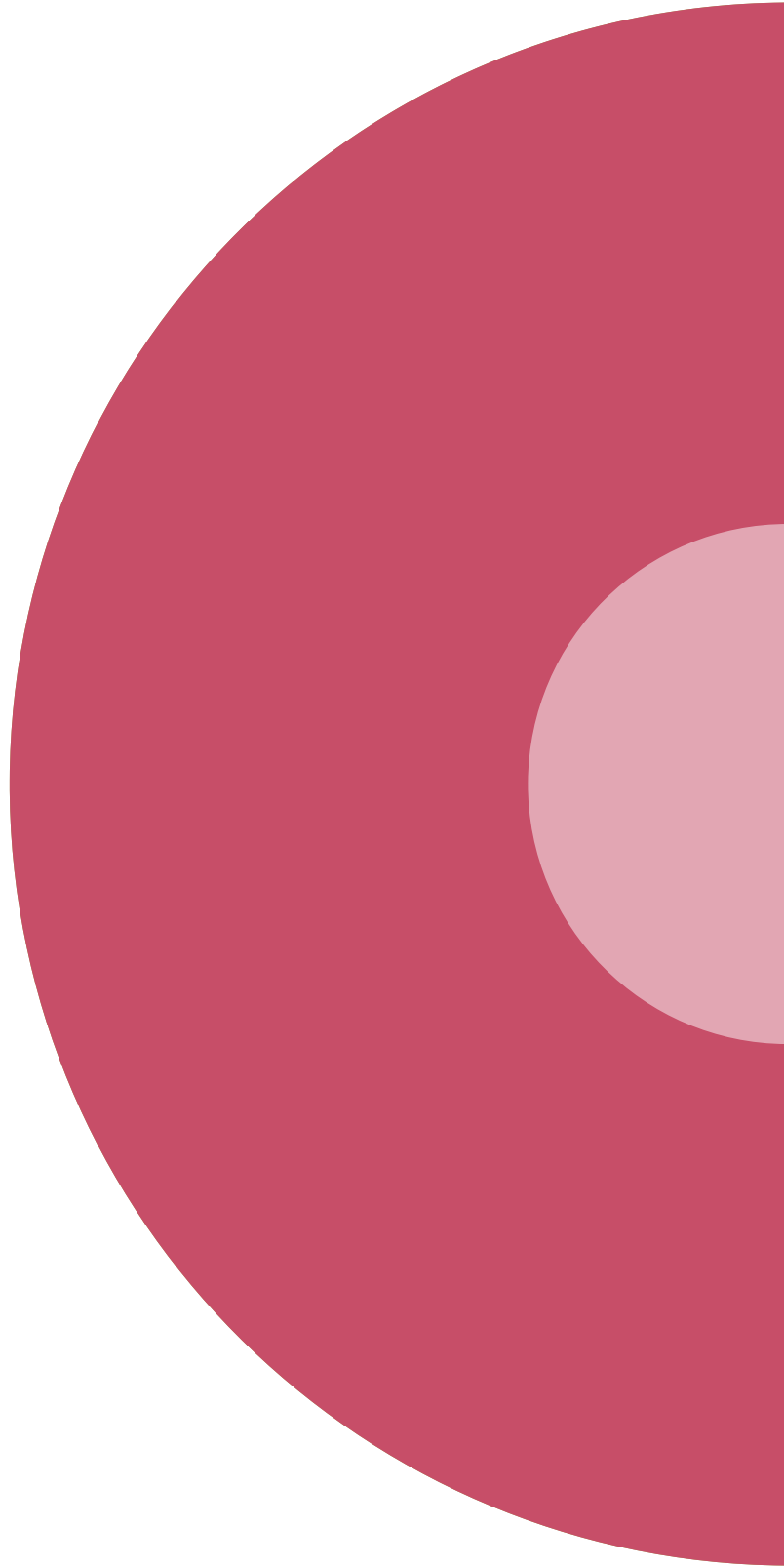


3



# General Context Statement

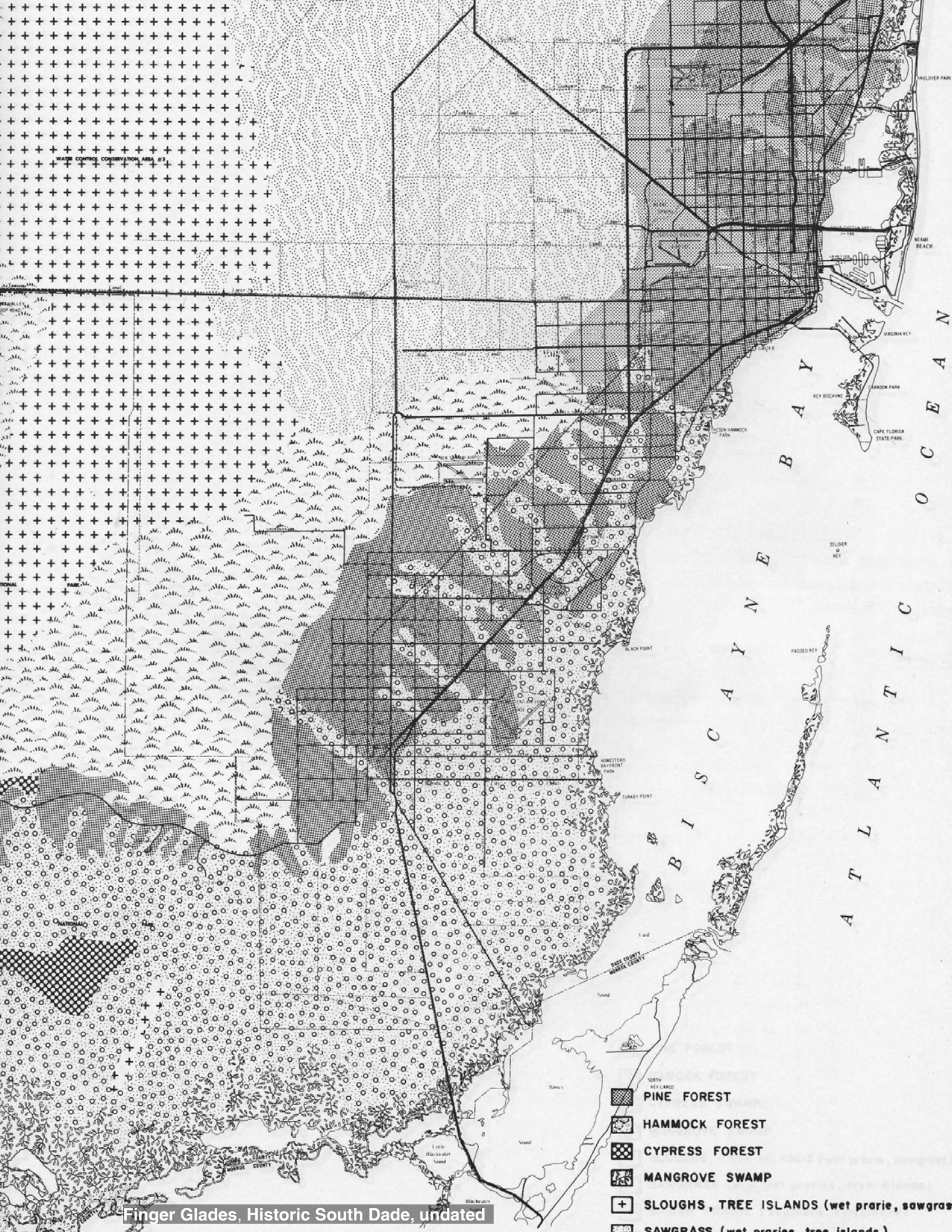
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## Introduction

Miami-Dade County today comprises the layered histories and building types of about 150 years of modern development, not to mention many hundreds of years of Indigenous settlement. As illustrated by the displacement and erasure of Indigenous heritage, the bustling and sometimes contentious narratives of the city’s development and the movement of people within it, there is no single story of Miami. To truly understand the County’s evolution -- to grasp its functional complexity and diverse heritages -- we must consider not only geographic and chronological, and thematic understanding of its built environment.

This introduction provides a general context for the **Miami-Dade County Heritage at Risk Survey**, which comprises four geographical sections. It evokes Miami’s early histories but focuses on post-World War II narratives, taking into account the County’s expanded and changing geography, social complexity, the evolution of planning paradigms and housing varieties. It is intended to offer a more nuanced and equitable understanding and appreciation of Miami-Dade County.





Finger Glades, Historic South Dade, undated

**VEGETATIVE PROVINCES  
(historic)**

- PINE FOREST
- HAMMOCK FOREST
- CYPRESS FOREST
- MANGROVE SWAMP
- SLOUGHS, TREE ISLANDS (wet prarie, sawgrass)
- SAWGRASS (wet praries, tree islands)
- MARSH PRARIE (southern everglades)
- SOUTHERN COASTAL MARSH PRARIE
- WET PRARIE
- DUNE VEGETATION



## Geographical and Environmental Context

Miami-Dade County (known as Dade County before 1997) occupies the southeastern extremity of the Florida peninsula, a subtropical band of territory where continental and tropical ecologies and climates blend. Here converge a rich mix of landscapes and eco-systems that were at once distinct and defining. While often lost beneath today's urban landscapes and therefore difficult to appreciate, the county was a complex and delicate landscape defined by subtle changes in land elevation. The highest land, the rockland of the Atlantic Coastal Ridge, running north-south and located west of Biscayne Bay, comprised a mix of slash pine forests, tropical hardwood hammocks, and understory scrub. It was the *terra-firma* upon which Indigenous peoples lived, later attracting the region's earliest modern settlements and the Florida East Coast railroad. Extending westward from the ridge were wetland prairies or glades, alternately dry and flooded and dotted with high tree islands that once hosted more Indigenous settlements and camps. Further west, these merged into the Everglades, the river of grass carrying waters from Lake Okeechobee to Florida Bay. Sloughs, or transverse glades, as well as freshwater springs and rivers threaded through the coastal ridge, linking the wetland prairies to Biscayne Bay, another wetland where shallow waters were ringed by mangroves. On the opposite side of the bay, beyond more mangrove fringes, were the dune landscapes of the county's Atlantic-facing barrier islands.

Miami-Dade County's landscapes have been anything but permanent. Even conditions in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when native Indigenous peoples were removed from the land by expulsion and war and modern development began, were perhaps only 5,000-7,000 years old, the result of a layering of ecology and landscape in a narrow band of land that was dry or submerged according to the rise and fall of the sea. The often delicate meeting of land and water shaped the patterns of settlement that followed.

Excellent growing conditions, including a subtropical climate and rich soils, made Dade

County an agricultural powerhouse in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Its varied geography yielded different soils appropriate to a range of plant cultivation, including rockland, marl, muck, sand, and redland clay. Plants grew more efficiently here than in the rest of the U.S., and importantly the area supported the production of winter vegetables and tropical fruits. Settled through homesteading or the purchase of floodable tracts from the State of Florida, the agricultural revolution required a re-invention of the landscape. Along the Coastal Ridge, pine forests and hardwood hammocks were cut down and replaced by citrus, mango, and avocado groves. State-sponsored Everglade drainage and land reclamation efforts, as well as the digging of public and private canals throughout the county, drained lowland prairies and made way for cash crops like pineapple and tomato, and later a variety of other crops. The railroad, most often celebrated as the foundation of the City of Miami, was a critical component of this agricultural economy as well. Indeed, in parallel with Miami's growth as a city and a resort, Dade County developed an important export-oriented agricultural economy that, while diminished today, still survives in South Dade's Redland district.

Dade County's 20<sup>th</sup> century urbanization was also a story of geographical re-invention. Propelled by waves of migrants, real estate development was made possible by mechanical innovations in land grooming and mobility that made the landscape useful for humans. The dredge, a machine capable of sucking muck from one area and depositing in another, played an important role in this transformation. Dredge-and-fill operations transformed the contours of Biscayne Bay, hardening them into well-defined edges and preventing the fluid shifts between land and water that used to define these areas. Historian Thelma Peters has described this process as a "flattening" of the landscape.<sup>1</sup> New canals followed the lines of sloughs, or finger glades, draining the Everglades while creating dry waterfront edges. Cities, towns and subdivisions, once limited to high rockland, grew along these





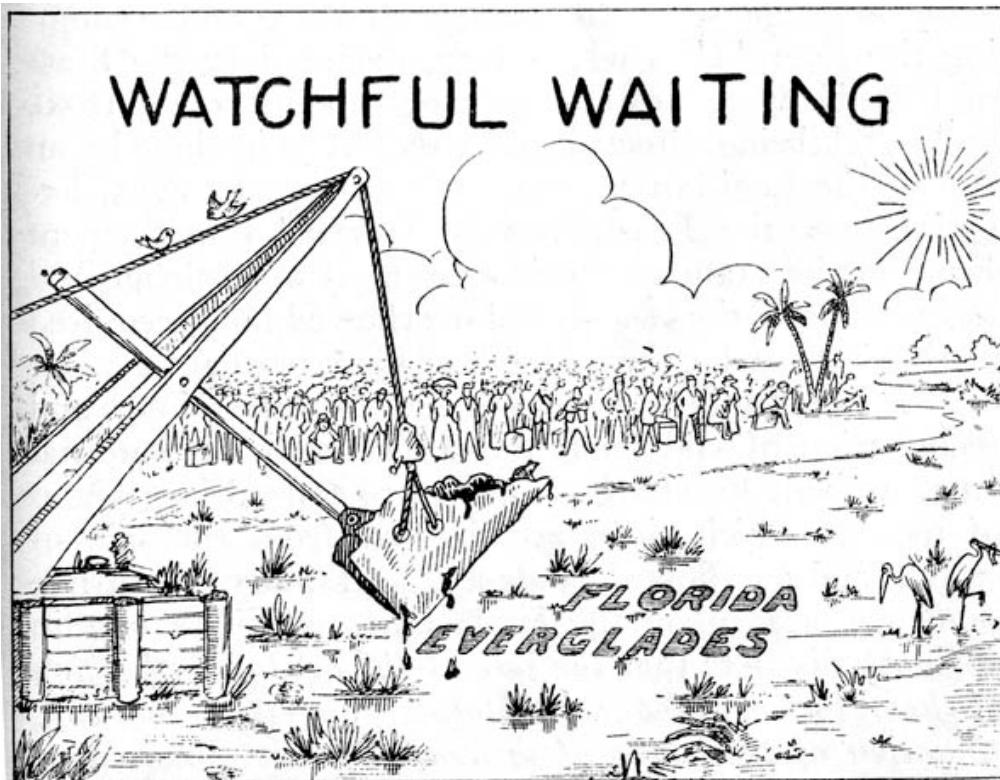
**Everglades and hammock**, photographed on eastern side of Royal Palm Hammock, State Archives of Florida, Florida Memory, JK Small Collection, photo by John Kunkel Small, 1916



**Aerial view of canal and pumping station in flood control district : Everglades, Florida**, State Archives of Florida, Florida Memory, Department of Commerce Collection, c. 1960

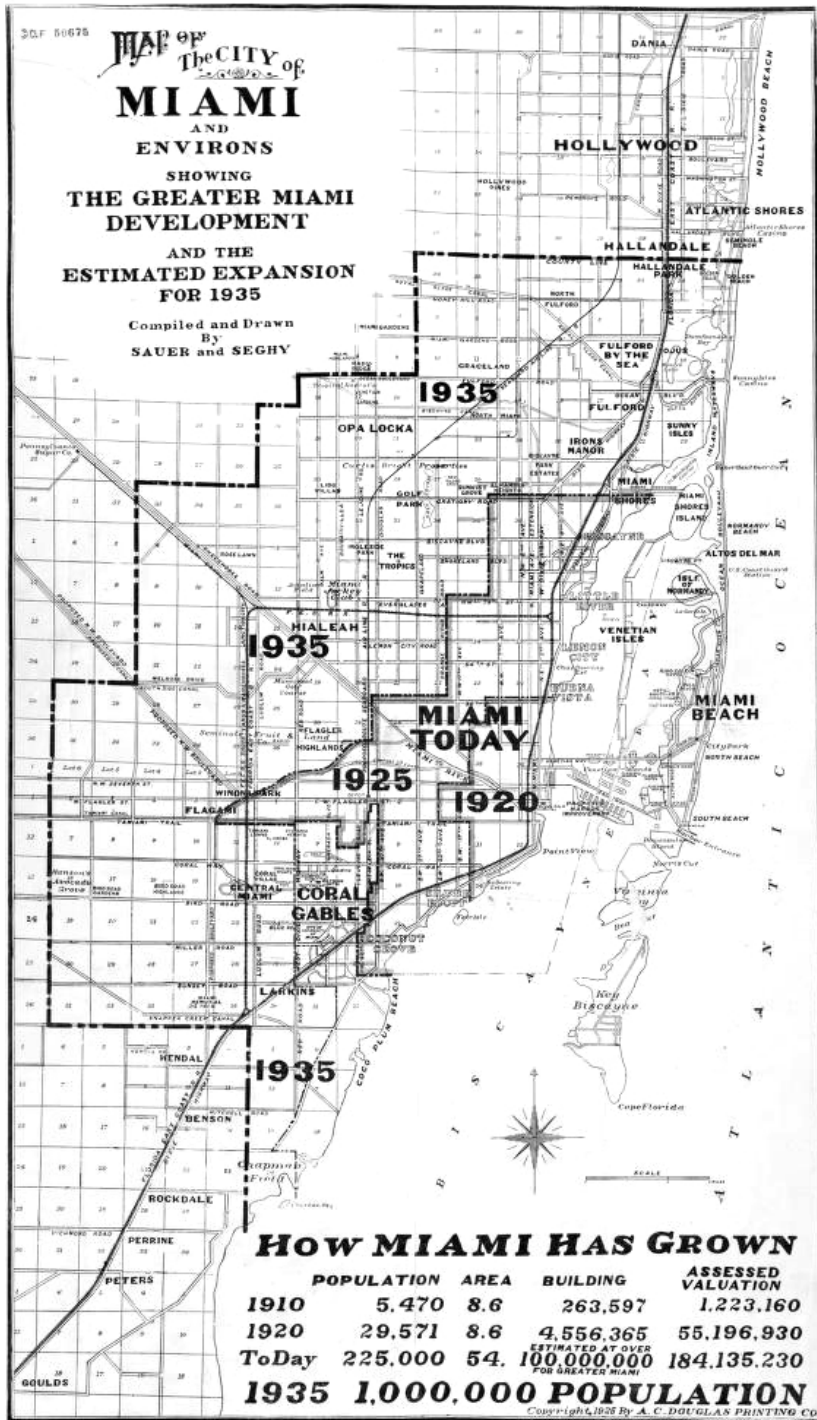


View of Wood Ibis in Everglades National Park, HistoryMiami Museum, Miami Beach Visitor Convention Authority collection, July 1972



Cartoon showing people watching dredge at work in the Everglades, State Archives of Florida, Florida Memory, 1916





Aerial photographs of Dade County, University of Florida George A. Smathers Libraries Digital Collections, 1928

Map of the city of Miami and environs: showing the greater Miami development and the estimated expansion for 1935, Library of Congress, A. Douglas Printing Co, 1925

now dry boundary areas. A super-grid of arterial roads penetrated westward, further flattening the landscape and making every part of the county theoretically accessible (see Planning Context below).

In the post-World War II era, the flattening of the landscape accelerated as more prairies, sloughs, and mangrove wetlands were reconfigured into “usable” landforms. The fresh and unencumbered acreage produced by dredging yielded large amounts of new real estate, along with lakes, canals, and marinas, facilitating metropolitan growth. Tropical vegetation planted on this engineered landscape promoted Miami’s emerging image as a modern tropical city.

Yet Dade County’s land transformation was accomplished piecemeal, in the absence of much regional planning. Natural preserves and greenways that might have created sustainable edges or pleasant corridors were never planned. The engineered landscape eventually gave rise to metropolitan sprawl as the city’s frontiers encroached wetlands in the Everglades and Biscayne Bay. As the county sprawled, it grew more physically homogeneous and dysfunctional. Efforts to control cycles of drought and flood degraded natural hydrological systems, allowing salt water to infiltrate, spurring fears of a loss of the county’s critical water supply.

Paradoxically, in the shadow of metropolitan sprawl, Dade County demonstrated a rising consciousness about the place of the city in the surrounding landscape, and the rediscovery and partial redemption of its ecosystems at a scale unknown in any other major metropolitan area in the U.S.. Among the first major steps in this process, Everglades preservation became a local and national priority. Long considered useless and pestilent, the Everglades were progressively recast in the 1930s (partly under the influence of the wilderness movement in the United States) as a delicate and irreplaceable botanical and zoological treasure. In 1935, the *New York Times* described the Everglades as “one of the great

virginal forests of North America,” describing its mangrove tunnels, sawgrass prairie marshes, shell beaches, and extensive rookeries.<sup>2</sup> In 1947, Marjory Stoneman Douglas’s *Everglades, River of Grass* went beyond romantic attachments, conservation ethos, and issues of beauty, nurturing a new understanding of these unusual lands as an integrated system of landscape, water, people, birds, fish, and animals, central to the hydrological functioning and identity of South Florida.

Also in 1947, President Harry Truman dedicated **Everglades National Park**, a 2,500 square-mile preserve adjoining metropolitan Miami. At the park’s dedication, Truman rhapsodized the Everglades as a new type of American park: “Here is land, tranquil in its quiet beauty, serving not as the source of water, but as the last receiver of it. To its natural abundance we owe the spectacular plant and animal life that distinguishes this place from all others in the country.” At the dawn of America’s dramatic postwar economic growth and material progress, and in the wake of a world war crowned by the explosion of the atom bomb, Truman saw in the park not just a step toward undoing a legacy of environmental harm, but also a lesson in concern over future resources and the need for conservation in all realms.<sup>3</sup> In a strange irony, the park dedication overlapped with the initiation of a U.S. Army Corps of Engineers’ flood control project that further re-engineered the surrounding wetlands and choked off the park’s necessary flow of water.

