
state Wisconsin **code** WI **county** Milwaukee **code** 079 **zip code** 53129

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended, I hereby certify that this X nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property X meets _ does not meet the National Register criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant X nationally statewide _ locally. (_ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of certifying official/Title — Date 6/7/05
State Historic Preservation Officer-WI

State or Federal agency and bureau

In my opinion, the property _ meets _ does not meet the National Register criteria.
(_ See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of commenting official/Title — Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

Greendale Historic District	Milwaukee County	Wisconsin
Name of Property	County and State	

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that the property is:
✓ entered in the National Register.
___ See continuation sheet.
__ determined eligible for the National Register.
___ See continuation sheet.
__ determined not eligible for the National Register.
___ See continuation sheet.
__ removed from the National Register.
__ other, (explain:)

Signature of the Keeper — Date of Action: 7-29-05

5. Classification

Ownership of Property (check as many boxes as as apply)

X	private
X	public-local
	public-State
	public-Federal

Category of Property (Check only one box)

	building(s)
X	district
	structure
	site
	object

Number of Resources within Property (Do not include previously listed resources in the count)

contributing	noncontributing
581	16 buildings
1	0 sites
3	2 structures
1	1 objects
586	19 total

Name of related multiple property listing:
(Enter "N/A" if property not part of a multiple property listing.
N/A

Number of contributing resources is previously listed in the National Register
0

6. Function or Use

Historic Functions (Enter categories from instructions)	**Current Functions** (Enter categories from instructions)
DOMESTIC/ single dwelling	DOMESTIC/ single dwelling
DOMESTIC/multiple dwelling	DOMESTIC/multiple dwelling
GOVERNMENT/ city hall	GOVERNMENT/ city hall
EDUCATION/ school	EDUCATION/ school

7. Description

Architectural Classification (Enter categories from instructions)	**Materials** (Enter categories from instructions)	
	Foundation	concrete
Colonial Revival	walls	concrete
		brick
	roof	asphalt
	other	aluminum

Narrative Description

(Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

8. Statement of Significance

Applicable National Register Criteria
(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for the National Register listing.)

X A Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.

_ B Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.

X C Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.

_ D Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations
(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

Property is:

_ A owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.

_ B removed from its original location.

_ C a birthplace or grave.

_ D a cemetery.

_ E a reconstructed building, object, or structure.

_ F a commemorative property.

_ G less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Areas of Significance
(Enter categories from instructions)

Architecture
Community Planning and Development

Period of Significance

1936-1952

Significant Dates

1936-38

Significant Person
(Complete if Criterion B is marked)

N/A

Cultural Affiliation

N/A

Architect/Builder

Bentley, Harry
Thomas, Walter

Narrative Statement of Significance
(Explain the significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

9. Major Bibliographic References

(Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on one or more continuation sheets.)

Previous Documentation on File (National Park Service):
- _ preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
- _ previously listed in the National Register
- _ previously determined eligible by the National Register
- _ designated a National Historic landmark
- _ recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey #
- _ recorded by Historic American Engineering Record #

Primary location of additional data:
- X State Historic Preservation Office
- _ Other State Agency
- _ Federal Agency
- _ Local government
- _ University
- Other

Name of repository:

10. Geographical Data

Acreage of Property 200 acres

UTM References (Place additional UTM references on a continuation sheet.)

	Zone	Easting	Northing
1	16	418160	4754960
2	16	419060	4754940
3	16	419170	4754330
4	16	419000	4753880

X See Continuation Sheet

Verbal Boundary Description (Describe the boundaries of the property on a continuation sheet)

Boundary Justification (Explain why the boundaries were selected on a continuation sheet)

11. Form Prepared By

name/title	Elizabeth Miller				
organization	For Greendale Historical Society			**date**	September 2003
street & number	4033 Tokay Boulevard			**telephone**	608-233-5942
city or town	Madison	**state**	WI	**zip code**	53711

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

Continuation Sheets

Maps A USGS map (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.
A sketch map for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources.

Photographs Representative black and white photographs of the property.

Additional Items (Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items)

Property Owner

Complete this item at the request of SHPO or FPO.)

name/title	various			
organization				**date**
street&number				**telephone**
city or town		**state**	WI	**zip code**

Start

INTRODUCTION

The Greendale Historic District includes most of the original section of the Village of Greendale, and is located in Milwaukee County, Wisconsin, about eight miles southwest of the commercial center of the city of Milwaukee. Greendale was one of the three "greenbelt towns," named for the belt of parks and farmland that was to encircle each community, planned and built by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal administration between 1935 and 1938. Elbert Peets (chief planner), Jacob Crane (planner), Harry H. Bentley (principal architect, residential buildings), and Walter G. Thomas (principal architect, commercial and institutional buildings) led the team of more than 100 persons who helped design Greendale. Initially intended as the first of three sections, or town units, budget limitations confined the Greendale project to one town unit, and construction in the residential section of that town unit was scaled back from 750 dwelling units to the 572 currently found in the original section of Greendale.

The original section of Greendale lies just south of West Grange Avenue and just west of Loomis Road (STH 36), both of which are six-lane, divided roadways carrying high volumes of traffic. The layout of the original section is composed of a commercial and administrative "village center" framed with residential areas, interwoven with parks. The vehicular and pedestrian circulation systems are separate. The roadways are hierarchical, and consist of broad collector streets, which loop around and between the residential areas, and slender residential lanes, many of them culs-de-sac, which fan out from the collector streets. Paved pedestrian pathways thread through the plan, connecting the residences with parks, schools and the village center. The influence of the Colonial Revival can be discerned in all of the contributing buildings, but is most evident in the administrative and commercial buildings, which display symmetrical facades finished with red brick and trimmed with brick quoins. In contrast, the residential buildings exhibit a stripped-down, functional, modernistic variant of the Colonial Revival apparent in the form, roof shape, chimney placement, and window configuration, and in the limited use of brick pilasters and quoins.

The Greendale Historic District is bounded by the south edge of West Grange Avenue on the north, and by Catalpa Street on the south. The east and west boundaries outline the extent of the development completed during the period of significance, 1936-1952 (see Maps 1A and 1B), when Greendale was owned by the federal government. These boundaries encompass about 200 acres.

The 586 contributing resources of the Greendale Historic District include one site (composed of the plan, its siting and land use distribution, its vehicular and pedestrian circulation systems, and its public parks and private yards); 581 buildings (572 dwelling units, 5 commercial buildings, and 4 institutional

buildings); 3 structures (vehicular bridges); and 1 object (the Flagpole Sculpture). Sixteen buildings (1 church, 6 commercial and 9 residential), one object (a fountain) and two structures (a gazebo and a pedestrian bridge) comprise the non-contributing resources. The many garages are not included in the count, due to their small size, although they do contribute to the historic setting district.

SETTING

At the north edge of the original section of Greendale lies West Grange Avenue, beyond which is the Southridge Mall, a huge enclosed shopping center erected in 1968-70. Athletic fields and Southway (a collector street) are found south of the original section. On both the east and west sides of the original section are small residential areas developed after 1952, when the federal government sold the undeveloped land to the Milwaukee Community Development Corporation. The layout of these areas was adapted from plans prepared by Elbert Peets, chief planner for the original section, and incorporates many of the elements present in the original, including wide collector streets, with narrower, looping residential lanes, and paved pedestrian pathways that lead to schools, parks, and the village center. Although the plan is in character with the original section, the houses display architectural styling common to the 1950s, and are sited with setbacks typical of 1950s subdivisions, making later development easily distinguishable from the original section.

PRESENT APPEARANCE

The Greendale Historic District consists of 586 contributing resources and 19 non-contributing resources. These elements are described by type below.

CONTRIBUTING SITE

The plan of the original section of Greendale with its siting and land use distribution, its vehicular and pedestrian circulation systems, and its public parks and private yards, is counted as one contributing site. The **site** of the original section lies southwest of the intersection of West Grange Avenue and Loomis Road (see Maps 1A and 1B). These were principal transportation routes even in 1936, and the site was selected to give the residents of Greendale easy access to these major roadways, while protecting their families from the fast-moving traffic flowing on them. The topography of the site itself is mostly rolling; it rises toward the north, and levels out at the south end. The terrain guided much of the **land use distribution**; single-family and twin residences, as well as greenspace, are concentrated in hilly areas, while row houses and the administrative, commercial, and institutional buildings are set on flatter terrain. Broad Street, an axial thoroughfare, is laid out along a natural depression running north-south near the center of the tract. The village center is found along the north end of Broad Street. The

Village Hall stands at the street's north terminus, forming the focal point of the axis. A cross-axis is created west of Broad Street by the sweeping lawn of the Mall (featuring the Flagpole Sculpture), and the former Greendale Community Building and School (now Greendale Middle School), which crowns a rise at the Mall's west end. Shopping centers flank Broad Street as far south as Crocus Court, beyond which Broad Street narrows. The former Police and Fire Station and the former Public Works Building are located at the western edge of the village center. All of the residences lie within one-half mile of the school and the village center. The extensive, wooded grounds of the former Greendale Community Building and School provide a park-like setting for the residential areas in the western part of the original section, while Dale Creek Park follows Dale Creek as it meanders through the residential areas in the eastern part of the original section.

Two types of roads make up the **vehicular circulation system**: collector and residential (or service) streets. The collector streets carry traffic to major roadways. In the original section the collector streets are Northway, which flows between residential areas in the northern part of the original section and connects on either end with West Grange Avenue (a major roadway); Southway (outside the boundaries of the historic district), which loops along the outside of the residential areas in the southern part of the original section and connects to Loomis Avenue (STH 36, another major roadway); and Broad Street, which links Northway and Southway. A concrete bridge with plain concrete rails carries each of Northway, Schoolway and Clover Lane over Dale Creek; these three bridges appear to be original and are substantial enough to count separately as **contributing structures**. Parking is an integral part of the vehicular circulation system and is available, as it was originally, in front of the commercial buildings, behind the Village Hall, and in a large lot to the rear of the shopping center on the west side of the 5600-block of Broad Street. The residential lanes are very narrow, barely permitting two cars to pass one another. Most run north-south, giving the housing the best possible orientation to benefit from sunlight and prevailing breezes. Some of the residential lanes are quite steep, and many are dead-ended. Most of these streets are named for plants or animals. The residential lanes in the northwest section begin with A (such as Apple and Azalea), those in the northeast section start with B (Bluebird, Beaver, and so on), those in the southeast begin with C (such as Clover and Carnation), and those in the southwest section start with D (Dendron, Dale and so on). In 1936, when the streets were initially named, there was no alphabetical pattern and tree names predominated, including Pear, Filbert, Elm, Sycamore, Oak, Maple, Dogwood, Elm, Pine, Locust and Walnut.[1]

The **pedestrian circulation system** includes standard sidewalks, which appear along both sides of the collector streets, and narrow walkways, found along one side of many of the residential lanes. The distinctive feature of Greendale's pedestrian circulation system, however, is the paved pathway that

[1] "Greenbelt Towns," *Architectural Record* 80 (September 1936): 227.

runs from the ends of the culs-de-sac, behind and between the yards, and passes through wooded parkland, providing every home with a pleasant, traffic-free walk to playgrounds, schools and the village center (see Map 2). Three bridges carry the pathway across Dale Creek. Two of these appear to be original and are rustic in appearance, made up of a board walkway and timber posts and rails. The third bridge is metal and was erected in 1998; it is substantial enough in size to be counted separately as a non-contributing structure (see Non-Contributing Resources, below). The original section of Greendale was laid out in such a way that parks and playgrounds can be reached without crossing any streets, and the school and the village center are accessible from any home by crossing no more than one collector street. As budget constraints did not permit the construction of under- or overpasses, all-way stop signs are placed where collector roads intersect, as well as part of the way down Broad Street, and buildings were set back from the intersections to provide both drivers and pedestrians with expansive and unobstructed views.[2]

Public parks unify the original section of Greendale (see Maps 1A and 1B). Dale Creek flows southward through the original section east of Broad Street, joining the Root River south of the historic district. The creek and its wooded banks form the spine of Dale Creek Park, a linear greenway that winds through the eastern part of the original section. South of Northway, Dale Creek Park widens, and then extends eastward through the residential area. Dale Creek Park continues south of Schoolway, widening toward Broad Street, and then narrowing before entering a spacious clearing bordered by residences. South of Clover Lane, Dale Creek Park sweeps on, creating an uninterrupted greensward that merges with the Root River Parkway (which runs west and south of Greendale, and formed a part of the original greenbelt). West of Broad Street, the grounds west of the former Greendale Community Building and School have been left in a natural, wooded state abutting the residential areas that lie north, south and west of the school, although an athletic field has been laid out immediately west of the school. In front of the school is the Mall, a formal greenspace that sweeps toward Broad Street and provides a setting for the Flagpole Sculpture (described under CONTRIBUTING OBJECT, below). Pioneer Park, a small wooded area, is located north of Northway between Apple and Apricot courts.

Each residence, whether it is a single-family house or a row house unit, has a **private yard**, with an average of 5,000 square feet. All of the residential buildings sit very close to the street, creating a generous yard away from the street. Trees, low hedges, shrubs and fencing placed along lot lines define the yards and separate them from each other and from adjacent parkland, much as they did in 1938. Originally, each yard was divided into lawn and garden, with the lawn set close to the residence (for family recreation and for hanging laundry) and the garden at the rear of the lot. Residents were responsible for cutting the lawn and caring for the yard, and were instructed to plant their garden

[2] Jacob Crane, "Safety Town," *Public Safety* 11 (August 1937): 29.

according "to a plan which has been prepared for each of the yards."[3] These plans specified certain plants, selected by the design team for beautification, screening and ease of care. Residents were further cautioned that only flowers and small vegetables could be grown in the yard. Larger produce such as corn was restricted to the allotment gardens, then located on the north side of West Grange Avenue.[4]

CONTRIBUTING BUILDINGS

The original section of Greendale retains all but one of its original buildings. These buildings have been divided into the following categories: residential buildings, commercial buildings, and administrative/ institutional buildings. Each category is discussed in turn below.

Residential Buildings

Begun in 1936 and completed in 1938, the residential buildings are clustered together, very close to the narrow residential lanes. Their placement was inspired, in part, by the plan characteristic of colonial American towns such as Williamsburg, Virginia and traditional farm villages of Europe. The residential buildings, in effect, provide walls for the street, enclosing it and constricting traffic, and creating an intimacy intended to encourage neighborliness among residents.

The 572 dwelling units occupy 366 buildings. Originally, 750 units were planned, with 23 different types of house plans.[5] Of the 572 units that were constructed, 274 (48 percent of the total number of units) are single-family detached houses, 45 buildings are two-unit "twins" (90 units, or 16 percent), 10 buildings are three-unit row houses (30 units, or 5 percent), 22 are four-unit row houses (88 units, 15 percent), and 15 are six-unit row houses (90 units, 16 percent). The three-bedroom configuration is most common, with 272 such units. Some 230 dwellings have two bedrooms, while 52 have one bedroom and 18 have four bedrooms. Every unit also incorporates a good-sized kitchen (ranging from 10 x 12 feet to 9 x 7.5 feet),[6] a living room, a dining alcove, a bathroom, a utility room, and a few small

[3] U.S. Department of Agriculture, Farm Security Administration, *Helpful Suggestions for Greendale Residents*, (Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1938), p. 10, Greendale Historical Society, Greendale Public Library, Greendale, Wisconsin.
[4] Ibid; and James Drought, "Landscaping Greendale," *Greendale Review*, 25 January 1940.
[5] "Comparative Architectural Details," *American Architect and Architecture* 149 (October 1936): 30.
[6] Arnold R. Alanen and Joseph A. Eden, *Main Street Ready-Made: The New Deal Community of Greendale, Wisconsin*, (Madison, Wisconsin: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1987), p. 45; and "The Story of Greendale," unidentified

closets. There are no basements, but attic storage space is available in each of the units.

Each residential building is constructed of "cincrete" block (concrete block made with cinders), set on a poured concrete foundation. The exterior walls exhibit a thin layer of smooth stucco. Originally painted in pale shades of a variety of colors, some have been clad with synthetic siding.[7] Many residential buildings retain original elements such as wooden, double-hung sash windows in 6/6 configuration, gabled or flat-roofed overdoors or porticos, red tile or asphalt shingle roofs, and flat-roofed porches. Replacement windows and enclosed porches are not unusual. On the interior, each unit exhibits a concrete slab first floor, surfaced with asphalt tile. A straight, wooden staircase with a streamlined wooden handrail rises to the second floor, where maple or oak board flooring is found. Many units have installed carpeting or other materials on top of the original flooring. The walls are finished with plaster. Interior woodwork includes simple baseboards, and door and window surrounds with compound moldings. In most units, the ceiling in the living room is left exposed, as it originally was, displaying ponderosa pine beams and the board subfloor above.[8]

When Greendale opened to tenants in 1938, each unit included an electric stove, an electric refrigerator, a wall-mounted porcelain sink with drain board, and metal cabinets in the kitchen; porcelain sink, tub and toilet in the bathroom; and a forced-air furnace (coal-fired), a laundry stove (coal-fired) for heating water during the summer, a large coal storage closet, and a double concrete laundry sink in the utility room. Many units retain original sinks, bathtub and toilet.[9] Greendale's designers had intended to furnish all the dwelling units with furniture designed by the Resettlement Administration's Special Skills Division. The simple, functional wooden furniture, published in *House Beautiful*, was intended to "radiate a degree of taste-forming influence."[10] However, furnishings had to be eliminated from the budget due to a lack of funds, and the furniture proved too expensive for tenants to buy themselves.[11]

Ninety percent of the residential units were planned with a garage. The garages are incorporated into most of the row house buildings, while single-family and twin houses are accompanied by either attached or detached garages. Detached garages are flat-roofed and finished with board-and-batten siding. Originally, each had a gravel floor. All of the garages accommodated one car, and closed with a

---

magazine article, c. 1948, Greendale Historical Society, p. 13.
[7] Interview with John Munger, Greendale Resident Since 1938, 18 June 2003; and Interview with Minnie Frew, Greendale Resident Since 1938, 18 June 2003.
[8] "F.S.A. Farm Security Administration," *Architectural Forum* 68 (May 1938): 424.
[9] "Comparative Architectural Details," p. 32.
[10] Harry H. Bentley, "Low Cost Furniture," *Summary Reports and Recommendations*, p. 133, John S. Lansill Papers, Special Collections, University of Kentucky Library, Lexington, Kentucky, quoted in Alanen and Eden, p. 45.
[11] Alanen and Eden, p. 45.

pair of wooden doors that opened outward on Colonial Revival-influenced strap hinges of dark metal. Synthetic siding has been installed on many of the garages. The garages are not included in the count.

Of the 274 **single-family detached houses**, 230 are three-bedroom units, and 44 are two-bedroom units. Greendale's single-family houses are two stories tall, rectangular or ell-shaped in plan, and capped either with a hip or a gable roof. A flat- or gable-roofed overdoor often shelters the principal entrance. Each house possesses a broad chimney and a flat-roofed porch, the latter typically attached to a façade away from the street. Some homes are trimmed with brick corner pilasters or quoins. In form and details, the houses recall Colonial American residences. The "chain house" siting of the single-family units is highly unusual.[12] Each house is off-set on its lot, built close to the street and along the side line of the lot, creating an ell-shaped yard (see Map 3). The garage is attached to the rear corner of the neighboring house, linking the houses and garages along each side of the street like a chain, forming a court between each pair of houses. Elbert Peets referred to the court as a "Hof," a term used in Germany to refer to the space around which buildings in European farm villages were arranged. Just as was the case in those farm villages, the principal entrance into each single-family house in the original section of Greendale faces the court, rather than the street, giving the resident privacy going between her car and home.[13] Although there is an entrance into each house from the street, it is a service entrance, into the utility room. Most of the residential lanes run north-south, such that the principal entrance of most of the single-family houses faces south. The layouts of the single-family houses vary, but each features the turned-around plan seen at Radburn, New Jersey, placing the utility room and the kitchen adjacent to the street (the "service side"), and the living room and dining alcove away from the street (the "garden side"). The bedrooms and bathroom are located on the second floor.

The 90 **twin house** units occupy 45 buildings. Thirty-nine are two-story buildings with a total of 60 two-bedroom units and 18 four-bedroom units. The 6 one-story twins, nicknamed "honeymooners," contain 12 one-bedroom units. Each twin building is rectangular in plan, displays a hip roof with the ridge parallel to the street, and is symmetrical about a wide, central chimney. On either end of each building, on the garden side perpendicular to the street, is a flat-roofed porch. The principal entrance into each unit is in through the porch. The one-story twins are concentrated on Northway (a collector street that runs east-west) and generally do not have garages. Each unit in the two-story twin buildings also has an entrance on the service side overlooking the street. The 9 four-bedroom buildings feature brick corner pilasters, a brick modillioned cornice, and, facing the street, a central, projecting, hip-roofed section with side-by-side garages (one for each unit) with a cutaway portico or enclosed porch

---

[12] The term "chain house" was coined by Alanen and Eden, p. 42.
[13] Elbert Peets, "Greendale," p. 220, in Paul D. Spreiregen, editor, *On the Art of Designing Cities: Selected Essays of Elbert Peets*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1968).

on either side. Each of the 30 two-bedroom buildings exhibits a central, two-story, street-facing, gabled bay, flanked by shed-roofed porticos (as though two Gable Ell houses were pressed together, back-to-back). These buildings are paired with detached garages, set facing each other, perpendicular to the street. Each garage is set to the side and in front of its respective unit, forming a court or "Hof" between the house and its garage. Like the single-family houses, the principal entrance into these units is through the court. The interior layout of each type of twin house exhibits a modified version of the Radburn-style turned-around plan. The utility room and the kitchen in each pair of units are set back-to-back, with the utility room adjacent to the street, and the service entrance opening into a tiny vestibule. Each living room extends the full width of the house, on either side of the kitchen and utility room. Thus, the living room is not entirely facing the garden side, but each living room is afforded the maximum amount of privacy. In the two-story buildings, the bedrooms and bathroom are located on the second floor, with the bathrooms set back-to-back.