Environmental activism was rising in other realms, often spurred by concern about overbuilding. In 1949, community pressure led the Florida legislature to ban bottom filling in Biscayne Bay for private purposes.<sup>4</sup> The bay had been used by both private and public entities for years as the raw material for land-dredging, leading to the present appearance of upper Biscayne Bay as a pond dotted by neatly-shaped islands and threaded by deep-water channels. This would not be repeated in South Biscayne



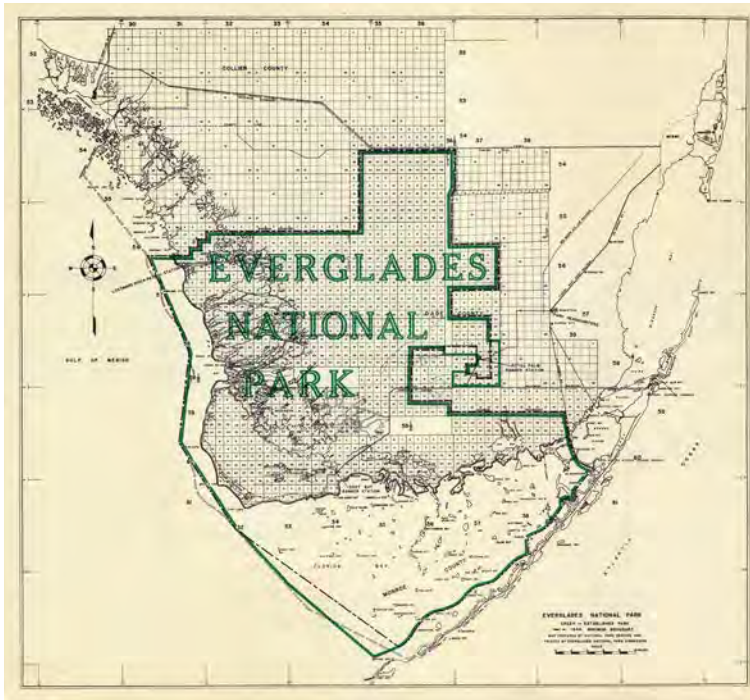
Bay. The environmental movement of the 1960s set the ground for further ecosystem and landscape conservation, and for restrictions on sprawl (or “growth management”). Starting in the late 1960s, more large slices of the metropolitan landscape were set aside as wilderness by the federal, state and county governments. **Biscayne National Park** (1968-80) was created after a long battle over development in lower Biscayne Bay, including a fight to halt development of the proposed linear causeway city of Islandia on the bay’s last pristine barrier islands. Instead, the area was transformed into a “great national water park” in the heart of metropolitan Dade County, encompassing 33 islands and more than 150 square miles – most of it underwater. North of the Everglades, wetlands once eyed for agriculture, oil drilling and as the location of Miami’s Jetport were set aside by the federal government as **Big Cypress National Preserve** (1974), one of the first national preserves in the United States National Park System. By the mid-1970s, most of the region’s remaining wetlands, what historian Michele Currie Navakas has described as “liquid landscapes,” long understood as an integrated system by Indigenous peoples, were finally recognized and redefined for modern governance.<sup>5</sup> Meanwhile, the State of Florida stepped in to protect other large areas targeted for development, like the southern third of Key Biscayne, which became **Bill Baggs State Park** (1966), and the Oleta wetlands in north Biscayne

Bay (once the location of the proposed Interama World’s Fair), which was dedicated as **Oleta State Park** (1986). County preserves, like **Bauer Drive Hammock** (1954, later Camp Owaissa Bauer) and **Castellow Hammock** (1962) in South Dade added more delicate landscapes, merging conservation with the need of the sprawling metropolitan region for accompanying green and recreation space.

The extraordinary ability of agricultural and urban development to command the geography of Dade County, and the shape of the natural environment, was further constricted by federal and state growth management policies. The 1969 National Environmental Policy Act, the 1970 Clean Air Act, and the 1972 Clean Water Act set the groundwork for state and county authorities to align land and water conservation with planning policy (see Planning Context below). These policies eventually helped shape the metropolitan area by constraining sprawl and encouraging higher densities in the urban core. Still, in a form of cognitive dissonance, most local development remained predicated on the wholesale ‘improvement’ of native landscapes and conservation was mainly relegated to the parks. Miami has rarely succeeded in reconciling natural and manmade landscapes, especially the blurry edges that once defined the meeting of land and water.



**Biscayne National Park (1968-80), United States**  
National Park Service, undated

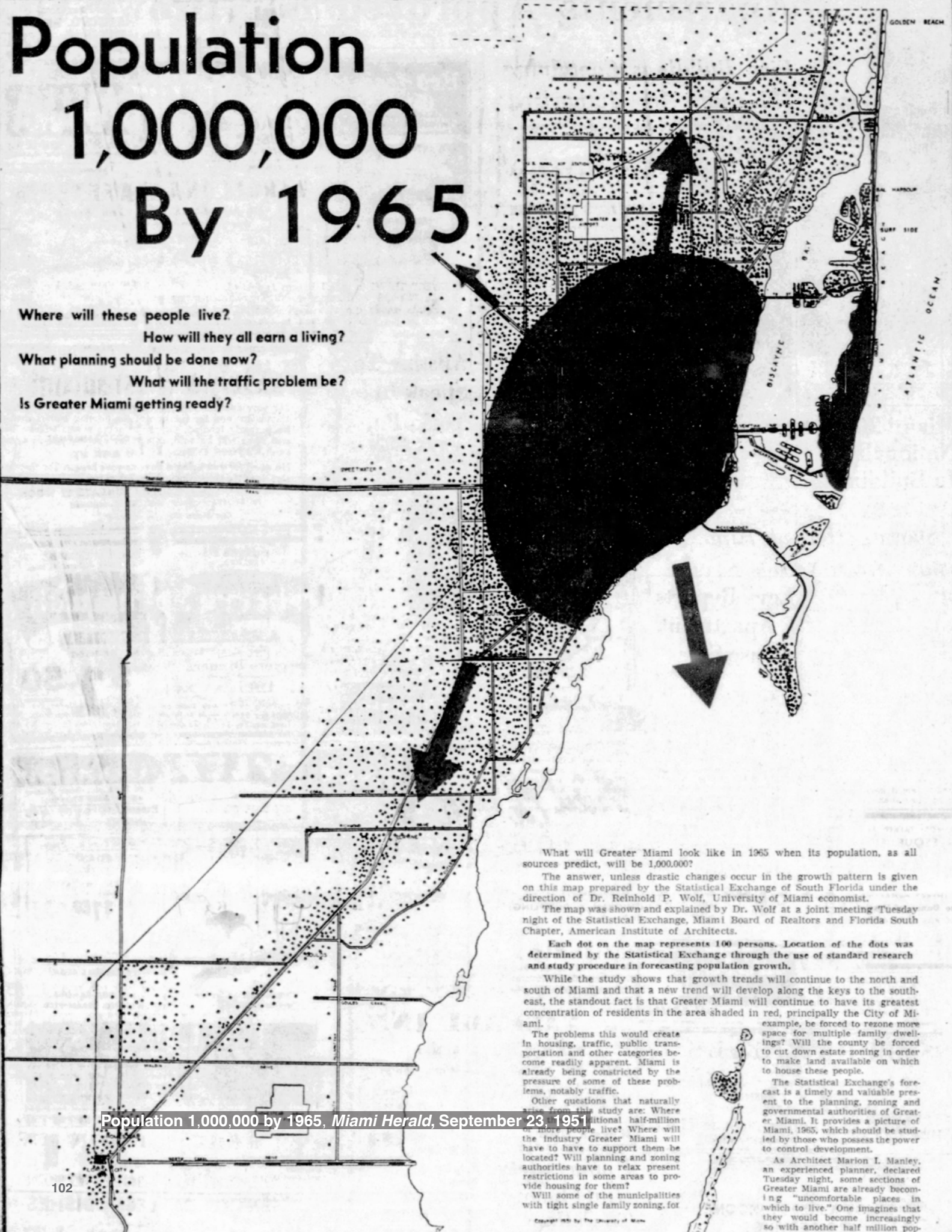


**Everglades National Park (1947), National Park Service and printed by Everglades**  
National Park Commission, State Archives of Florida, Florida Memory, 1944



# Population 1,000,000 By 1965

Where will these people live?  
How will they all earn a living?  
What planning should be done now?  
What will the traffic problem be?  
Is Greater Miami getting ready?



What will Greater Miami look like in 1965 when its population, as all sources predict, will be 1,000,000?

The answer, unless drastic changes occur in the growth pattern is given on this map prepared by the Statistical Exchange of South Florida under the direction of Dr. Reinhold P. Wolf, University of Miami economist.

The map was shown and explained by Dr. Wolf at a joint meeting Tuesday night of the Statistical Exchange, Miami Board of Realtors and Florida South Chapter, American Institute of Architects.

Each dot on the map represents 100 persons. Location of the dots was determined by the Statistical Exchange through the use of standard research and study procedure in forecasting population growth.

While the study shows that growth trends will continue to the north and south of Miami and that a new trend will develop along the keys to the southeast, the standout fact is that Greater Miami will continue to have its greatest concentration of residents in the area shaded in red, principally the City of Miami.

The problems this would create in housing, traffic, public transportation and other categories become readily apparent. Miami is already being constricted by the pressure of some of these problems, notably traffic.

Other questions that naturally arise from this study are: Where will the additional half-million or more people live? Where will the industry Greater Miami will have to have to support them be located? Will planning and zoning authorities have to relax present restrictions in some areas to provide housing for them?

Will some of the municipalities with tight single family zoning, for

example, be forced to rezone more space for multiple family dwellings? Will the county be forced to cut down estate zoning in order to make land available on which to house these people.

The Statistical Exchange's forecast is a timely and valuable present to the planning, zoning and governmental authorities of Greater Miami. It provides a picture of Miami, 1965, which should be studied by those who possess the power to control development.

As Architect Marion I. Manley, an experienced planner, declared Tuesday night, some sections of Greater Miami are already becoming "uncomfortable places in which to live." One imagines that they would become increasingly so with another half million population crowded into the area.

Population 1,000,000 by 1965, *Miami Herald*, September 23, 1951

Copyright 1951 by The University of Miami

## Social Context of Underrepresented Communities and Emerging Diasporas

Dade County grew mightily after World War II as new residents streamed in from across North America and, later, from across the hemisphere. Between 1940 and 1960, Miami's population doubled each decade, from 250,000 citizens to about 1,000,000. In the early 1950s, Dade County led the nation in growth, with an annual population increase of 10% – the equivalent of a new city of 50,000 every year.<sup>6</sup> No longer the stereotypical retirees and snowbirds that had been the most visible part of Miami's prewar migration, nor the construction, resort, and farm workers that undergirded the region's early 20<sup>th</sup> century growth, most new arrivals were young and of modest means, and came to work in the region's growing new industries. Migrants came increasingly from the Northeast (primarily New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Illinois), many as part of a broader national migration to the Sun Belt, or southern U.S.<sup>7</sup> Among them were former GIs who trained in Miami during the war and left with "sand in their shoes," a local phrase indicating a visitor's desire to return. Most moved into homes outside what in the 1940s had been considered the metropolitan core.<sup>8</sup>

From 1960 to 1980, Dade County grew at a slower – but still impressive – rate, to more than 1.6 million. In this phase, the majority of growth (70% of Dade's population increase) was a result of transnational migration.<sup>9</sup> Proximity to the Caribbean, a constant need for labor, and Miami's economic and cultural attractions as a growing city and America's second-ranked port of entry, drew diverse populations and increasing social complexity.<sup>10</sup> Although Caribbean and Latin American immigration had long been a feature of Miami's growth, it surged following an influx of Cuban emigres in 1959 and changes to U.S. immigration laws, transforming Dade County into a patchwork of multicultural communities. Eventually, these communities, and the international networks they established, created the globalized city of business, trade and tourism that contemporary Miami is today.<sup>11</sup>

Yet Dade County had been built on the social prejudices of late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century American society. Its new towns and suburbs, and the real estate industry that created them, principally served White property owners, developers, retirees and snowbirds.<sup>12</sup> These developments ignored Indigenous peoples, segregated and oppressed African Americans and other Black residents through often violent Jim Crow policies, and in less explicit ways excluded Jews and other minorities. As Caribbean and Latin American migration later transformed Miami into a pan-American center, non-White social groups often struggled to find their place in the community, demanding inclusion, agency, and visibility.<sup>13</sup>

Yet Indigenous, Black, Jewish, Caribbean, and Latin American peoples were often relegated to less visible social roles in the community. Many occupied separate worlds organized according to race and ethnicity (as well as by income).<sup>14</sup> In the postwar era this geography of separation was codified by public policies like racialized planning and sometimes in restrictive covenants. Many of these exclusionary policies became wired into the physical makeup of the county.

Still, the social character of this rapidly growing border land region was complex. Postwar Dade County was a land of contradiction and paradox, located on the edge of the North American continent, at the intersection of the American South and the Caribbean.<sup>15</sup> Jim Crow racism cohabited here with the civic ambitions of a growing, modern city. Rigid social and moral conventions, even paroxysms of intolerance, coexisted with a relaxed attitude toward vice and cultural expression. Miami-Dade County's modern identity encompasses the persistence of Indigenous peoples in the face of 19<sup>th</sup> century expulsion, the tensions between White and Black communities, the often-contentious transformation of the city through Caribbean and Latin immigration into a version of pan-America, the founding of an important Jewish center, and



the struggle to openly express diverse sexual and gender identities. As the county became defined by immigration and cultural change, a “multi-cultural cauldron” as historian Raymond Mohl has described it, it drew ever-more diverse populations, especially after passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 removed racial quotas.

In the crucible of this continental borderland, complex intersections of race, ethnicity, country of origin, religion, gender, and sexual identity and preference, helped set the foundations of the county’s future social and civic synthesis.<sup>16</sup> Dade County’s multi-hyphenate society, enriched by a *mélange* of mixed identities such as Afro-Caribbean, Jewish-Cuban (or *Jubano*), Gay-Latino, blurs any simple conclusions about race, ethnic identity, sexual identity, and religion. Globalization and the transnational movement of people, begun in early 20<sup>th</sup> century, matured into a geographically and socially singular assemblage. Dade County’s layered and dynamic issues of cultural heritage make it a particularly rich environment for the continued exploration of social identity.

### **Indigenous Peoples Context**

Dade County has been continuously inhabited for thousands of years. Archaeology dates the earliest known human activity in the area to the Paleoindian Period of 10,000 years ago. The Tequesta people settled in southeast Florida from the northernmost Florida Keys north to at least Fort Lauderdale since around 3,000 BC, and were part of a larger Glades cultural tradition with customs that developed from the Archaic Period (8000-500 B.C.). Living along the coast and rivers and on tree islands in the interior, the Tequesta traveled freely by canoe over the liquid landscapes of the Everglades, sloughs, mangrove lagoons, and Biscayne Bay. This physically-dispersed society formed a watery metropolis of sorts, with boundaries that included contemporary Miami-Dade County. The Tequesta

were also builders, raising earthen middens and mounds, as well as constructing weirs, long distance canals, and causeways. Their presence is still visible today in circles formed by postholes that they cut in the limestone bedrock.

After Spain ceded Florida to the British in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, many Tequesta fled to Cuba, or into the interior of Florida where they merged with Muscogee (Creek) refugees to form the Seminole tribe.<sup>17</sup> Florida was eventually returned to the Spanish in 1783, and then ceded to the United States in 1821; a series of devastating Seminole Wars, initiated even before Florida’s cession to the U.S. and lasting through the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, caused most Indigenous peoples to depart to the Indian Territories established by Congress west of the Mississippi. Not all retreated, however, as some fled to the Everglades while others joined Southern Blacks and partly integrated among them, leaving Florida via the Saltwater Railroad to the Bahamas. The mixing of Indigenous and Black communities, both the subject of organized repression, formed the basis of a multi-cultural migration from South Florida that was partly reversed during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early-20<sup>th</sup> century as Bahamians settled around the growing city.

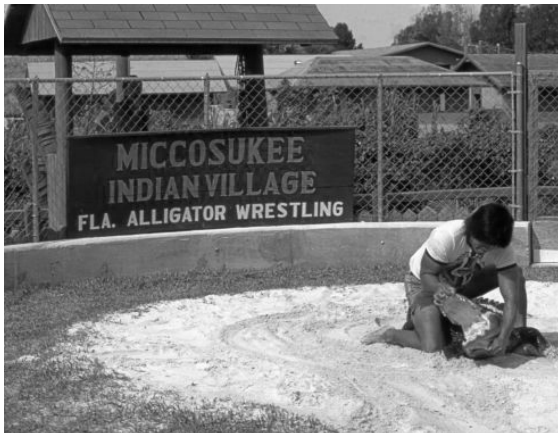
After the forced removal of Indigenous peoples, in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries much of Dade County’s land was portioned off by the U.S. government through a series of land grants to mainly White homesteaders. According to an 1890 census, only a few hundred Miccosukee and Seminole People lived in South Florida, most cut off from their traditional lands and clustered at Miami’s fringes or in remote camps in the Everglades. Indeed, land development in Dade County was largely at the expense of its Indigenous population. Many adapted to the growing city in their midst, living an increasingly remote existence or hunting and trading bird plumes, alligator hides, and otter pelts.<sup>18</sup> Some adapted their traditions into roadside attractions that were integrated into the spectacle of the growing tourism industry. The visibility and public







**Seminole Indians in dugout canoes - near Miami, Florida, State Archives of Florida, Florida Memory, c.1920**



**Man wrestling an alligator, State Archives of Florida, Florida Memory, c.1980, photo by Sandra Wallus Sammons**



**Chickees along the Tamiami Trail - Miccosukee Reservation, Florida, State Archives of Florida, Florida Memory, c. 1980**



understanding of these tribes among city dwellers and visitors was often limited to what could be learned in tourist attractions like Coppinger's Tropical Gardens (1914) and Musa Isle (1921-64).

Even though their camps in the Everglades were remote, the Seminole and Miccosukee increasingly suffered encroachment and displacement spurred by voracious land settlement, including the development of ranches, groves, farms, and later, housing subdivisions. Their fortunes plummeted when state drainage projects lowered the water table in the Everglades, cutting off Indigenous modes of transportation and sustenance, then further declined following the efforts of conservationists to end the plumage trade.<sup>19</sup> The 1920s Florida land boom forced many Seminole to reorganize in reservations like Brighton, Dania, Hollywood, and Immokalee. The Miccosukee largely settled in Big Cypress and along the edges of the Tamiami Trail, which pierced the Everglades wilderness in 1928. During the Depression-era, many Indigenous people found work with the Civilian Conservation Corps-Indian Division (CCC-ID), further breaking connections with their native lands.

The 1947 dedication of Everglades National Park and the 1974 dedication of Big Cypress National Preserve, comprising some of the last intact homes of South Florida's Indigenous peoples, constituted perhaps the first real act of protection (if implicit) of the connection between Indigenous peoples and their land. Federal recognition of the Seminole Tribe in 1957 and the Miccosukee Tribe in 1962 was followed by the settlement of land claims in 1976. Increasingly focused on self-reliance, South Florida Indigenous communities established modern exhibition villages as business ventures, including the **Okalee Village and Arts and Crafts Center** (William G. Crawford, early 1960s) in Hollywood, Florida and **Miccosukee Village and Museum** on the Tamiami Trail (1970s).<sup>20</sup> These roadside attractions, combining open glade landscapes and chickee huts with modern architecture, featured Indigenous peoples in

traditional dress, animal shows, exhibits, and the display and sale of traditional crafts. Largely eschewing (and replacing) the mythmaking of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century touristic sites, these villages form a part of Dade County's contemporary tourist economy. Less well known are the small villages that surround modern-day Tamiami Trail, defined partly by proximity to the Everglades and continuity of building traditions. Today the Seminole Tribe of Florida, the Miccosukee Tribe of Indians of Florida, and the unaffiliated Independent or Traditional Seminoles are recognized.

### **Black Context**

Miami was settled in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century by White and Black migrants who arrived in South Florida, then a frontier of the American continent, seeking land and opportunity. Even on this frontier, however, racial disenfranchisement was a fact of life. Belying the Reconstruction Era promises of equal civil rights made to Black Americans, Miami was imbued from its foundation with the imposition of Jim Crow laws that created a two-tiered social and political system that forcibly segregated the city and its people by race and marginalized Blacks.<sup>21</sup> The struggle for equal rights would become central to the experience of Black Miamians in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Before the arrival of the railroad in 1896, many of Dade County's earliest Black residents were Bahamians.<sup>22</sup> They were soon joined by American Blacks, mainly freedmen arriving from elsewhere in the Jim Crow South. Blacks comprised a small portion of the first generation of homesteading farmers and ranchers. However, Black workers were essential to the construction of Miami, and were among the city's most prolific builders. They provided much of the labor for agriculture and for major works like early flood control systems and the railroad.<sup>23</sup> Black labor also underpinned the touristic enterprises that transformed Miami into a national, then global, leisure destination.<sup>24</sup>

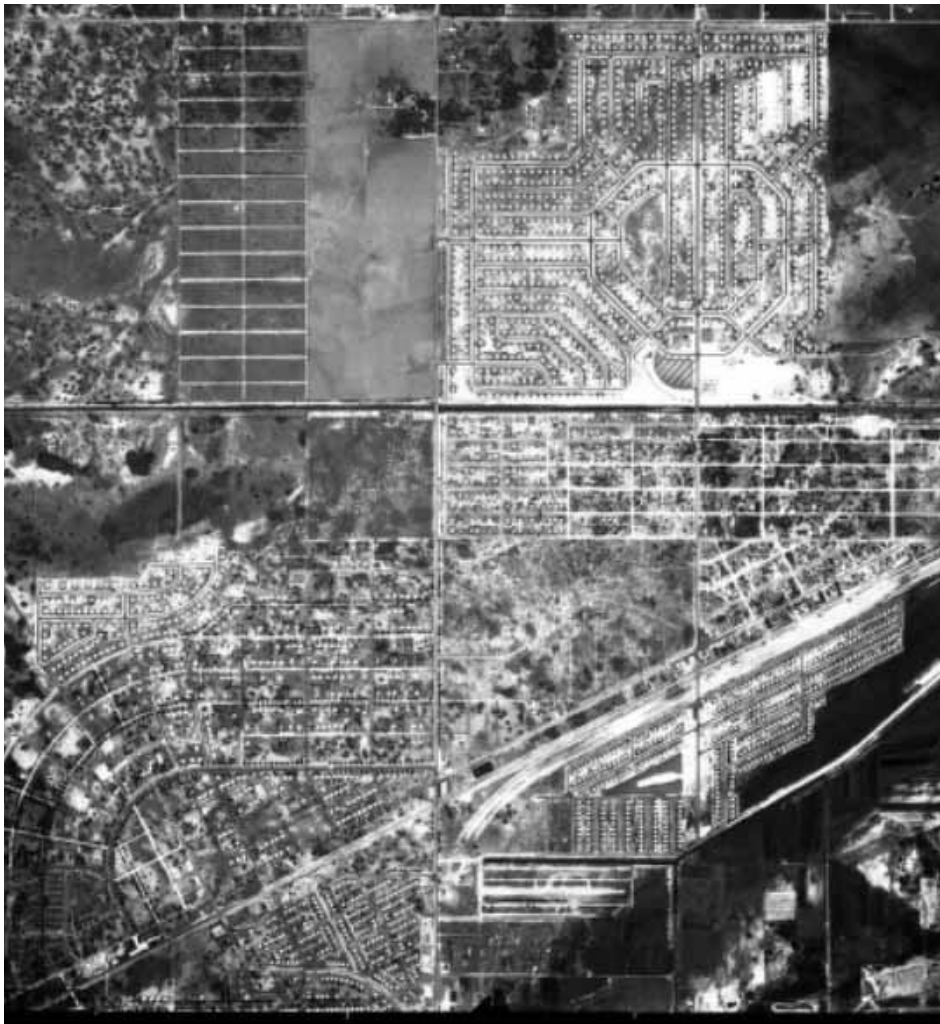




Typical alley in a strip of wooden slum housing, Miami-Dade Main Library, Romer Collection, unknown date



Liberty City, from "Liberty Square: Miami's Most Dangerous Square Mile," Street Photography Magazine, September 2016, photo by Nicholas Small



Aerial photograph of Opa-locka, Magnolia Gardens, Eleanor Park, and Biscayne River Gardens, Florida Department of Transportation, 1985

## Dreams Come True As Negroes Move Into Own Homes At Opa-locka

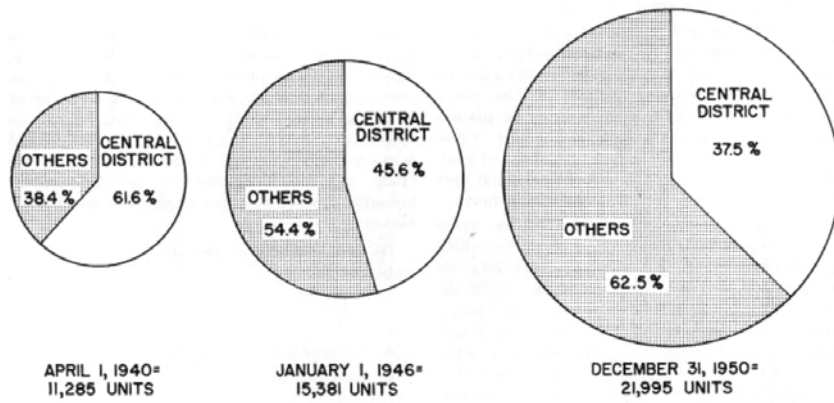


WHILE DEBATE RAGES over public versus private rental housing for Negroes, another more permanent solution to the problem of improving living conditions for Greater Miami's Colored population is being provided rapidly in the new Magnolia Gardens housing development, a section of which is shown above. Located on Ali Baba rd. between NW 147th st. and 22nd ave. in Opa-locka, the project is planned as a complete Colored residential community, including 400 homes, shopping center and recreation area. Believed to be the first large group of homes to be individually owner-occupied by Negroes in the South, the project was in the planning stage just six weeks ago. Today, 300 of the homes are completed or under

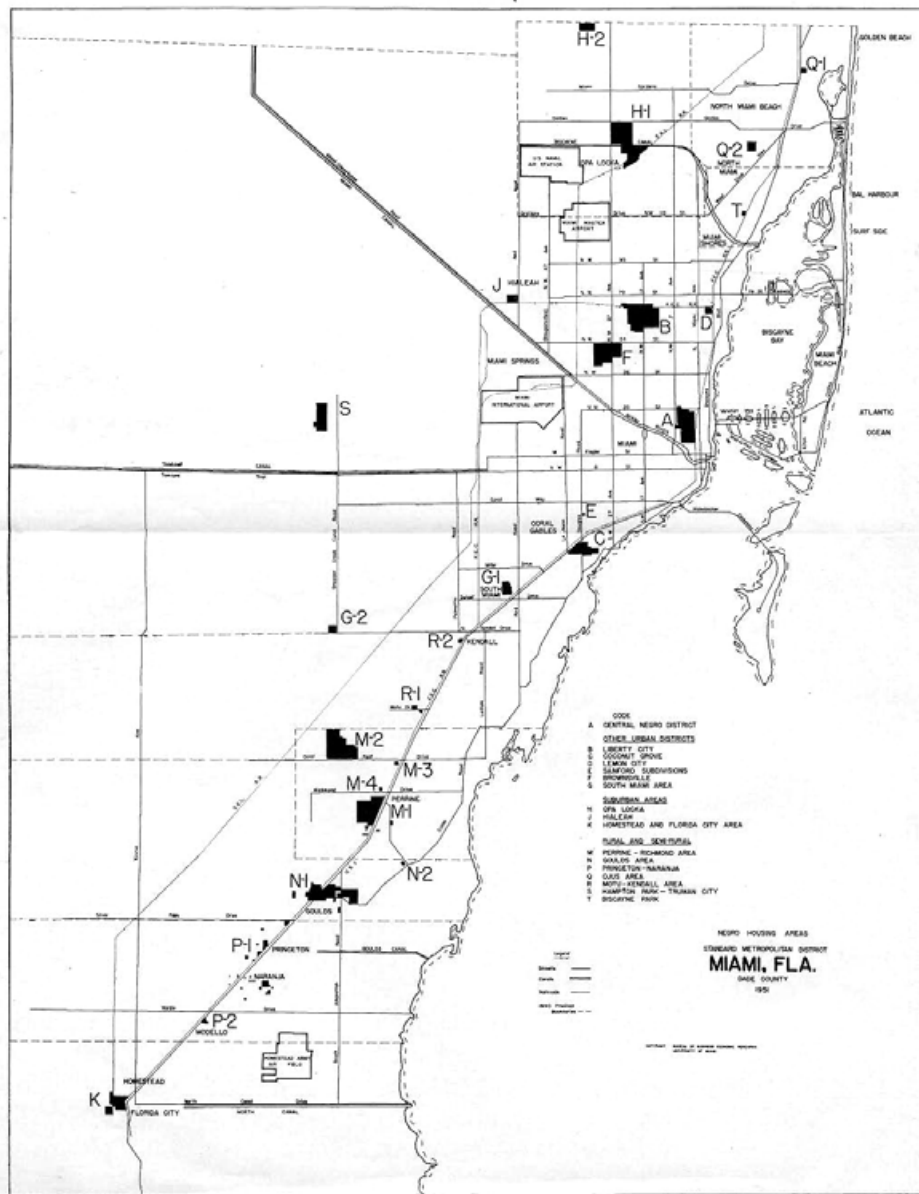
construction, and many are already occupied. Designed exclusively for veterans, the two-bedroom, CBS homes are VA-financed and sell for \$5,500 with no down payment and are paid for at the rate of \$34.23 per month, including taxes. Owner of the development is Magnolia Gardens, Inc., and construction is by veteran builder William S. Smith. "Even after they move into the houses," Smith reported, "these people can hardly believe it is true. Owning their own homes is something they have always felt was so far beyond their reach that they've been afraid to even dream of it. There are a lot of lousy people in Magnolia Gardens today." He expects to complete the entire project, including the business area, by April 15.

Photo of homes in Magnolia Gardens, from "Dreams Come True as Negroes Move Into Own Homes at Opa-Locka" advertisement, *Miami Herald*, January 29, 1950





Distribution of Negro Dwelling Units (Dade County), from Reinhold P Wolff and David K. Gilgoly, *Negro Housing in the Miami Area: Effects of the Postwar Building Boom*, University of Miami Bureau of Business and Economic Research, 1951



Negro Housing Areas Standard Metropolitan District (1951), from Reinhold P Wolff and David K. Gilgoly, *Negro Housing in the Miami Area: Effects of the Postwar Building Boom*, University of Miami Bureau of Business and Economic Research, 1951





**Virginia Key Beach and Ocean**, Florida International University Digital Collections, Virginia Key Beach Park Trust, 1956 - permission pending



**Miami Springs Golf and Country Club Racial Integration (1958)**, from "African Americans Play Golf," YouTube Video, Miami Dade College's Lynn and Louis Wolfson II Florida Moving Image Archives, April 16, 2013

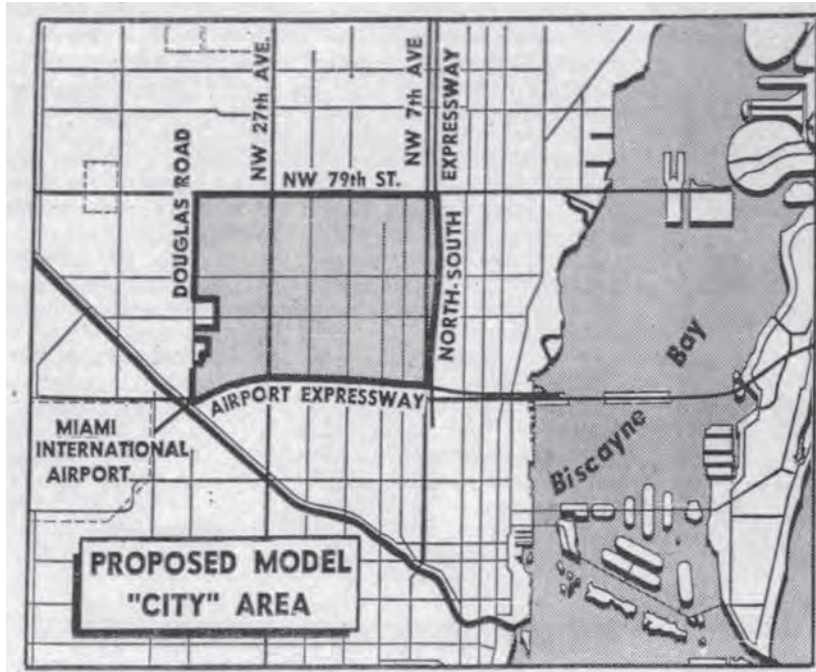
Black communities were established throughout Dade County, including in Coconut Grove and Lemon City (among the county's earliest settlements), near downtown Miami, and along the FEC and Seaboard railroad corridors.<sup>25</sup> The "color line," a term first identified by abolitionist and social reformer Frederick Douglass in 1881 to describe the social divisions between White and Black communities produced by racial prejudice, was translated into physical planning in these early settlements.<sup>26</sup> Overtown, codified as early as the city's founding charter and originally known as "Colored Town" or the "Central Negro District," was the most important center of Black settlement in Miami. It was located across the FEC Railroad tracks from downtown Miami and, conditioned by segregation, evolved into a high-density, mixed-use, and mixed-income community that was distinguished physically from more sprawling and functionally dispersed White areas. "Little Broadway," or the "Great Black Way," was the thriving commercial entertainment center of the district.<sup>27</sup> Today, parts of Overtown are encompassed in the Historic Overtown Folklife Village (1997), established under the sponsorship of the Black Archives History & Research Foundation to protect historic and cultural resources and to stimulate its rediscovery as a tourist destination.

Churches played an important role in civic life of Dade County's early Black communities, serving not only religious and spiritual needs, but also as social, cultural, and political centers.<sup>28</sup> Black churches also stepped in to provide education, when Black students were not welcome in White public schools (See South Dade Context). Black churches were denominationally diverse, owing to the mix of Southern American Black and Bahamian migrant communities (the latter were then British subjects). The demographic makeup of Bahamian migrants was itself complex, as it included descendants of Seminoles, as well as Black Southerners who escaped Florida during the Indian Wars of the 19<sup>th</sup> century along the so-called "Saltwater Railroad," an

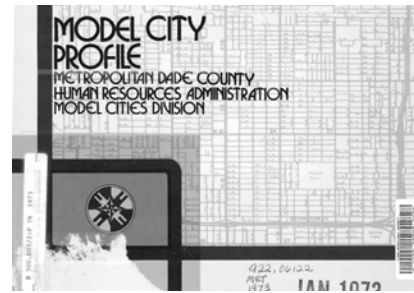
extension of the "Underground Railroad" for Black liberation from enslavement and violence. Many Bahamians migrants retained distinct cultural practices and church associations. Most Black communities included a rich mix of Protestant churches, including the Baptist, African Methodist Episcopal (AME), AME Zion, Church of God in Christ, Pentecostal, Anglican and Episcopal denominations.<sup>29</sup>

Clubs, lodges, and social organizations also thrived in the county's Black communities. Many organizations like the Colored Board of Trade, the Dade County Negro Civic League, the Interdenominational Ministers' Alliance, the Negro Citizens' Service League, and the Negro Welfare League (current James E. Scott Community Association), were early activists in the struggle for civil rights and economic participation. This group also included more militant organizations often led by Caribbean Black activists, like the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) and the Negro Uplift Association.<sup>30</sup> Dade County had several Black-owned local newspapers; the *Miami Times*, founded by Bahamian Henry Ethelbert Sigismund Reeves in 1923, was particularly successful.<sup>31</sup>

While challenged by the county's growth as a center of tourism, by transnational migration, and by the growing presence of northerners (many of them Jewish), the social norms of the post-bellum South and of Jim Crow racial segregation remained substantially intact until the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s.<sup>32</sup> The local Ku Klux Klan (KKK), headquartered in Homestead, played a prominent role supporting racist practices, suppressing Black voting, enforcing exclusionary housing practices, and stoking anti-Black sentiment and violence that in at least three recorded cases resulted in lynchings (See South Dade context). For Black residents of Dade County, the 20<sup>th</sup> century was a struggle for civil rights, a battle for full participation in the region's growth, and later a fight for recognition of their distinct history and contributions.



**Proposed Model City Area**, from Congressional Quarterly, "Struggle for Model Cities," *Miami Herald*, June 8, 1967



**Model City Profile**, Metropolitan Dade County Human Resources Administration, January 1973



**Model Cities**, HistoryMiami Museum, *Miami News* Collection, March 23, 1972, photo by Charles Trainor



**Joseph Caleb Community Center and Library**, HistoryMiami Museum, *Miami News* Collection September 14, 1987, photo by J. Albert Diaz



**Vest Pocket Park in Model City**, HistoryMiami Museum, *Miami News* Collection, October 11, 1972, photo by Richard Johnson



As N. D. B. Connolly has pointed out, racial segregation was entrenched in, and was propagated by, Dade County's most important activity: real estate development.<sup>33</sup> This can be seen in the first Black suburban migrations to outlying districts northwest of Miami, which began in the 1920s in places like **Railroad Shops**, **Brown's Sub** (today Brownsville), and **Liberty City**. While tracing the growing American preference for suburban living, these migrations became enmeshed in the efforts of Miami leaders and real estate professionals to clear Overtown and move Blacks from the City of Miami. **Liberty Square** (1934-37), Miami's first public housing, also helped direct families from Overtown to Liberty City (see Racial Planning below).<sup>34</sup> By the 1930s, the Dade County Commission and Dade County Planning Board had initiated more formal racial planning practices, restricting new land available for Black settlement and controlling new settlement.

The imprint of racial planning became particularly apparent after World War II, when the need for Black housing surged. The county's rapidly growing Black population, which swelled from 64,947 in 1950 to 137,299 in 1960 (an increase of 112%), also comprised a rising Black working class and professional middle class.<sup>35</sup> As the war provided them better access to training and jobs, better opportunities within the U.S. military, GI status, and (in the case of many Black veterans) access to low-cost home mortgages, Blacks joined Miami's postwar suburban transformation (although in practice, GI benefits were not always fairly distributed to Blacks).<sup>36</sup> The transformation occurred in areas designated by the Planning Board for Black suburban settlement, including **Eleanor Park**, **Biscayne River Gardens**, **Bunche Park**, and **Magnolia Gardens** near Opa-locka in Northwest Miami, and **West Perrine**, **Richmond Heights**, **Lincoln City** and **Bunchville** along the South Dade Corridor (see Northwest and South Dade sections). By 1952, more than 12,500 Black Miamians had migrated to these county-authorized subdivisions in un-incorporated areas.<sup>37</sup> While racial planning

effectively ended in the 1960s, these areas still figure among the most important Black centers in Dade County.

Even as racial planning opened some new suburban areas, it acted to circumscribe and consolidate Black settlement throughout the county, adding to the pressing need for more housing. The need grew acute as federally funded projects in the urban core, such as slum clearance and the demolition associated with new highway alignments, spurred further displacement from Overtown.<sup>38</sup> Among those leaving Overtown, many moved into the early Black suburban centers of Liberty City, Brownsville, and West Little River, where a postwar construction boom soon produced tens of thousands of new housing units. Some of these units were in detached single-family homes, but many more were in multi-family housing, transforming these neighborhoods into denser suburban enclaves (see Northwest Corridor section). The 750-unit **James E. Scott Homes** (1953), developed by the Miami Housing Authority, was the largest of a diverse group of federally funded public housing projects developed in Northwest Miami. Most new multi-family housing, however, was privately funded and orchestrated by a landlord class of White and Black entrepreneurs.<sup>39</sup>

By 1968, Liberty City had grown to a population of 45,000, replacing Overtown as the main center of Black settlement.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, it became the nucleus of a much-larger 15-square-mile corridor of Black settlement stretching past Opa-locka and suburbs like Bunche Park to the distant northwest fringes of the county.<sup>41</sup> As an increasingly important center, the Liberty City and Brownsville areas played multiple roles; even as they were transformed by low-cost housing, the district partly retained the role it fulfilled in the 1930s and 40s as an elite suburban area. Brownsville also became a center of Miami's Black hospitality industry that, while well-established since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, grew particularly after World War II. In spite of the progressive touristic narratives pitched by civic

leaders, Miami's resort industry maintained its own color line.<sup>42</sup> Black tourists, as well as the Black performers who were regularly invited to perform in the hotels and clubs that catered to White guests, could not stay overnight in Miami Beach. Some performers, like Josephine Baker in 1951, famously refused to perform for White-only audiences;<sup>43</sup> others performed after-hours at clubs in Overtown and Brownsville, drawing both Black and White patrons. Brownsville's suburban character was particularly attractive to a rising Black middle class, and became a focus of several important hospitality venues. Among the most famous, **Georgette's Tea Room** (1940), discreetly located within a quiet neighborhood of single-family homes, was a guest house and dining and entertainment venue for Black celebrities and Miami's Black social elite.<sup>44</sup> The **Booker Terrace Motel** (1954, later renamed Hampton House Motel and Villas), a sprawling complex of public amenities, lounges, courtyards, and room wings that occupied a full block front facing NW 27<sup>th</sup> Avenue, symbolized the public amenity and ebullience of Miami's postwar Black hotels. Today, Georgette's Tea Room and the Hampton House are both designated historic sites (see Northwest Corridor section). Although the importance of Black resorts declined after the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s, Black tourism has remained an important driver of Miami's economy, as was made clear during the Black Tourism Boycott of 1990–1993.<sup>45</sup>

The Liberty City and Brownsville center also became, in the late 1960s, the focus of one of the last major postwar efforts by the federal government to address the lack of civic infrastructure and facilities that was a legacy of racism and racial segregation. Parts of these one-time suburbs transformed by rapid growth and lack of public investment, as well as higher-density and low-amenity housing, had emerged as one of the county's worst slums. In 1967, portions of this area were selected as one of 70 locations nationwide to be funded for improvement under the federal **Model Cities Program**, a keystone of President Lyndon B.

Johnson's Great Society programs. Authorized under the 1966 Cities Demonstration and Metropolitan Development Act, the Model City Program was intended partly as a corrective to earlier federal support for slum clearance and public housing construction, and was predicated on a more comprehensive and human welfare-based approach to improving communities.<sup>46</sup> The initiative was operated locally by Metro-Dade Housing and Urban Development (or "Little HUD," the successor to the Miami Housing Authority under the Metro-Dade Government), and in order to emphasize citizen participation, was directed by the 21-member, resident-led Model City Governing Board.<sup>47</sup>

The civic enhancement projects coming out of the Model City Program, as directed by the Governing Board, omitted new housing development (a contentious issue in an area already scattered with public housing). Instead, the Model City program focused on improving infrastructure and on developing innovative schools, cultural facilities, museums, parks, and eventually a new government center: the **Joseph Caleb Community Center and Model City Library** (1977, see Northwest Corridor context). Located on NW 22<sup>nd</sup> Avenue at 54<sup>th</sup> Street, this civic-cultural center was named for Joseph Caleb, a Black labor leader killed in 1972. Completed as part of Dade County's planned decentralization, in parallel with both the downtown Government Center and the South Dade Civic Center, it comprised more than 160,000 square feet of governmental, service, and cultural functions.<sup>48</sup> The complex, which the *Miami News* called a "huge, handsome fortress," also included the new **Black Archives History & Research Foundation** (formerly the Black Photographic Archives and History Collection at the Historical Association of South Florida), founded by Dr. Dorothy Jenkins Fields as a repository of memory devoted to identifying early Black settlements and architectural landmarks, and reflecting the Black experience in Dade County.