The original section of Greendale includes 10 three-unit **row house** buildings, 15 six-unit row house buildings, and 22 four-unit row house buildings. Three-units are composed of one "bachelor" unit (so-named for its tiny kitchen), flanked by two-bedroom units. Each six-unit includes two one-bedroom bachelor units, and four two-bedroom units. Three-bedroom units occupy the four-unit row house buildings. Each row house building is rectangular in plan, with a hip roof, its ridge parallel to the street. The row house buildings feature broad, interior chimneys, and a symmetrical street-facing façade. Many display brick corner pilasters and brick door surrounds. Unlike the single-family and twin houses, the principal entrance into each row house unit faces the street. The three-unit buildings exhibit a central, two-story, street-facing, gabled bay trimmed with brick corner pilasters. At the base of the bay a garage appears on either side of a door. The door gives access to the bachelor unit (located on the second floor), and is accented with a gabled or flat-roofed overdoor. On some three-unit row house buildings, a balcony with a plain wood rail stretches across the gabled bay. A door is centered on the street-facing façade of each of the flanking two-bedroom units, and is sheltered with either a gabled or shed-roofed overdoor, or a gabled portico with wooden lattice sides. The garages belong to the two-bedroom units; the bachelor units have no garage. The six-unit buildings are composed of two, three-unit buildings, placed side-by-side. Two types of four-unit row house buildings are found. One consists of two of the twin house buildings that have street-facing, gabled bays, set next to each other. A group of four garages is offset to the rear of each of this type of four-unit building. The other type of four-unit is similar in appearance to the twin house buildings with the central projecting garages, composed of two such buildings sitting side-by-side. Each row house unit (including the bachelor unit) has a private yard and a porch on its garden side. The layout of the row house units in the three- and six-unit buildings, and in the four-unit buildings with interior garages, is more traditional. The kitchen and utility rooms are on the garden side, while the ell-shaped living room overlooks both the service and garden sides. The bedrooms and bathroom are upstairs, with the bathroom above the utility room. In the

bachelor unit, the utility room is on the ground floor, under the staircase that rises to the second floor. Upstairs, the living room and the bedroom are on the service side, and the kitchen and bathroom are on the garden side. The four-unit buildings with projecting gabled bays display the same floor plans as the twin houses they match: a modified turned-around plan with the utility room on the service side, the kitchen behind it overlooking the garden side, and the living room having windows on both the service and garden sides. In all the row house buildings, the utility room, kitchen and bathroom of each unit is clustered and stacked side-by-side with those of another unit, an economical and efficient arrangement.

Commercial Buildings

Five commercial buildings within the boundaries of the Greendale Historic District were erected between 1936 and 1938. They are clustered together, forming a cohesive commercial district in the village center. The Greendale Village Inn, the Old U.S. Post Office, the Greendale Theater Block, and the Stores Block are arrayed in a line on the west side of the 5600-block of Broad Street. These commercial buildings face Broad Street (east) across a deep setback, allowing for wide sidewalks and off-street parking (which originally had diagonal spaces, and now exhibits spaces set perpendicular to street). Parking Street runs behind the commercial buildings (between Northway and Schoolway), providing access to what was the Greendale Cooperative Service Station, and a large parking lot. The parking lot is original to the plan and represents a continuation of the separation of vehicular and pedestrian traffic. Each commercial building shows the influence of the Colonial Revival style and is of masonry construction, finished with red brick, trimmed with brick quoins and accented with wooden, multipane windows. A central heating plant appended to the Police and Fire Station (on Schoolway at Parking Street, south of the parking lot behind the commercial buildings) originally heated all the commercial and administrative buildings.

The **Greendale Village Inn** is located at 5601 Broad Street, at the north end of the commercial district. Opened as a traditional Wisconsin family-oriented tavern, complete with Friday fish fry, it is still in restaurant use, currently housing Heinemann's Taste of Home. The original section is a one-story, side-gabled structure with a gabled portico centered on the front-facing façade. A multipane, fixed window appears on either side of the portico. A one-story, brick-finished addition has been attached to the south (side), and another has been appended to the west (rear). These additions are compatible in scale and materials with the original section of the Greendale Village Inn, and their placement to the side and rear of the building minimizes their impact.

The **Old U.S. Post Office**, at 5621-23 Broad Street, stands between the Greendale Village Inn and the Greendale Theater Block. The Post Office occupied the first floor of this building until a new facility was completed at 5741 Broad Street in 1965. Offices for a doctor and a dentist were located on the

second floor for many years. Currently, Village Hair Design is the first floor tenant, while two small business offices occupy the second floor. The building is set back from its neighbors and overlooks a small courtyard with a fountain. Named "Eleanor's Courtyard," in honor of First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, who visited Greendale in 1936, the courtyard and fountain were constructed in 1998. The Old Post Office is a two-story block with a low-pitched, hip roof and a symmetrical façade. A wood-and-glass door surmounted by a single-pane transom flanks either side of a group of three, large, wooden, multipane fixed windows. Six, wooden, double-hung sash in 6/6 configuration appear at the second story. The Old Post Office is embellished with rustication, formed by short courses of projecting brick stretchers. A triangular center gable was added to the roof in 1997, but the Old Post Office is otherwise unaltered.

The **Greendale Theater Block** was remodeled in 1997 and currently contains six storefronts that face east. The Greendale Theater Block consists of a one-story, flat-roofed front section, and a two-story, hip-roofed rear section. The two-story section originally held the theater auditorium while the one-story section contained the theater vestibule and ticket office (at the south end), and five small storefronts. Each storefront had a display window composed of grouped, multipane fixed windows. The first businesses in these shops included the Greendale Credit Union, a shoe store, a barbershop, and a beauty shop.[14] The Greendale Theater closed in 1968.[15] In 1997, the Theater Block was remodeled and the original storefronts expanded with an addition across the front façade. The new front is veneered with brick that nearly matches the original. A portico with simple columns and a variety of roof shapes extends across the front façade.

The **Stores Block** is situated at 5647 Broad Street, south of the walkway that separates it from the Greendale Theater Block. It is a one-story, flat-roofed building finished with brick and originally housed three large storefronts, each with grouped, multipane display windows. The first tenants were the Greendale Co-operative Grocery, the Greendale Co-operative Variety Store, and Des Jardin's Drugstore (which included a soda fountain and grill).[16] In 1990, the Stores Block was remodeled to serve as the Greendale Public Library. At that time, a new front and a flat-roofed, full-façade portico were built onto the building. The addition is finished with orange-red brick veneer embellished with narrow courses of white stone.

The former **Greendale Cooperative Service Station** stands at 6601 Northway, just west of Parking Street. Peets and Crane sited the service station to be visible from Northway (a collector street), but

---

[14] Munger, 31 May 2003; and historical photographs, Greendale Historical Society.
[15] *Greendale Remembers: The Story of the Village in the Voices of Its People*, (Greendale, Wisconsin: Greendale Historical Society, 1998), p. 47.
[16] Munger; and historical photographs, Greendale Historical Society.

accessible only from Parking Street, as a safety measure. The former gas station is a one-story, flat-roofed structure. Originally composed of an office section and five garage bays, the building was remodeled for offices circa 1970. The garage bays now hold windows, the brick finish is covered with modern materials, and wood-shingled pent roofs have been installed at the roofline.

Administrative/Institutional Buildings

Between 1936 and 1939, four administrative/institutional buildings were erected in the original section of Greendale. These are the Village Hall, the Police and Fire Station, the Public Works Building and the Greendale Community Building and School. All are of masonry construction, finished with red brick.

The **Village Hall** is situated at 6500 Northway, at the north terminus of Broadway. Inspired by the Capitol at Colonial Williamsburg (Virginia), it is a fine example of the Colonial Revival style. The Village Hall displays an E-shaped plan with a symmetrical front-facing façade, and rests on a poured concrete basement. The building is trimmed with brick quoining and the roofs are surfaced with tile. In the center of the front-facing facade is a tall, projecting pavilion with a hip-with-deck roof, crowned with a square, wooden clock tower and topped with a weather vane in the shape of a rooster. At either end of the building, hip-roofed dependencies appear. A gabled hyphen joins each dependency to the central pavilion. The central pavilion exhibits three, tall, regularly distributed, segmental-arched window openings with 20/20 double-hung sash windows. Evenly spaced, 12/12 windows appear in the dependencies. The Village Hall's two main entrances are centered in the hyphens. Each consists of a pair of wood-and-glass doors surmounted by a fanlight and recessed in a round-arched opening. A small, 4/4 double-hung sash window can be seen on either side of each entrance. The Village Hall displays excellent integrity and retains its original function, housing administrative offices and the Council Chamber.

The **Police and Fire Station**, currently vacant, stands at 6600 Schoolway, just west of Parking Street. It consists of three sections: the one-story, flat-roofed police station (east); the two-story, projecting, hip-roofed fire station (center); and the one-story, flat-roofed heating plant (west). All three sections are embellished with brick quoining and retain original, double-hung sash windows, showing the influence of the Colonial Revival style. The police department was entered from Parking Street, through a centrally placed, wood-and-glass door, set in a segmental-arched opening. On the Schoolway (front) façade, the fire station section displays two large garage door openings. These were enclosed with glass in 1967, when the fire department moved to new quarters at 6200 West Loomis Road. The police department continued to occupy the building until 1998, when the Greendale Safety Building

was completed at 5911 West Grange Avenue.[17]

The **Public Works Building**, is located at 6700 Schoolway, just west of the old Police and Fire Station. Presently unoccupied, it is a one-story, flat-roofed structure with a square corner tower. The main block is enriched with brick quoining, and the flat-roofed tower exhibits quoining, clinging buttresses and other decorative brickwork. Office and garage space occupies the main block, while the fire department used the tower for drying hoses. The public works department moved to a new building at 6351 Industrial Loop in 1961. The police department subsequently used the building until 1998.[18]

The Greendale Community Building and School, now Greendale Middle School, located at 6800 Schoolway, on a rise at the west terminus of the street. It was designed with 30 classrooms, a gymnasium/auditorium, and space for a public library (in residence until 1970). In the early years, an adult education program and a youth center operated in the building, and the gymnasium/auditorium hosted village social events and Sunday church services. The building is utilitarian in appearance and possesses a sprawling, T-shaped plan, with the top of the T oriented north-south. It has one- and two-story sections with flat roofs and exhibits regularly distributed, multipane windows. The principal entrance is on the north-facing façade, where a one-story, flat-roofed entrance porch with an octagonal cupola was added in 1997. A stone panel, carved by sculptor Alonzo Hauser in 1938-39, appears on either side of the entrance. The western panel depicts a girl holding papers, with a flower and a spool of thread in the background. The eastern panel features a boy playing a banjo and singing against a backdrop of musical notes. Hauser also carved a stone panel showing a child with a cat, a dog, a goat and a rooster. It is still in place over what was the entrance into the kindergarten room, on the east-facing façade at the south end of the building. In 1970, the building was expanded eastward with a gymnasium addition, appended to the original gymnasium. This addition covered another stone panel carved by Hauser, showing a farm couple with a foal. In 1997, a one-story, flat-roofed addition was attached to the northeast corner of the 1970 gym.[19]

---

[17] "Greendale Police Department," and "Greendale Fire Department," Binder, Greendale Historical Society.
[18] "Department of Public Works," Binder, Greendale Historical Society.
[19] Village of Greendale Building Permits, Greendale Village Hall, Greendale, Wisconsin; and Alanen, p. 48.

CONTRIBUTING OBJECT

One contributing object lies within the boundaries of the Greendale National Historic Landmark District: the **Flagpole Sculpture**. This object is located in the Mall, a formal lawn south of Schoolway and west of Broad Street. Alonzo Hauser was commissioned by the Special Skills Division of the U. S. Resettlement Administration to design a flagpole sculpture for Greendale in 1938. Carved of limestone quarried at Currie Park on the north side of Milwaukee and dedicated in 1939, the sculpture displays six figures standing on a raised platform.[20] These figures represent the people who would build and live in Greendale, and include a laborer with a shovel and another with a sledgehammer, a mother and child, a young woman with a tennis racket, and man in a suit and tie. A bronze plaque on the east face of the sculpture commemorates Hauser and the symbolism of this piece.

Alonzo Hauser (1909-1988) was born in Wisconsin and studied art at Wisconsin State College of La Crosse (now the University of Wisconsin–La Crosse), the Layton School of Art in Milwaukee, the University of Wisconsin–Madison, and the Art Student's League of New York. Hauser enjoyed a long career as a sculptor and was later an instructor in the School of Architecture at the University of Minnesota.[21]

NON-CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES

The non-contributing resources are those elements located within the boundaries of the Greendale Historic District that were erected after the period of significance, that is, after 1952.[22] Many of the 19 non-contributing resources are commercial buildings, placed along Broad Street, effectively extending the commercial district.

The **shopping center** at 5602-90 Broad Street (1958) was constructed on the edge of Dale Creek Park, opposite the original commercial buildings. It is a long, one-story, flat-roofed block finished with red brick and is utilitarian in appearance. **Wisconsin Savings and Loan**, now Associated Bank, is situated at 5651 Broad Street, at the south end of the original commercial core. Built in 1970, it is a one-story, Neo-Colonial Revival edifice veneered with red brick. The **Sentry Food Store**, presently vacant, was erected at 5711 Broad Street in 1965, together with the adjacent **U. S. Post Office** at 5741 Broad Street. Both buildings are one-story, flat-roofed structures finished with red brick; the Sentry Food Store

---

[20] Alanen and Eden, pp. 48-49; and plaque on sculpture.
[21] Alanen and Eden, p. 119.
[22] Dates of construction from Village of Greendale Building Permits; and original uses from *Greendale Village Directory*, (Greendale, Wisconsin: Greendale Woman's Club, 1958; 1960; 1962; 1964; 1967; 1969; 1971; and 1973).

exhibits the influence of the Neo-Colonial Revival style while the Post Office is more utilitarian in character. In 1938, tennis courts and a horseshoe pit occupied this site, although it was intended as the future site of the library.[23] The **pharmacy and dentist's office**, now an office building, was erected at 5800-08 Broad Street, in the block south of Crocus Court, in 1966. It is a utilitarian structure, one-story in height. Just south of the pharmacy and dentist's office is **Layton State Bank**, constructed at 5850 Broad Street in 1971. It is also a one-story, utilitarian building. There is one non-contributing church edifice in the original section of Greendale: **St. Luke's Lutheran Church**. This brick, Neo-Colonial Revival building was erected in 1962, replacing the smaller, frame church that had been built in 1950. St. Luke's Lutheran Church is set on a parcel that was set aside for a church on Greendale's original plan. The church is at 6705 Northway.

In terms of residential buildings, the **Northway Apartment Complex** at 6755-9 Northway was erected in 1963. It is composed of three, rectangular, brick-finished buildings, forming a U around a central courtyard. In 1967, two **row house buildings** were built at 5900-02 and 5908-10 Broad Street, south of Conifer Street. These small, two-story, two-unit buildings are astylistic and screened with heavy plantings of shrubbery. The sites on which the pharmacy and dentist's office, Layton State Bank, and the two apartment buildings are situated were originally narrow strips of greenspace abutting Broad Street. Two other residences were built after 1952, making them non-contributing: the **single-family houses** at 5584 Angle Lane (1958), and 5712 Clover Lane (c. 1955). The house on Angle Lane possesses a steeply-pitched, side-gable roof and blends in well with its neighbors. The Clover Lane house is clapboarded and displays a horizontal emphasis with its low-pitched, side-gabled roof. Both single-family houses were erected on empty lots.

Non-contributing structures include a **pedestrian bridge,** which crosses Dale Creek behind the 1958 shopping center. It is a metal arch bridge and was erected in 1998. The **fountain** stands in "Eleanor's Courtyard," in front of the old Post Office at 5621-23 Broad Street. Installed in 1998, it is round and displays a low, exterior wall finished with brick. In the center of the fountain in a concrete pedestal, on which sits a small, bronze statue of two children holding an umbrella. Finally, the **gazebo** (1995) is a polygonal, open-sided, frame structure with a low-pitched tent roof and a polygonal cupola. It stands at c. 5700 Broad Street in Dale Creek Park, at the southeast corner of Schoolway and Broad Street, and is used as a bandstand for village concerts during the summer.

The non-contributing resources are compatible in scale, size and materials with the original buildings around them and do not detract from the historic character of the original section of Greendale. Further, all have been placed in locations in keeping with the original plan.

---

[23] "Greendale, Wisconsin," p. 227.

ALTERATIONS

Overall, the original section of Greendale retains a high degree of integrity. The site displays excellent integrity: the plan, its siting and land use distribution, and its vehicular and pedestrian circulation systems are unchanged. The private yards have been maintained much as they originally were. Public parks and greenspace within the original section are largely intact, except that a shopping center has been erected along the west edge of Dale Creek Park in the 5600-block of Broad Street, the extreme east end of the Mall (adjacent to Broad Street between Schoolway and Crocus Court) has been paved for a parking lot, and two small buildings have been constructed in the narrow strip of greenspace on the east side of each of the 5800- and 5900-blocks of Broad Street. These are minor encroachments on the abundant parklands present in the original section of Greendale. In addition, the post-1952 commercial buildings were erected adjacent to the original ones, enlarging the village center, but maintaining a commercial core, in keeping with the original plan of Greendale. Further, Elbert Peets' studies and plans for expanding Greendale, produced between 1945 and 1950, propose expanding the commercial area to the east side of Broad Street and along Broad Street south of Schoolway.[24] In addition, St. Luke's Lutheran Church stands on a site that the original plan reserved for a church. Finally, apartment buildings were proposed in the original plan, but monies were insufficient to fund their completion during the federal era.

Only one of the buildings erected in Greendale during the period of significance has been demolished. The Greendale Bus Shelter was a small, hip-roofed structure, open on three sides, and stood on the northeast corner of Northway and Parking Street. It was razed c. 1956.[25] The village's residential units generally show very good integrity. Synthetic siding, replacement windows, and enclosed porches are not unusual, but all are easily recognizable as "Greendale Originals," as the villagers call them.

Among the commercial buildings, the Tavern and the old Post Office exhibit a high degree of integrity, while the Greendale Theater Block, the Stores Block and the Greendale Cooperative Service Station display modern facades. The Greendale Theater Block is still in retail use, the Stores Block houses the

---

[24] Elbert Peets, *Greendale, Wisconsin: Study for Future Development*, dated 18 January 1950, in Elbert Peets, "Residential Site Planning Texture," in Spreiregen, p. 208; and Elbert Peets, *Zoning District Map, Village of Greendale, Wisconsin*, 1948, in Alanen and Eden, p. 77.

[25] Milwaukee Community Development Corporation, *Map of the Village of Greendale, Milwaukee County, Wisconsin*, (Greendale, Wisconsin: Milwaukee Community Development Corporation, 1955); and Milwaukee Community Development Corporation, *Map of the Village of Greendale, Milwaukee County, Wisconsin*, (Greendale, Wisconsin: Milwaukee Community Development Corporation, 1958).

library, and offices occupy the Greendale Cooperative Service Station.

The Village Hall and the Public Works Building possess excellent integrity, while that of the Police and Fire Station is very good. Although the Greendale Community Building and School has been altered with a new entrance porch and two small additions, it is still in school use. Finally, the Flagpole Sculpture is unaltered.

CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES: INVENTORY

Address	Building Type	Construction Date
5500 Acorn Court	single-family house	1938
5501 Acorn Court	single-family house	1938
5502 Acorn Court	single-family house	1938
5503 Acorn Court	single-family house	1938
5504 Acorn Court	single-family house	1938
5505 Acorn Court	single-family house	1938
5500 Alba Court	single-family house	1938
5501 Alba Court	single-family house	1938
5502 Alba Court	single-family house	1938
5503 Alba Court	single-family house	1938
5504 Alba Court	single-family house	1938
5505 Alba Court	single-family house	1938
5564 Angle Lane	single-family house	1938
5565 Angle Lane	single-family house	1938
5566Angle Lane	single-family house	1938
5567 Angle Lane	single-family house	1938
5568 Angle Lane	single-family house	1938
5569 Angle Lane	single-family house	1938
5570 Angle Lane	single-family house	1938
5571 Angle Lane	single-family house	1938
5572 Angle Lane	single-family house	1938
5573 Angle Lane	single-family house	1938
5574 Angle Lane	single-family house	1938
5575 Angle Lane	single-family house	1938
5576 Angle Lane	single-family house	1938
5577 Angle Lane	single-family house	1938

5579 Angle Lane	single-family house	1938
5581 Angle Lane	single-family house	1938
5583 Angle Lane	single-family house	1938
5585 Angle Lane	single-family house	1938
5586 Angle Lane	single-family house	1938
5587-89 Angle Lane	two-unit row house	1938
5588 Angle Lane	single-family house	1938
5590 Angle Lane	single-family house	1938
5591 Angle Lane	single-family house	1938
5592 Angle Lane	single-family house	1938
5593 Angle Lane	single-family house	1938
5594 Angle Lane	single-family house	1938
5595 Angle Lane	single-family house	1938
5596 Angle Lane	single-family house	1938
5597 Angle Lane	single-family house	1938
5598 Angle Lane	single-family house	1938
5599 Angle Lane	single-family house	1938
5583-85-87 Apple Court	three-unit row house	1938
5589-91-93 Apple Court	three-unit row house	1938
5590-92 Apple Court	two-unit row house	1938
5594 Apple Court	single-family house	1938
5595 Apple Court	single-family house	1938
5596 Apple Court	single-family house	1938
5597 Apple Court	single-family house	1938
5598 Apple Court	single-family house	1938
5599 Apple Court	single-family house	1938
5589-90-91 Apricot Court	three-unit row house	1938
5592 Apricot Court	single-family house	1938
5593 Apricot Court	single-family house	1938
5594 Apricot Court	single-family house	1938
5595 Apricot Court	single-family house	1938
5596 Apricot Court	single-family house	1938
5597 Apricot Court	single-family house	1938
5598 Apricot Court	single-family house	1938
5599 Apricot Court	single-family house	1938
5600 Apricot Court	single-family house	1938
5601 Apricot Court	single-family house	1938

5602 Apricot Court	single-family house	1938
5603 Apricot Court	single-family house	1938
5604 Apricot Court	single-family house	1938
5605 Apricot Court	single-family house	1938
5606 Apricot Court	single-family house	1938
5607 Apricot Court	single-family house	1938
5608 Apricot Court	single-family house	1938
5609 Apricot Court	single-family house	1938
5610 Apricot Court	single-family house	1938
5611 Apricot Court	single-family house	1938
5612 Apricot Court	single-family house	1938
5613 Apricot Court	single-family house	1938
5589-90-91 Arbutus Court	three-unit row house	1938
5592 Arbutus Court	single-family house	1938
5593 Arbutus Court	single-family house	1938
5594 Arbutus Court	single-family house	1938
5595 Arbutus Court	single-family house	1938
5596 Arbutus Court	single-family house	1938
5597 Arbutus Court	single-family house	1938
5598 Arbutus Court	single-family house	1938
5599 Arbutus Court	single-family house	1938
5601 Arbutus Court	single-family house	1938
5603 Arbutus Court	single-family house	1938
5604 Arbutus Court	single-family house	1938
5605 Arbutus Court	single-family house	1938
5606 Arbutus Court	single-family house	1938
5607 Arbutus Court	single-family house	1938
5608 Arbutus Court	single-family house	1938
5609 Arbutus Court	single-family house	1938
5610 Arbutus Court	single-family house	1938
5611 Arbutus Court	single-family house	1938
5612 Arbutus Court	single-family house	1938
5613 Arbutus Court	single-family house	1938
5614 Arbutus Court	single-family house	1938
5615 Arbutus Court	single-family house	1938
5578 Arrowwood Street	single-family house	1938
5579 Arrowwood Street	single-family house	1938

5580 Arrowwood Street	single-family house	1938
5581 Arrowwood Street	single-family house	1938
5582 Arrowwood Street	single-family house	1938
5583 Arrowwood Street	single-family house	1938
5584 Arrowwood Street	single-family house	1938
5585 Arrowwood Street	single-family house	1938
5586 Arrowwood Street	single-family house	1938
5587 Arrowwood Street	single-family house	1938
5588 Arrowwood Street	single-family house	1938
5589 Arrowwood Street	single-family house	1938
5590 Arrowwood Street	single-family house	1938
5591 Arrowwood Street	single-family house	1938
5592 Arrowwood Street	single-family house	1938
5593 Arrowwood Street	single-family house	1938
5594 Arrowwood Street	single-family house	1938
5595 Arrowwood Street	single-family house	1938
5596 Arrowwood Street	single-family house	1938
5597 Arrowwood Street	single-family house	1938
5598 Arrowwood Street	single-family house	1938
5599 Arrowwood Street	single-family house	1938
5500 Avena Court	single-family house	1938
5501 Avena Court	single-family house	1938
5502 Avena Court	single-family house	1938
5503 Avena Court	single-family house	1938
5504 Avena Court	single-family house	1938
5505 Avena Court	single-family house	1938
5579-80-81 Azalea Court	three-unit row house	1938
5582-84-86-88 Azalea Court	four-unit row house	1938
5583-85-87-89 Azalea Court	four-unit row house	1938
5590 Azalea Court	single-family house	1938
5591 Azalea Court	single-family house	1938
5592 Azalea Court	single-family house	1938
5593 Azalea Court	single-family house	1938
5594 Azalea Court	single-family house	1938
5595 Azalea Court	single-family house	1938
5596 Azalea Court	single-family house	1938
5598 Azalea Court	single-family house	1938

5601 Azalea Court	single-family house	1938
5600-02-04 Azalea Court	three-unit row house	1938
5603-05-07 Azalea Court	three-unit row house	1938
5608-10-12-14 Azalea Court	four-unit row house	1938
5609-11-13-15 Azalea Court	four-unit row house	1938
5600-02-04-06-08-10 Badger Ct	six-unit row house	1938
5601-03-05-07-09-11 Badger Ct	six-unit row house	1938
5612 Badger Court	single-family house	1938
5613 Badger Court	single-family house	1938
5614 Badger Court	single-family house	1938
5615 Badger Court	single-family house	1938
5616 Badger Court	single-family house	1938
5617 Badger Court	single-family house	1938
5618 Badger Court	single-family house	1938
5619 Badger Court	single-family house	1938
5620 Badger Court	single-family house	1938
5621 Badger Court	single-family house	1938
5576-77 Balsam Court	two-unit row house	1938
5578 Balsam Court	single-family house	1938
5579 Balsam Court	single-family house	1938
5580 Balsam Court	single-family house	1938
5581 Balsam Court	single-family house	1938
5582-84-86 Balsam Ct	three-unit row house	1938
5583-85-87 Balsam Ct	three-unit row house	1938
5588-90-92-94-96-98 Balsam Ct	six-unit row house	1938
5589-91-93-95-97-99 Balsam Ct	six-unit row house	1938
5578 Basswood Street	single-family house	1938
5579 Basswood Street	single-family house	1938
5580 Basswood Street	single-family house	1938
5581 Basswood Street	single-family house	1938
5582 Basswood Street	single-family house	1938
5583 Basswood Street	single-family house	1938
5584 Basswood Street	single-family house	1938
5585 Basswood Street	single-family house	1938
5586 Basswood Street	single-family house	1938
5587 Basswood Street	single-family house	1938
5588-90 Basswood Street	two-unit row house	1938

5589-91 Basswood Street	two-unit row house	1938
5592-94 Basswood Street	two-unit row house	1938
5593-95 Basswood Street	two-unit row house	1938
5596-98 Basswood Street	two-unit row house	1938
5597-99 Basswood Street	two-unit row house	1938
5600-02-04-06-08-10 Beaver Ct	six-unit row house	1938
5601-03-05-07-09-11 Beaver Ct	six-unit row house	1938
5612 Beaver Court	single-family house	1938
5613 Beaver Court	single-family house	1938
5614 Beaver Court	single-family house	1938
5615 Beaver Court	single-family house	1938
5616 Beaver Court	single-family house	1938
5617 Beaver Court	single-family house	1938
5618 Beaver Court	single-family house	1938
5619 Beaver Court	single-family house	1938
5620 Beaver Court	single-family house	1938
5621 Beaver Court	single-family house	1938
5622 Beaver Court	single-family house	1938
5623 Beaver Court	single-family house	1938
5600-02-04-06-08-10 Berry Ct	six-unit row house	1938
5601-03-05-07-09-11 Berry Ct	six-unit row house	1938
5612 Berry Court	single-family house	1938
5613 Berry Court	single-family house	1938
5614 Berry Court	single-family house	1938
5615 Berry Court	single-family house	1938
5616 Berry Court	single-family house	1938
5617 Berry Court	single-family house	1938
5618 Berry Court	single-family house	1938
5619 Berry Court	single-family house	1938
5620 Berry Court	single-family house	1938
5621 Berry Court	single-family house	1938
6395 Blossom Court	single-family house	1938
6396 Blossom Court	single-family house	1938
6397 Blossom Court	single-family house	1938
6398 Blossom Court	single-family house	1938
6399 Blossom Court	single-family house	1938
6400 Blossom Court	single-family house	1938

6401 Blossom Court	single-family house	1938
6402-04 Blossom Court	two-unit row house	1938
6403-05 Blossom Court	two-unit row house	1938
6406-07 Blossom Court	two-unit row house	1938
5592 Bluebird Court	single-family house	1938
5593 Bluebird Court	single-family house	1938
5594-96 Bluebird Court	two-unit row house	1938
5595-97 Bluebird Court	two-unit row house	1938
5598 Bluebird Court	single-family house	1938
5599 Bluebird Court	single-family house	1938
5600-02-04-06-08-10 Bramble Ct	six-unit row house	1938
5601-03-05-07-09-11 Bramble Ct	six-unit row house	1938
5601 Broad Street	Greendale Tavern	1938
5621-23 Broad Street	Old U. S. Post Office	1938
5627-37 Broad Street	Greendale Theater Block	1938
5647 Broad Street	Stores Block	1938
5583-84-85 Butternut Court	three-unit row house	1938
5586 Butternut Court	single-family house	1938
5587 Butternut Court	single-family house	1938
5588-90-92-94-96-98 Butternut Ct	six-unit row house	1938
5589-91-93-95-97-99 Butternut Ct	six-unit row house	1938
5692-94-96-98 Cardinal Court	four-unit row house	1938
5693-95-97-99 Cardinal Court	four-unit row house	1938
5700-02-04-06-08-10 Cardinal Ct	six-unit row house	1938
5701-03-05-07-09-11 Cardinal Ct	six-unit row house	1938
5700-02-04-06 Carnation Court	four-unit row house	1938
5701-03-05-07 Carnation Court	four-unit row house	1938
5708 Carnation Court	single-family house	1938
5709 Carnation Court	single-family house	1938
5710 Carnation Court	single-family house	1938
5711 Carnation Court	single-family house	1938
Clover Lane over Dale Creek	Clover Lane Bridge	1938
5700-02 Clover Lane	two-unit row house	1938
5701-03 Clover Lane	two-unit row house	1938
5704-06 Clover Lane	two-unit row house	1938
5705-07 Clover Lane	two-unit row house	1938
5708 Clover Lane	single-family house	1938

5709 Clover Lane	single-family house	1938
5711 Clover Lane	single-family house	1938
5713 Clover Lane	single-family house	1938
5714 Clover Lane	single-family house	1938
5715 Clover Lane	single-family house	1938
5716 Clover Lane	single-family house	1938
5717 Clover Lane	single-family house	1938
5718 Clover Lane	single-family house	1938
5719 Clover Lane	single-family house	1938
5720 Clover Lane	single-family house	1938
5721 Clover Lane	single-family house	1938
5722 Clover Lane	single-family house	1938
5723 Clover Lane	single-family house	1938
5724 Clover Lane	single-family house	1938
5725 Clover Lane	single-family house	1938
5726 Clover Lane	single-family house	1938
5727 Clover Lane	single-family house	1938
5728 Clover Lane	single-family house	1938
5729 Clover Lane	single-family house	1938
5730 Clover Lane	single-family house	1938
5731 Clover Lane	single-family house	1938
5732 Clover Lane	single-family house	1938
5734 Clover Lane	single-family house	1938
6392-94 Conifer Lane	two-unit row house	1938
6396-98 Conifer Lane	two-unit row house	1938
6400-02 Conifer Lane	two-unit row house	1938
6404-06 Conifer Lane	two-unit row house	1938
6700 Conifer Lane	single-family house	1938
6701 Conifer Lane	single-family house	1938
6702 Conifer Lane	single-family house	1938
6703 Conifer Lane	single-family house	1938
6704 Conifer Lane	single-family house	1938
6705 Conifer Lane	single-family house	1938
6706 Conifer Lane	single-family house	1938
6707 Conifer Lane	single-family house	1938
6400 Crocus Court	single-family house	1938
6401 Crocus Court	single-family house	1938

6402 Crocus Court	single-family house	1938
6403 Crocus Court	single-family house	1938
6404 Crocus Court	single-family house	1938
6405 Crocus Court	single-family house	1938
5808 Currant Lane	single-family house	1938
5810 Currant Lane	single-family house	1938
5812 Currant Lane	single-family house	1938
5814 Currant Lane	single-family house	1938
5816 Currant Lane	single-family house	1938
5818 Currant Lane	single-family house	1938
5900 Currant Lane	single-family house	1938
5904 Currant Lane	single-family house	1938
5908 Currant Lane	single-family house	1938
5912 Currant Lane	single-family house	1938
5913-15 Currant Lane	two-unit row house	1938
5914 Currant Lane	single-family house	1938
5916 Currant Lane	single-family house	1938
5917-19 Currant Lane	two-unit row house	1938
5918 Currant Lane	single-family house	1938
5920 Currant Lane	single-family house	1938
5921 Currant Lane	single-family house	1938
5800-02 Dale Lane	two-unit row house	1938
5801-03-05-07 Dale Lane	four-unit row house	1938
5808-10 Dale Lane	two-unit row house	1938
5809-11-13-15 Dale Lane	four-unit row house	1938
5814 Dale Lane	single-family house	1938
5816-18 Dale Lane	two-unit row house	1938
5817-19-21-23 Dale Lane	four-unit row house	1938
5820-22 Dale Lane	two-unit row house	1938
5900-02 Dale Lane	two-unit row house	1938
5901-03-05-07 Dale Lane	four-unit row house	1938
5908-10 Dale Lane	two-unit row house	1938
5909-11-13-15 Dale Lane	four-unit row house	1938
5912-14 Dale Lane	two-unit row house	1938
5916-18 Dale Lane	two-unit row house	1938
5917-19-21-23 Dale Lane	four-unit row house	1938
5920 Dale Lane	single-family house	1938

5808-10-12-14 Dendron Lane	four-unit row house	1938
5813-15-17-19-21-23 Dendron Ln	six-unit row house	1938
5816-18-20-22 Dendron Lane	four-unit row house	1938
5900-02-04-06 Dendron Lane	four-unit row house	1938
5901-03-05-07 Dendron Lane	four-unit row house	1938
5908-10-12-14 Dendron Lane	four-unit row house	1938
5909-11-13-15 Dendron Lane	four-unit row house	1938
5916-18-20-22 Dendron Lane	four-unit row house	1938
5917-19-21-23 Dendron Lane	four-unit row house	1938
6801 West Grange Avenue	single-family house	1938
6803 West Grange Avenue	single-family house	1938
6901 West Grange Avenue	single-family house	1938
6903 West Grange Avenue	single-family house	1938
7001 West Grange Avenue	single-family house	1938
7003 West Grange Avenue	single-family house	1938
7005 West Grange Avenue	single-family house	1938
7007 West Grange Avenue	single-family house	1938
5586-88 Municipal Square	two-unit row house	1938
5587-89 Municipal Square	two-unit row house	1938
5590 Municipal Square	single-family house	1938
5591 Municipal Square	single-family house	1938
5592-94 Municipal Square	two-unit row house	1938
5593-95 Municipal Square	two-unit row house	1938
5596-98 Municipal Square	two-unit row house	1938
5597-99 Municipal Square	two-unit row house	1938
Northway over Dale Creek	Northway Bridge	1938
6500 Northway	Greendale Village Hall	1938
6601 Northway	Greendale Cooperative Service Station	1938
6800-02 Northway	two-unit row house	1938
6804-06 Northway	two-unit row house	1938
6808-10 Northway	two-unit row house	1938
6809-11 Northway	two-unit row house	1938
6812-14 Northway	two-unit row house	1938
Schoolway and Broad Street	Flagpole Sculpture	1939
Schoolway over Dale Creek	Schoolway Bridge	1938
6300 Schoolway	single-family house	1938
6302 Schoolway	single-family house	1938

6304 Schoolway	single-family house	1938
6306 Schoolway	single-family house	1938
6308 Schoolway	single-family house	1938
6310 Schoolway	single-family house	1938
6312 Schoolway	single-family house	1938
6314 Schoolway	single-family house	1938
6315 Schoolway	single-family house	1938
6316 Schoolway	single-family house	1938
6317 Schoolway	single-family house	1938
6318 Schoolway	single-family house	1938
6319 Schoolway	single-family house	1938
6320 Schoolway	single-family house	1938
6321 Schoolway	single-family house	1938
6322 Schoolway	single-family house	1938
6323 Schoolway	single-family house	1938
6324-26 Schoolway	two-unit row house	1938
6325-27 Schoolway	two-unit row house	1938
6600 Schoolway	Greendale Police and Fire Station	1938
6700 Schoolway	Greendale Public Works Building	1938
6800 Schoolway	Greendale Community Center and School	1938/70/97

NON-CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES: INVENTORY

Address	Name	Construction Date
5584 Angle Lane	single-family house	1958
5602-90 Broad Street	shopping center	1958
c. 5621 Broad Street	fountain	1998
5651 Broad Street	Wisconsin Savings and Loan	1970
c. 5700 Broad Street	gazebo	1995
5711 Broad Street	Sentry Food Store	1965
5741 Broad Street	United States Post Office	1965
5800-08 Broad Street	pharmacy and dentist's office	1966
5850 Broad Street	Layton Bank	1971
5900-02 Broad Street	two-unit row house	1967
5908-10 Broad Street	two-unit row house	1967
5712 Clover Lane	single-family house	c. 1955
Dale Creek Park	pedestrian bridge	1998
6705 Northway	St. Luke's Lutheran Church	1962
6755 Northway	Northway Apartment Complex	1963
6757 Northway	Northway Apartment Complex	1963
6759 Northway	Northway Apartment Complex	1963

End

Insert

SUMMARY

The original section of the village of Greendale is significant under crtieria A and C in the areas of Community Planning and Development and Architecture. Greendale embodies the foremost principles of architectural design and urban planning of the 1930s. These principles had developed over a 25-year period and built on the synthesizing of the American planning traditions of Naturalistic residential areas and City Beautiful urban centers with English Garden City physical planning principles, which first appeared in the U.S. in 1911. Refined through the defense housing projects developed for the federal government during World War I, this synthesis was reinvigorated through the work of the Regional Planning Association of America, as exemplified by Henry Wright and Clarence Stein's plan for Radburn, New Jersey. Greendale's design team interpreted Garden City principles and American planning traditions, modified by environmental conditions and target population characteristics, to create a community with an innovative site plan that safely accommodated the automobile while conserving natural features, and that incorporated abundant parks, and high-quality housing that was modern yet economical in layout and materials. Greendale and the other greenbelt towns also exemplify the goals of the New Deal, not only as models of scientifically- and aesthetically-planned communities, but as responses to the desperate unemployment and housing crises of the era. Finally, the greenbelt towns represent social, economic and political experimentation unparalleled in American history. The federal government built and retained ownership of each town, yet encouraged the residents to govern themselves and to work together through cooperative associations to establish and operate the town's businesses and institutions. These elements made Greendale a bold statement in community planning and presented a radical challenge to the individualistic capitalism that characterized American society and traditional patterns of growth.

The original section of Greendale retains a high degree of integrity of location, setting, design, workmanship, materials, feeling, and association.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT: THE GREENBELT TOWNS PROGRAM AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF GREENDALE

THE GREENBELT TOWNS PROGRAM

The greenbelt towns program was unique among the federal initiatives undertaken during the Depression and was intended to address three major problems worsened by the economic conditions of the era: widespread unemployment, expanding urban slums, and the shortage of decent housing.

The economic collapse of the Depression found 14 million Americans out of work and 4 million families receiving public assistance by 1933. Some 273,000 families would lose their homes to foreclosure that year. The building industry was especially hard hit as one-third of the unemployed had worked in the building trades. Housing construction fell to one-tenth of its 1925 figure, exacerbating a pre-existing housing shortage and forcing the urban poor and the rural migrants, drawn to cities in search of work, to crowd into the deteriorated housing in city slums. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, swept into office with his pledge of economic recovery, was inaugurated in March 1933. Within the first few months of Roosevelt's New Deal administration, Congress had enacted the National Industrial Recovery Act and the Agricultural Adjustment Act. The creation of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, the Civilian Conservation Corps, the Tennessee Valley Authority and the Subsistence Homesteads Development Division, among others, followed.[26] The purpose of these agencies and programs was perhaps best articulated by Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior and director of the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works (PWA), who stated, "Our business is to put men to work, to do it quickly, and to do it intelligently."[27]

Historically, the federal government had only intervened in the housing market during wartime, but the desperate situation encouraged the President to support federal initiatives that would build housing, raze slums and otherwise improve living conditions for the 63 percent of the population that was considered low-income (making less than $1,500 annually). The Subsistence Homesteads Development Division relocated farm families from depressed areas to experimental agricultural communities, such as the Matanuska Valley (Alaska) Colony. Jobless industrial workers were resettled in government-created rural towns such as Arthurdale, West Virginia (for former coal miners), and the Jersey Homesteads, New Jersey (for Jewish garment workers), where residents could supplement farming with part-time employment in a cooperative factory. The PWA, among its other projects, bought land in urban slums, cleared each site, and attempted to build new, low-cost housing. However, acquiring urban parcels proved expensive and time-consuming. Ultimately, very little public housing was built.[28]

---

[26] Robinson & Associates, Inc. and Jeffrey Shrimpton, "Historic Context: Public Housing in the United States, 1933-1949," Draft Report Prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development and the U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register, 14 August 14 1997, p. 19; and Gwendolyn Wright, *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1983), p. 220.

[27] Harold Ickes, "Public Works in the New Deal," *Architectural Forum*, 59 (Sept, 1933), 151.

[28] Wright, pp. 220-22.