For Black residents of Dade County, the freedom struggle and Civil Rights movement accelerated in the postwar era. The movement also developed, as Chanelle Rose has explored, its own particular character tied to factors like the county's complex demographic make-up and the influence of tourism.<sup>49</sup> The movement addressed critical issues like segregated housing and hospitality, lack of equitable access to education, healthcare, and civic amenities, voting rights, and economic justice. In confronting these issues, progress was galvanized by national organizations, like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), as well as the Urban League, Black Muslims, the Ministerial Alliance, and others. As Marvin Dunn has noted, these groups "operated in different arenas – the NAACP in the courts, and CORE on the ground leading demonstrations – toward the same goal – equality for blacks."<sup>50</sup>

Community action was instrumental in securing new rights. Following a wade-in by Black bathers at Baker's Haulover, organized by the "Negro Service Council," the first Black bathing beach opened at Virginia Key Beach in 1945.<sup>51</sup> Opened under the mantle of "separate but equal" codified by the U.S. Supreme Court under *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896 (incidentally the same year of Miami's incorporation), which guided county policy until the 1960s, this segregated waterfront park was located in an area with dangerous currents near the county's sewage treatment facility. Also under separate but equal, the School Board, after denying Black students educational opportunities for many years, began to address their needs in its wide-reaching postwar school building program. As a landmark of separate but equal planning, the City of Miami created the Colored Police Precinct Station and Courthouse, the nation's only standing Black police force and justice facility. The modern rectangular building with large windows, designed by Walter de Garmo and built in 1950, served Northwest Miami until the city's police force was integrated in 1963.<sup>52</sup>

The Civil Rights movement in Dade County focused early, as Marvin Dunn has argued, on voting rights.<sup>53</sup> Until the 1940s, Blacks were excluded from membership in the Democratic Party, at the time the dominant force in Southern politics.<sup>54</sup> Other actions to stymie Black voter turnout were led by the Ku Klux Klan, which organized intimidation efforts. Some of the dynamics and limits of Black electoral participation were demonstrated in the late-1940s attempt to incorporate Perrine as a new bi-racial city. Following strong Black support, led by community leader Ben Shavis (who by some accounts was elected as the new city's mayor), Perrine did eventually incorporate as a city in 1948. The participation of Black voters in creating a mixed-race city so incensed local and state political leaders of the time that Florida dissolved Perrine's charter in 1949.<sup>55</sup> The 1978 dedication of **Ben Shavis Park** in Perrine partly memorializes Shavis and the area's "incorporation story." By the 1950s, however, increased Black political engagement and the election of Black candidates to city and county offices led to increasing attention to community needs. Black political support also helped assure the approval of some of the county's largest community building projects, including the creation of Metropolitan Dade in 1957, the new countywide governance structure that held the promise of further empowerment as well as jobs (see Planning Context).<sup>56</sup>

The Civil Rights movement began to dismantle the policy of "separate but equal" during the 1950s and 1960s, opening public facilities to all residents and tourists. For example, after legal action, the Miami Springs Golf and Country Club, a municipal course, was ordered by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1950 to open to Black golfers (the first case of golf course discrimination to reach the U.S. Supreme Court).<sup>57</sup> It soon became home to the North-South Winter Tournament (1953-1989), the biggest Black-sponsored athletic competition in the nation and an alternative to PGA Golf.



By the 1960s barriers to opportunities in education, housing, and employment were breaking down. The University of Miami voted to admit students “without regard to race or color” in 1961.<sup>58</sup> A year later, **Dade Junior College**, the county’s first public university, originally conceived as a segregated institution, was desegregated in time for the opening of its inaugural campus in North Dade in 1962. School desegregation began in Dade County with the opening to Black students of **Orchard Villa Elementary School** in Liberty City in 1958, although a few years later the school was re-segregated.<sup>59</sup> It was not until 1965, more than a decade after the U.S. Supreme Court’s 1954 ruling in *Brown vs. the Board of Education of Topeka*, that racial segregation in public education and the practice of “separate but equal” accommodations ended.<sup>60</sup>

President John F. Kennedy’s 1962 executive order banning racial discrimination in public housing, including the creation of the **President’s Committee on Equal Opportunity Housing**, leveraged both direct and indirect federal housing support to promote non-discrimination based on race, creed, color or national origin. At this point, some developers in Dade County began to embrace “open occupancy” policies in their new housing. Some saw this policy as a guard against “block-busting,” the strategy among some real estate professionals of using anti-Black racism to stimulate panic selling for profit. By 1965, Equal Opportunity Housing commitments were common in real estate advertisements. The **Civil Rights Act of 1964** and the **Fair Housing Act of 1968** went even further, prohibiting discrimination concerning the sale, rental, and financing of housing.<sup>61</sup> In 1969, Dade County enacted its own Equal Opportunity in Housing ordinance. As racial zoning gave way to legal integration, Northwest Dade, including Carol City and the areas forming the contemporary City of Miami Gardens, were among the first areas of the county where non-discrimination became standard in home development.

In a complex twist, the Civil Rights movement in Miami corresponded with the momentous Caribbean and Latin American migrations of the 1960s and 1970s that brought new immigrants, labor, and cultural identities. As Chanelle Rose has argued, these migrations diluted the Black-White dichotomy as a context of the local fight for civil rights.<sup>62</sup> Although many of the immigrants were Afro-Caribbean, these migrations shifted the racial composition of the city and, in some cases, brought the inequities endured by Miami’s Black community back into high relief. The fight for civil rights had to compete in the public consciousness with the social, cultural, and economic impacts of immigration. In 1980, for example, the beating to death by White police officers of Arthur McDuffie, a Black insurance agent and former Marine, competed for public attention with the Mariel boatlift that brought more than 125,000 Cubans to the United States (many of whom settled in the Miami area). The 1980 acquittal of the White police officers involved in the McDuffie killing and the widespread uprising that followed highlighted the persistence of police brutality, and the racial inequity of the county’s justice system.

While the Civil Rights movement ended many structural systems of exclusion, de facto segregation continued. The fight against “separate but equal” was replaced by the fight for full rights and economic justice. In 1979, following a petition by Bahamian American civil rights activist and politician M. Athalie Range, an Office of Black Affairs was created to address economic empowerment, Black unemployment in construction and the fair distribution of government contracts. The Office of Black Affairs continues today as the Black Affairs Advisory Board.

### **Caribbean and Latin American Context**

Although perched at the edge of the Caribbean Sea, throughout much of the 20th century Miami’s identity as a Caribbean city was more imagined



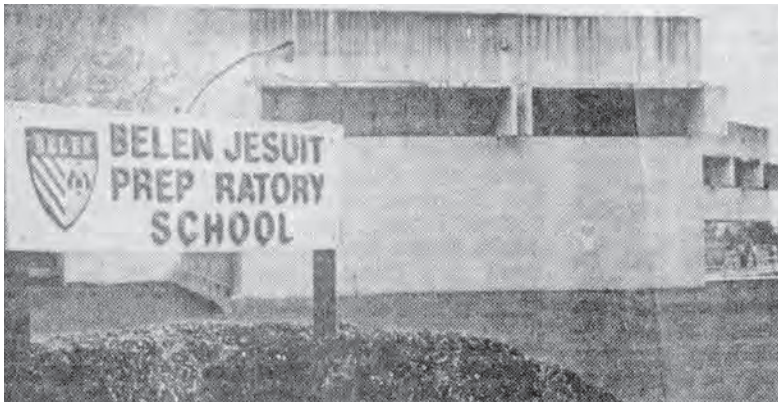
**Pedro Pan Campus (1955), Carmen Valdivia with girls and House Mother, Operation Pedro Pan Group, 1963**



**Airport arrival, Operation Pedro Pan Group, c. 1960-62**



**Our Lady of Lourdes Academy (1963)**, Le Fleuve Yearbook, 1971



**Belen Jesuit Preparatory School (1961)**, from Reinaldo Ramos, "Alumni have long been Cuban, Cuban-American leaders," *Miami Herald*, March 1, 1987, photo by Rick McCawley



**Saint Dominic's Catholic Church (1962)**, [miamiarch.org](http://miamiarch.org), date unknown





**Bacardi Building**, HistoryMiami Museum, *Miami News* Collection, date unknown

than real. Bahamians were the first West Indians to migrate to the area in significant numbers. Some were reverse migrants, descendants of Seminoles and formerly enslaved Blacks whose ante-bellum exodus to the Bahamas traced through Dade County. Sought after as builders and for their knowledge of regionally-appropriate agriculture practices, Black Bahamians who arrived between the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries formed enclaves in Coconut Grove, Lemon City, and South Dade.<sup>63</sup> Targeted by Jim Crow racism and violence, the Bahamians mixed with American Blacks even as they maintained distinct cultural practices.

By the 1920s Miami began to attract immigrants from the larger Caribbean region and Latin America, generally referred to locally as “Latin.” The interconnected geography of the Caribbean, air networks built later by Pan American Airways, a vibrant tourist industry, emergent job opportunities, and growing cultural links, drew migrants. Miami was also tied to regional political fortunes by the role the Caribbean played in U.S. military strategy during WWII, and by American military interventions. Miami was not the only North American destination for Caribbean immigrants, nor in many cases the main destination. Most of the nearly 400,000 Puerto Rican migrants streaming into the continental U.S. in the late 1940s continued to New York City; yet Dade County attracted a diverse and partly well-to-do crowd of the island’s professional and business leaders.<sup>64</sup> Maurice Ferré, whose family emigrated from Ponce in Puerto Rico and came to lead the industrial and development giant Maule Industries, was elected Mayor of Miami in 1973, the first Hispanic Mayor of any major American City. While Puerto Rican migrants were American citizens and exempt from immigration controls, they remained culturally distinct and helped pave the way for later Caribbean migrations.<sup>65</sup> Many Puerto Ricans settled in Miami’s Wynwood district (informally Little San Juan), where institutions like Borinquen Clinic (*Clinica Borinquen*, founded 1972) took root. Similarly, of the millions of Mexican migrants

who entered the U.S. under the *Bracero* guest worker program (1940s to 1960s), a modest but important number came to work in South Dade’s agricultural industries, many settling in communities and work camps around Naranja (see South Dade section). By the 1950s Cuban, Puerto Rican, Haitian, Dominican, Jamaican, and Central American populations, among others, were well established here.

A far more fulsome encounter with Caribbean culture and populations came with the large transnational migrations of the 1960s and 1970s. Inaugurated by Cubans fleeing revolution in 1959, Caribbean migration soared. Between 1959 and 1962, more than 200,000 Cubans arrived in Miami, including 14,000 unaccompanied Cuban children who transited under what became known as Operation Pedro Pan. Organized in 1960 by the Catholic Welfare Bureau of the Miami Diocese of the Catholic Church in coordination with the U.S. government, the Pedro Pan program created a number of transit camps throughout Miami Dade County, including **Camp Matecumbe** and **Camp Kendall** in the Kendall area and the **South Dade Camp** in Florida City (see South Dade Corridor Section).

A second exodus of 300,000 Cubans followed in the “Freedom Flights” negotiated by the U.S. and Cuban governments between 1965 to 1973. As an initial point of entry to the U.S., **Miami International Airport** played an important role in these migrations; so did the “**Freedom Tower**,” the architecturally-prominent former home of the newspaper *The Miami Metropolis* facing the old Port of Miami downtown.<sup>66</sup> Arriving Cuban migrants enjoyed new categories of asylum and expedited access to permanent residence under the Cuban Adjustment Act, codified into U.S. immigration law by President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1966.

Another major wave of immigration took place in 1980, when nearly 125,000 Cubans arrived to Florida by sea during the Mariel Boatlift. As Dade County’s Cuban exile population grew, Miami



Catholic Center for Haitians, from *Miami Herald*, February 15, 1985, photo by Robin Shields



Our Lady Divine Providence (1979), [miamiarch.org](http://miamiarch.org), date unknown



and Havana, long connected through patterns of tourism, cultural, and business contacts, became increasingly intertwined in a complex association that author Louis Perez has called “complimentary and competitive,” a new model of reciprocal linkage across national boundaries.<sup>67</sup>

Many of the first waves of Cuban migrants concentrated in Hialeah, a boom-era suburb that became a postwar industrial center, and in the areas west and southwest of downtown Miami. Here, they created a spontaneous new enclave around the east-west corridors running from Miami’s urban core toward the western suburbs: Flagler Street, Tamiami Trail (Calle Ocho), and Coral Way. The transformation of Miami’s southwestern quadrant gave birth to a new geographical identity: **La Sagüesera**. The term is a slang or neologism for “Southwest Dade” (see Southwest Dade section). There, Cuban immigrants blended patterns and spaces of U.S. life with their own distinct cultural traditions, creating a wide variety adaptations. The civic life of La Sagüesera thrived in churches, schools, and parks, but also in markets, bodegas, bakeries, and botanicas. Along Calle Ocho, small restaurants and cafeterias, many with *ventanitas* (small serving windows), sprung up. Numerous new businesses, including Spanish-language radio stations like La Cubanísima, Radio Mambi, and Radio Caracol, were established along Coral Way.

The growing influx of Cuban exiles coincided with the development of Miami’s Roman Catholic Church, which was elevated to a local Diocese in 1958. Under the leadership of Bishop Coleman F. Carroll, the Diocese built new educational institutions, such as **Christopher Columbus High School** in Westchester (1958), **St. John Vianney Minor Seminary High School** (current St. Brendan’s High School, 1959), and **St. John Vianney Seminary**, the first minor diocesan seminary in the southeast (in 1975, it became the St. John Vianney College Seminary – the only fully bilingual college seminary in the U.S.). These institutions opened their doors just in time

to welcome the flood of Catholic migrants from Cuba. **St. Dominic Catholic Church** in West Dade (1962), operated by Spanish Dominican friars, was one of the first new churches created to serve the growing Cuban community. Many of migrants also came under the wing of the Catholic Welfare Bureau (current Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of Miami, Inc.), a Depression-era initiative of the Catholic Church. For example, the Welfare Bureau created **Our Lady of Lourdes Academy** in 1963 to help educate Cuban young refugee women; it quickly became the elite educational institution it is today.

Other institutions rushed to meet the needs of Miami’s growing Cuban diaspora. **Miami Dade Community College** (former Dade Junior College) began offering classes in Little Havana to serve Cuban migrants in 1979, a program later expanded into the College’s **InterAmerican Campus** (currently the Eduardo Padrón Campus). Established 1986 next door to, and later including the 14 story-InterAmerican office tower, the campus was named after the first Hispanic President of the Miami-Dade College system who championed its expansion.

Miami’s Cuban exile elite also created new institutions, many recreating what was lost in Havana. When in 1961 Fidel Castro expelled the Jesuits running Havana’s *Colegio de Belén*, an exclusive Jesuit school (of which Castro was an alumnus), the Belen Jesuit Intercultural Center was re-constituted almost immediately at the Gesu Church in downtown Miami. As it expanded, **Belen Jesuit Preparatory School** followed Cuban families, first to Little Havana and then to Miami’s Southwestern suburbs. Also in the Southwestern suburbs, in 1967 the **Big Five Country Club** was formed around the Cuban blueblood ex-members of Havana’s five largest social clubs (the Biltmore, Havana and Miramar Yacht and Country Clubs, Vedado Tennis Club, Casino Español Club), endeavoring to reproduce in Miami the sporting ethos of those pre-revolutionary clubs.<sup>68</sup> At the clubhouse, as the *Miami Herald* reported, men played Dominos



Protest at Krome Avenue North Detention Center, HistoryMiami Museum, *Miami News* Collection, c.1970s, photo by Tim Chapman



Little Haiti, from Nancy San Martin and Anita McDivitt, "Lemon City Neighborhood changes, but memories remain," *Miami Herald*, August 4, 1991, photo by Rick McCawley

while women played canasta beneath exhibited prints by Cuban caricaturist Conrado Walter Massaguer. The club became a hub for business development among Cuban lawyers, bankers and entrepreneurs, and for some a counterbalance to Americanization.

The initial waves of Cuban migrants included many well-educated professional and middle-class businesspeople who used networks of solidarity to establish or reestablish businesses, creating not only platforms for prosperity but also the foundations of future transnational partnerships. Bacardi, the exiled Cuban corporate standard bearer, moved its U.S. subsidiary from New York to Miami as a statement of endurance, social solidarity, and resistance, erecting the iconic **Bacardi Imports Tower** (1963) just north of Miami's downtown.<sup>69</sup> The rapid integration and rising prosperity of Cuban migrants demonstrated for many a success story: "Cuban industry in exile." Eventually the industry of Cuban migrants fed an even more important growth narrative: the "Great Change," or the role of Cuban emigres in the transformation of Miami into a global metropolis.<sup>70</sup>

Miami's robust Cuban diaspora included many architects and builders who helped refashion the county in the 1970s and 1980s.<sup>71</sup> Cuban exile architects formed the *Colegio Nacional de Arquitectos de Cuba* (National Association of Cuban Architects) in 1961, and by 1985 the organization had 600 members. The creative and professional efforts of these architects took many forms, but one legacy, fed by Cuba's thriving Modernist movement, was to re-infuse modern architecture as a practice in Miami.<sup>72</sup> Cuban architects were particularly adept at molding Modernism to fit a tropical climate and cultural identity. The gravity-defying Bacardi Imports Tower, designed by Enrique Gutierrez, combined corporate notes of dark glass curtainwall and Carrera marble with exuberant blue and white azulejo tile murals that depicted and exotic plant forms on its striking sidewalls.<sup>73</sup>

The Latin Builders Association, organized in 1971 by a group of Cuban contractors, developers, and professionals, left their own mark on the construction of late-postwar Miami. In the 1970s, the group led the development of new housing in Little Havana, replacing small wood homes with concrete-built two-story multi-family housing, a transformation so wide-spread it was known to many as "private urban renewal."<sup>74</sup>

The 1965 Hart-Celler Act, also known as the Immigration and Nationality Act, opened the door to further Caribbean migrations over the next two decades, including a number of "crisis immigrations."<sup>75</sup> By the late 1960s, Nicaraguans began to arrive in large numbers, driven by political instability stoked by the struggle between Anastasio Somoza and the Sandinista National Liberation Front. The immigration began with the Creole and Miskito population of the Atlantic coast and then spread to the larger populations of the Pacific Coast, including a small Moravian community that clustered in Carol City around Moravian Prince of Peace Church.<sup>76</sup> Most Nicaraguan migrants settled in Little Havana, before moving to suburban areas like Kendall, Fontainebleau, and especially Sweetwater, the district on the western edge of Miami that became known as **Little Managua**. There, **Our Lady of Divine Providence Church** (1979) became a principal cultural focus for the community, hosting the traditional Nicaraguan celebration *La Gritería*, in honor of the Immaculate Conception, early each December. A new middle school and a park in Sweetwater were named after the Nicaraguan modernist poet Ruben Dario, and on Flagler Street Nicaraguan specialty shops opened in unassuming shopping plazas like the **Centro Comercial Managua**.

Dominicans arrived in large numbers following the 1961 assassination of Rafael Trujillo, the military leader and long-time dictator of the Dominican Republic, and the subsequent U.S. military occupation of the island in the mid-1960s. Many settled around Wynwood, Allapattah, and Carol City, neighborhoods previously established



or favored by Puerto Ricans, Salvadorans, Guatemalans, Hondurans, and Jamaicans, and later South American migrants from Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru, expanded the diversity of Miami's immigrant population.

Haitian immigration to Miami surged in the late 1960s and 1970s following political turmoil during the dictatorial regimes of François Duvalier and his son Jean-Claude Duvalier. The exodus of more than 100,000 Haitians, most arriving in harrowing journeys by boat, reached a peak in 1980,<sup>77</sup> helping to transform Dade County into the U.S. region with the highest level of Black immigration.<sup>78</sup> In contrast to previous migrations, however, the arrival of Haitians was met with suspicion and fears; their harsh treatment by immigration authorities, especially the mass incarceration of asylum-seekers at Miami's Krome Detention Center, challenged the generally positive narratives about immigration in Miami and helped spur the Black immigration rights movement of the 1980s.

As the new Haitian migrants settled in Miami, their experience was similarly harsh. They were often marginalized, feared deportation, and received little governmental support. Further, as Kreyol speakers, they were linguistically isolated in a city where Spanish had joined English as an adopted common language. While earlier Haitian émigrés had settled in then-segregated areas like Overtown and Liberty City, the new influx congregated around the old village of Lemon City, and the nearby Black settlements of Nazarine, Knightsville, and Boles Town, establishing a new ethnic urban enclave known as **Little Haiti**. The Haitian presence was manifest along NE 2<sup>nd</sup> Avenue in an abundance of Haitian bakeries, beauty salons, barber shops, *bases domino* (domino parlors), and *botanicas* (religious goods stores). Distinctive neighborhood makeovers – storefronts festooned with the distinctive graphic signage of muralist Serge Toussaint, the sudden appearance of brightly painted homes, the transformation of yards into medicinal herb and food gardens, and the discrete presence of

Vodou temples – were partly the result of the settlement of a primarily rural population in an urban context.<sup>79</sup>

The establishment of Little Haiti is often attributed to Viter Juste, an émigré community leader and advocate for Haitian migrants.<sup>80</sup> The Catholic Church also played an important role; in 1976 Juste collaborated with the Catholic Welfare Bureau to create the Haitian American Community Association of Dade and fund the Pierre Toussaint Haitian Catholic Center. In 1981, the center established **Notre Dame D'Haiti** in the former **Notre Dame Academy**, a Catholic Senior High for Girls (1953, Barry & Kay of Chicago). At its dedication, Toussaint Center director Ferdinand Forte evoked the role of the church in providing a haven for Haitians: "God's Immigration and Naturalization Service still welcomes the Haitians, even if other more official agencies do not."<sup>81</sup> For years the church played the solemn role of hosting services for the many Haitian refugees who passed at sea. Another church, **Friendship Missionary Baptist Church**, displaced from Overtown by Urban Renewal in the 1960s and relocated to NW 7<sup>th</sup> Avenue (just west of today's Little Haiti), became a stalwart of the community by offering separate Sunday Masses in Kreyol (as well as English and Spanish).

Although Little Haiti formed the symbolic center of Miami's Haitian diaspora, many migrated northward into North Miami and North Miami Beach. West Dixie Highway, the NW 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> Avenue corridors, and the area around Oak Grove Park in North Miami Beach, became important new community centers. As the Haitian-American community spread, **Express Publicite Radio**, Miami's first Kreyol radio station, created in 1978 by Carmelau Monestime, became a force in integrating the increasingly dispersed community.<sup>82</sup>

Miami's postwar surge of Caribbean and Latin American immigration transformed, and was transformed by, the Roman Catholic Church. In

1958, responding to the growth of South Florida, Miami was elevated to a Diocese.<sup>83</sup> Then, only 10 years after the Diocese of Miami was erected, with the exodus of Cubans swelling, in 1968 Pope Paul VI elevated Miami to an Archdiocese.<sup>84</sup> Dade County's Catholic population, once a minority, multiplied by 400% between 1958 and 1977.<sup>85</sup> The rapid expansion of the church locally coincided with the modernizing direction of the Second Vatican Council (or Vatican II, 1962-65), putting the Miami Church in a position to address a range of emerging challenges. During this time, the Catholic Church invested heavily in growth, especially church and school construction. Miami's first Bishop (and later Archbishop) Coleman Carroll played a pivotal role as a social activist and civic leader. One of Carroll's first mandates was to establish links with Cuban clergy, facilitating the Cuban exodus and helping to integrate immigrants. Carroll appointed Monsignor Bryan O. Walsh to lead the Catholic Welfare Bureau, which aided migrants and helped build new educational and social institutions. The Bureau also spearheaded initiatives like Operation Pedro Pan, which brought thousands of unaccompanied Cuban children to Miami (see above).