In February 1935, Rexford Guy Tugwell (1891-1979), then Undersecretary of Agriculture, approached the director of the Land Utilization Division of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, John Lansill, about acquiring 15,000 acres of sub-marginal land adjacent to the National Agricultural Research Station at Beltsville, Maryland, not far from Washington D. C. Tugwell, an agricultural economist who had left Columbia University to advise Roosevelt as a member of his "Brain Trust," proposed to reclaim the land for reforestation and recreation and possibly, to build a town for employees of the research station on the site. Reputedly the most leftist of Roosevelt's advisors, Tugwell was an outspoken proponent of land reform and the cooperatives movement. Tugwell held a realistic view of the hardships of farm life, and did not see relocating the urban poor to farms as the solution to their poverty. He was also familiar with contemporary ideas in urban and regional planning, such as that of the self-supporting, satellite "Garden City" recently promoted by members of the Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA). Tugwell saw the Garden City as the solution to several of the problems confronting the nation. In the short run, building the new town would create hundreds of jobs. In the long run, the satellite community would provide jobs and decent housing for the poor in a suburban setting, surrounded by a "greenbelt" of farms and parklands, with municipal governance and businesses operated by consumer cooperatives. In addition, the town would illustrate the benefits of community planning, and serve as a counterpoint to the ticky-tacky suburban sprawl then spreading out from the cities. Lansill endorsed Tugwell's proposal and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration began securing options on the land at Beltsville in March 1935.[29]

On April 8, 1935, Congress enacted the Emergency Relief Appropriations Act, providing over $4 billion (the largest single appropriation in American history) for public works projects that would provide work for the unemployed. The President was given the authority to allocate the funds, sparking a competition among the various federal agencies for a share of the monies. Tugwell pitched his idea for a new town at Beltsville, Maryland to the President. Roosevelt, a firm believer in the benefits of country living, responded so enthusiastically, Tugwell expanded his proposal to encompass the construction new towns outside large industrial cities across the nation.[30] This was the genesis of the greenbelt towns program. Tugwell later stated:

> My idea [was] to go just outside centers of population, pick up cheap land, build a whole community, and entice people into it. Then go back into the cities and tear down whole slums

---

[29] Alanen and Eden, pp. 3-5; Joseph L. Arnold, *The New Deal in the Suburbs: A History of the Greenbelt Town Program, 1935-1954*, (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1971), p. 31; and Elizabeth Jo Lampl, "Greenbelt, Maryland Historic District," National Historic Landmark, 22 March 1996, pp. 25-26.
[30] Arnold, p. 31; Alanen and Eden, p. 5; and Lampl, p. 26.

and make parks of them.[31]

To facilitate the greenbelt towns program, Roosevelt and Tugwell created the Resettlement Administration (RA), authorized by Executive Order 7027, signed by Roosevelt on April 30, 1935.[32] Tugwell was made director of the new agency, and several existing rehabilitation and conservation programs were transferred to it, including the Subsistence Homesteads Development Division. Within the RA, Tugwell immediately organized the Suburban Resettlement Division (SRD), appointed John Lansill director, and charged the SRD with the task of developing the greenbelt towns program. Section a) of Executive Order 7027 gave the RA the power to:

> Administer approved projects including resettlement of destitute or low-income families from rural and urban areas, including the establishment, maintenance, and operation in such connection, of communities in rural and suburban areas.[33]

Plans for the greenbelt towns program evolved over the summer of 1935, guided by four men: John Lansill; Warren J. Vinton, economist and chief of SRD's Research Section; Frederick J. Bigger, an architect and planner who was a former member of the RPAA and had been tapped to provide a designer's perspective; and Tugwell himself, who convened a panel of distinguished experts such as Ernest J. Bohn, president of the National Association of Housing Officials; educator John Dewey; and economist Stuart Chase as well as representatives of disciplines such as child care and social work.[34]

Vinton and the staff of the SRD's Research Section studied 100 major industrial cities to determine where to locate greenbelt towns. The principal criteria used in selecting these cities were a stable and diverse manufacturing sector, inexpensive land available on the outskirts of the city, and a progressive political climate likely to support public works. Twenty-five cities met these criteria. Further consideration narrowed the list to eight: St. Louis, Missouri; Cincinnati, Ohio; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Chicago, Illinois; New Brunswick, New Jersey; Dayton, Ohio; Chattanooga, Tennessee; and Washington, D. C.[35]

---

[31] Stanley Buder, *Visionaries and Planners: The Garden City Movement and the Modern Community*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 176.
[32] Lampl, pp. 24-25, quotes Tugwell's diary as reading, "The President and I between us invented the RA."
[33] Executive Order No. 7027, 30 April 1935, reprinted in U.S. Resettlement Administration, *First Annual Report, 1936*, (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1936), pp. 1-2.
[34] Alanen and Eden, pp. 6-8.
[35] Ibid, p. 12; and Arnold, p. 39.

Meanwhile, Frederick Bigger had brought in housing expert Catherine Bauer and several planning consultants, many of whom had been members of the RPAA, including Henry Wright, Clarence Stein, Tracy Augur, Earle Draper, John Nolen and Jacob Crane. These individuals convinced Lansill that the quality of the design was crucial and should not be left to engineers (which Tugwell had done initially, with predictably unimaginative results). Through their influence, Tugwell was persuaded to refocus the program and create four state-of-the-art greenbelt towns that would serve as models of community planning.[36]

On September 12, 1935, President Roosevelt allocated $31 million to the RA for the greenbelt towns program, with the implication that an additional $38 million might be granted in the future. The smaller-than-hoped-for budget was encumbered with the requirements that all the land for the towns must be purchased by December 15, 1935 and that the towns must be completed by June 30, 1936. By November 1, 1935, the locations for the four greenbelt towns had been finalized to: Washington, D.C. (Greenbelt, Maryland); Cincinnati, Ohio (Greenhills); New Brunswick, New Jersey (Greenbrook, which would be eliminated through court action in May 1936); and Milwaukee, Wisconsin (Greendale).[37]

In October 1935, Bigger was named Chief of Planning for the SRD. With the assistance of the prominent urban planner John Nolen, Bigger selected a team of planners, architects, engineers and other staff for each town.[38] Shortly after his appointment Bigger articulated the purpose of the greenbelt towns program, as follows:

> (a) To secure a large tract of land, and thus avoid the complications ordinarily due to diverse ownerships; in this tract to create a community, protected by an encircling green belt; the community to be designed for families of predominantly modest income, and arranged and administered (managed) so as to encourage that kind of family and community life which will be better than they now enjoy, but which will not involve subjecting them to coercion or theoretical and untested discipline; the dwellings and the land upon which they are located to be held in one ownership, preferably a corporate entity to which the Federal Government will transfer title, and which entity or corporation will rent or lease the dwellings but will not sell them; a municipal government to be set up in character with such governments now existing or possible in that region; coordination to be established, in relation to the local and

[36] Alanen and Eden, p. 7.
[37] Arnold, p. 43.
[38] Alanen, p. 7.

state governments, so that there may be provided those public services of educational and other character which the community will require; and, finally, to accomplish these purposes in such a way that the community may be a tax paying participant in the region, that extravagant outlays from the individual family income will not be a necessity, and that the rents will be suitable to families of modest income.

(b) To develop a land use plan for the entire tract; to devise, under the direction of the Administrator, a system of rural economy coordinated with the land use plan for the rural portions of the tract surrounding the Suburban community; and to integrate both the physical plans and the economies of the rural area and the Suburban community.[39]

GREENDALE: ORIGIN AND PROGRESS

Milwaukee owed its selection as the location of a greenbelt town project to a variety of factors. It had a multi-faceted and steadily-growing industrial base. On the western fringe of Milwaukee lay hundreds of acres of rich agricultural land that could be acquired economically. Enthusiastic support for the greenbelt town project seemed assured in a city famed for its socialist politics. The German-American character of the city was another point in its favor because, as one report contended, Germanic peoples are known for their industriousness, their thrift, and their love of music, art, drama and horticulture. Milwaukee's greatest advantage may have been its demonstrated interest in public housing and planning. Milwaukee had been among the first cities in the U.S. to help finance a public housing project (Garden Homes, 1923) and the current reformist government, headed by popular socialist Mayor Daniel W. Hoan, was already working with Harold Ickes' agency, the PWA, to erect another federally-assisted public housing project (Parklawn). In addition, Milwaukee County had enacted one of the nation's first county-wide zoning ordinances in 1927. As it turned out, the RA encountered less opposition in Milwaukee than in any other city, perhaps because RA officials met with Mayor Hoan and other local officials early in the project to explain the program and enlist their support. The Milwaukee Real Estate Board and several local building and loan companies grumbled about federal intervention in the private sector and in August 1936, following the successful suit that ended the Greenbrook project in New Jersey, filed a complaint in the U.S. District Court in Washington, but the case was never argued. Articles about the project in the local newspaper, the *Milwaukee Journal*, were predominantly favorable. The most ardent supporters of the project were organized labor and the Wisconsin Progressives, led by Governor Philip

[39] Arnold, pp. 84-85; and reproduced in U.S. Resettlement Administration, *Greenbelt Towns: A Demonstration in Suburban Planning*, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1936), p. 1.

F. La Follette and his brother, U.S. Senator Robert M. La Follette (sons of former U.S. Senator Robert "Fighting Bob" La Follette).[40]

Harold Gelnaw, a Washington-based real estate broker, had begun optioning land in southwestern Milwaukee County for the RA in August 1935. Faced with a number of resistant landowners and a deadline of November 20 for securing all the options, Gelnaw resorted to threatening condemnation and planting the rumor that the land was needed for a munitions factory. By December 1935, when purchasing began, Gelnaw had optioned 10,760 acres. The RA eventually bought 3,410 acres at a total cost of $1.2 million, making the average price per acre $372, about $100 more per acre than at Greenhills, and $200 more per acre than at Greenbelt.[41]

Each greenbelt town project had its own design team. Greendale's staff was led by Elbert Peets (chief planner), Jacob Crane (planner), Harry H. Bentley (principal architect, residential buildings), and Walter G. Thomas (principal architect, commercial and institutional buildings). Over 100 people were a part of the Greendale team including support personnel and consultants in diverse fields such as wildlife management, real estate analysis and agricultural practices. The consultants included Clarence Stein (on real estate economics) and Catherine Bauer (on housing). The Greendale team was headquartered with the other project teams in the Washington mansion of socialite Lady Evelyn Walsh McLean. The Greendale project opened a local office in Madison, directed by Fred C. Naumer. The field research for the project, including topographic surveys and social research on blue-collar families in Milwaukee, were carried out from the Madison office.[42]

Elbert Peets (1886-1968) was born in Hudson, Ohio and worked in landscape design before attending Western Reserve University, from which he graduated in 1912. Peets then pursued graduate studies at Harvard University, finishing with a master's degree in landscape architecture in 1915. For many of the next 20 years, Peets would work with the distinguished German city planner, Werner Hegemann, who maintained offices in New York City and Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Hegemann and Peets prepared initial plans for the company town of Kohler, Wisconsin (later modified by Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr.) in 1916; designed Washington Highlands, a Garden City-inspired suburb for the well-to-do near Milwaukee (1916, NRHP); and Wyomissing Park, a residential development outside of Reading, Pennsylvania (1917-21). The two co-authored an influential book on civic design, published in 1922 and entitled, *The American Vitruvius: An Architect's Handbook of Civic Art*. Hegemann then returned to Germany, ending his collaboration with Peets. Peets traveled in Europe, gaining an understanding of

[40] Alanen and Eden, pp. 12-13 and 22-23; and Arnold, pp. 59-60.
[41] Alanen and Eden, pp. 16-18; and Arnold, p. 56.
[42] Alanen and Eden, pp. 8-10, and 28.

the historical evolution of city planning, and then opened a landscape architecture office in Cleveland, Ohio. Peets practiced in Cleveland through most of the 1930s. Peets was extremely skilled in European Renaissance and Colonial American community-planning principles. The plan of Greendale is Peets' finest work. Following the completion of the original section of Greendale in 1938, he continued to prepare plans for suburban developments, including Park Forest, Illinois (1946-47) and the expansion of Greendale (1945-50). Peets taught at Yale and Harvard universities during the 1950s, and wrote extensively on planning issues from the 1920s to the end of his life.[43]

Jacob Crane worked part-time on the Greendale project, and part-time with the National Resources Committee, where he served as the planning consultant for Wisconsin and Illinois. Crane was a past president of the City Planning Institute, had been employed as a city planning consultant in Chicago for many years, and had served as chief regional planner on the design for the Tennessee Valley Authority community of Norris, Tennessee.[44] Harry H. Bentley had practiced architecture in Chicago, while Walter G. Thomas had worked as an architect in New York City.[45]

Topography, housing type, cost of materials and local wage schedules helped determined the number of dwellings planned for the initial section of each greenbelt town. The first unit at Greendale and at Greenbrook was to have 750 dwellings, while Greenbelt and Greenhills were to have 1,000 dwellings each. By late March 1936, the preliminary plans for Greendale were finished. The design team hoped that two more sections could be added to Greendale later, providing homes for about 12,000 people.[46]

While the designers labored to prepare the plans, several thousand questionnaires were distributed to members of Milwaukee's labor unions, churches, civic groups and ethnic associations. More than 2,000

---

[43] Ibid, p. 9; Arnold R. Alanen, "History as Precedent in Midwestern Landscape Design," in William H. Tishler, editor, *Midwestern Landscape Architecture*, (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2000), pp. 193-211; Christiane Crasemann Collins, "Hegemann and Peets: Cartographers of an Imaginary Atlas," introduction to Werner Hegemann and Elbert Peets, *The American Vitruvius: An Architects' Handbook of Civic Art*, (New York: The Architectural Book Publishing Company, 1922; reprint edition, New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1988), pp. v-xx; Arnold R. Alanen, "Elbert Peets," in Charles A. Birnbaum and Robin Karson, editors, *Pioneers of American Landscape Design*, (New York: McGraw Hill, 2000), pp. 293-96; and Paul D. Spreiregen, "Elbert Peets," in William H. Tishler, editor, *American Landscape Architecture: Designers and Places*, (Washington, D.C.: The Preservation Press, 1989), pp. 108-11.

[44] Alanen and Eden, p. 9-10; and Lampl, p. 31, footnote 26.

[45] Joseph A. Eden, "The Aging of a Greenbelt Town: The Planning History of Greendale, Wisconsin," (M.A. thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1981), p. 2.

[46] Ibid, pp. 27-28.

were returned, but only the 1,000 that came from families reporting annual incomes in the target "moderate" range – between $1,000 and $2,000 – were tabulated. The surveys showed that families in the target income range spent an average of between $21 and $28 per month in rent; the rents at Greendale would match this spread. In early December 1935, Clarence Stein had completed his research on rents and operating costs. He warned that unless Greendale and Greenbrook were expanded to 1,000 dwellings, rents would have to be raised to off-set operating costs, making the housing too expensive for families earning less than $1,250 per year. The Greendale team balanced Stein's data against additional cost-savings measures (such as limiting grading done on the site) and calculated that no more than 90 of the one-bedroom units (for the lowest income families) could be built out of the 750 dwellings planned. The surveys showed that three-quarters of the respondents preferred a single-family house to an apartment or row house. Peets did not accept the conventional wisdom that row housing was the only economically feasible type of housing for families with modest incomes. He felt that a detached residence was superior, and that each house should have its own fenced yard. Therefore, the initial plans for Greendale called for 380 single-family detached houses and 370 multifamily dwellings. The latter was to consist of 100 twins, 250 row houses and two apartment blocks, each with 25 units. Some 392 of the dwelling units were to have three bedrooms, 248 were to have two bedrooms, 90 were to have one bedroom, and 20 were to have four bedrooms.[47]

The survey returns indicated that a typical Greendale family would be composed of a husband, a wife and two children. The principal (male) wage earner would hold a skilled manufacturing job paying $1,400 a year. The questionnaires also suggested that Greendale's population would be a youthful one, as close to 70 percent of the members of the families that responded were younger than 37 years of age, and more than half were below the age of 14. Consequently, educational and recreational facilities would be especially important. Larger homes also would be needed for growing families; for this reason, a majority of the residences would have three bedrooms – one for the parents, one for the girls and one for the boys. Public transit was not a part of Greendale's plan mostly because Milwaukee's industry was widely dispersed. However, more than 60 percent of the families that participated in the survey owned a car. Therefore, garages were planned for 90 percent of Greendale's homes.[48]

The surveys also enumerated the community amenities future Greendale residents hoped to enjoy. A flower garden (94 percent), a vegetable garden (92 percent), and a library (86 percent) were the most desired. A swimming pool (79 percent), a community hall (61 percent) and baseball fields (57 percent)

---

[47] Ibid, pp. 28-29 and 42; Arnold, p. 98; and U.S. Resettlement Administration, "Description of the Greendale Project," 2 July 1936, section 10, p. 3, on file, Greendale Historical Society.
[48] Alanen and Eden, pp. 28-29.

were also popular choices. Many wished for a beauty parlor (46 percent), a bowling alley (45 percent), tennis courts (41 percent) and a tavern (35 percent). Respondents also wrote in requests, several of which were accommodated, including an automobile service station, a movie theater, a drug store, health services, a barbershop, and village fire and police services. Although 90 percent had requested a church of their denomination, constitutional law prohibited the government from building churches. However, church services could be held in the community building and the plan did set aside several sites for future church construction.[49]

As of March 1936, the plans for Greendale called for the eventual construction of three town sections on 525 acres, as well as 475 acres of one- and two-acre homesites, 55 acres of allotment gardens (which Greendale residents could lease), 10 acres for light industry (where the village women could work), and 325 acres of town parks. The 2,000-acre greenbelt was to include 170 acres of parks along the Root River, 560 acres that would be deeded to Milwaukee County to create the Root River Parkway, and 1,370 acres in collective farms. With the $7 million initially allocated, plans for the greenbelt would be carried out, and one town section would be built. This town section would encompass 155 acres of development, 180 acres of village parks and 15 acres of allotment gardens.[50]

Construction on the first town section of Greendale began in April 1936 with a crew of 332 men. Greendale's work force would peak at about 2,000 in October 1936. As summer moved into fall, the project lagged far behind schedule while the man-hours expended mounted alarmingly, in part due to an intense and prolonged heat wave. A bigger cause was the conflict inherent in the dual purposes of the greenbelt town program: to show that a model community for moderate-income families could be built efficiently and economically, and to create jobs. Most of the laborers were paid through the Works Progress Administration (WPA), which provided the men with rudimentary, labor-intensive equipment such as picks, shovels and horse-drawn wagons. A frustrated Tugwell reportedly suggested to President Roosevelt that the laborers should be issued spoons. By October 15, Greendale's planners realized that costs would far exceed the $7 million budget and reluctantly decided to defer the construction of all housing not already underway. At that time there were 366 buildings with 572 dwelling units under construction. The infrastructure had been built first, so that all the streets, water and sewer lines needed for a town of 1,200 families were already in place. The plan to establish collective farms was abandoned, and the existing farmsteads were repaired and leased.[51]

---

[49] Ibid, p. 29.
[50] Ibid, pp. 32-33; and U.S. Resettlement Administration, "A Description of the Greendale Project," section 1, pp. 3-4.
[51] Alanen and Eden, pp. 46-48 and 51; and Arnold, pp. 96 and 115.

Due to cost overruns, the number of residences in the other greenbelt towns had to be reduced as well: Greenbelt to 885 dwelling units, and Greenhills to 676. This meant that the towns could not be turned over to a local cooperative housing authority because they would have too few residents and businesses to generate sufficient rents to support necessary municipal services and amortize the debt. The federal government would have to retain ownership of all three towns for the foreseeable future. The Bankhead-Black Act, adopted June 29, 1936, allowed this, and permitted each greenbelt town to incorporate and operate as a municipal government, supported by "sums in lieu of taxes" paid by the federal government. Retaining ownership of the towns had the added advantages of protecting the communities' undeveloped lands from unscrupulous developers, and making it possible to complete the communities as originally intended should the funds come available in the future.[52]

Progress in the greenbelt towns was further complicated by the resignation of Tugwell on November 18, 1936. He had been the lightening rod for anti-New Deal sentiment during the 1936 presidential campaign. An editorial in the *New York Times* had proclaimed Tugwell "a visible and personal link...between the Comintern in Moscow and the aspiring young reformers in Washington."[53] Inflammatory accounts in the press labeling the greenbelt projects "Tugwell Towns" convinced many Americans that the program was a communist experiment.[54]

Following Tugwell's departure, the RA was absorbed into the Department of Agriculture. The RA was subsequently dissolved and the greenbelt programs transferred to a new agency in the Department of Agriculture, the Farm Security Administration (FSA), in September 1937. The FSA took over the RA's resettlement communities as well, of which 38 had been completed, and 84 were unfinished. The greenbelt towns program staff was reduced to a minimum and transferred to the FSA. Will W. Alexander, who had been Deputy Director of the RA under Tugwell, was named head of the new agency.[55]

A model house, with furnishings designed especially for the project, had opened in Greendale at 5503 Acorn Court on February 7, 1937. Over a twelve-month period, some 650,000 visitors streamed to the site, including many design professionals, builders, housing officials and realtors, some from as far away as Moscow.[56] More than 3,000 families applied to live in Greendale. The federal government screened the applications in February 1938 and forwarded 2,000 to a panel of social workers for their review.

---

[52] Alanen and Eden, pp. 52-54; and Arnold, p. 91 and 127-32)
[53] *New York Times*, 19 November 1936, quoted in Arnold, p. 31.
[54] Arnold, p. 31; and Lampl, p. 39.
[55] Alanen and Eden, pp. 52-53.
[56] Ibid, pp. 45 and 49.

Members of the panel inspected the applicant's current housing to determine how poor the family's quarters were, how clean the family was, and to find "people who have in the past taken care of the property in which they have lived, persons of good moral character, who have been able to get along with their neighbors."[57] Neighbors and employers were interviewed to ensure the selection of families who would actively participate in the establishment of a wholesome, solid, stable community. Two-income families were excluded (wives were expected to stay home and take care of the children), as were families that it was thought might cause "exceptional social problems."[58]

When Greendale opened on May 1,1938, rents ranged from $19 a month (for a one-bedroom bachelor unit) to $32 a month (for a 4-bedroom, single-family house). The federal government established the rent schedule by calculating that each family should pay no more than 25 percent of its income in rent and utilities (which included water, heat, and electricity). Thus family income ranged between $1,200 and $2,000 per year. The first residents had a median age of 33 years, and averaged an eleventh grade education (as compared with a national median educational level of 8.75 years of schooling for whites over the age of 25). Slightly more than one-third were Catholic, slightly less than one-third were Lutheran, another one-quarter belonged to other Protestant denominations, and one-tenth claimed no church affiliation.[59]

The new community featured a village hall, a fire and police station incorporating a central heating plant for the administrative and commercial buildings, a sewage treatment plant, a water tower and two artesian wells, and a school/community building (see Map 4). The latter incorporated classrooms for kindergarten through eighth grade, a public library, and a gymnasium with an auditorium where public social events and church services could be held. The commercial area included facilities for a movie theater seating 600 persons, a tavern and restaurant with an outdoor garden, a garage and filling station, offices for a doctor and a dentist, and retail spaces for two food stores, a variety store, a drug store, a barbershop, a beauty parlor, a tailor, and a shoe repair shop. Sites were set aside for the expansion of the commercial area, as well as for the erection of Lutheran, Catholic and non-sectarian Protestant churches (these facilities were not built until the 1950s). In addition, there were three tennis courts, a horseshoe pit, five playgrounds, and a lighted ball field. Most of the parks were left in a natural state or landscaped to look like the fields or pastures one might find on the edge of a rural area. To enhance the pastoral

---

[57] Mr. Mellett, selection officer, "Greendale, Wisconsin" (mimeograph), n.d., Box 9, John S. Lansill Papers, University of Kentucky Library, Lexington, Kentucky, quoted in Alanen and Eden, p. 54.
[58] Arnold, pp. 137 and 141.
[59] Ibid, pp. 139 and 169; Alanen and Eden, p. 54; and Douglas Gordon Marshall, "Greendale: A Study of a Resettlement Community," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1943), pp. 19-20.

character of the community, electrical and telephone cables were installed underground. Finally, the farmstead where Jeremiah Curtin was born, as well as several abandoned lime kilns, were retained because Elbert Peets hoped to restore them as historic monuments. Curtin (c. 1840-1906) had been a distinguished professor of linguistics at Harvard and had served as Abraham Lincoln's ambassador to Russia. In 1951, a local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution would work with the federal government to restore the Curtin House, which would then be donated to the Milwaukee County Historical Society.[60]

On moving into Greendale, each family received a copy of the rules and regulations, *Helpful Suggestions for Greendale Residents*, which explained community restrictions and how to care for their new home and yard. Residents may well have bristled at the patronizing tone of the publication, which included this introduction:

> The following suggestions will help to promote the best interest of Greendale which, after all, are your interests.[61]

In an attempt to instill in the residents pride in their home, as well as to protect the government's investment, the regulations prohibited such things as driving nails into the walls, installing exterior radio aerials, and planting corn in the yard, and asked "that parents instruct their children not to cut corners over the grass." The pamphlet also noted that a plan for the garden had been prepared for each yard, with which residents were asked to conform.[62] Other initiatives intended to inculcate residents with the values necessary to join the middle class included leaving the kitchen pantry shelves and the area underneath the sink open to view to encourage neatness (an indispensable good habit for the upwardly mobile), and mandating that families with children of both sexes must live in a three-bedroom (or larger) home to prevent boys and girls from sleeping in the same room.[63] These intrusive management practices, dictated by a remote bureaucracy, frustrated residents and reinforced the resolution of many to stay only until they could save enough money to purchase a home of their own.[64] Douglas Gordon Marshall's 1943 study of Greendale found that the vast majority of the residents felt that the management was "too

---

[60] Alanen and Eden, pp. 34-35; U.S. Resettlement Administration, "Description of the Greendale Project," section 9, pp. 5 and 12 and section 10, p. 10; and "The Story of Greendale," pp. 13-16.
[61] U.S. Department of Agriculture, Farm Security Administration, *Helpful Suggestions for Greendale Residents*, p. 1.
[62] Ibid, p. 10.
[63] *Greendale Remembers: The Story of the Village in the Voices of Its People*, pp. 20-21; and Wright, pp. 226 and 232.
[64] Arnold, p. 158; and Marshall, p. 34, who found that about half the families moved to Greendale for this reason.

paternalistic in its attitude and has exercised too much control."[65]

Greendale's first residents knew they were building an entire town from the ground up and met the challenge with enthusiasm and a sense of adventure. One of the first challenges was the lack of business in Greendale – all the commercial buildings were vacant. Sherwood Reeder, whom the federal government had appointed as first village manager, encouraged the residents to organize a consumer cooperative to open and operate commercial establishments, as had been done at Greenbelt. The Greendale Cooperative Association (GCA) formed on July 13, 1938, and incorporated on August 22, 1938. The GCA leased the commercial buildings from the government with a loan from the Consumer Distribution Corporation, the same group that had underwritten Greenbelt's cooperative. The GCA opened a food store in September, a service station in November and a barbershop in December. The GCA subsequently subleased the variety store, drug store, movie theater, shoe repair shop, beauty parlor and tavern to private individuals. Other cooperative enterprises established in 1938-39 included the local weekly newspaper, the *Greendale Review* (still in publication), the Greendale Credit Union, the Greendale Dairy Distributing Company (which had its own herd of cows), and two cooperative medical organizations. The Greendale Medical Union was short-lived, but the Greendale Health Association, associated with the Milwaukee Medical Center, functioned until after World War II. In 1948, the Public Housing Administration (PHA), a new federal agency, took over the management of the greenbelt towns. The PHA refused to renew the GCA's leases, and the GCA folded, dissolving in December 1948.[66]

Greendale residents also organized a General Committee in July 1938 to address other issues and promote community activities. The General Committee appointed several subcommittees, including telephone, incorporation, recreation, government, labor relations (which tried to find jobs for the unemployed), and transportation. The latter was a pressing problem and despite several attempts to establish bus service between Milwaukee and Greendale, each time the provider found the route unprofitable and discontinued service, leaving Greendale residents to fend for themselves. Many social and civic organizations formed early on as well, such as the Women's Social Hour (later known as the Greendale Woman's Club), Garden Club, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and clubs for those interested in bowling, music, singing, handicrafts, dancing, drama, baseball, basketball, radio, philately, singing and chess.[67]

---

[65] Marshall, p. 71.
[66] Alanen and Eden, pp. 60-61; Arnold, pp. 180-81; and "Events of 1938," undated, Greendale Historical Society.
[67] *Greendale and the Activities of Its People,* (Greendale, Wisconsin: n.p., 1939), no page numbers, Greendale Historical Society; and Alanen and Eden, pp. 59-60.

Greendale incorporated as a village on November 11, 1938, following a referendum held on October 22. The first Village Board was elected on December 10, 1938. On February 25, 1939, the citizens of Greendale voted to establish the village manager form of government. The Village Board elected Sherwood Reeder village manager on April 18. As manager, Reeder appointed the village clerk-treasurer, assessor, attorney, health officer and chief of public safety. In addition to health and safety, the village government was responsible for street and road maintenance, street lighting, refuse collection, recreation, sewage, and the care of parks and public areas.[68]

School opened in the Greendale Community Building and School on September 6, 1938, with 432 students; this number would increase to 525 before the end of the school year. The curriculum was student-centered and focused on multi-disciplinary projects, in accordance with the theories of noted progressive educator John Dewey. School children also received annual physical and dental examinations, and a registered nurse was on staff in case anyone should fall ill. Interestingly, the first "registered nurse" was actually a female physician, Dr. Laura Fisher, who, with her husband, was the first to lease the doctor's office in the village center. In the evenings, the Community Building hosted classes for adults in commercial and vocational education, the fine arts, music, parent education and home-making. Catholic, Lutheran and Union (made up of several Protestant denominations) religious services were held regularly in the gymnasium/auditorium on the weekends until separate church buildings were erected in the 1950s. The library, located in the Community Building and intended for both public and school use, opened on October 17, 1938. It remained in the building until 1970.[69]

In 1940, the population of Greendale stood at 2,810. Committee participation had dropped precipitously. The period of intense activity needed to establish the village government and services, so highly demanding on committee members' time, was over. Families that had come to Greendale to take advantage of lower rents and save for a home of their own were moving on. Further, the federal policy that removed families once their income exceeded the upper limit by 25 percent had taken its toll, evicting some of Greendale's most dedicated residents. In 1942, when the Federal Public Housing Authority (FPHA) succeeded the FSA in the management of the greenbelt towns, this policy was eliminated in favor of a revised rent schedule based on family income.[70]

---

[68] *Greendale and the Activities of Its People;* and "The Story of Greendale," p. 15.
[69] "The Story of Greendale," pp. 14-17; *Greendale and the Activities of Its People;* and U.S. Department of Agriculture, Farm Security Administration, "Greenbelt Communities," 25 January 1940, p. 9.
[70] Marshall, pp. 19-20; Alanen and Eden, p. 57; and Lampl, p. 42.

In 1944, Oliver Winston, director of the General Field Office of the FPHA, began investigating approaches for expanding the greenbelt towns so that they would be large enough to be self-sufficient. The FPHA could then transfer the towns to a local homeowners association or public housing authority that could continue to operate them as planned communities, in accordance with the program's original intention. After conferring with Greendale's village manager, Walter Kroening, and a group of village residents organized as the Greendale Tenants Advisory Committee, Winston engaged Elbert Peets to prepare plans for expanding the village. In March 1945, Peets presented his plans, which proposed constructing 3,000 residences in four new sections (each with its own shops and parks), enlarging the existing commercial core, building an industrial park, and leaving much of the undeveloped land as farmland or parks. The plans maintained the hierarchical street system and pedestrian pathways of the original section. Rather than culs-de-sac, the new residential lanes looped away from the collector streets and back again (a configuration Peets had come to believe was preferable). To attract upper income families, Peets proposed an area of large residential lots along the Root River Parkway. Peets' plans were well received, and would guide much of the future development of Greendale. A group of village residents formed a cooperative, the Greendale Tenants Committee on Mutual Housing, with the intention of buying Greendale, but the FPHA would not sell to them, perhaps because a majority of residents wished either to buy their home or build in one of the new sections. The FPHA identified several possible private buyers, but gave up trying to sell when rising construction costs drove prospective buyers away.[71]

The FPHA dissolved in May 1947, and management of the greenbelt communities was transferred to a new agency, the Public Housing Administration (PHA). The head of the PHA was John Taylor Egan, who had served as a senior architect on the design team that originally planned Greendale. Egan was given the task of disposing of the greenbelt towns. As Egan debated how best to accomplish this, Greendale residents went into action. The Village Board hired Peets to prepare a zoning ordinance early in 1948. Two organizations formed to buy the community. The first was the Mutual Housing Corporation (MHC). The second, led by Arthur Marcus, was the American Legion Community Development Corporation (ALCDC). Competition between the two groups was fierce. The ALCDC made the PHA an offer of $2 million for Greendale, a figure that was too low for the PHA to accept. In December 1948, Marcus persuaded the City of Milwaukee to allocate $300,000 to purchase all of the ALCDC stock. Marcus then enlisted the support of U.S. Senator Joseph McCarthy, who sponsored a resolution that would allow the PHA to deal only with the ALCDC, excluding all other bidders. Fearful that the City of Milwaukee, as sole owner of the ALCDC stock, would annex Greendale, members of the MHC and other local residents who wished to remain an independent municipality organized the

[71] Peets, "Residential Site Planning Texture," pp. 208 and 211; Alanen and Eden, pp. 75-79; and Arnold, pp. 230-31.

Greendale Veterans' Cooperative Home Association (GVCHA) to oppose the ALCDC. The two groups presented plans to the community, both promising that residents could purchase their current homes. In a referendum held on August 23, 1949, residents voted overwhelmingly in favor of the GVCHA scheme, 621 to 98. Stunned, the Milwaukee Common Council withdrew its support from the ALCDC and filed suit to recover its $300,000 investment. Shortly thereafter, Marcus died, leaving the City of Milwaukee the bill for his private nurse. Despite these developments, the PHA refused to deal with the GVCHA.[72]

Senator Joseph McCarthy, annoyed at the defeat of the ALCDC and politically opposed to cooperative organizations, worked without the knowledge of the PHA to find a buyer for Greendale. McCarthy was unsuccessful and in February 1950, the ALCDC's special negotiating status was withdrawn. President Harry S. Truman briefly suspended efforts to dispose of the greenbelt communities at the beginning the Korean War (June 1950), in case they might be needed for defense housing. In 1951, the PHA decided to sell the housing first and retain the undeveloped lands for the time being. In January 1952, the original section of Greendale was platted as "Village Center." An independent assessor set the prices for the housing, which varied from about $2,500 per unit in the six-unit row houses, to $9,500 for the three-bedroom, single-family detached homes. First, tenants were given the opportunity to purchase their homes; if more than one resident in a row house wanted to buy the building, the competitors were obliged to draw lots (four-unit and six-unit row houses could be divided between two owners). Veterans would have first choice on any unsold housing, as well as the 44 vacant residential lots. Anything left over would be available to the general public. By the fall of 1952, all the housing and all the empty residential lots had been sold.[73]

In October 1952, the PHA offered the 2,236 acres of undeveloped land for sale, intending to sell the municipal and commercial buildings separately. The tenant farmers organized as the Rural Tenants Association, but the PHA refused to negotiate with them. Milwaukee's socialist mayor, Frank Zeidler, was concerned about what might happen to Greendale if real estate speculators acquired the undeveloped lands. He and Village Manager Walter Kroening approached two prominent Milwaukee businessmen about ensuring that Greendale be developed in keeping with its original principles. In response, Richard Herzfeld, owner of a Milwaukee department store, and W.A. Roberts, president of the Allis-Chalmers manufacturing firm, organized the Milwaukee Community Development Corporation (MCDC). Another Milwaukee industrialist, Francis J. Trecker, and attorney Louis Quarles joined Herzfeld and Roberts on the board of directors of the new corporation. Quarles was named president. In January 1953, after a brief period of negotiations, the MCDC entered into a contract to purchase all the

[72] Arnold, p. 232; and Alanen and Eden, pp. 79-84.
[73] Alanen and Eden, pp. 84-86.

undeveloped land as well as the municipal and commercial buildings from the PHA for $825,000. The federal government, which had spent about $10.4 million dollars to build Greendale in 1936-38, received a total of approximately $5.9 million selling it off in 1952-53.[74]

The MCDC saw Greendale both as a unique experiment that should be developed in keeping with its greenbelt planning principles, and as a good business investment. The MCDC immediately employed Elbert Peets to devise a master plan for Greendale. Peets' plan, completed in 1957, represented an update of his 1945 design. Each new residential neighborhood would have 10 to 20 percent of its area in parks, but, at the request of the MCDC, residential areas were expanded and the greenbelt decreased to coincide with the boundaries of the Root River Parkway. The MCDC and the Greendale Village Board worked together to coordinate residential development with the extension of utilities and the construction of school buildings. In 1955, the first new plat was recorded. As each addition was built, a homeowners association was organized to care for the common greenspace. Construction in Greendale boomed. In 1950, Greendale's population stood at 2,752. By 1960, it had reached 6,843. In 1958, the MCDC sold the shopping center and gave the village hall to the village board.[75]

In 1964, the MCDC sold its remaining 1,100 acres of undeveloped property to the Greendale Land Company (GLC), a Milwaukee realtor, for $1 million. The GLC continued to develop the community much as the MCDC had, balancing commercial and residential construction, and incorporating ample greenspace. By the 1980s, Greendale was complete. In 1980, the village counted 16,928 residents.[76] Today, Greendale remains a thriving community with a remarkable, pedestrian-oriented character, abundant natural parks within easy reach of every home, and friendly, intimate neighborhoods. The village numbered 14,405 in 2000.

SIGNIFICANCE: COMMUNITY PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

Greendale and the other greenbelt towns integrated Ebenezer Howard's Garden City principles with American planning traditions, as exemplified by the design for Radburn, New Jersey. The RA's brochure, *Greenbelt Towns: A Demonstration in Suburban Planning*, testifies to these influences by featuring photographs of Welwyn, Howard's second Garden City, and by highlighting Radburn as "America's first scientifically planned garden town."

---

[74] Ibid, pp. 86-88; and Arnold, p. 236.
[75] Alanen and Eden, pp. 89-90.
[76] Ibid, p. 92.

EBENEZER HOWARD'S GARDEN CITY OF TO-MORROW

Ebenezer Howard (1850-1928) was an English social reformer who worked as a court stenographer in his native London. Howard was moved by the dreadful living conditions of the urban poor, illustrated in publications such as *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* (Andrew Mearns, 1883), and *How The Other Half Lives: Studies Among the Tenements of New York* (Jacob Riis, 1890). Influenced by the utopian views of Benjamin Ward Richardson (*Hygeia, or the City of Health*, 1876) and Edward Bellamy (*Looking Backward: 2000-1887*, 1888), and the single-tax model developed by Henry George (*Progress and Poverty*, 1881), Howard proposed decentralizing London by creating a series of satellite cities around the metropolis, each of which would integrate the cultural advantages of the town with the healthful benefits of the country. Howard described his proposed "Garden Cities" in the treatise, *To-morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform* (1898), re-issued in 1902 under the title, *Garden Cities of To-morrow*. Like many radicals of his day, Howard believed that the antisocial problems of the urban poor – the alcoholism, the violence, the crime – would disappear, and social cooperation naturally develop, if the poor were relocated to a better physical environment (this was the "peaceful path to real reform" hinted at in the title of his treatise). Garden City was to be comprehensively planned, self-sustaining, and limited in size (to 6,000 acres with development confined to 1,000 acres) and population (to 32,000 inhabitants). Howard's simple diagram showed a commercial center and central park, ringed with six mixed-income residential areas (each with a public school), interspersed with parks and community facilities. Industry was to be concentrated along a railroad corridor around the edges of development, and the whole city was to be encircled with a broad "greenbelt" in agricultural and recreational use. Garden City was to be held in trust, its property never sold but rather leased to tenants. The community was to have a municipal government, while businesses and industries were to be administered by cooperatives. Finally, as property in Garden City increased in value, this unearned increment was to be reinvested in the community for the benefit of the tenants.[77]

The Garden City Association organized in Britain in 1899 in hopes of building a garden city. In 1903, Letchworth was erected outside of London, its construction financed by the Garden City Pioneer Company Limited, a subsidiary of the Garden City Association. Architects Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin designed Letchworth as a mixed-income community, with a formal town center and central park, clustered housing alternating with parks, land set aside for industrial use on the outskirts, and an

[77] Kermit C. Parsons and David Schuyler, editors, *From Garden City to Green City: The Legacy of Ebenezer Howard*, (Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), pp. 3-4 and 40-41; and David Barry Cady, "The Influence of the Garden City Ideal on American Housing and Planning Reform, 1900-1940," (Ph.D dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1970), pp. 7-15.

agricultural greenbelt. In fleshing out Howard's diagram, Parker and Unwin drew inspiration from two English company towns, constructed by benevolent factory owners concerned about their employees living conditions: Port Sunlight and Bournville. Port Sunlight was erected in 1887 for the workers at the Lever Brothers soap-making firm, outside of Liverpool. Port Sunlight displays row housing clustered on the outer edges of each irregular-sized block, leaving the interior of the block in communal allotment gardens (a motif that would be picked up in later developments). George Cadbury of the Cadbury Brothers chocolate-manufacturing company established Bournville near Birmingham in 1894. Bournville was notable for its abundant greenspace, and for providing a private garden for each dwelling unit. The plan of Letchworth shows a variation of the Port Sunlight's residential blocks with interior greenspace, composed of larger blocks, each cut with a cul-de-sac. In 1906, Parker and Unwin designed the first suburb along Garden City lines, Hampstead Gardens (near London), which features small commercial areas at the entrances into the plat, and slightly-curving residential lanes.[78]

Howard's second Garden City project, Welwyn, was financed by a joint stock company and constructed near London in 1919. Designed by Louis de Soissons, Welwyn displays a town center with axial streets, slightly-curving residential lanes laid out in such a way as to preserve natural features, residential blocks of varying sizes each displaying several culs-de-sac, and an encircling agricultural greenbelt. Although both Letchworth and Welwyn conformed to Howard's principles of physical design, neither was able to fulfill his critical social reform elements of communal ownership, cooperative management and reinvestment of the unearned increment. In the case of Letchworth, the directors of the Garden City Pioneer Company (who included W.H. Lever and George Cadbury) had promised investors a return of five percent. This proved too little to attract many investors, raising the cost of housing and making it too expensive for the low-income families Howard had hoped to serve. The housing at Welwyn was more affordable, thanks to a government subsidy. At both Letchworth and Welwyn, farming the greenbelts failed due to the poor quality of the soil. Finally, both communities experienced only limited success in attracting industry. Given this, it is perhaps unsurprising that the Garden City planning movement, which became an international phenomenon, emphasized the physical design aspects of Howard's Garden City and generally ignored his social reform ideas. Garden City planning principles

---

[78] Parsons and Schuyler, pp. 41-42; Cady, pp. 8-9; David L. Ames and Linda Flint McClelland, *National Register Bulletin: Historic Residential Suburbs, Guidelines for Evaluation and Documentation for the National Register of Historic Places*, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, 2002), pp. 42; Norman T. Newton, *Design on the Land: The Development of Landscape Architecture*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 448-52 and 456-60; and Bruce E. Lynch and Cynthia D. Lynch, "Washington Highlands Historic District," National Register Nomination, 28 September 1988, p. 8-6.

were employed in the design of suburbs and subdivisions throughout the western world, especially following the publication of Raymond Unwin's popular book, *Town Planning in Practice* (1909), and his subsequent speaking tours. Unwin, an entertaining lecturer, advocated designs composed of a formal town center surrounded by residential zones of slightly curving streets, studded with parks.[79]

In the United States, planners and landscape architects had been designing "Naturalistic" residential subdivisions with curvilinear streets, oddly-shaped blocks, and limited linear greenspace since (Frederick Law) Olmsted, (Calvert) Vaux & Co. had planned Riverside, Illinois in 1869. The Chicago World Columbian Exposition of 1893 had popularized "City Beautiful" principles for downtown plans, featuring broad, axial streets, formal gardens with statuary, and tree-lined parkways. American planners began blending Garden City principles into the Naturalistic and City Beautiful currents around 1910, creating suburbs and subdivisions that integrated residential areas with Naturalistic irregularly-shaped blocks and curvilinear streets, with the more abundant and interior-block parks of the Garden City, and the formal town center present in both City Beautiful and Garden City design. Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., John Nolen, and Werner Hegemann and Elbert Peets were among the leaders of this trend.[80]