While less prominent in Miami than Roman Catholicism, Protestant and Evangelical denominations, as well as African diasporic religions were another facet of Caribbean immigrant culture. Orisha worship (Santería) in Cuba, Vodou in Haiti, and Obeah in Jamaica, all had their source in the encounter between Roman Catholicism and the animist religions of Africans in the Americas.<sup>86</sup> Miami became one of the few places in the Americas where these varied diasporic beliefs come together in one place. Generally practiced in private and sacred spaces, animist practices were most often cryptic, discovered in the discrete botanicas that populate Miami's shopping plazas rather than in churches, although they were sometimes practiced in public spaces (i.e. Tropical Park, see Southwest section).<sup>87</sup>

During the turbulent years of large-scale immigration, as Miami's Latin American immigrant population multiplied from 50,000 in 1960 to 580,000 in 1980 (rising from 6% to 36% of the county's population), the tide of immigrants stirred fear and anger among many in Miami's existing non-Hispanic White and Black communities.<sup>88</sup> Miami's "Latinization" upended the existing social order of what was in many ways a Southern American town, intersecting with entrenched segregation and becoming another factor in "White flight" from the urban core and, by the 1980s, from the county altogether.<sup>89</sup> Cultural struggles played publicly over the issue of Spanish language use. In 1973 Dade County became the first and only major American county that was officially bilingual, but as anger exploded in 1980, the year of the Mariel boatlift (along with surging Haitian, Nicaraguan, and Colombian migration), an anti-bilingual referendum passed in the County.<sup>90</sup> The referendum was eventually repealed in 1993.

The 1970s to 1980s were a period of polarization, crisis, and turmoil in Dade County, but they also laid the groundwork for a new social synthesis. Having absorbed various Caribbean and Latin American immigrant waves, Miami was evolving culturally and functionally into a novel form of "Pan-America." As in the Caribbean, merging cultures, blended families (expressed within Latin American culture as the "battle of the tamales"), and cross-cultural migrations, have created a culturally-mixed population with a more globalized culture and transnational commercial, cultural, and social networks. Dade County's touristic economy, at first complicated by the demographic changes, eventually benefited from a surge of Caribbean and Latin American visitors, many of whom would eventually remain as residents. Patterns of tourism had always prompted immigration here, but these migrants developed living patterns that blended transiency and permanence, redefining Miami as a nomadic city. Immigrants moved around within the city as well, transforming the sprawling geography of Dade County with multicultural ethno-

burbs. *La Sagüesera*, as the largest and most integrated Caribbean and Latin American center, transcended its origins as an enclave, expanding and merging with the suburban frontiers of Fontainebleau, Sweetwater and Kendall, becoming a microcosm of Miami.

### Jewish Context

Jews have settled in Dade County since the late 19th century, many founding businesses in the newly established city of Miami in 1896.<sup>91</sup> Larger Jewish communities began to form in the 1920s and 1930s, with migrations into suburban enclaves like Shenandoah, Westchester, Hialeah, and especially Miami Beach.

Jewish life in early Dade County was restricted by social exclusion from many residential subdivisions, resorts, clubs, and other institutions. In Miami Beach, for example, coded terms like “restricted clientele,” and restrictive covenants limiting sales to White Gentiles, indicated that Jews were not welcome. Even as they played out in the relatively new communities of South Florida, such nativist approaches were stoked by the upheavals of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, when large-scale immigration to the U.S. of Jews and Catholics challenged the fabric of a largely Protestant nation. In an ironic twist, the exclusion of Jews and other minorities from resorts in the U.S. helped spur the creation of ethnic resorts, most notably the South Beach area of Miami Beach in the 1930s, laying the foundation for the further growth of Jewish life there. The successional transformation of resorts, like residential subdivisions, is a theme that would continue in the postwar era, with particular relevance in Miami.<sup>92</sup> In a similar way, exclusion from Gentile country clubs led Jews to establish their own clubs; in Miami, the **Golf Park Country Club** (1926), later **Westview Country Club** (1948), became a center of postwar Jewish social life. Barriers to Jewish land ownership and tourism mostly dissipated in the aftermath of the Depression, and even more significantly after World War II.

After World War II, the county’s Jewish population surged from 7,500 in 1940 to 230,000 in 1980, transforming Miami into a major U.S. center of Jewish life. As Jews concentrated in Miami, the city replaced Atlanta as the most populous Jewish center in the South. By 1974, 42.4% of all Jews living in the South lived in Dade County (and 53.3% lived in South Florida).<sup>93</sup> Among the important signals of this growth were strong migration into the new suburban district of Kendall, Miami Beach’s evolution in the 1970s into a Jewish-majority city, and late postwar migrations toward North Miami, North Miami Beach, and eventually Aventura.<sup>94</sup>

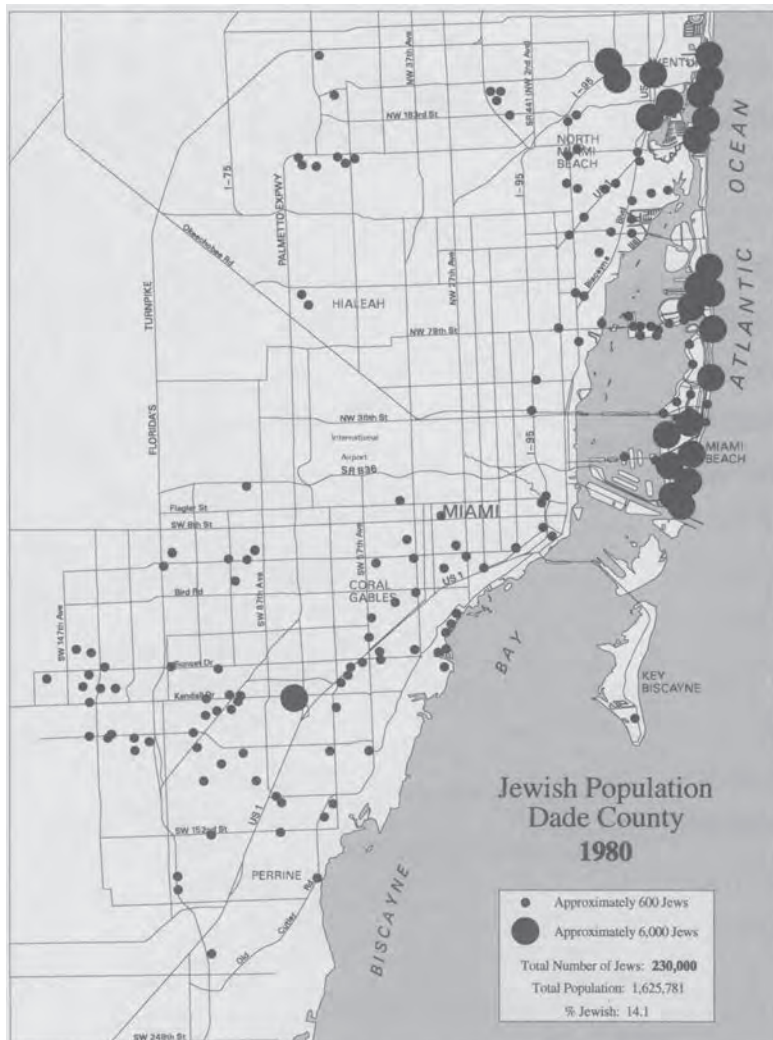
Postwar Jewish migration to Miami was not just quantitatively significant, but also socially and culturally transformative. As Deborah Dash Moore has argued, Sun Belt cities like Miami embodied a sea-change in Jewish history.<sup>95</sup> In migrating to these growing cities, many Jews sought to put distance between themselves and forms of Jewish identity formed by the experience of anti-Jewish pogroms in Europe, the Holocaust, and pervasive antisemitism. Taking inspiration from the founding of the State of Israel, they escaped older and more structured communities in the Northeast, and reinvented traditions and lifestyles, even Jewish society as a whole, in places like Miami. Younger Jews settled, like most postwar Americans, in suburban districts, including Kendall in Southwest Dade, and in Northeast Dade. South Florida Jews eagerly pioneered there a modern identity, and more relaxed forms of spirituality. They helped shape the city as prodigious developers of commercial and residential real estate, and participated in the creation of numerous institutions, including the county’s three major universities.<sup>96</sup> Many became activists in the Civil Rights movement, challenging racial segregation, anti-semitism and Cold War McCarthyism in this rapidly changing Southern City.<sup>97</sup>

The migration of retirees, mainly between 1940 and 1975, forms a related but distinct theme in the county’s Jewish history.<sup>98</sup> As the U.S.





**Westview Country Club (1948)**, from "Westview Country Club to Develop Golf Course" advertisement, Miami News, March 29, 2023



**Jewish Population Dade County 1980**, from Sheskin, Ira M. "A Methodology for Examining the Changing Size and Spatial Distribution of a Jewish Population." (West Lafayette, Ind.) 17, no. 1 (1998): 97-

Jewish population aged nationwide (becoming the nation's most geriatric ethnic group), many elderly Jews chose to retire in Miami.<sup>99</sup> Unlike their younger counterparts, who mainly clustered in newly minted suburbs, most moved to hotels, apartment buildings, resort-like condominiums, and retirement villages. Many settled in Miami Beach, where condominiums replaced hotels as the city's primary building type, and a culture of "permanent tourism" took root. Others moved to Northeast Dade County, attracted by condominium life with a country club feel and ever-greater amenities (see Northeast Corridor section). In either case, these areas were marked by large Jewish geriatric populations, emphasizing particular forms of social and community life.

The growth of the Northeast corridor as a Jewish center corresponded in the late-1960s with growing immigration from the Caribbean, Latin America, and even the former Soviet Union. The area became, as Marcia Zerevitz notes, a new Ellis Island for Jews fleeing troubled countries.<sup>100</sup> In 1980, Northeast Dade's Jewish population reached 85,000, comprising 37% of Dade County's Jewish population.<sup>101</sup> Characterized largely by condominium living, it was among the most densely populated Jewish communities in the world. The growth of Jewish settlement in Northeast Dade also fit the larger shifts and realignments of South Florida's Jewish geography, which by the 1970s was sprawling northward along the coast into Broward and Palm Beach County. Centralized within this coastal band, by the 1990s North Dade became the anchor of the second largest Jewish community in the nation.<sup>102</sup>

### **Asian Context**

Japanese, Chinese, and South Asian agricultural workers were present in Dade County since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Many Asian migrants also came to work in, and later thrive in, local industries like laundries, grocery stores,

and restaurants. In segregated Miami, Asian businesses, like Jewish ones, often served Black neighborhoods. Joe's Market groceries, founded by Chinese immigrants Joe Wing and Joe Fred Gong in 1920s Overtown, is a particularly successful example. By the 1960s, the family business had expanded to more than 38 locations, mostly in the county's Black communities.<sup>103</sup>

Although a small group in proportion to the Dade County's surging population, Asian migrants became the fastest-growing foreign-born group in Florida in the 1970s.<sup>104</sup> Postwar immigration from Asia surged, partly a result of transpacific U.S. military engagements, including WWII and the Korean and Vietnam Wars. The county is home to several Korean churches, including Korean Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Pentecostal denominations. Many Asian migrants arrived through secondary migrations, either from other U.S. cities as part of the Sun Belt migrations of the 1960s and 1970s, or as part of Caribbean and Latin American migrations that extended well-established Asian diasporas of the Americas into the county.<sup>105</sup> The compound identities of those arriving via secondary migrations, like South Asian Trinidadians and Guyanans, and Chinese Cubans and Jamaicans, fit the intersectionality evolving in the county, and the emerging transnational business culture developing in the area. For example, in 1977 Chinese Jamaican immigrants George and Einez Yap created Leasa Industries, a health food product company located in the Poinciana Industrial Park, growing the business into a major interstate food provider. As Asian immigration grew nationally, the needs of Asian cuisine were increasingly met in the tropical agricultural lands of South Dade, becoming one of that area's major growth markets.

### **Sexual identity and the LGBTQ Context**

Queer communities, and the open expression of gender and sexual diversity, have often thrived in Miami-Dade County, even though they have

also frequently been the target of intolerance and violence. Underlying such contradictions is Miami's own complex, even contested, identity. On the one hand, tourism created what Julio Capó has identified as a "fairylane" in Miami, a marketing term commonplace in the early 20th century that also designates an exotic playground where gay life could thrive.<sup>106</sup> On the other hand, Miami's playground mentality frequently came up against the conservative mores of a Southern city wrestling with its own identity as it grew into a transnational metropolis.<sup>107</sup> For lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer (LGBTQ) residents, the tension between these identities was the context for both visibility and invisibility, tolerance and intolerance. Further, in the melting pot of Miami, intolerance toward LGBTQ communities had much in common—and certainly much overlap — with intolerance of race, ethnicity, class, and gender differences.

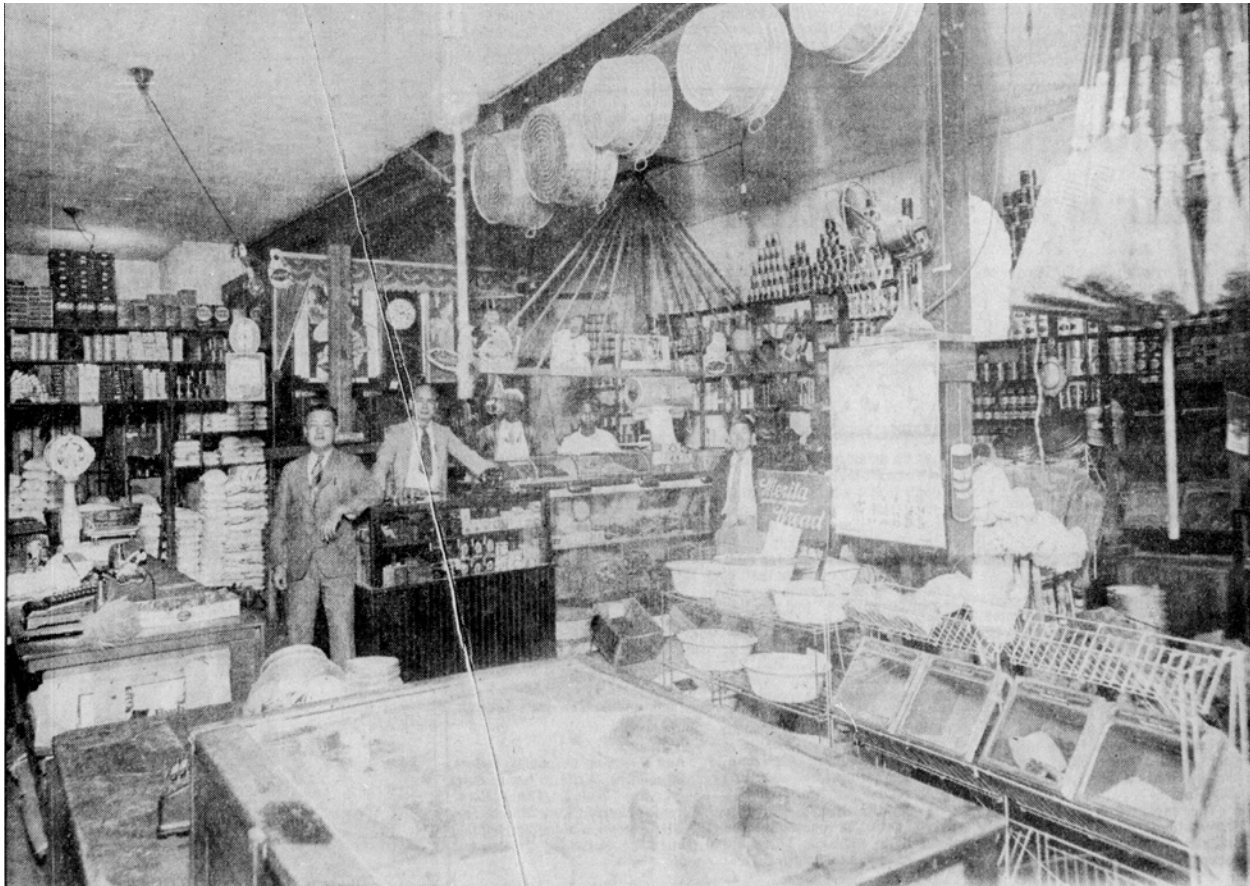
Dade County's queer life thrived and was most visible in its nightlife, where the subversion of conventional mores was already embedded in the region's touristic culture. Clubs were part of the scenery of the city, thriving in beachfront hotels, but also on the commercial arteries and borderlands of the county. In these clubs, a kind of time-sharing arrangement developed where permissive tourist seasons were followed by periodic crackdowns on "immorality."<sup>108</sup> Establishments hosting drag shows in particular, for decades a popular entertainment across Dade County, were harassed by police and other moral crusaders. In one event, nearly 200 members of the KKK raided **La Paloma Nightclub**, a prominent location for drag entertainment, on November 15, 1937.<sup>109</sup> As in other realms, the Klan acted to enforce its own morals in the face of a political and police hierarchy that were perceived to be more tolerant at the time. La Paloma was back up and running weeks later, as raids like this had little effect toward curbing the availability of such nightlife offerings in Miami.

As many historians have noted, the early postwar era in America was remarkable for its emphasis

on conformity, one focused on the importance of the nuclear family, middle class values, the promise of the American Dream, and the migration to suburban lifestyles.<sup>110</sup> Paradoxically, around the same time, human sexuality became a popular focus of research, and literature helped open attitudes toward homosexuality and define a new social consciousness about sexual mores. At Indiana University, Alfred Kinsey's 1948 findings on male sexual behavior, and in 1953 on female sexuality, specifically argued that homosexuality was within the range of normal human sexual behavior. Kinsey's work offered scientific grounding to more open-minded national attitudes toward sexual identity and expression.<sup>111</sup> The new social consciousness was partly evident in the birth of the "Homophile Movement," and in the rise of related civil rights and social organizations. These included the Mattachine Society (1950) and the Daughters of Bilitis (1955), once secretive and later openly activist, which created national platforms for "information on homosexuality and the furtherance of homosexual rights."<sup>112</sup> Some published information about Miami and Miami Beach, warning LGBTQ people across the country (and beyond) about Miami's policies.<sup>113</sup> Homophile organizations in Dade County were not large, but made important contributions toward balancing the narrative.

In the early 1950s, as gay and lesbian visibility grew, civil and moral retrenchment occasionally led to rising community pressure and intolerance.<sup>114</sup> Gay bars were lumped in a category with strip joints, brothels and betting parlors as elements of a "Skid Row" culture that had to be cleaned up under the guise of civic improvement.<sup>115</sup> Miami Beach banned drag shows in 1952, and in 1954, police raids targeted gay clubs at hotels like the Good and the Charles on Miami Beach, and bars like the Stockade, El Morocco, Shanticleer, and Leon and Eddies in Miami.<sup>116</sup> Patrons were arrested on charges of vagrancy and detained for venereal disease checks. Though homosexuality was not illegal, many sexual acts were decreed "crimes against





Joe's Market, from "Markets Kept Overtown Stocked," *Miami Herald*, January 27, 1986

**JULIE BECK**  
 Formerly Manager of La Paloma Club  
 Announces the Opening of  
**KELLY'S TORCH CLUB**  
 HIALEAH  
 Bohemian Atmosphere — Never A Dull Moment  
 The Greenwich Village of the South  
 Featuring  
 ★ **BILLY ROSSER, M. C.** ★  
 Formerly of the La Paloma  
 ★ **JOANN O'BRIEN** ★      ★ **JESSIE ROGERS**  
 Strip Artist              Bubble Dancer  
 ★ **MICKEY SIEGMUND** ★      ★ **GINGER LANE**  
 Dance of Veils              Songs  
 ★ **KIKI HALL** ★              ★ **FRANCES HALL**  
 Something Different        Female Impersonator  
 ★ **MELVIN EVANS** ★        ★ **BILL HOWARD**  
 Very Gay                      Baritone. Than whom there is  
    no whomer  
 ★ **GENE DANA** ★  
 Female Impersonating At Its Best  
 No Minimum — No Cover — Spend What You Like  
 Finest Foods and Liquors  
 ONE BLOCK NORTH OF CLUB BAGDAD      PHONE 4-2520

Kelly's Torch Club opening announcement, from ad for Kelly's Torch Club, *Miami Herald*, December 30, 1938



La Paloma Nightclub, HistoryMiami Museum, *Miami News* Collection, 1957

nature,” and illegal in Florida. Sheriff Thomas J. Kelley justified the raids by saying, “We don’t want perverts to set up housekeeping in this county. We want them to know they’re not welcome.”<sup>117</sup>

A decade later, the *Miami Herald* identified about 30 gay or queer bars in Dade County in 1964, mainly concentrated in Miami Beach and downtown Miami, but also in the suburbs where expressions of sexual identity were generally less visible.<sup>118</sup> As an early gay rights movement picked up momentum in Miami, Republican State Representative Don Reed warned in 1964 against disturbing “our orderly heterosexual society,” and “cloaking homosexuals with acceptability.”<sup>119</sup> That year, State Attorney Richard Gerstein spearheaded another countywide police drive against homosexuality, preparing lists of “known deviates.”<sup>120</sup> Gerstein proposed the use of police to entice gay people into sexual situations in order to arrest them.

As Capó has described, the pressure of intolerance helped lay the foundation for defiance and resistance, and for later community building and civil rights.<sup>121</sup> One example was the foundation in 1963 by Richard Inman of the Atheneum Society, a Miami-based “homophile” organization with a mission to “secure the civil rights and equal protection under the law of all persons regardless of libidinous orientation.” The Atheneum campaigned to remove criminal statutes against homosexual acts, fighting for rights of assembly and consensual sexual activity. Calling existing laws a “blueprint for blackmail,” it advocated new laws striking all references to homosexuality and legalizing all consenting relationships.