The Russell Sage Foundation, a philanthropic organization, constructed America's first Garden City-influenced suburb, Forest Hills Gardens (New York), for working class families in 1910-11. The plan, prepared by Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., incorporated a small commercial area adjacent to the train station, curvilinear residential lanes including several blocks with interior parks, a public school, several playgrounds, and a large recreational area along one end of the development. Another early Garden City-influenced suburb was Washington Highlands, designed by Hegemann and Peets in 1916. Situated west of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, this plan exhibits an axial, tree-lined principal thoroughfare ringed by sweeping residential lanes, a pre-existing stream preserved as a linear parkway, and numerous small parks. The most widely admired Garden City-influenced suburb of the era was John Nolen's Mariemont, outside of Cincinnati, Ohio. Although not built until 1923-24, Nolen and his assistants, Philip W. Foster and Justin R. Hartzog, had begun preliminary planning for the new town in 1914. Philanthropist Mrs. Thomas J. Emery intended to create a wholesome and self-sustaining community for working-class families at Mariemont. Nolen's final (1921) plan connected an octagonal-shaped town center with residential blocks featuring a few culs-de-sac and interior parks as well as a variety of housing types. The plan maintained existing topographic features in the Naturalistic tradition, creating a park along the banks of an existing stream. It also displayed a hierarchical street system, with broad through streets and narrow residential lanes. Unfortunately, Mariemont was unable to attract industry until the late 1930s,

[79] Parsons and Schuyler, pp. 8 and 43-44; Newton pp. 460-61; and Ames and McClelland, p. 42.
[80] Newton, pp. 364-70 and 466-68; and Ames and McClelland, p. 43.

leaving much of the plan unbuilt until after World War II. In addition to the physical example provided by projects such as Forest Hills Gardens, Washington Highlands and Mariemont, the Garden City ideal and garden suburb design were widely publicized in architectural journals, technical publications and popular magazines in the 1910s. In addition, the National Conference on City Planning and the National Housing Association (both organized in 1910), endorsed Garden City principles and hosted conferences at which papers on garden suburbs, the Garden City model, and England's experiments with cooperatively-owned housing were prominently featured.[81]

During World War I, the United States was suddenly faced with a housing shortage for workers in cities where defense industries such as shipbuilding and ammunition production were located. In 1918, two federal agencies were created to alleviate the shortage: the U.S. Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation (EFC) and the U.S. Housing Corporation (USHC). Led by John Nolen, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., and Robert D. Kohn, the planners, architects and landscape architects in these programs worked collaboratively, employed Garden City ideas, and prepared comprehensive plans for their projects. Twenty-eight housing projects were erected through the EFC while the USHC built 27 new communities. Many incorporated elements of Garden City design, including formal commercial centers, curvilinear residential lanes arranged around the public school, and interior-block parks. The architecture, although low-cost, was attractive. Yorkship (Camden, New Jersey), Seaside Village (Bridgeport, Connecticut), Atlantic Heights (Portsmouth, New Hampshire), Hilton Village (Newport News, Virginia), and Union Gardens (Wilmington, Delaware) were among the most admired, inspiring higher standards in residential construction and subdivision site planning, at least in suburbs for the well-to-do, in the years following World War I. The EFC and USHC also provided a new generation of design professionals the opportunity to experiment with Garden City principles and other state-of-the-art ideas. Several of these architects, planners and landscape architects would go on to form a group that was to transform planning in the United States. This was the Regional Planning Association of America, and its members would play crucial roles in the greenbelt towns program.[82]

THE REGIONAL PLANNING ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA (RPAA)

In 1923, Charles Harris Whitaker, editor of *The Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, invited several progressive designers and social scientists to his office in New York City to exchange ideas. From this meeting, the Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA), an interdisciplinary "think tank," was born. Founding members included: architects and planners Clarence S. Stein, Frederick L.

[81] Newton, pp. 474-76; Ames and McClelland, p. 42; and Cady, pp. 34-36.
[82] Robinson and Associates, Inc., and Shrimpton, p. 8; Ames and McClelland, p. 44; and Cady, p. 45.

Ackerman, John Bright, Robert D. Kohn, Henry Wright and Frederick Bigger; realtor Alexander M. Bing; economist Stuart Chase; forester Benton McKaye; social critic Lewis Mumford; and Whitaker. Housing experts Edith Elmer Wood and Catherine Bauer, as well as landscape architects Tracy B. Augur and Russell Van Nest Black, soon joined the group. Education was the primary goal of the RPAA. Meeting two or three times a week for informal discussions, members strove to educate themselves about topics as diverse as Thorstein Veblen's economics, John Dewey's child-centered education, Scottish planner Patrick Geddes' "geotechnics," regional resource conservation, and social welfare theories. Experts on the given subject were often invited to participate. RPAA members became outspoken proponents of government-built affordable housing (inspired by the American experience during World War I, and public housing projects then underway in Europe), regional comprehensive planning incorporating industrial decentralization (possible because electrical power could be extended anywhere, and automobiles could transport people wherever electricity could reach), and both the social reform and design facets of Howard's Garden City ideal. The RPAA endeavored to educate others by serving on many planning and housing committees, and publishing numerous articles in professional magazines including *Architectural Record*, *Architectural Forum*, and *The Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, as well as popular publications such as *The Nation* and *The New Republic*. Subgroups of the RPAA also collaborated on a variety of projects. Following a visit to Ebenezer Howard and Raymond Unwin in 1924, Bing, Stein and Wright formed the City Housing Corporation (CHC), a limited dividend company established to build a complete Garden City. The CHC would produce two highly-influential developments: Sunnyside Gardens and Radburn.[83]

In 1924, the CHC purchased a site in Queens, near New York City, and began developing Sunnyside Gardens as a residential suburb for moderate-income families. Wright and Stein were obliged to conform to the grid-iron street pattern surrounding the site, but were able to design each of the project's ten blocks as a unit (rather than subdividing them into small lots) due to the property's industrial zoning classification. Row housing and cooperative apartments lined the outer edges of each block, enclosing a common greenspace for gardening and recreation. Wright and Stein included a community center, cooperative apartments and common greenspace in their plan for Sunnyside Gardens, in part, to promote positive social interactions between residents and encourage the development of communal feeling. Sunnyside Gardens was completed in 1928. The CHC viewed Sunnyside as an experiment, and a step toward their goal of a fully realized Garden City.[84]

---

[83] Cady, pp. 134-35 and 142; and Dirk Schubert, "The Neighbourhood [sic] Paradigm: From Garden Cities to Gated Communities," pp. 121-23, in Robert Freestone, editor, *Urban Planning in a Changing World: The Twentieth Century Experience*, (New York: E & FN Spon, 2000).

[84] Schubert, p. 122; Ames and McClelland, p. 44; and Newton, pp. 489-90.

The CHC found a suitable tract for its next project, Radburn, in 1928. Located in the Borough of Fairlawn, New Jersey, about 16 miles from New York City, the site lay near a highway and along a branch of the Erie Railroad. The parcel itself encompassed nearly two square miles of farmland and had only one major road running through it. Wright and Stein initially envisioned Radburn as a Garden City for moderate-income families with a total population of 25,000. It was to be divided into three neighborhoods, in keeping with the "neighborhood unit" concept articulated by Clarence Perry in *Regional Survey of New York and Its Environs* (in process for several years prior to its publication in 1929). Perry contended that the size of a neighborhood unit should be tied to the number of households needed to support an elementary school, somewhere between 4,000 and 7,000 people. He recommended that all housing in a neighborhood be located within one-half mile of the school and that at least 10 percent of the land be set aside for parks and recreation. Perry also argued that traffic should be directed around, rather than through, the neighborhood. Finally, he maintained that the commercial area should be placed at the periphery, yet be within easy walking distance of all residents' homes.[85]

Stein and Wright quickly realized that they did not have enough land to provide a greenbelt around Radburn, and that the location was unlikely to attract industry, but they decided to proceed, planning Radburn as a garden suburb and satellite of New York City. Wright's and Stein's design for Radburn was an Americanized variant of Howard's model, reflecting Garden City principles while incorporating Perry's neighborhood unit formula and innovations that recognized that the automobile, with its attendant dangers to pedestrians, had become an essential part of life in the U.S. Three major design elements distinguished the Radburn plan, earned it the nickname, "the town for the motor age," and made it a landmark example of American city planning. The first element was the superblock, more than ten times the size of a typical American city block, with a four to six-acre interior park, bordered by narrow, culs-de-sac along which housing was clustered. The measures taken to accommodate the automobile while protecting pedestrians comprise the second distinguishing element of the Radburn plan. These measures include separate circulation systems for vehicular and pedestrian traffic, and off-street parking. The vehicular circulation system employed three types of roads: the narrow, residential culs-de-sac; wider, collector streets that carried cars around the perimeter of each superblock, unifying groups of superblocks into neighborhoods; and broad, through streets intended to connect Radburn's neighborhoods with each other and with major arterials leading to other communities. The pedestrian circulation system consisted of footpaths, within each superblock, which led from housing to the park, as well as to underpasses that allowed pedestrians to reach schools, recreational areas and the shopping center without crossing a single street. Off-street parking consisted of garages and car-length driveways

[85] Newton, pp. 490-93; and Daniel Schaffer, *Garden Cities for America: The Radburn Experience*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982), p. 157.

in the residential areas, and a strip of diagonal parking spaces across the front of Radburn's shopping center. The latter represented an early use of off-street customer parking, which was first seen in J.C. Nichols' Country Club District, a Kansas City, Missouri suburb developed between 1919 and 1931.[86] The third distinguishing element of the Radburn plan was the turned-around floor plan of the housing, with the kitchen and utility room(s) facing the cul-de-sac (the "service side"), and the family spaces such as the living room and bedrooms overlooking the park (the "garden side"). The Radburn plan focused on families and children, its physical design promoting their health and safety, and facilitating social interactions within and between families.[87]

Unfortunately, only a portion of Radburn's first neighborhood unit had been completed when the stock market crashed in October 1929. The CHC hoped to resume construction, but was forced to declare bankruptcy in 1933, and Radburn was never finished.[88] Lewis Mumford dubbed the plan's distinguishing design elements the "Radburn Idea." The Radburn Idea was integral in the planning of the greenbelt towns, and continues to resonate with planners, architects and landscape architects today.

GREENDALE AND THE OTHER GREENBELT TOWNS

Greendale and the other greenbelt towns represent the most significant American experiments in Garden City planning. These towns conformed more closely to the Garden City model than any other planned communities in the U.S., incorporating most of Howard's recommendations for physical design as well as social reform. Each greenbelt town was comprehensively planned, limited in size and population. The general layout of each greenbelt town was in keeping with Howard's diagram, composed of an administrative and commercial core surrounded by residential areas, interspersed with parks, and encircled with a greenbelt. Each greenbelt town was held in trust by a single land owner (the federal government) and its properties rented to tenants until the towns were sold in the 1950s. The people governed each town through municipal incorporation and numerous citizen committees. Finally, the residents organized cooperatives to create and maintain the early businesses and institutions. All of these elements combined to create three towns whose existence presented a radical challenge to fundamental patterns of growth, real estate practice and political organization, in a country that was based on unbridled capitalism and individualism.

---

[86] Richard Longstreth, *The Drive-in, the Supermarket, and the Transformation of Commercial Space in Los Angeles, 1914-1941*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press, 1999), p. 136.
[87] Schaffer, pp. 152 and 160; Newton, pp. 490-93; Schubert, pp. 122-24; and Ames and McClelland, p. 47.
[88] Shaffer, p. 12.

Although all three towns reflect Howard's ideal to a great extent, Greendale's greenbelt was most successfully farmed. Greendale had 65 farms, most in dairy, small truck or poultry production. These farms remained in operation until the federal government sold the greenbelt in 1952. In contrast, Greenhills had 62 farms, and Greenbelt had seven.[89] Greendale was the only town with land set aside for industrial use, although that section of the plan was not completed during the period of federal ownership. Cooperative organizations flourished initially in all three greenbelt towns. The Greendale Cooperative Association opened and operated several early businesses, but dissolved in 1948 when the federal government refused to renew its leases. Other cooperative efforts included the Greendale Credit Union, the Greendale Dairy, and the Greendale Health Association (later a part of the Milwaukee Medical Center). In contrast, Greenhills Consumer Services was still in operation as late as 1971, but in much diminished form, while Greenbelt Consumer Services is still functioning. Finally, the efforts of a citizen group to purchase Greendale and manage it as cooperative housing were rebuffed by the federal government, perhaps because more than half the dwelling units at Greendale were single-family and a survey of the residents had shown that a majority wished to purchase their homes. Conversely, the government sold the housing in the original sections of Greenhills and Greenbelt, almost all of which was multi-family, to local cooperative homeowners associations.[90]

Greendale and the other greenbelt towns reflected the influence of the Garden City model, yet were uniquely American. The towns embodied the foremost principles of architectural design and urban planning of the 1930s, which had developed over a 25 year period and built on the synthesizing of the American planning traditions of informal Naturalistic residential areas and formal City Beautiful urban centers with Garden City physical planning principles, which had first appeared in the U.S. in 1911. This synthesis was refined through the defense housing projects developed for the federal government during World War I, and reinvigorated through the work of the RPAA, as exemplified by the plan for Radburn, New Jersey. Each greenbelt town had its own multi-disciplinary design team led by design professionals and supplemented by experts in diverse fields such as housing, education, social welfare, agricultural economics and wildlife management. Each greenbelt town was scientifically planned, based on numerous surveys (as Scottish planner Patrick Geddes had advocated) including topography, soil types, wind direction, and weather conditions, as well as the preferences and demographic characteristics of potential tenants. Each design team employed their collective expertise to address the site conditions and the characteristics of the target population. The result was the creation of three towns, each of which displayed an innovative site plan, abundant parks, and high-quality housing that was modern yet

[89] Although by 1940, Greenbelt's farms were not in agricultural use, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Farm Security Administration, "Greenbelt Communities," p. 5.
[90] Alanen and Eden, pp. 32 and 83; U.S. Department of Agriculture, Farm Security Administration, "Greenbelt Communities," p. 12; Arnold, pp. 92 and 180-81; and Lampl, p. 8-5.

economical in layout and materials. The differences between the greenbelt towns reflect not only differences in site and target population, but also differences in the views and sensibilities of the design team (especially the chief planner), which made each greenbelt town unique.

Greendale's plan embodies the neighborhood unit concept and the Radburn Idea. In keeping with Clarence Perry's neighborhood unit concept, Greendale's plan focused on family safety and convenience, placing all the housing in the original section within one-half mile of both the school and the village center, siting the village adjacent to major roadways (West Grange Avenue and Loomis Road) but not allowing them to pass through the original section, and setting aside one-third of the land in the original section for parks and recreation (a figure that has been maintained as the village has expanded). Elbert Peets and Jacob Crane took into account the site conditions and the population characteristics of Greendale in their interpretation of the three major elements of the Radburn Idea: the superblock, measures to safely accommodate the car, and the turned-around house plan.

Greendale displays a variation of the superblock. The collector streets, Northway, Southway and Broad Street, divide Greendale into three, irregular superblocks. Narrow residential lanes cut into, and sometimes through, these superblocks. Housing is clustered along the residential lanes, leaving broad swaths of parkland. However, Greendale's parks are not enclosed within the superblocks, nor does common greenspace separate residential lanes from one another, as at Greenbelt and Greenhills. Instead, Greendale's parks flow through and along the edges of each superblock. Elbert Peets deliberately departed from the Radburn superblock in his design for Greendale for three reasons. First, Peets wanted to preserve the existing topographic features and mature trees as much as possible, for their beauty and to save funds that would otherwise be spent grading the site. The principal natural feature on the site is Dale Creek, which meanders southward through two of the superblocks. Organizing the parks around Dale Creek and its wooded banks created a linear greenway, which Peets expanded in an informal, naturalistic manner to create Greendale's flowing and continuous park system. As Clarence Stein commented, "Greendale is superbly related to its natural site."[91] Second, Peets firmly believed "every house should have its patch of ground, with a fence around it."[92] For this reason, Peets laid out a private yard for each dwelling, from the single-family detached house to the one-bedroom unit in the row housing. However, these yards present a similar appearance to the communal parks at Radburn, Greenbelt and Greenhills, and they form the same function, separating the residential lanes from one another. Third, Peets wanted to orient the dwellings to take advantage of prevailing summer breezes, provide shelter from the north winds, and maximize exposure to the sunlight throughout the day. To

[91] Clarence Stein, *Toward New Towns for America*, (New York: Reinhold Publishing Company, 1957), p. 186.
[92] Elbert Peets, "Greendale," p. 220.

accomplish this, the residential lanes were laid out north-south, so that the row housing and twins could be placed with the long axis running north-south, and each lane could show the same relationship between building, street and yard.[93] If Peets had employed the Radburn-style superblock, with residential lanes cutting in from all directions, either the housing could not have been placed along a north-south axis, or it could not have been clustered close to the street.

Greendale's automobile and pedestrian circulation systems are largely separate, as they are at Greenbelt (but not at Greenhills). The roads are hierarchical, consisting of broad collector streets that loop around and between the residential areas, and narrow residential lanes, many of them culs-de-sac, which fan out from the collector streets. Although sidewalks are found along the collector streets, each residential lane possesses only a very narrow sidewalk, encouraging pedestrians to use the pedestrian pathways. These are paved and thread behind and between the yards, and through wooded parkland, providing every home with a traffic-free walk to playgrounds, school and the village center. Parks and playgrounds can be reached without crossing a single street, and the school and the village center are accessible from any home by crossing no more than one collector street. As budget constraints did not permit the construction of under- or overpasses, all-way stop signs were placed were collector streets intersect, and buildings were set back from the intersections (and very little housing overlooks the collector streets), providing drivers and pedestrians with expansive and unobstructed views. The fact that there has never been an automobile-pedestrian fatality in Greendale's 65-year history testifies to the effectiveness of the design and to the appropriateness of the nickname Jacob Crane gave the community, "Safety Town." Albert Mayer, an architect involved in the planning of the ill-fated Greenbrook, reviewed the progress of the greenbelt towns for *The Journal of Housing* in 1966. He labeled Greendale's circulation system, "ingenious."[94] Off-street parking is available in the village center both in front of and behind the shopping center on the west side of Broad Street, while garages and car-length driveways provide off-street parking in the residential areas. Additional measures were take to ensure fire safety, including using non-combustible materials in building construction (concrete foundation, cinder block walls, tile roofing), restricting the buildings to two stories in height, and installing a water system with fire hydrants and ample pressure.[95] The use of concrete block, an icon of affordable housing, also reflects economizing measures.

At Greendale, all but the three- and six-unit row houses (accounting for 25 of the 366 residential

---

[93] Elbert Peets, "The Orientation of Row Houses," pp. 199-201, in Spreiregen. In this 1960s essay, Peets advocated placing the length of the building slightly northeast-southwest to maximize the beneficial effects of sunlight.
[94] Albert Mayer, "Greenbelt Towns Revisited (part 2)," *The Journal of Housing* (February 1967) p. 83.
[95] Crane, pp. 28-29.

buildings) exhibit the turned-around house plan, with the kitchen and utility room on the street side, and the living room on the garden side. For the single-family detached and twin residences, Peets expanded beyond the turned-around house plan, increasing each unit's privacy with highly creative site planning. The single-family detached dwellings display chain house siting, using the neighboring garage to form a court between each pair of houses, with the principal entrance into each house through the court on the house's south side. By setting the garage perpendicular to the street, to the side and in front of its respective unit, Peets created a court for each twin dwelling, with the principal entrance again through the court.

Additional design details set Greendale apart from Greenbelt and Greenhills. First, nearly half (274) of the dwelling units at Greendale were single-family detached houses. In contrast, Greenhills had 24 single-family homes out of 676 dwelling units, and Greenbelt had six single-family residences out of 885 dwelling units.[96] Peets had insisted that it would be easier to erect single-family houses on the irregular topography, given that very little grading was going to be done. Further, he did not accept the conventional wisdom that row housing was the only economically feasible type of housing for families with modest incomes. Final cost estimates supported Peets' view, finding Greendale's single-family houses cost about $10,814 per unit as compared with $10,872 per row house unit at Greenhills, and $9,909 per row house unit at Greenbelt.[97] Second, Greendale displays Colonial Revival influence in its architecture, as well as in the siting of the housing close to the street. Peets identified Colonial Williamsburg, then undergoing reconstruction, as an inspiration for the plan of Greendale.[98] Greendale's housing, designed by Harry Bentley, is aesthetically pleasing and shows the influence of the Colonial Revival style in form, roof shape, chimney placement, and window configuration, as well as in the limited use of brick pilasters and quoins. The Colonial Revival style is more evident in the commercial and administrative buildings, designed by Walter Thomas. These buildings display symmetrical facades, red brick finishes, and brick quoins. The Village Hall borrows more directly from Colonial Williamsburg, replicating the plan and the wooden clock tower of the Capitol building. In comparison, the buildings at Greenbelt and Greenhills show the influence of the International Style and are, in the words of Arnold, "but poor reflections" of the European Bauhaus designs that inspired their exterior appearance. Arnold quotes Henry Churchill, an advisor to the RA, as characterizing the architecture at Greenbelt and Greenhills as "competent and undistinguished."[99] Arnold goes on to compare the three greenbelt towns by saying, "only Greendale has charm and atmosphere...Greenbelt and Greenhills are recognizable as institutional type structures while Greendale, even with row houses,

[96] U.S. Department of Agriculture, Farm Security Administration, "Greenbelt Communities," p. 12.
[97] Alanen and Eden, p. 41; and Arnold, p. 99.
[98] Peets, "Greendale," p. 222.
[99] Arnold, p. 102.

looks like a collection of individual homes which happened to grow together into a lovely village."[100]

Finally, although the U.S. Public Housing Administration employed the original designers to prepare master plans for the future development of each greenbelt town in the late 1940s, it was Greendale that was most closely developed in the spirit of the original concept. The MCDC, which purchased Greendale's undeveloped property in 1953, retained Peets as a consultant and followed his recommendations in large part. Due to financial constraints, the MCDC was unable to maintain the greenbelt in its original form, although a good portion of it remains as the Root River Parkway (marking the west and south boundaries of Greendale), and the ratio of one-third of the land in parks has been maintained. Peets drew the plans for the new subdivisions, abandoning dead-end residential lanes in favor of looped ones to better accommodate personal and maintenance vehicles. No sidewalks appear along the residential lanes, but paved pedestrian pathways wind through the linear greenways and parks in the newer subdivisions, connecting housing to schools, commercial centers and the Root River Parkway. Although Peets proposed that new homes be sited with a revision of his chain house plan, new residences were erected with the setbacks and appearance typical of 1950s subdivisions.[101] In 1967, Albert Mayer concluded that he "found [Greendale] to have more faithfully followed the original open land use concepts than either of the other two greentowns."[102] In particular, Mayer lamented the form new development had taken at Greenhills, "the refreshing green of the original Greenhills contrasting with the serried ranks of parallel roads and housing in the later portions and in the new private development of Forest Park."[103]

THE INFLUENCE OF GREENDALE

Greendale and the other greenbelt towns represent the highest expression of the ideal in urban planning principles of the 1930s. However, Tugwell's vision of hundreds of well-designed, conservationist, government-built, and cooperatively-owned towns ringing America's urban centers, providing better homes for low-income families and promoting a participatory democratic community, was not fulfilled. This failure turned on a pivotal question of the era: What should the role of the government be in housing? Before the Depression, the federal government was not involved in the housing market and provided no assistance to the needy. The American system of laissez faire capitalism looked to private industry to provide housing, and to private and religious charities to help the poor. By the early 1930s, it had become evident that private industry could not build adequate housing for everyone; there was no

[100] Ibid, p. 103.
[101] Elbert Peets, "Residential Site Planning Texture," pp. 202-15.
[102] Mayer, p. 81.
[103] Ibid, p. 82.

profit in erecting housing for the poor, and there were too many low-income families competing for the housing that "trickled down" as those with higher incomes moved into better units. It also had become clear that local and state government efforts to improve slum housing through zoning ordinances and other regulations were not working.

In June 1933, President Roosevelt's New Deal administration initiated two distinctly different approaches to address the housing crisis. The first intervened in the housing market indirectly; this was the Home Owners' Loan Act, creating the Home Owners' Loan Corporation, which introduced long-term, low-interest, self-amortizing loans. The second approach followed the European model of low-cost housing built or funded directly by the government; this was Title II of the National Industrial Recovery Act, which created the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works (PWA). The National Housing Act of 1934 (NHA) built on indirect intervention, by establishing the Federal Housing Administration (FHA), which provided federal insurance for privately-financed, long-term, self-amortizing mortgages for owner-occupied houses, residential subdivisions and rental housing. Amendments to the NHA in 1938 and 1941, together with the Housing Act of 1948, broadened the NHA, making low-interest, long-term mortgages affordable for an increasing segment of the population. In contrast, the creation of the Resettlement Division in 1935 expanded on the direct intervention approach, and the greenbelt towns program, intended for working families with moderately low incomes, represented the government's greatest encroachment into the housing market. Public housing drew vocal opposition from the powerful real estate lobby and the greenbelt towns program, the New Deal's most visible public housing program, was the lightening rod.[104]

The National Association of Real Estate Boards (NAREB), the Chamber of Commerce of the U.S., and the U.S. Building and Loan League, leaders in the real estate lobby, argued that public housing in general, and the greenbelt towns in particular, represented unfair competition to private efforts and were not only unnecessary, but detrimental to the real estate market, because the low rents of public housing would reduce demand for new construction and delay the recovery of the private homebuilding industry. Walter S. Schmidt, president of NAREB, articulated this view:

> It is contrary to the genius of the American people and the ideals they have established that government become landlord to its citizens...There is sound logic in the continuance of the practice under which those who have initiative and the will to save acquire better living facilities, and yield their former quarters at modest rents to the group below.[105]

---

[104] Ames and McClelland, pp. 30-31; and Robinson and Associates, Inc. and Shrimpton, pp.20 and 58-62.
[105] Quoted in Robinson and Associates, Inc., and Shrimpton, p. 51.

Opponents also denounced the greenbelt towns as socialist, their unsubstantiated charges convincing many Americans that the towns, with their cooperatives and their communitarian spirit, were exercises in state socialism. The Chamber of Commerce of the U.S. declared the greenbelt towns program "an experiment in state control of far-reaching proportions," while NAREB called the program "undiluted socialism."[106] Some members of the press added fuel to the fire, printing articles about the towns under headlines such as, "First Communist Town in U.S. Nears Completion," "Tugwell Abolishes Private Property," and "The Sweetheart of the Regimenters: Dr. Tugwell Makes America Over."[107] The last article inspired a nickname for New Deal planners, "the Make-America-Over Corps."[108]

The greenbelt towns were also criticized as exorbitantly expensive, their costs consistently misinterpreted and judged as though the towns had been private developments and not work relief projects. Senator Harry Byrd of Virginia, determining by his own calculations that housing in the greenbelt towns cost over $16,000 a unit, declared the program "[a] sinful and absurd waste..."[109]

The negative publicity the greenbelt towns engendered aroused public sentiment against direct government intervention in the housing market. Subsequent public housing legislation was enacted only with great difficulty, and with severe restrictions placed on the role of the federal government and the cost of the program. The United States Housing Act of 1937 established the U.S. Housing Authority (USHA) as a permanent public housing program for very low-income families, but did not permit the USHA to directly build or manage public housing. The USHA was to act as the financial agent and to provide technical advice, but all other responsibilities were given to local housing authorities. Senator Byrd, demanding assurances that the public housing program would not duplicate the "extravagant" expenses of the greenbelt towns, attached a rider to the Act that prevented the USHA from spending more than $5,000 per dwelling unit.[110] The debate over the role of federal government in the housing market had ended. Thereafter, government policy was primarily one of indirect intervention, promoting and protecting capitalist investment by guaranteeing mortgages through the FHA and the Veteran's Administration.[111]

The physical design of Greendale and the other greenbelt communities is their most enduring legacy.

---

[106] Quoted in Cady, p. 298.
[107] Articles in the *Chicago American*, 28 October 1936; *New York American*, 29 October 1936; and *American Mercury* 9(September 1936), p. 78; all quoted in Arnold, p. 197.
[108] Wright, p. 222.
[109] *New York Times*, 5 July 1935, cited in Arnold, p. 194.
[110] Robinson & Associates, Inc., and Shrimpton, pp. 56-57.
[111] Schaffer, p. 226.

Even NAREB lauded the three towns for their "excellent design," at the same time it was condemning all public housing projects.[112] The influence of Greendale and the other greenbelt towns, as exemplars of the Radburn Idea, is most evident in the plans for the cities erected as part of the New Towns movement.

Following World War II, the New Towns movement was launched when the British government initiated a program to fund the design and construction of self-supporting, satellite communities around the commonwealth. In part, this effort represented a rebirth of the Garden City movement, but many English new towns displayed the influence of the Radburn Idea. Cumbernauld is the best-known British example. Designed in 1955, Cumbernauld is situated near Glasgow, Scotland, and was intended to house 70,000 people. It features a hierarchical street system, and the unit of design is the neighborhood, based on the school service area. New towns in other countries that were, like Greendale, planned in neighborhood units, include: Vallingby, outside Stockholm, Sweden; Sondergaardsparken, near Copenhagen, Denmark; Chandigarh, in the East Punjab, India; and Kitimat, British Columbia, Canada. Kitimat can be directly traced to Radburn and the greenbelt towns, as it was designed by Clarence Stein, Albert Mayer (one of the principal planners of Greenbrook), and Julian Whittlesey (a draftsman on the original design of Greenbelt, and a consultant on Greenbelt's 1955 master plan). In 1957, Mayer and Whittlesey collaborated on the plan for the first post-World War II new town erected in the U.S.: Reston, Virginia.[113]

Reston, like most other American new towns of the post-World War II era, was financed by a private developer. Robert E. Simon, whose father had been an investor in Radburn, erected Reston outside of Washington, D.C., in 1961-64. Reston displays numerous features clearly inspired by the greenbelt towns and Radburn. It is made up of seven villages arranged around a commercial and administrative center. Each village was intended to house about 10,000 people, divided into five or six neighborhoods. An elementary school is the focus of each neighborhood. Housing is clustered, and naturalistic greenspace follows stream valleys through the plan, just as it does at Greendale. The other notable new town of the 1960s, Columbia, Maryland, also exhibits villages composed of school-centered neighborhoods, with clustered housing and linear open space laid out along existing stream valleys. Columbia, located half-way between Washington, D.C. and Baltimore, Maryland, was built by developer James W. Rouse in 1963-65.[114]

---

[112] Quoted in Arnold, p. 104.
[113] Schubert, p. 132; Kermit C. Parsons, "British and American Community Design: Clarence Stein's Manhattan Transfer, 1924-74," pp. 152-53, in Parsons and Schuyler; and Lampl, p. 48.
[114] Parsons, in Parsons and Schuyler, p. 153; William Fulton, "The Garden Suburb and the New Urbanism," p. 169, in Parsons and Schuyler; and Eugenie L. Birch, "Five

Neither Reston nor Columbia was an immediate financial success. Perhaps for this reason, a lull in the construction of new towns followed until the erection of Seaside, Florida. Seaside, planned by Miami architects Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk in 1982, was the first manifestation of what would become known as the New Urbanism. Taking its cue from journalist Jane Jacobs, who asserted that neighborhoods need a grid street plan and houses that face the street to ensure busy sidewalks, New Urbanists rejected the American Garden City model, which the greenbelt towns and Radburn embodied. Jacobs blamed the Garden City movement for America's post-World War II suburban sprawl and its lack of character. She contended that Ebenezer Howard had "set spinning powerful and city-destroying ideas," provoking Lewis Mumford into responding, "One would think that 'garden' was another name for 'open sewer.'"[115] In contrast to the greenbelt towns and Radburn, New Urbanist communities are formal in layout and reverse the turned-around house plan, substituting streets for pedestrian pathways, and alleys for residential service lanes.[116]

Ironically, New Urbanists draw inspiration from the work of two planners who were very much a part of the Garden City planning current: Raymond Unwin and John Nolen.[117] The Charter of New Urbanism, ratified in 1996 at the annual meeting of the Congress for the New Urbanism, shows that New Urbanism shares many of the design principles of the American Garden City suburb, as represented by the greenbelt towns and Radburn. These common principles can be summarized as follows: first, that development should be based on compact, pedestrian-oriented neighborhoods that have clearly defined centers and edges; second, that the neighborhood should accommodate a diverse mix of activities including residences, shops, schools, workplaces and parks; third, that the neighborhood should be no more than one-quarter mile from center to edge and laid out so as to encourage pedestrian activity; fourth, that the neighborhood should incorporate a wide range of housing types to attract families of different incomes and compositions; fifth, that parks, playgrounds, squares and greenbelts should be provided in convenient locations throughout the community; sixth, that the neighborhood center should include a public space, such as a library, church or community center, as well as a transit stop and retail businesses; and seventh, that civic buildings, such as government offices, churches and libraries, should be sited in prominent locations.[118]

Yet the greenbelt towns and Radburn did indeed influence the suburban boom of the post World War II

Generations of the Garden City: Tracing Howard's Legacy in Twentieth-Century Residential Planning," pp. 177-79, in Parsons and Schuyler.
[115] Quoted in Fulton, p. 164.
[116] Fulton, p. 166.
[117] Ibid, p. 165.
[118] Birch, pp. 185-86.

era, both for good and, much as Jane Jacobs and the New Urbanists contended, for ill. The FHA, which approved new residential subdivisions as well as new rental and owner-occupied housing prior to issuing mortgage insurance, published guidelines that shaped suburban development in the U.S. for decades. These guidelines incorporated various design elements drawn from the greenbelt towns and Radburn. The 1940 edition of *Principles of Planning Small Houses*, for example, recommended designing each home with an efficient interior layout and siting it on a cul-de-sac, taking into account orientation to sunlight, prevailing winds, and the view. The FHA urged developers of large-scale, rental housing to site their projects to fit the topography and employ superblocks with common greenspaces, separate circulation systems for automobiles and pedestrians, and gardens, landscaped sidewalks and entry courts.[119]

While an enlightened real estate speculator might include pedestrian pathways through the superblocks that made up his subdivision, leading to the neighborhood park and the neighborhood school, the distinctive design elements of the greenbelt towns and Radburn were usually applied selectively and debased. As historian William Fulton noted:

> Local streets needed to be nothing more than service lanes without landscaping or sidewalks. The greenways toward which the homes were oriented could be converted into golf courses or sliced up into fenced backyards in keeping with the American taste for private space.[120]

Condominium projects and gated communities, built beginning in the late 1960s, have further adulterated the design elements that distinguished the greenbelt towns and Radburn. They typically feature compact concentrations of clustered housing, common greenspace, and a community building.[121] Unlike the greenbelt towns, however, these communities are seldom inclusive but rather strive to shut out the rest of the world. The garage is placed next to the street and the house lies beyond it. The homeowner, using his garage door opener, enters the house through the garage without speaking to the neighbor. Gated communities are buffered from their surroundings not with a healthy belt of green, but with a wall.

---

[119] Ibid, p. 175; and Ames and McClelland, pp. 61-63.
[120] Fulton, p. 163.
[121] Birch, p. 179-80.

In contrast, Greendale is the physical manifestation of the desire, handed down from Ebenezer Howard to American urban planners of the New Deal era, to provide a humane, pedestrian- and family-oriented environment that would encourage the residents to form a democratic and cooperative community. Greendale, Radburn, Greenbelt and Greenhills are as important for the inspiration they continue to provide to urban planners as they are for their place in American urban history.

End of Statement of Significance

Insert

Alanen, Arnold R. and Joseph A. Eden. *Main Street Ready-Made: The New Deal Community of Greendale, Wisconsin.* Madison, Wisconsin: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1987.

Ames, David L. Ames and Linda Flint McClelland. *National Register Bulletin: Historic Residential Suburbs, Guidelines for Evaluation and Documentation for the National Register of Historic Places.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register of Historic Places, 2002.

Arnold, Joseph L. *The New Deal in the Suburbs: A History of the Greenbelt Town Program, 1934-1954.* Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1971.

Bauer, K. W. "A Greenbelt Town Grows Up." *The American City* 74 (October 1959): 143-148.

Bauman, John F., Roger Biles and Kristin M. Szylvian, editors. *From Tenements to the Taylor Homes: In Search of an Urban Housing Policy in Twentieth-Century America.* University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000.

Birnbaum, Charles A. and Robin Karson, editors. *Pioneers of American Landscape Design.* New York: McGraw Hill, 2000.

Buder, Stanley. *Visionaries and Planners: The Garden City Movement and the Modern Community.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Cady, David Barry. "The Influence of the Garden City Ideal on American Housing and Planning Reform: 1900-1940." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1970.

Christianson, Carol A. *The American Garden City and the New Towns Movement.* Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, Architecture and Urban Design, 1986.

"Comparative Architectural Details in the Greenbelt Housing." *American Architect and Architecture* 149 (October 1936): 20-36.

Conkin, Paul K. *Tomorrow a New World: The New Deal Community Program.* New York, New York: Da Capo Press, 1976.

Crane, Jacob. "Greendale - the General Plan." *The Planners' Journal* 3 (July-August 1937): 89-90.

Crane, Jacob. "Safety Town." *Public Safety* 11 (August 1937): 28-30.

Dahir, James. *Greendale Comes of Age: The Story of Wisconsin's Best Known Planned Community as it Enters Its Twenty-First Year.* Milwaukee: Milwaukee Community Development Corporation, 1958.

Eden, Joseph A. "The Aging of a Greenbelt Town: A Planning History of Greendale, Wisconsin." M.A. thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1981.

Eden, Joseph A. and Arnold R. Alanen. "Looking Backward at a New Deal Town: Greendale, Wisconsin, 1935-1980." *APA Journal* 49 (Winter 1983): 40-58.

Freestone, Robert, editor. *Urban Planning in a Changing World: The Twentieth Century Experience.* New York: E & FN Spon, 2000.

Frew, Minnie. Greendale Resident Since 1938. Interview, 18 June 2003.

"F.S.A. Farm Security Administration." *Architectural Forum* 68 (May 1938): 415-24.

"Greenbelt Towns." *Architectural Record* 80 (September 1936): 215-234.

Greendale and the Activities of Its People. Greendale, Wisconsin: N.p., 1939.

Greendale Decennial Committee. *This is Greendale.* Greendale, Wisconsin: The Committee, 1948.

Greendale Historical Society. Files.

Greendale Remembers: The Story of the Village in the Voices of Its People. Greendale, Wisconsin: Greendale Historical Society, 1998.

Greendale Review. (Greendale, Wisconsin). 1940.

Greendale Village Directory. Greendale, Wisconsin: Greendale Woman's Club, 1958; 1960; 1962; 1964; 1967; 1969; 1971; and 1973.

Hegemann, Werner and Elbert Peets. *The American Vitruvius: An Architects' Handbook of Civic Art.* ?: press, 1922; reprint edition, New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1988.

Hofstadter, Richard. *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F. D. R.* New York, New York: Vintage Books, 1955.

Howard, Ebenezer. *Garden Cities of To-Morrow.* (Second Edition). Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1965.

Knepper, Cathy D. *Greenbelt, Maryland: A Living Legacy of the New Deal.* Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.

Lampl, Elizabeth Jo. "Greenbelt, Maryland Historic District." National Historic Landmark Nomination, 22 March 1996.

Lansill, John S. and Jacob Crane. "Metropolitan Land Reserves As Illustrated by Greendale, Wisconsin." *The American City* 52 (July 1937): 55-58.

Longstreth, Richard. *The Drive-in, the Supermarket, and the Transformation of Commercial Space in Los Angeles, 1914-41.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press, 1999.

Lynch, Bruce E. and Cynthia D. Lynch. "Washington Highlands Historic District." National Register Nomination, 28 September 1988.

Marshall, Douglas Gordon. "Greendale: A Study of a Resettlement Community." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1943.

Mayer, Albert. "Greenbelt Towns Revisited." *The Journal of Housing* (January 1967): 12-23; (February 1967): 80-85; and (March 1967): 153-160.

Mayer, Albert. "The Greenbelt Towns: What and Why." *The American City* 51 (May 1936): 59-60.

Milwaukee Community Development Corporation. *Map of the Village of Greendale, Milwaukee County, Wisconsin.* Greendale, Wisconsin: Milwaukee Community Development Corporation, 1955.

Milwaukee Community Development Corporation. *Map of the Village of Greendale, Milwaukee*

County, Wisconsin. Greendale, Wisconsin: Milwaukee Community Development Corporation, 1958.

Milwaukee Journal. (Milwaukee, Wisconsin). 1936

Munger, John. Greendale resident since 1938. Interviews, 31 May 2003 and 18 June 2003.

Newton, Norman T. *Design on the Land: The Development of Landscape Architecture.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971.

Osborn, Frederic J. *Green-Belt Cities.* (Second Edition). New York, New York: Schocken Books, 1969.

Parsons, Kermit C. and David Schuyler, editors. *From Garden City to Green City: The Legacy of Ebenezer Howard.* Baltimore, Maryland: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.

Randall, Gregory C. *America's Original G.I. Town: Park Forest, Illinois.* Baltimore, Maryland. The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.

Robinson & Associates, Inc. and Jeffrey Shrimpton. "Historic Context: Public Housing in the United States, 1933-1949." Draft Report Prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development and the U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National Register, 14 August 14 1997.

Schaffer, Daniel. *Garden Cities for America: The Radburn Experience.* Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Temple University Press, 1982.

Scott, Mel. *American City Planning Since 1890.* Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1969.

Spreiregen, Paul D., editor. *On the Art of Designing Cities: Selected Essays of Elbert Peets.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1968.

Stein, Clarence S. "Greendale and the Future." *The American City* 63 (June 1948): 106-109.

Stein, Clarence S. *Toward New Towns for America.* New York, New York: Reinhold Publishing Company, 1957.

Tishler, William H., editor. *American Landscape Architecture: Designers and Places.* Washington, D.C.: The Preservation Press, 1989.

Tishler, William H., editor. *Midwestern Landscape Architecture.* Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2000.

U.S. Department of Agriculture. Farm Security Administration. "Greenbelt Communities." 25 January 1940.

U.S. Department of Agriculture. Farm Security Administration. *Helpful Suggestions for Greendale Residents.* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1938.

U.S. Resettlement Administration. "A Description of the Greendale Project." 2 July 1936.

U.S. Resettlement Administration. *First Annual Report, 1936.* Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1936.

U.S. Resettlement Administration. *Greenbelt Towns: A Demonstration in Suburban Planning.* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1936.

Walsh, Rita. "Greenhills Historic District." Nomination to the National Register of Historic Places, May 1988.

Wright, Gwendolyn. *Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press, 1983.

Wyatt, Barbara, editor. *Cultural Resource Management in Wisconsin.* Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 1986.

End of References

Additional UTMs:
5/E 16/ 418260/4754670

Verbal Boundary Description:

The boundaries of the Greendale National Historic Landmark District encompass approximately 200 acres in the Greendale Center plat, in Milwaukee County, Wisconsin. The boundaries are indicated on the accompanying Map 1A: Greendale National Historic Landmark District. It should be noted that where the boundaries pass through the Greendale Middle School property, they are lines of convenience that include the Greendale Middle School and the pathway system in its wooded setting; the Canterbury Elementary School and the Youth Memorial Building are not located within the boundaries of the Greendale Historic District.

Boundary Justification:

The boundaries of the Greendale Historic District enclose all those resources that are historically associated with the development of Greendale during the period of federal ownership, 1936 to 1952. The boundaries exclude areas that post-date 1952 because they are of a different time period and character than those areas that have been included in the district.