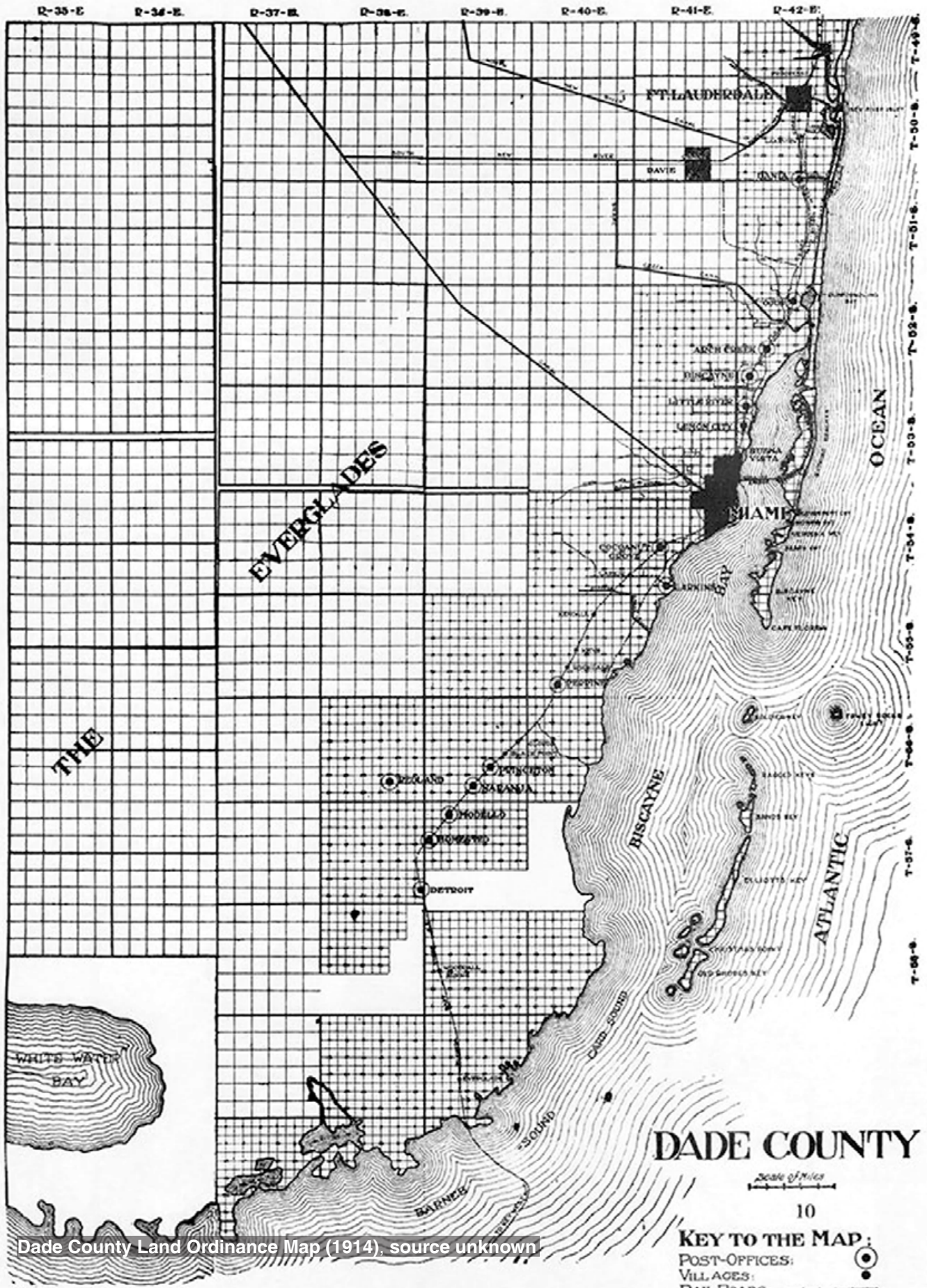
By the late 1960s, in the context of the larger

Civil Rights movement in America, and especially following the pivotal Stonewall Riots in New York City in 1969, national and local pressure for gay rights grew. In 1972, consecutive Democratic and Republican national conventions in Miami Beach became a platform for gay rights protesters and activists.<sup>122</sup> Also in 1972, a federal court struck down Miami Beach ordinances against female impersonation, and in 1976, Metro-Dade County Commissioner Ruth Shack advocated successfully to add “affectional or sexual preference” to the county’s existing anti-discrimination ordinance.<sup>123</sup> The change gained national attention, motivating Miami celebrity Anita Bryant to vocally oppose the ordinance in her 1977 “Save Our Children” Campaign. Bryant’s campaign turned the “local ordinance into a national political cause” and forced the ordinance change to a public vote, where it failed.<sup>124</sup>

The public fight for equality continued, however, as demonstrated by Miami’s first Gay Rights Parade in 1978. The arrival of Latin America and Caribbean immigrants, many fleeing socially conservative societies, helped make Miami a thriving LGBTQ cultural melting pot. As Dade County’s LGBTQ community grew, so did its cultural influence. Gay and lesbian entrepreneurs moved to Miami Beach, and figured strongly in its revitalization, burnishing tourism to the region. While the AIDS epidemic decimated the community in the 1980s, and migrations northward to Broward County further eroded Dade County’s role as a gay center, the community rebounded as an economic and cultural force. In 1998, a new lesbian/gay rights ordinance banning discrimination based on sexual identity was enacted in Dade County.

Miami-Dade County is largely built on planning





Dade County Land Ordinance Map (1914), source unknown



## Postwar Planning Context

paradigms popularized in the U.S. during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Within the metropolitan area co-exist gridiron-type railroad and resort towns, picturesque garden cities, small suburban subdivisions, cluster planned suburbs, and a master-planned new town. Most planning is also very localized, as it has long been delegated to private individuals, companies, and institutions. Among the most acclaimed are the plan of Miami developed by Henry Flagler's East Coast Railway in 1896, George Merrick's master plan for the garden city of Coral Gables in 1925, and the Graham family's cluster-planned New Town, Miami Lakes, in 1962. Less well-known are the thousands of individual plats by individual builders and developers, ranging from fragments of a traditional urban block to subdivisions spanning hundreds of acres. The metropolitan region today is an amalgam of towns, suburbs, plats, and agricultural tracts, defying any single logic. Until 1960 (when Dade County produced its first Land Use Plan) there was no comprehensive effort to coordinate county development or to synthesize its constituent pieces. Even after 1960, planning mainly focused on growth management rather than urban design.

Arguably, the county's first planning was provided by the U.S. Land Ordinance of 1785, which extended to Florida in 1819 and divided wilderness into 36 square mile Townships and one square-mile (640 acre) Section for settlement.<sup>125</sup> The Land Ordinance's meridians of longitude and parallels of latitude were by the early 20<sup>th</sup> century transformed into a latticework of arterial roads, stretching from the ocean to the Everglades and ignoring most natural features of the landscape. Dade County's complex geography was further "flattened" in 1921 with the approval of the Chaille Plan, which largely sublimated the county's eclectic local street-naming conventions under a universal street numbering system.<sup>126</sup> Centered on the baselines of Flagler Street and Miami Avenue downtown, and divided into northeast, northwest, southeast, and southwest quadrants, the grid-based numbering system stretched more than 600

streets from north to south, and more than 200 avenues from Biscayne Bay to the Everglades.<sup>127</sup>

The grid was the primary agent of the metropolitan area's eastward and westward expansion into wetlands, a conquest of man over nature that included the re-engineering of native landscape. In this conquest, the subtle contours of high rockland forests, sloughs, low prairie, mangroves shores, and the Everglades were assembled into a continuous dry landscape intersected by bulkheaded lakes and canals. The grid's neutral character emphasized non-concentric development patterns that sprawled along arterial road networks, often hop-scotching open sites.

Within the grid's warp and weave, private land development schemes exploded, especially during the land development boom of the 1920s. Cheap acreage, new technologies of land grooming, dynamic private enterprise, and endless optimism about the area's growth shaped the new developments. Many were organized around variations of the "engineer's grid," a proven formula of rectangular blocks divided into 50-foot lots ideal for the development of early suburban homes like bungalows and wood-framed cottages. Downtown Miami and the South Beach district of Miami Beach are late 19<sup>th</sup> to early 20<sup>th</sup> century examples, but this system continued to be employed in boom era subdivisions like **Alhambra Heights** (1925) in northeast Dade, **Melrose Heights** (1924-5) in northwest Dade, **Flagami** (1924) in southwest Dade, and **Dixie Pines** (1925) in South Dade. Some gridded subdivisions, like **Biscayne Park Estates** (1921), included amenities like landscaped parkways, or offered a network of internal parks, as at **Sunkist Grove** (1923).

Also in the 1920s, large-scale developers made their mark in Miami with ambitious garden city suburbs like **Fulford-by-the-Sea** (1923-25), **Coral Gables** (1925), **Opa-locka** (1926), **Miami Springs** (1926), and **Miami Shores** (mid-1920s). The garden city movement, originating in Great

Britain at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, conceived new suburban districts organized around picturesque planning principles, and offered new forms of civic identity through impressive public amenities, centralized shopping districts, civic centers, and coordinated architectural theming. The movement flourished in Florida, prompting John Nolen, a pre-eminent planner of the 1920s, to call the state a “great laboratory of town and city building.”<sup>128</sup>

Zoning practices, established in Dade County in 1936, introduced another paradigm of land planning. Established under the Standard State Zoning Enabling Act of 1922, zoning ordinances allowed communities, outside of any town planning, to set land use patterns in single-use chunks.<sup>129</sup> Zoning laid down patterns of residential, commercial, and industrial uses, and although widely seen as an important tool for stabilizing home values, the system was crude, un-integrated, and subject to constant amendment.

### **Postwar housing tracts (and the influence of the FHA, 1930s to 1960s)**

After a development hiatus initiated by the great hurricane of 1926 and perpetuated by the Great Depression, construction picked up again in Dade County in the late 1930s. By that time, a new model of suburban development appeared around the county’s principal corridors: the “tract home” subdivision. The groundwork had been laid by Depression-era Federal New Deal programs created to stimulate new housing development. The Home Owners’ Loan Corporation (HOLC), for example, was established in 1933 to refinance home mortgages. Two years later, the 1935 National Housing Act created the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) to provide banking insurance and improve consumer access to credit. Together, HOLC and FHA developed and managed an institutional mortgage lending system geared for the development of low-cost single-family homes by mercantile builders. These

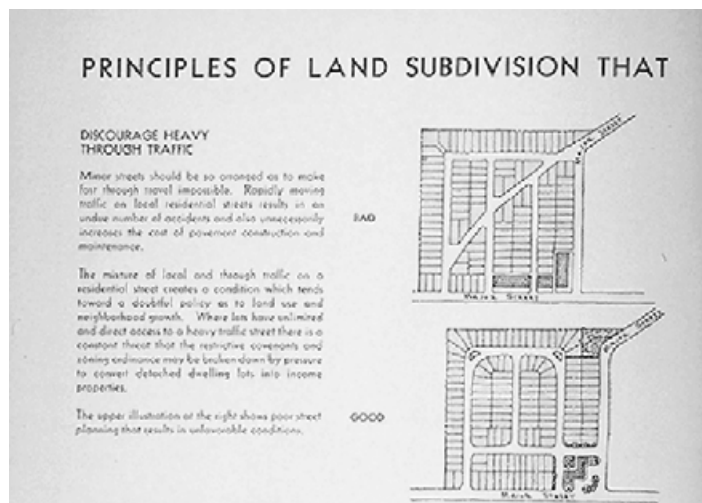
systems encouraged builders to conceive, design, finance, construct, and market new subdivisions at scale, and because of federal funding, with greater assurance of success.<sup>130</sup>

From the late-Depression into the early postwar era, the FHA, through the work of its Land Planning Division, also set design standards for communities and houses. It published an *Underwriting Manual* (1938), as well as technical bulletins and land planning guides like *Planning Profitable Neighborhoods* (1938), *Successful Subdivisions* (1940), and the *Community Builders’ Handbook* (1947).<sup>131</sup> In these guides, the FHA promoted residential planning standards influenced by the garden city planning movement of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, emphasizing suburban development of single-family homes at low-density. However, the results would diverge in important ways from garden city suburbs built in Dade County in the 1920s. In constructing community design standards that could be diffused to the largest number of projects around the country, the FHA emphasized pragmatic models for private development.<sup>132</sup> As Marc Weiss has described, the standards notably abandoned the garden city ideals of autonomous urban settlements, notions of social reform and any framework of regional planning – positions held by movement leaders like Lewis Mumford, Clarence Stein, Henry Wright, Benton MacKaye, Stuart Chase and others affiliated with the Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA).<sup>133</sup> Instead, the FHA-compliant postwar suburbs of the 1930s, 40s and 50s emphasized modular design, suburban living standards, and the importance of open space around the home.

The “superblock,” a cellular urban unit delimited by surrounding arterials and containing its own internal street system, was one of the most important planning models promoted by the FHA. Superblock urbanism was pioneered in the 1920s by American urban planners like Clarence Stein and Henry Wright at Radburn, New Jersey (1929), and by Clarence Perry, whose “Neighborhood Unit” (1929) described

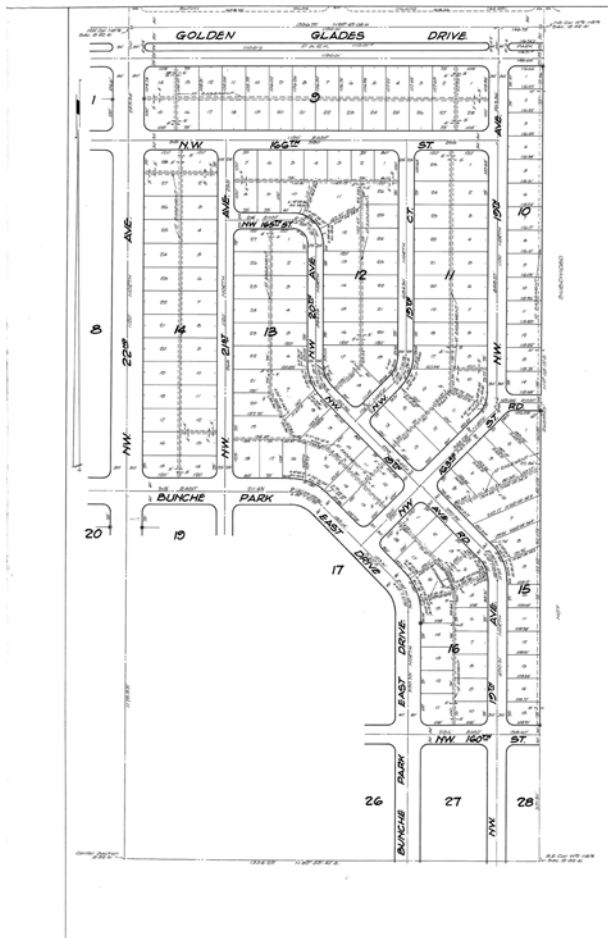


The Basic Components of Clarene Perrys Neighborhood Unit, from *New York Regional Survey*, Volume 7, 1929



**Principles of Land Subdivision.** Planning Profitable Neighborhoods, *Federal Housing Administration Technical Bulletin No. 2*, 1928





Bunche Park Plat Map, Miami Dade County, November 1949



Aerial photograph of Richmond Heights (1949-50), from Richmond Heights Historic District Designation Report, 2016

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Veterans Housing in Green Oaks Subdivision, from advertisement for Green Oaks Subdivision, *Miami News*, January 11, 1948



Drawing of Keystone Point (1949), from advertisement for Keystone Point, *Miami Herald*, August 28, 1949

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Eastern Shores lots, from advertisement for Eastern Shores, *Miami News*, June 16, 1957

an introverted suburban residential island with a park and school at its protected center and commercial uses facing encircling arterials.<sup>134</sup> The principle of the superblock rejected continuity with older urban grids, emphasizing new street hierarchies in which quiet “local” streets, like cul-de-sacs and loop streets, fed “collector” streets that in turn delivered traffic to “arterial” roads. Curvilinear arrangements and T-shaped intersections were favored for interior streets, and long blocks were suggested to optimize neighborhood traffic.<sup>135</sup> The diagrams published by the FHA came to life throughout Dade County between the 1930s and 1950s.

In the late 1930s, the FHA extended mortgage support to towns across Dade County, stimulating new low-cost housing developments like **Ojus Manor** (1941) and **Monticello Park** (1941) in Northeast Dade, **West Perrine** (1942) in South Dade, and **Gulfair** (1939) and **Golden Glades Park** (1939) in Northwest Dade. The true urban potential of FHA suburbs, however, became apparent after World War II when surging demand for new housing, partly ignited by the 1944 Servicemen’s Readjustment Act or GI bill (which provided low-cost mortgages to returning soldiers), stimulated the large-scale development of new single-family home subdivisions in Dade County.

Most new subdivisions comprised superblocks with introverted plan arrangements. **Lincoln City** (1948) and **Naranja Park** (1952) in South Dade had internal perimeter collector roads that joined local streets to surrounding arterials. **Bunchville** (1950) in South Dade had a horseshoe street arrangement, while **Leisure City** (1951) featured discontinuous grids and pretzel-shaped street networks.

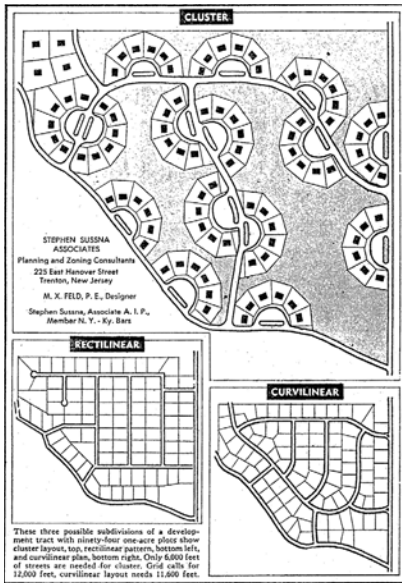
A few of Dade County’s larger postwar subdivisions – including **Green Oaks** in North Miami (1946), **Bunche Park** (1949) in Miami Gardens, and **Richmond Heights** (1949) in South Dade (the latter two conceived for Black settlement) – were directly assisted by the

FHA’s Land Planning Division. **Green Oaks** had curvilinear streets that broke the logic of the surrounding grid and cut diagonally across the tract (see Northeast Corridor section). **Bunche Park** was organized around an internally focused octagonal road network, forming a well-developed neighborhood unit with a centrally located school and park and a neighborhood shopping complex along its southern edge (see Northwest Corridor section). **Richmond Heights** had sweeping curved streets, a central main street with shopping and civic buildings, a central park and school area, and a section devoted to multi-family housing (see South Dade Corridor section).

In practice, most postwar subdivisions were too small to create true neighborhoods, and developers were rarely required to plan or produce civic amenities like parks and schools. They were simply vessels for new home development, calibrated to work best with FHA-approved home designs. Employing a standard lot size – generally 60-foot or 75-foot wide (the larger size, was calibrated to work better with the emergent Ranch type home) – they produced a nearly equivalent density (about 3.5-units per acre) and predictable street frontages. Houses were set back from local roads behind expanses of drought and flood-resistant grasses like Para, Coastal Bermuda, and St. Augustine. Five-foot wide sidewalks, separated from the roadway by narrow greenways, were provided for the children expected by the resident young families. Miami’s suburbs grew from a fusion of smaller autonomous residential subdivisions.

By the 1950s, builders like the Mackle Company initiated larger subdivisions by encompassing tracts of re-engineered wetlands. Their 3,500-home **Westwood Lake** (1953) development in Southwest Dade, dredged from the Everglades, featured discontinuous grids and curvilinear streets. **Westwood**, advertised with a proud gigantism as “a city within a city” for 12,000 inhabitants, described itself as a “complete community,” referring principally to the provision of schools and to the planned **Westwood Lake**

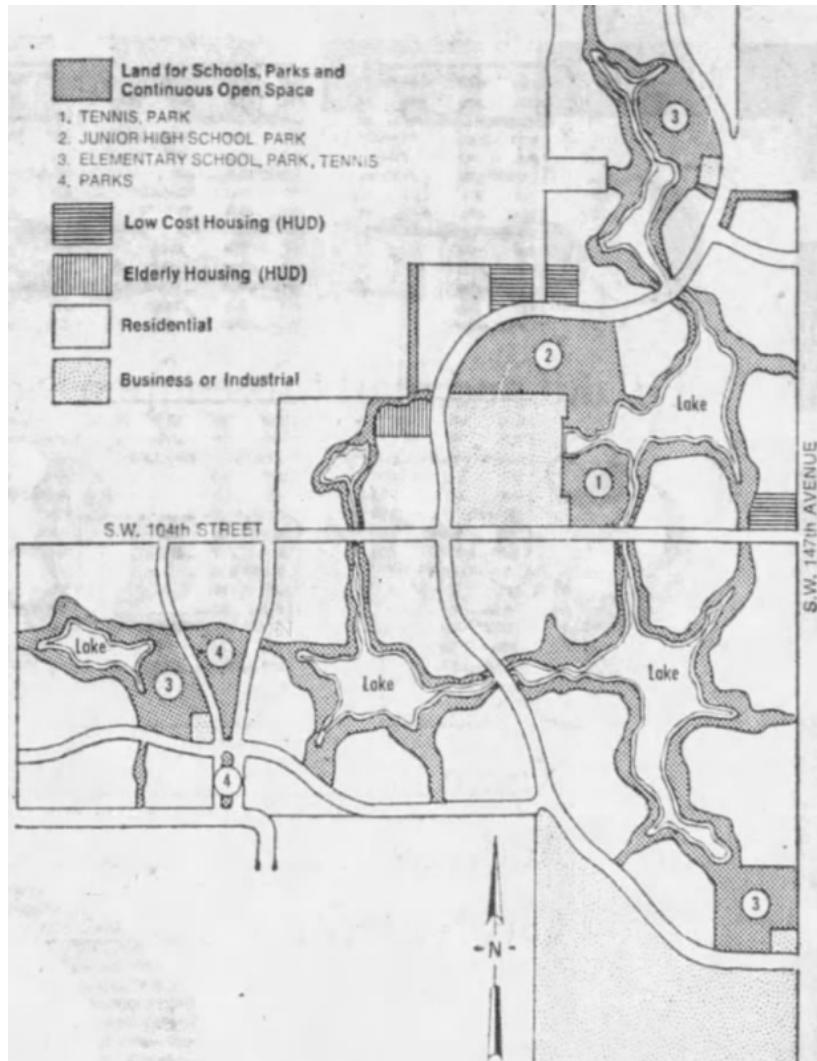




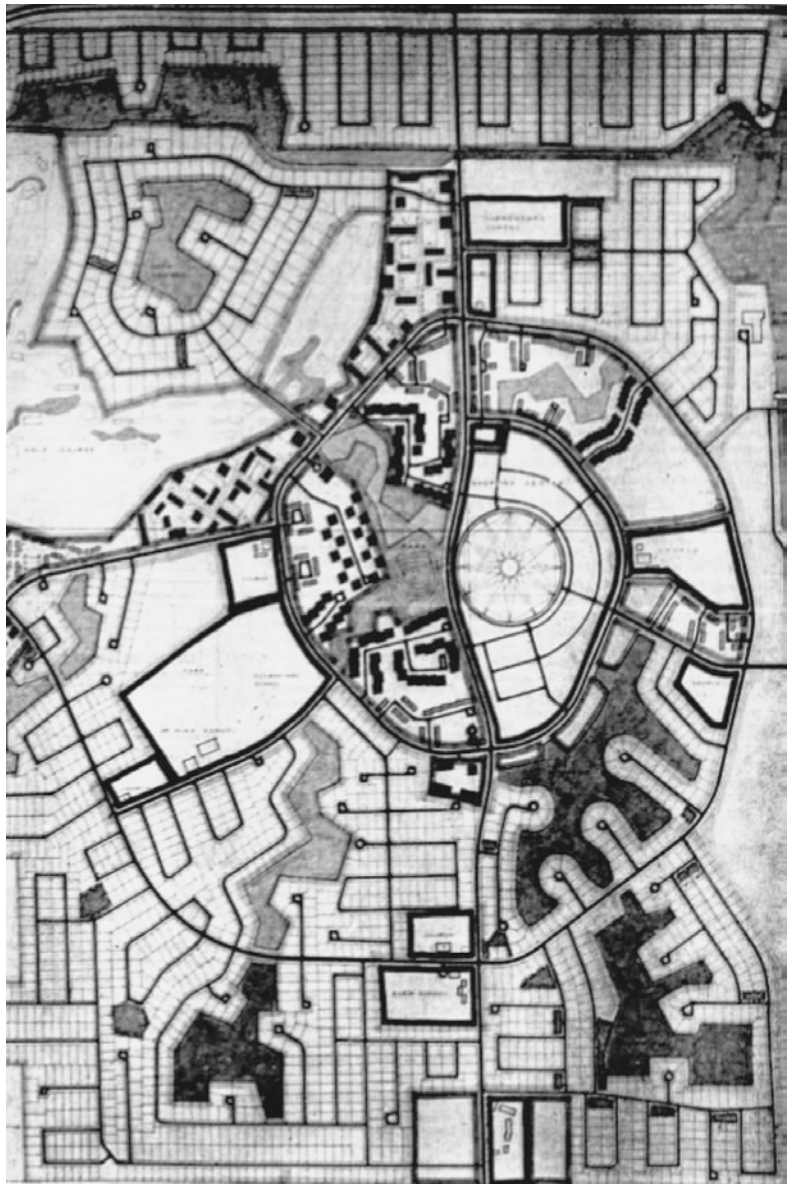
Cluster Subdivisions, New York Times, January 3, 1960



Fontainebleau Park, from "Taking Shape," Miami Herald, November 8, 1970



Land use Plan for The Hammocks, from "Hammocks to be city of 20,000," Miami Herald, October 30, 1970



A portion of master plan for Miami Lakes, from "Site Planning: The Cure for Humdrum," *Miami News*, June 7, 1964



Graham Companies meet to discuss a "Town Center;" The Graham Companies, permission pending



Regional Shopping Center. **Keystone Point** (1949) in North Miami, conceived to provide more than 1,200 “affordable waterfront homes for the average consumer,” was constructed on finger islands carved from the mangrove-filled bayfront shoreline at the outflow of Arch Creek, and combined bayfront apartment buildings and hotels as well as neighborhood shopping along Biscayne Boulevard.

The Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956, which financed expressway construction, encouraged the development of decentralized home subdivisions. By the 1960s, suburbs sprawled in continuous and infinite variations and deformations across the landscape of Dade County. The low-rise network of arterial grids and homes, interspersed with points of concentration like malls, government centers, schools, and suburban office complexes, echoed in many ways the lines of Frank Lloyd Wright’s provocative Broadacre City proposal, presented in his book *The Disappearing City* (1932). However, while Wright’s ideas for a democratic, agrarian urbanism were among of the most important urban paradigms of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, local conditions in Dade County resulted more from the non-hierarchical nature of arterial networks, the common theme of decentralization (especially visible in the county’s flat omni-directional landscape), conformity to FHA planning standards, and the dynamics of a free market.

### **Cluster Planning (1970s to 1980s)**

The late 1960s were a planning watershed in Dade County. The booming single-family real estate market of the mid-60s crested, a high-water mark of postwar mono-cultural suburbia that also brought into focus troubling patterns, including monotonous sprawl, profligate land use and increasing land costs, and environmental damage. Nationally, critics like Ada Louise Huxtable and Lewis Mumford were already heaping scorn on the detached single-family home on a standard lot, once *the* passport to the

American Dream.<sup>136</sup>

Arguments for better land use crystallized in the 1970s around alternative housing types and planning paradigms.<sup>137</sup> The example of California loomed large, both as the nation’s cautionary illustration of overbuilding and as a generator of new directions. As Matthew Lasner has documented, while confronting diminishing land availability, rising development costs, and mounting environmental regulation, California developers innovated new home and community typologies, many founded on the model of collective ownership, which “better replicated the spacious indoor-outdoor conditions of the detached house while consuming less land.”<sup>138</sup>

Developments coming out of California aligned with new thinking in Miami about the city’s physical expansion, and with social and economic changes that had yet to be reflected in architecture or community planning. For example, the turbulent social and cultural transformations of the 1970s emphasized new paradigms of the good life that focused less on the iconic suburban home. Many of these paradigms were formulated around collective ownership and shared amenities, and proved particularly attractive to the elderly, working families, singles, unmarried couples, and immigrants. New planning models also reflected the fact that open land in the county was increasingly further from the center, and encumbered by wetlands that made it more costly to develop. Novel environmental planning efforts, which valued wetlands as an environmental resource (an ongoing process, for sure), also began to constrain available land and how that land could be developed. Metropolitan planning efforts initiated by the County in the early 1960s emphasized controlling sprawl, higher densities and more compact developments. Together, these dynamics favored large and well-funded “land developers,” specialized in comprehensive master planning, whose profit came principally from land sales predicated on the development of higher densities. They balanced housing development with mixed uses, understanding that completed



housing developments unlocked high commercial values along surrounding arterial roads.

**Cluster planning** (also known as planned unit development), emerged at this time as the dominant paradigm of suburban development in Dade County.<sup>139</sup> Cluster planning aligned higher subdivision densities with more internal open space and environmental planning.<sup>140</sup> It abandoned strict minimum lot size and building separation requirements, and gave developers freedom to arrange the preset density of a land tract according to a unified master plan. With its emphasis on integrated, master-planned development and shared civic spaces, cluster planning connected with the ideals of the garden city movement in a more direct way than postwar single-family subdivisions. Importantly, developers could apply a greater variety of housing types, including townhouses, patio homes, and multi-family buildings, producing mixed-income communities and offering new avenues to home ownership (see Housing Context below). The new housing types doubled or tripled the density of emerging suburban districts; by the mid-1970s the development of the single-family home on a fee-simple lot became the exception in Dade County.<sup>141</sup>

In the U.S., cluster planning emerged first in California in the 1960s. It was propelled in part by the writings of William H. Whyte, the American sociologist and critic of suburban sprawl who argued in his landmark 1964 book *Cluster Development* for the aesthetic, social, and ecological benefits of common open spaces.<sup>142</sup> Cluster planning resonated particularly well in the late postwar suburban geography of Dade County, where new development was concentrated on partially or fully-flooded lowlands. The raising of the land there, achieved through dredge-and-fill operations, created amenities like lakes and canals that contributed open space but imposed costs that demanded higher intensities to pay off.

The open spaces created by cluster planning

belonged to the subdivision, and most were insular – like lakes, internal greenways and private golf courses. In fact, the arrival of cluster planning in the early-1970s corresponded neatly with a national resurgence of golf, with Florida as its national epicenter. The catalytic relationship between golf courses and real estate development had already been pioneered in the 1920s in towns like Coral Gables, Miami Beach, Miami Springs, and Miami Shores. Now, in the 1970s, championship golf courses became the nucleus of Miami's first cluster-planned developments, like **Fontainebleau Park** (1970) in West Miami, built according to a master plan by the influential planner Victor Gruen, and **Kendale Lakes** (1970) in Kendall (see Southwest Dade section). Here, in combination with scenic lakes, golf courses transmitted an upscale and recreational character, while their landscape of broad greens, hills, bunkers, waterfalls, and fish-stocked lakes, offered a thematic focus.<sup>143</sup>

When the popularity of golfing declined in the mid-1970s, cluster-planned subdivisions like Arvida's **Sabal Chase** (1974) and **Country Walk** (1978) instead offered networks of pedestrian greenways that weaved around housing clusters and integrated recreational facilities. **The Hammocks** (late-1970s), master planned by Sasaki Associates as a self-contained mini-city of 20,000 residents, was the most enlightened and ambitious cluster-planned development of the period. It comprised three distinct villages organized around an interconnected system of naturalistic lakes and was tied together by an eight-mile greenway system that circumnavigated all lake frontages without a single street crossing. The greenway was in fact a "lineal park" that integrated parks, schools, library, police and fire stations, recreational areas, and the town center into a common public realm (see Southwest section).

The green and blue networks created by cluster planning transformed landscapes throughout Dade County but was especially impactful in West Kendall. There, Miami's disciplined gridiron

of arterial roads was interwoven with picturesque collector roads, sinuous interconnected lakes, and amorphous green swathes. Unfortunately, these lakes, greenbelts, park systems, and preserves, were internalized, offering glimpses of what a more integrated system of landscape and urbanism might achieve but never integrated into larger or more publicly-accessible regional systems.

### **New Town Planning and Vertical Suburbs (1960s to 1980s)**

Dade County's sole comprehensively planned and functionally diversified postwar new town, **Miami Lakes** (initiated in 1958), was the only development to fully merge cluster planning with the more expansive urban agenda of the New Towns movement. The movement had roots in late-1940s Britain, where self-sufficient communities were seen as a way to depopulate crowded urban centers, avoid suburban sprawl, and provide for individual and community needs. By the 1960s, the movement had adherents in the U.S., including the celebrated new towns of Columbia, Maryland (early 1960s) and Reston, Virginia (mid 1960s).

Miami Lakes was conceived as a leisure-oriented urban community of 30,000 residents, combining housing with offices, industrial areas, schools, parks, golf courses, and a substantial town center. It was designed by Washington D.C. and Pittsburgh-based landscape architecture firm Collins, Simonds & Simonds, in collaboration with Elbert Peets, another Washington D.C.-based town planner. In order to emphasize the new town's autonomy, planners discarded the gridiron and used a "gently-curving" scenic spiral collector road, Lakeway Drive, to connect the community internally. Around this spiral, compact cluster-planned residential areas comprising a mix of housing types and designed by a variety of local and national architects were organized around a network of parks and lakes (established by

dredge-and-fill operations). To promote country leisure as a way of life, these landscape features were also configured as scenic and recreational features for the whole community.

Higher-density, planned communities like **Skylake West** (1963) and **Aventura** (1970) in Northeast Dade also attempted to achieve a more comprehensive synthesis of housing and open landscapes. Both featured a mix of housing clusters, each with its own amenities, organized around a larger open space feature (a rockpit lake in the case of Skylake West, a broad park filled with championship golf courses at Aventura). Around these landscape features, towers and mid-rise housing blocks clustered around spacious ground level amenities and plenty of parking. In the way they organize urbanism and landscape, these high-density vertical garden cities evoke the influence of Le Corbusier's unbuilt proposal for a *Ville Radieuse* (Radiant City, 1930), which like Broadacre City was a central urban paradigm of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Less dogmatic than the *Ville Radieuse* proposal, Miami's tower-based, retirement-oriented leisure urbanisms thrived in the late postwar period as a critical alternative to low-density suburban life.

### **Regional and Metropolitan Planning**

Regional planning began locally with the creation of **Metropolitan Dade County** (Metro-Dade), the countywide governance and planning body created in 1957. **Metro-Dade** was propelled by concerns about Dade County's urban future emerging in the mid-1950s, including the need to constrain sprawl, manage resources, wrangle the anarchic results of decades of suburban development, and to coordinate with ever-more complex federal programs. After systematically resisting since the mid-1940s the type of city-county consolidation that had been attempted in comparable areas (like Jacksonville), Miami's agreed in 1956 on a "metropolitan federation," an organization deemed to embody the overlapping





interests of individual communities and the county as a whole.<sup>144</sup> Under a two-tier system, Metro-Dade was in charge of both area-wide planning and providing “municipal” planning in unincorporated areas. Its purview spanned a vast area, including incorporated towns and un-incorporated areas defined by sprawl, speculation, and race lines.

Between 1960 and 1975, Metro-Dade produced a series of land use maps and plans that synthesized for the first time the shape of the metropolitan area and speculated on new directions for future land use. Metro-Dade’s first effort, a countywide **Land Use Map** (1960), illustrated how a generation of suburban sprawl had left a strong concentration of low-density residential use extending in all directions from Miami’s urban core. Yet it also showed the growing metropolis balanced by an equally large agropolis centered on the community of Homestead in the south. Between the two centers lay vast tracts of vacant land.

Metro Dade’s first **Preliminary Land Use Plan** (also 1960), projecting a county population of 2.5 million in 1985, applied the first countywide planning to channel future growth and laid a framework for containing and shaping urban sprawl. It proposed binary population concentrations, the first surrounding Miami’s traditional core, called “Miami Center,” and the second in the newly minted center of South Dade at Cutler Ridge, called “South Dade Center” (a third center was planned for “Islandia,” the nearly uninhabited string of barrier islands between Miami Beach and South Dade). While the Land Use Plan projected dense urban center districts, it also imagined suburban areas organized around neighborhood units of 3-8,000 people each, and community units of 20-40,000 people. The plan also organized the transition from urban districts to open spaces; estate home greenbelts were anticipated along the edges of each urban center, in South Dade agricultural uses were projected outside of these greenbelts, and the plan laid the foundation for environmental

preservation by indicating conservation land. Miami’s already approved mix of radial and bypass highways appeared, but the plan also laid the foundation for urban mass-transportation (Dade’s Metropolitan Transit Authority was established 1960).<sup>145</sup> Metro-Dade’s subsequent **General Land Use Master Plan of 1965** further refined the earlier plan, showing urban growth conditioned by a new net of highways, parks, and finer-grained urban centers. According to these plans, Miami would sprawl, but in a more contained way and with multiple centers and urban focal points.

By the 1970s, Metro-Dade assumed greater powers to shape urban development, set growth controls, manage water systems, preserve farmland and natural ecosystems, and encourage the development of more balanced communities. Its powers derived from wide ranging Federal, and State legislation, which began coalescing toward growth management.<sup>146</sup> For example, the federal **Historic Preservation Act** of 1966, **National Environmental Policy Act** of 1970, and **Clean Water Act** of 1977 set ambitious new national policies promoting preservation and conservation. Florida, throughout the 1970s, enacted growth management legislation that redefined the state’s natural resources as a public good and planning as a public interest. The **Florida Department of Natural Resources** was established in 1969 to inventory all water sources and uses, and plan for continued availability. In 1972 Florida’s **Environmental Land and Water Management Act** outlined “Areas of Critical State Concern” and “Developments of Regional Impact” (DRI), making land-use planning a function of water-use planning. The same year, the **Florida Water Resources Act** declared all waters of the state a resource to be managed for the public benefit, establishing the powerful **Central and South Florida Flood Control District** (FCD). In 1975 the Central and Southern Florida Flood Control Districts were merged into the **South Florida Water Management District**, creating a powerful new agency that regulated dredging activity in wetlands, and establishing



**Metrorail/ People Mover**, HistoryMiami Archive, *Miami News* Collection, 1981

water management as an important tool of growth control.<sup>147</sup> The change had an immediate impact on new developments concentrated at the mucky edges of the Everglades, slowing dredging and drainage work and interrupting what until the 1970s had been a standard development procedure: “ditch, dike and drain.”<sup>148</sup>

Water management was not the only tool, or objective, in a growth management system whose horizons were increasingly holistic. As Florida Atlantic University professor and FCD board member John DeGrove noted, “Maybe we can provide enough water to supply many more people than we should have living here. Water alone might support more (people) than the whole environmental system can stand.”<sup>149</sup> Florida’s **Local Government Comprehensive Planning Act of 1975** required local governments to adopt comprehensive plans and established the **Department of Community Affairs** to oversee these plans. During this period, Florida emerged as a national leader in growth management.

Miami’s metropolitan governance became the primary vehicle for achieving ambitious federal and state goals. In 1972 the County finally approved funding for a multi-modal transit system comprising **Metrorail**, **Metromover**, and **Metrobus**. The first line of the Metrorail system, completed in 1984, would play an important role in emphasizing and nurturing the goals of constraining sprawl, developing new urban centers, and tying more remote areas of the county into the county’s new administrative center at Government Center in downtown Miami. Forty years later, the ambitious goals of developing public transit in Miami remain unachieved, although the role of public transit in stimulating transit-oriented development has continued apace.

The county’s 1975 **Comprehensive Development Master Plan (CDMP)**, the first land use plan adopted by ordinance and codified into law and policy, brought additional growth controls.<sup>150</sup> One new control was the creation a

**Development Impact Committee (DIC)**, pulling together officials from multiple governmental departments to review land applications for sites of more than 250 units or five acres.<sup>151</sup> Through the DIC, the county wrested control over zoning decisions that had countywide impact.<sup>152</sup> The CDMP also set an **Urban Development Boundary (UDB)** to discourage urban sprawl and channel growth into existing metropolitan areas, although it wasn’t implemented until 1983. As development in Dade County moved into the historically rural areas of the southwest, one key test of the roughly 83-mile boundary line was the fight to preserve agricultural land. Because of the diversity of crops grown here (including winter vegetables, nursery-grown tropical plants and trees, and tropical fruits and vegetables), the area remains a unique local and national resource.<sup>153</sup> Along the boundary line, as the housing needs of a growing region and the interests of developers come up against the preservation of agriculture, the UDB remains one of the most powerful tools preventing further urban sprawl.

Throughout the county, Metro-Dade’s power to contain development was continuously balanced against continuing development pressures and the march of urban sprawl. In 1978 the *Miami Herald* described the scene surrounding planning decisions: “Like poker players coolly calculating the great bluff, local developers are upping the ante in the county’s annual master plan game.”<sup>154</sup> Tensions between metropolitan planning and private interests created a cognitive dissonance that defined Miami’s late postwar growth.

## Racial Planning

Planning typically elaborates a settlement’s physical form and the distribution of functions and open spaces. For many decades, planning in Dade County also enforced social and spatial divisions between White and Black communities. In Miami, racial planning was built into the city’s early settlement patterns, including the establishment of “Colored Town” or the “Central



# METRORAIL *Miami*

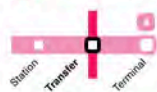
Proposed System - March 1979

## RAPID TRANSIT

- 1 Cutler Ridge to Opa-Locka
- 2 Dadeland South to West 8th Ave Hialeah
- 3 Airport to Douglas Rd
- 4 Airport to Miami Beach Convention Center

## BUSWAY

- 5 Golden Glades to Government Center



Metrorail Proposed Plan, March (1979), Jake Berman, *The Lost Subways of North America: A Cartographic Guide to the Past, Present and What Might Have Been* (University of Chicago, 2023)

Negro District” (currently Overtown) in the late-19<sup>th</sup> century (see Race Line, Social Context above). By the 1930s, in parallel with its embrace of zoning practices, Dade County institutionalized racial planning under the supervision of the Dade County Commission and Dade County Planning Board, circumscribing new land available for Black development, restricting new growth to segregated districts, and establishing “buffer zones” between White and Black areas.<sup>155</sup> Racial planning became a major force in the County’s 20<sup>th</sup> century development.

Racial zoning practices were most impactful in Miami’s emerging suburbs, especially in unincorporated areas of the county. Suburban living symbolized achieving the American Dream, and suburbs, mostly built outside of municipal boundaries, offered the hope that new communities might be capable of reconciling religious, ethnic, and racial divisions.<sup>156</sup> Yet Miami’s deeply entrenched and institutionalized anti-Black racism was only further codified by racial planning, which underpinned other discriminatory systems like race-restrictive covenants, institutional restrictions on financing, and the implementation of federal programs.<sup>157</sup>

Significantly, racial planning was built into progressive 1930s federal programs like blight removal and public housing development. **Liberty Square** (1934-37), developed by the Public Works Administration (PWA) and Miami’s first public housing project, produced high-quality new housing for Black Miamians, but its location in Liberty City was positioned by city leaders as a replacement for Overtown. Later attempts to clear Blacks from Overtown, sometimes characterized as “decentralization,” used federal money for slum clearance and highway construction, and directed federal public housing dollars into Black suburbs like Liberty City, further emphasizing their growth.<sup>158</sup> As the first and primary vector of county-endorsed Black settlement, Liberty City became the main center of Black migration through the 1960s.

Some of the racial planning of the 1930s had insidious goals. The 1937 “Negro Resettlement Plan,” prepared by the Dade County Planning Board and the City of Miami, proposed relocating all of Miami’s Black population to three model “Negro Parks” in far-flung areas of the county like Flagami in the west, Opa-locka in the northwest, and Perrine in South Dade.<sup>159</sup> George Merrick, the developer of Coral Gables who was also Chairman of the Dade County Planning Board at the time of the plan’s adoption, argued that the removal of Black families from the city center was “a most essential fundamental for the achievement of ambitious goals the planning board laid out for Miami and Dade County.”<sup>160</sup> Some of these plans were more than hypothetical. The New Myami (sic) Development Corporation (1941) laid plans for a satellite Black community near Flagami in Southwest Dade (see Southwest Corridor section). Equally radical plans were developed to remove Black Miamians to agricultural lands once belonging to the Seminole, purportedly with the purpose of introducing Caribbean farming practices there.<sup>161</sup>

While these plans were never carried out, they helped lay the framework for Black settlement in racially-designated districts after World War II.<sup>162</sup> In 1945, after designating areas east of Opa-locka and Goulds for future Black development (and mandating “buffer strips” between these developments and surrounding White areas), the Board of Commissioners of Dade County affirmed its commitment to the principle of racial zoning: “It is the opinion of this Board that people of the White race should not be permitted to encroach upon the areas which have been designated for Negro occupancy, nor should Negro occupancy be extended into areas heretofore designated for White occupancy... and that boundaries heretofore approved by this Board... shall constitute the dividing line between the White and Colored people in Dade County, Florida.” Maps demarcating official racial “redlines” were subsequently produced and enforced by the county.<sup>163</sup>







In 1946, just as suburban development was picking up in Dade County, State courts ruled racial zoning guidelines unconstitutional – a decision upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1948.<sup>164</sup> Still, in December 1946, Dade County Attorney Fred W. Cason told the county Planning Board that, while the board cannot zone for racial segregation, they can adopt plans with an “understanding that the designated tracts are for negroes.”<sup>165</sup> In blatant disregard of the Florida Supreme Court ruling, the practice of establishing and maintaining these guidelines was retained and applied rigorously to burgeoning suburban areas.