End

Photo 1 of 14
Greendale Historic District
Photo by Elizabeth L. Miller
April 2003
Negative on file at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin
View looking Southwest
View of 5601-5651 Broad St.

The information for the following photos is the same as above, except as noted.

Photo 2 of 14
View looking South
View of 5578-84 Basswood St.

Photo 3 of 14
View looking South
View of flagpole sculpture

Photo 4 of 14
View looking North
View of Village Hall at 6500 Northway

Photo 5 of 14
May 2003
View looking Northeast
View of 5590 Azalea Court- shows a single-family house with garage

Photo 6 of 14
September 2003
View looking Southeast
View of pathway through school grounds to school

Photo 7 of 14
View looking north
View of 5587-89 Municipal Square- shows a two-story twin, garages incorporated

Photo 8 of 14
View looking Northeast
View of 5589-99 Butternut Court- shows a 6-unit row house

Photo 9 of 14
View looking West
View of 5587-9 Angle Lane- example of a one story twin house

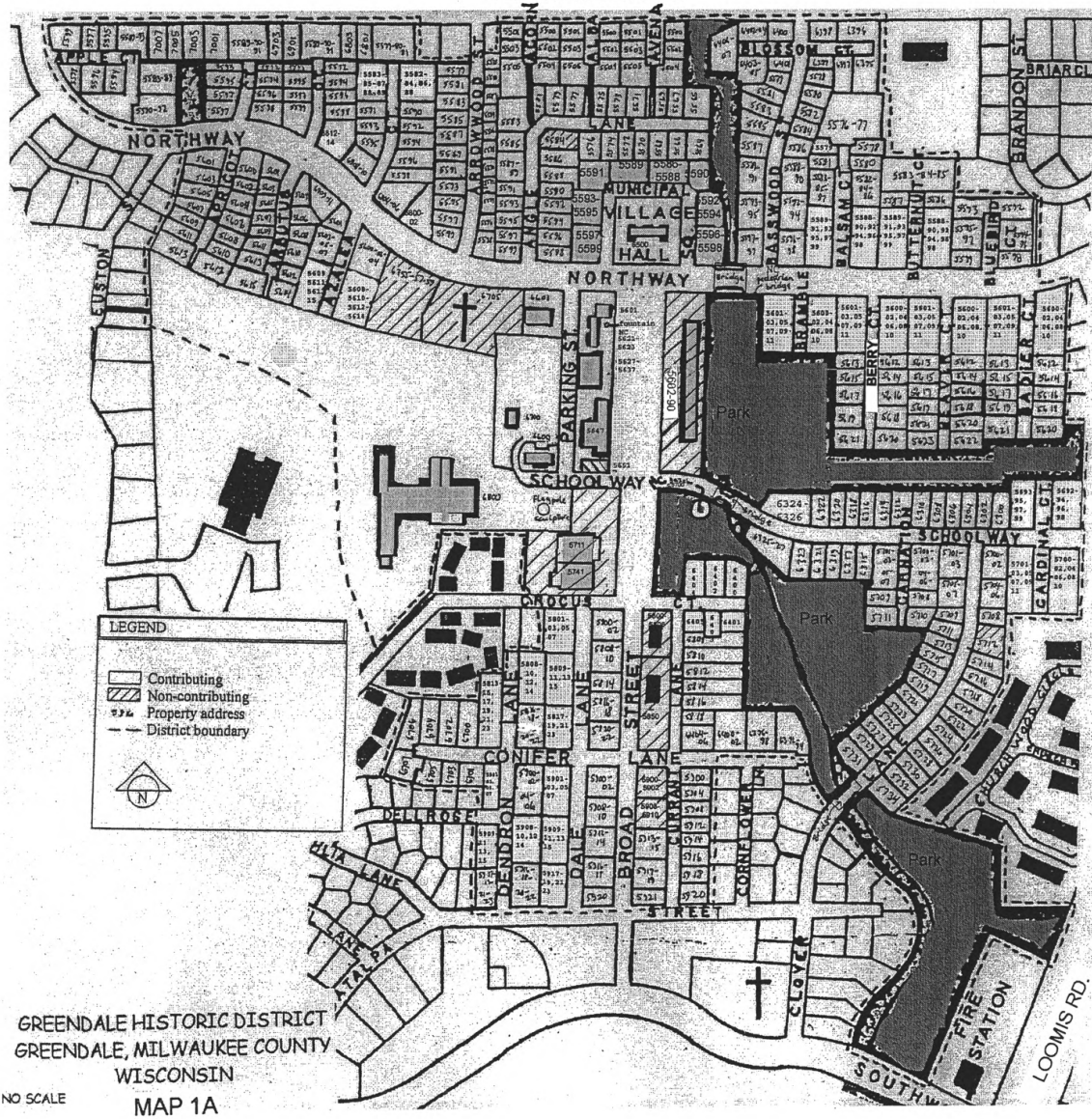
Photo 10 of 14
View looking West
View of 5567-5573 Angle Lane

Photo 11 of 14
View looking Northeast
View of 6808-10 Northway- one-story twin or "honeymooner"

Photo 12 of 14
View looking North
View of 5590-8 Azalea Court

Photo 13 of 14
View looking North
View of 6404-6 Conifer Lane

Photo 14 of 14
View looking South
View of 5901-03-05-07 Dale- example of a 4 unit

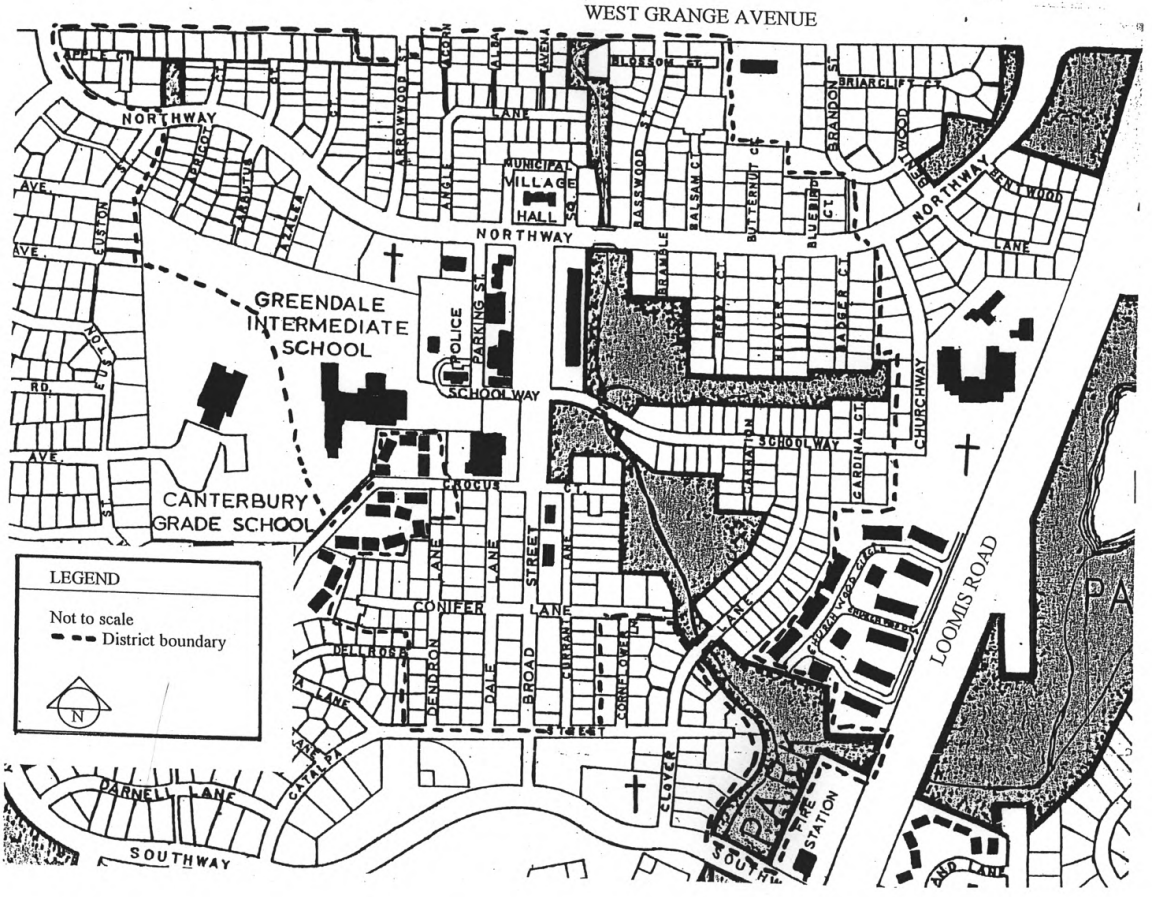


GREENDALE HISTORIC DISTRICT
GREENDALE, MILWAUKEE COUNTY
WISCONSIN

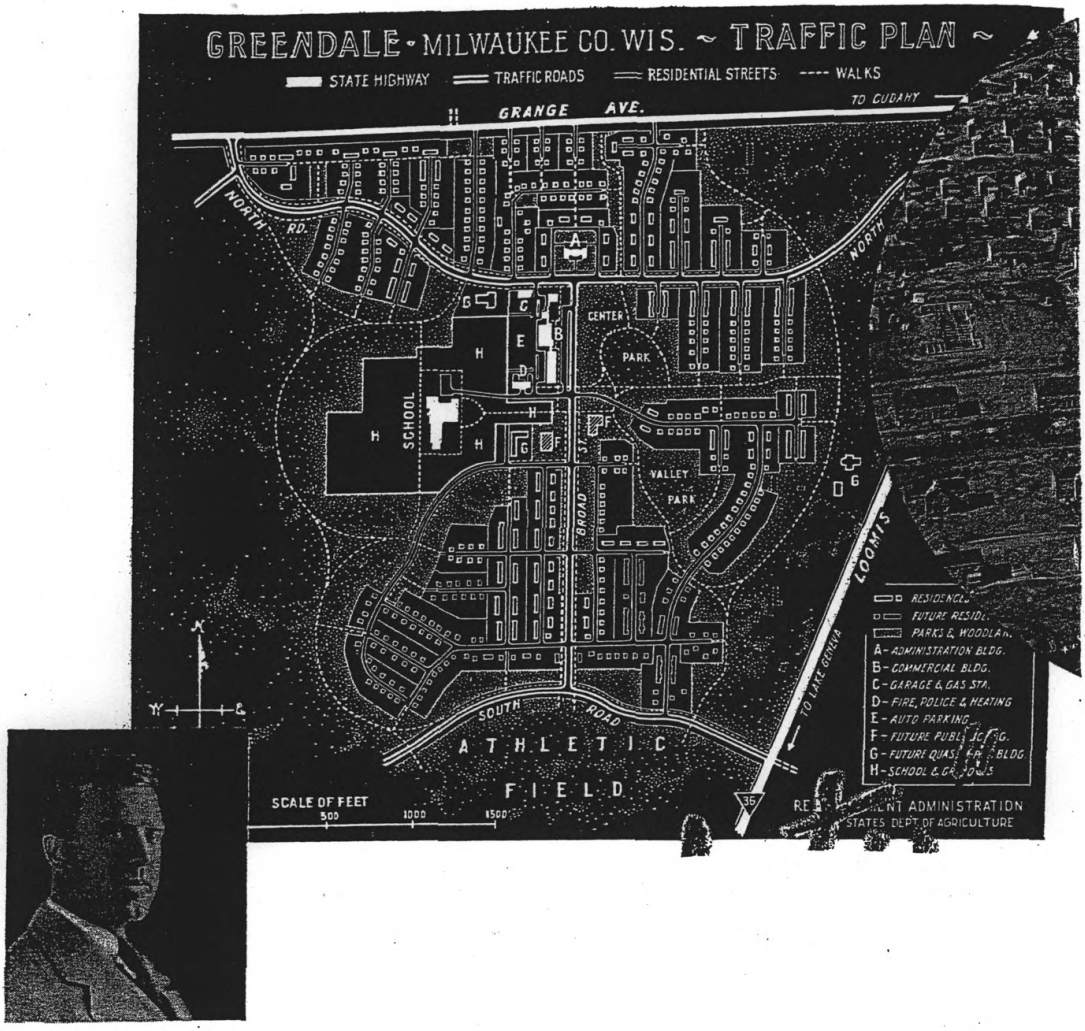
NO SCALE

MAP 1A

MAP 1B: GREENDALE NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK DISTRICT



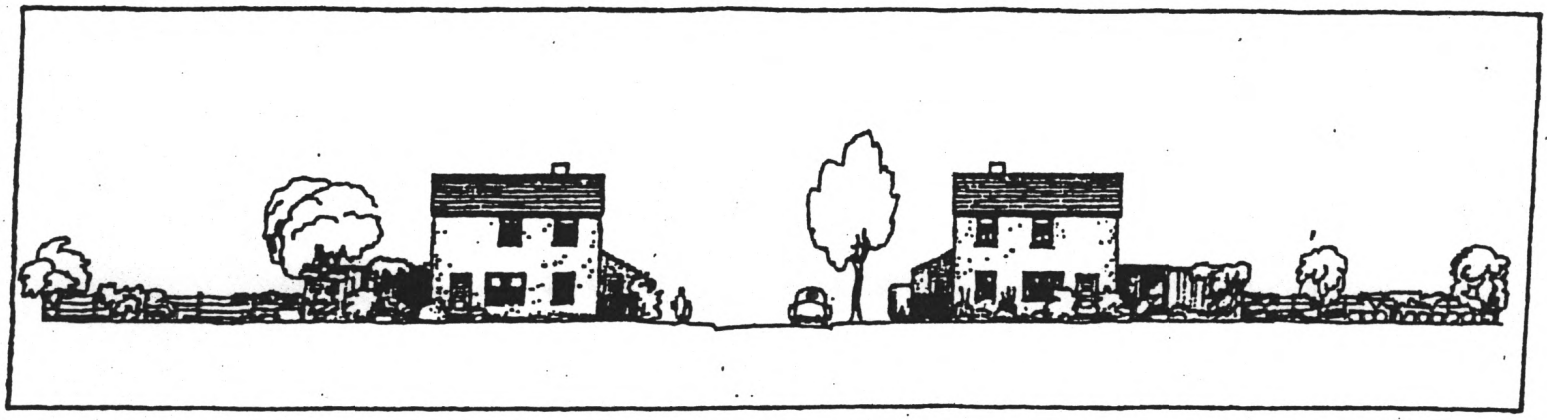
Map 2: Greendale, Milwaukee, Wisconsin: Traffic Plan

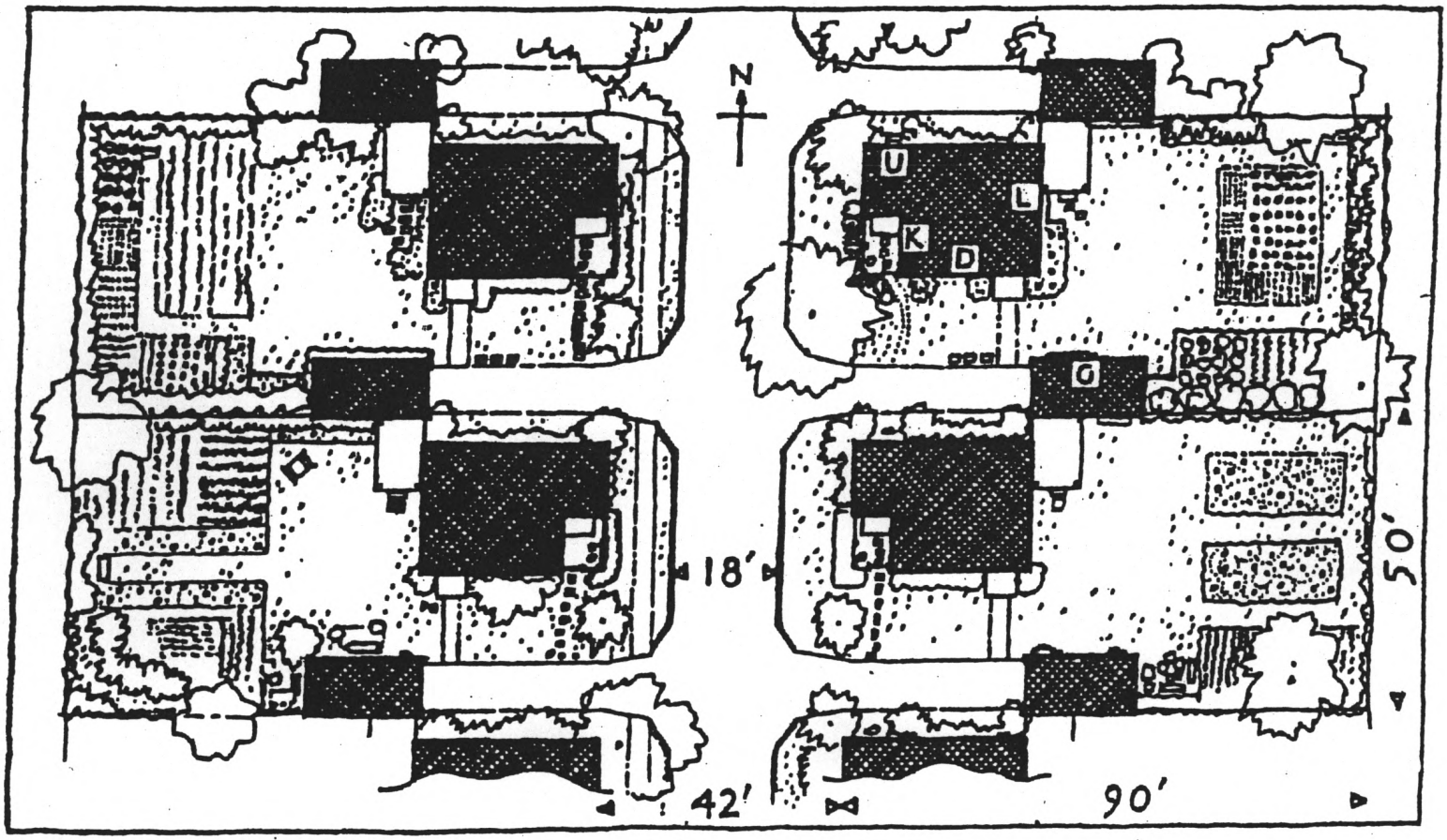


Jacob Crane

Source: Jacob Crane, "Safety Town," *Public Safety* 11(August 1937): 28.

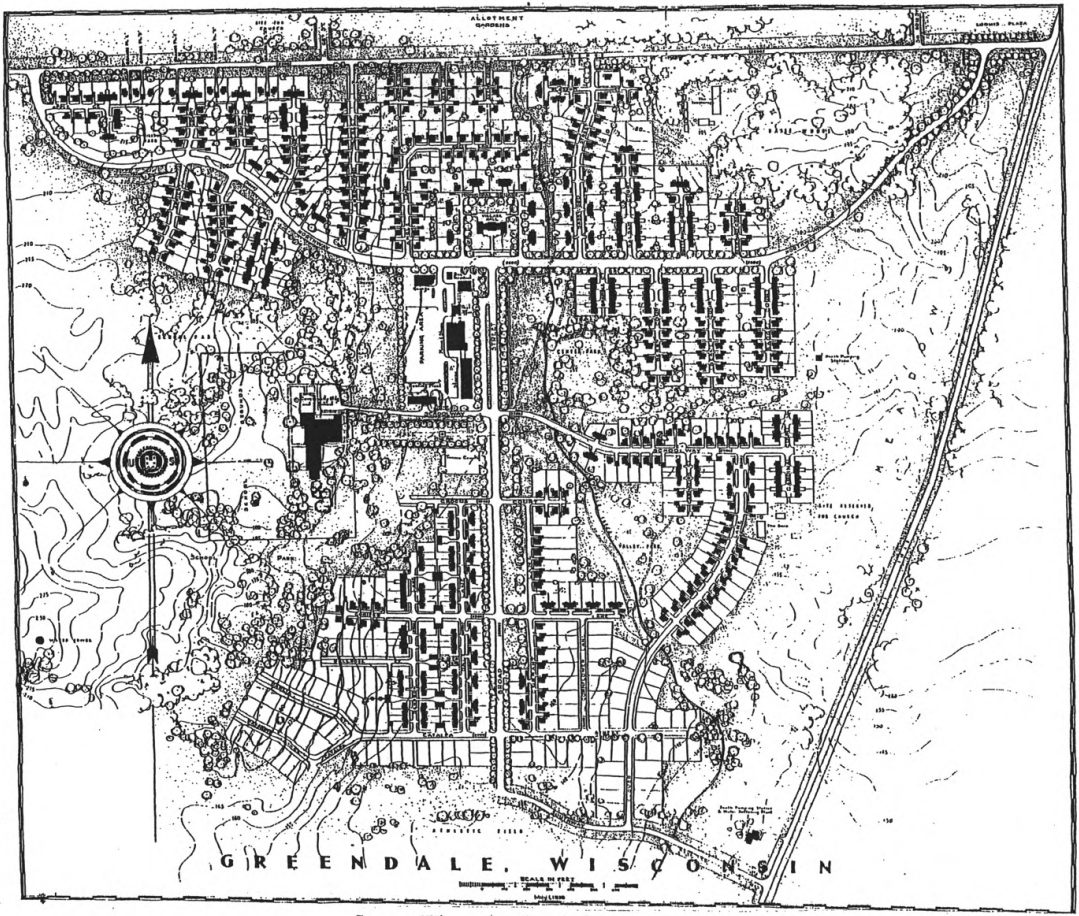
Map 3: Greendale "Chain House" Site Plan





Source: Elbert Peets, "Residential Site Planning Texture," p. 210, in Paul Spreiregen, editor, *On the Art of Designing Cities: Selected Essays of Elbert Peets*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press, 1967).

Map 4: Greendale, Wisconsin, May 1, 1938



Source: Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.