Racial zoning wasn’t the only means by which segregation was enforced in Dade County. A variety of legal and extra-legal devices, including restrictive covenants, political pressure, and violence, were used. Even federal programs like FHA (and later VA) financing were deployed in support of county-managed racial planning. Mortgage insurance maps created by the federal Home Owners’ Loan Corporation (HOLC) and used to evaluate mortgage security, translating the biases of real estate interests, graded communities based on race and racial singularity. By “redlining” Black communities, they directed government-backed mortgages away from them.<sup>166</sup> Meanwhile, along racial boundaries, racial tension, defense of territorial boundaries by adjacent White communities, and decreasing property values ensued, intensifying “white flight.”

Steady Black population growth, driven by immigration, economic development, and opportunity, created pressure to expand existing

Black districts like Liberty City, and to create new ones. White fear of mixing and encroachment also led to the development of racial “buffer strips” (a technique pioneered in Miami in the 1930s between Liberty City and the neighboring White Edison community), usually in the form of intervening walls, landscape buffers, canals, rail lines and industrial zones.<sup>167</sup>

Through the 1940s, the county endorsed Black residential expansion around Liberty City, Brownsville, Opa-locka and Hialeah in North Dade, and around Goulds and Perrine in South Dade. County endorsement helped unlock FHA and VA support, spurring the development of new Black suburban subdivisions like **Biscayne River Gardens**, **Eleanor Park**, and **Bunche Park** in Northwest Dade (see Northwest Dade context), the development of **Lincoln City** and **Bunchville** near Goulds, the expansion of **West Perrine**, and the creation near Perrine of **Richmond Heights** (see South Dade context). The largest of these, including Bunche Park and Richmond Heights, incorporated commercial and civic facilities not generally found in contemporary White subdivisions, a holdover from the autonomous communities proposed in the 1930s.

Although it took many forms, racial planning shaped Miami until the 1960s and arguably for more decades to come. Racial zoning practices distorted metropolitan planning and worked against any synthesis of the increasingly large and sprawling county, instilling patterns that, while not intractable, continue to define the geography and social context of the metropolitan area.



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Coral Highlands homes, from advertisement for Coral Highlands, *Miami Herald*, February 1926

## Housing Context

Housing has often been considered a bellwether of identity in Miami and the county. The city's subtropical climate and landscape, its low-lying terrain, its often leisurely lifestyles, and social and cultural traditions, have all been factors in the development of distinctive housing traditions. So have available raw materials, technological advances, methods of financing, and marketing formulas. From the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the county's earliest house types were wood-framed cottages, a mix of traditions borrowed from neighboring Southern states (Cracker, Georgian, etc.) and global house models adapted to the tropics, like bungalows and shotguns. Bungalows originated in the Asian subcontinent and were later popularized by the British as a form of suburban home. Shotguns, which comprised much of the housing in the Black center of Overtown (and were considered a postwar symptom of hardship and symbol of overcrowding), were vernacular wood structures with roots spanning from Africa to the Caribbean and the American South.<sup>168</sup>

Wood was also used to construct the region's first apartment buildings and hotels. Whatever the roots, these early wood structures, rustic and lightweight, were conditioned well to the singular climate and to the raw materials of a frontier city.

By the 1920s, in the context of the Great Florida Land Boom, the county's growing sense of permanence was increasingly manifest in masonry homes and buildings. In their simplest iteration, the new masonry architecture formed an austere vernacular; however, masonry architecture was also easily themed. **Mission Style**, **Mediterranean Revival**, and later **Art Deco** homes, and larger residential buildings became the new regional vernaculars. After the Great Hurricane of 1926 and Great Depression of 1929, housing development in Dade County picked up on more modest notes in the late-1930s, generally with support from the newly formed Federal Housing Administration (FHA). A new vernacular home type – compact, austere, and above all economical – emerged in this period, combining the sensibility of the modest wood bungalow with the masonry building traditions of the 1920s-30s.

The pragmatic masonry homes of the 1930s set the stage for the dramatic increase in housing production after World War II. The housing boom was first evident in the frenzied construction of postwar bungalows, and then larger and more elongated ranch and split levels types – mainstays of Miami's early postwar suburbs. By the 1960s, the local adoption of townhomes, patio homes, and new types of mobile home and trailer communities, reflected important demographic and lifestyle changes, and signaled growing population density on Miami's suburban fringes. Further challenging the once-dominant single-family home as a suburban type, growing districts of low- and mid-rise garden apartments, and rising concentrations of slab-type towers, created even more density, and sometimes new urban centers. A new typology of postwar housing is necessary to account for the important changes that accompanied Miami's postwar transition from a city of homes to metropolitan center.

### The Postwar Miami Bungalow

In the late-1940s, as housing development exploded in response to postwar demand, the modest masonry bungalow that evolved in the 1930s developed apace. Like its prewar precursors, it was generally rectangular, built of stuccoed masonry walls, and was usually covered by wood-framed gabled or hipped roofs, although monopitch (shed) and flat roofs were also introduced. Such homes, which may be called **Postwar Miami Bungalows**, were built with more efficient construction practices and mass-produced materials. Most sat on a concrete slab on grade, eliminating the need for costly foundations while lowering the vertical profile of the house. Stripped of style, they typically featured asphalt tile floors, plywood kitchen cabinets and the latest generation of steel casement, aluminum awning-type, or glass jalousie-type windows placed in precast concrete frames. Decorative notes were provided by built-in planters, breezeblock screening, shutters, and aluminum awnings. In popular variations found





Model Home in Westwood Lake (1953), HistoryMiami Museum, Mackle Scrapbooks, date unknown




Model Home in Westwood Lake (1953), Miami-Dade County, July 1955



First House in Amvet City, from "1946 Could Bow Out Today," *Miami Herald*, December 29, 1946

**THE  
FLORIDA SUNDECK HOMES**

According to Bankers and Construction Men  
Throughout the Nation . . . This is the Ultimate in  
Bargains . . . in the Housing Field



THIS IS THE FIRST SUNDECK HOME  
SEE THE NEW ONE

**Veterans . . . we have designed a  
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. . Larger . . New Layout . . More Land**

*Aluminum Windows  
Aluminum Screens  
Tile Floors*

THESE HOUSES ARE NOT CBS OR PREFABRICATED  
They are of Solid Paired Concrete and Steel  
Engineered by the Most Prominent Men in  
the Profession

**INDESTRUCTIBLE**  
Ultra • Stormproof • Termiteproof

<b>\$340</b> <small>Including Storage Fees</small>	Total	<b>\$7,440</b>	Lowest
	Down Payment		Monthly Payments

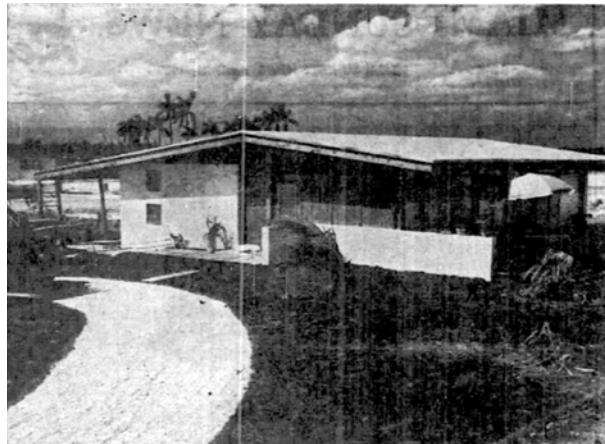
**FLORIDA SUNDECK HOMES CO.**  
New Office . . . E. 20th St., Cor. E. 4th Ave., Hialeah  
(Across From Entrance to Hialeah Race Track)

Take Miami Transit Bus Number 6 to 34th St. . . Transfer  
At Hialeah To Bus Number 32 Which Takes You Right To The  
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**OPEN DAILY AND SUNDAY 'TIL 9 P. M.**

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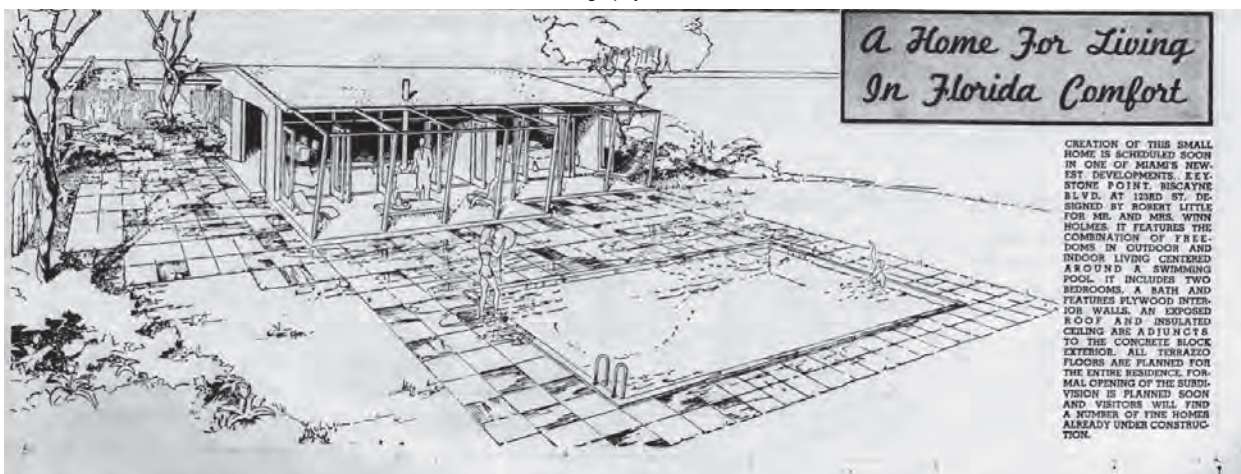
Model home in Florida Sundeck Homes (1946), from advertisement for Florida Sundeck Homes, *Miami News*, June 19, 1947



Home in Keystone Point (1950), from Peg Leithiser, "Keystone point A Fine Example of the Best in Residential Areas," *Miami News*, April 23, 1950



House in Essex Village Subdivision (1949), Alfred Browning Parker, HistoryMiami Museum, Rada Collection, 1949, photo by Rada Photography



*A Home For Living  
In Florida Comfort*

CREATION OF THIS SMALL HOME IS SCHEDULED SOON IN ONE OF MIAMI'S NEWEST DEVELOPMENTS, KEYSTONE POINT, BISCAYNE BLVD. AT 122ND ST. DESIGNED BY ROBERT LITTLE FOR MR. AND MRS. WOOD HOLMES. IT FEATURES THE COMBINATION OF FREEDOMS IN OUTDOOR AND INDOOR LIVING CENTERED AROUND A SWIMMING POOL. IT INCLUDES TWO BEDROOMS, A BATH AND FEATURES PLYWOOD INTERIOR WALLS, AN EXPOSED ROOF AND INSULATED CEILING ARE ADJUNCTS TO THE CONCRETE BLOCK EXTERIOR. ALL TERRAZZO FLOORS ARE PLANNED FOR THE ENTIRE RESIDENCE. FORMAL OPENING OF THE SUBDIVISION IS PLANNED SOON AND VISITORS WILL FIND A NUMBER OF FINE HOMES ALREADY UNDER CONSTRUCTION.

Drawing of home in Keystone Point (1950), from "A Home for Living in Florida Comfort" ad, *Miami Herald*, February 5, 2024





### HOMES SITE

Aerial view of Key Biscayne depicts the rapid growth of the island in the past two years. At present there are 600 families on the island, which is south of Crandon Park. On the left is the area where the Mackle brothers have started a new development of 350 CBS three-bedroom homes.

### NEW DEVELOPMENT IN KEY BISCAYNE

Close-up view of the model home that will sell for \$11,800 on Key Biscayne. Now open for inspection, each home will consist of three bedrooms, one bath, tile roof, steel windows, tile bath and screen porch. A community in itself, the Key has its own complete shopping center and is within 20 minutes of normal driving from downtown Miami.

Aerial view and model home in Hurricane Harbor (1952), from Ben Schneider, "Builders Turning Island Into Tropical Paradise," *Miami News*, November 30, 1952



throughout the county, **Duplex Homes** combined two units joined on a single lot to increase efficiency and reduce costs, while maintaining a low-density suburban character.

Postwar bungalows were designed to follow the Federal Housing Administration's (FHA) now decisive minimum design standards, which favored modular and scalable solutions to modern living. Efficiently planned and reduced to the most basic spatial requirements, they featured compact sleeping quarters, and open plan living areas to facilitate a family-oriented lifestyle. However basic, they also included modern amenities, like state-of-the-art electric appliances and built-in storage units. Repeated endlessly and built at scale by builder/developers, the postwar bungalow produced the county's first tract home subdivisions. In most of these, developers offered a variety of house models, varying the number of bedrooms, the specification of appliances, and the provision of a porch, patio, carport, or garage.

Close architect-developer collaborations yielded a few notable exceptions to the typical postwar Miami bungalow while still producing tract homes at scale. Developer Frank A. Vellanti and architect James deBrita sold their **Florida Sundeck Homes** through the prism of disaster preparedness. Their "fortresses of security" were engineered with steel-reinforced monolithic concrete construction to be hurricane proof, fireproof, and termite proof—and in response to national anxieties stoked by the Cold War, also claimed to offer protection against an Atomic bomb.<sup>169</sup> Their flat concrete roofs, called "sundeck platforms," were advertised with furniture, swing sets, and barbecue grills. More than 1,500 sundecks were produced at **Sundeck Village** in Hialeah (1946) and **Suntan Village** at Leisure City in Modello (1951).

In Hialeah, developer Thomas P. Coogan and architect Alfred Browning Parker created **Essex Village** (1949), blending modernist and vernacular lines to create a new and more open version of the bungalow. Its gabled

roofs, built using heavy glue-laminated beams, were projected broadly over the exterior walls, protecting broad floor-to-ceiling windows. Parker staggered the homes along the street at various angles to create a more varied and dynamic streetscape.

Along Biscayne Bay in North Miami, developer Kermit Stanford worked with architect Robert Little to create a village of economical waterfront homes at **Keystone Point** (1950). Little's homes were narrow and rectangular but had expansive living areas that opened through a full wall of plate glass and jalousied glass doors to a shallow terrazzo-floored screened patio that ran the length of the structure.<sup>170</sup> According to the *Miami Herald*, the homes featured five times more glass than found in a typical tract home and were available in 25 variants to prevent the subdivision from seeming formulaic.<sup>171</sup>

### The Postwar Ranch and Split Level

By the mid-1950s, as the pent-up housing demand of the prewar years and returning GIs was met, developers turned to attracting consumers with larger homes and with more amenities.<sup>172</sup> The "Ranch" type succeeded the postwar bungalow as a new and broadly accepted middle-class standard, and the building block of the county's late-postwar suburban expansion.

The ranch, as it evolved in the postwar era, amalgamated national influences circulating since the 1930s. Inspired by Spanish colonial missions and haciendas, the ground-hugging, elongated, California ranch was popularized by architects like Cliff May in San Diego and Los Angeles, and William Wurster in San Francisco. Through publications like *Sunset*, a magazine that promoted "Western living," the ranch home became associated with the California lifestyle and, by extension, the "good life." Ranch houses were also influenced by Frank Lloyd Wright's rustic low-slung Usonian houses, proffered in

*Beautiful*

Anderson Heights . . .

**F.H.A. FINANCED**

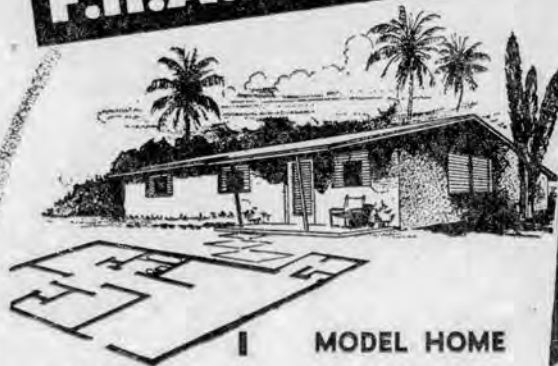
**\$500**

DOWN  
PLUS CLOSING COSTS

**3 Bedroom  
RANCHER**

**CBS**

CORNER  
OVERSIZED  
LOTS  
SLIGHTLY  
HIGHER



FULL PRICE  
**\$8,100**

**\$52**  
MONTHLY  
Pays Everything  
**25 YEAR**  
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**MODEL HOME**

N.W. 84th St. & 29th Ct.

- TERRAZZO FLOORS
- ALUMINUM JALOUSIES
- TILED THRUOUT
- FURRED WALLS
- WARREN FOLDING DOORS
- WALKING DISTANCE TO 2 SCHOOLS

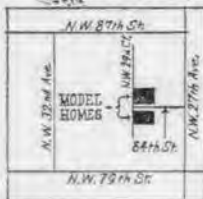
- SPACE HEATERS
- PAVED DRIVEWAYS
- MINIMUM LOT 75'x100'
- HIGH DRY LAND
- PAVED STREETS—SIDEWALKS
- NICELY LANDSCAPED
- CITY WATER
- SHOPPING AT N.W. 84th ST. & 27th AVE.

- COLORED AMERICAN STANDARD FIXTURES
- KNOTTY PINE KITCHEN CABINETS WITH FORMICA TOPS
- CAR PORTE AND APPLIANCES OPTIONAL

**4 ELEVATIONS TO CHOOSE FROM**

Model Home Furnished by Northwest Furniture Co.

Designed by ALFRED B. PARKER, Architect



**ANDERSON DEVELOPMENT CORP.**  
DEVELOPERS

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GENERAL CONTRACTORS

1217 PONCE DE LEON BLVD. CORAL GABLES

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Model home in Anderson Heights (1953), from advertisement for Anderson Heights, *Miami Herald*, August 23, 1952

the 1930s as a national housing solution, which emphasized low-cost and rational building systems, flexible space arrangements, and strong connections to the surrounding landscape through the patio.

The ranch resonated strongly in postwar Miami, partly because it connected with local traditions of single-story houses, like earlier Bungalow, Mission, and Mediterranean Revival architectures, and especially the Postwar Bungalow, while offering a new synthesis. The Miami ranch was one-story and low-slung, generally fringed by neat lawns and connected to the street by its driveway, which grew to accommodate more cars. As it expanded in size and amenity to serve middle- and upper-middle-class residents, the ranch grew more spacious and presented a broader front, amplified by one- or two-car attached garages and by broad gabled or hipped roofs that projected further over walls. Its relaxed modernism of simple forms and clean lines was usually devoid of historic stylistic references, but suggested luxury with a range of decorative flourishes, including stone or brick veneer, wood shutters, slump brick planter boxes, and geometric patterning over plain stucco or wood surfaces.

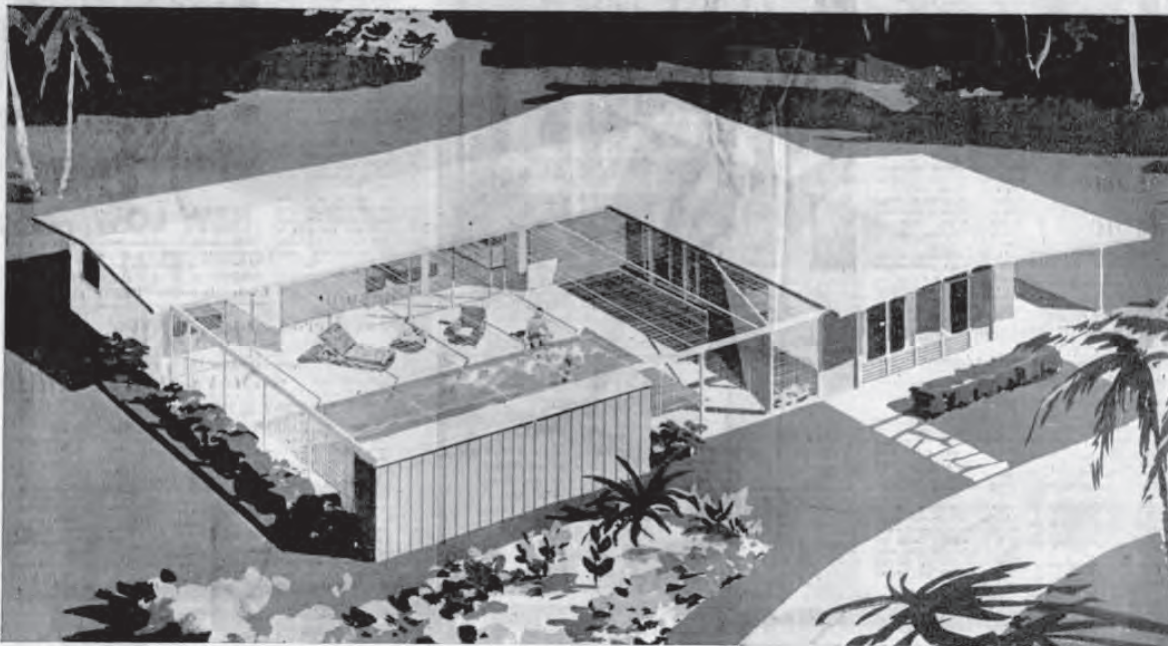
To accommodate the ranch's broader frontage, 75-foot-wide lots became a new postwar subdivision standard. The broad facades came to emphasize the distinct public-private worlds of what Robert Fishman called *Bourgeois Utopias*.<sup>173</sup> Their public face, linked to the representation of the neighborhood as a whole (even when ranch facades were varied to simulate diversity), emphasized a commitment to middle-class conformity, a discipline that implied lawn upkeep, house painting, and current-model automobiles parked in front. Front porches, where provided, were tokens, usually the excuse for decorative flourish around the front door. In the expansive front yards, circular driveways allowed the car to arrive right at the front door. The burgeoning role of the car in the front yard subverted traditional values about the street as a civic space, and the backyard soon replaced the

front porch as the outdoor living area of choice. Sliding glass doors open the house toward the private world of the backyard, often through novel spaces like Florida rooms and screened pool and patio decks.

Ranch houses were initially designed around principles of cross-ventilation, but by the early 1950s the *Miami Herald* noted that developers were rushing central air-conditioning (and central heating) into new housing models.<sup>174</sup> Ducted central air conditioning systems had been introduced into U.S. houses as early as the 1930s, but it wasn't until after World War II that they became accessible to middle class Americans.<sup>175</sup> The adoption of air conditioning was especially remarkable in the American South where, as Raymond Arsenault has described, it quickly became a requirement for "civilized living," transforming everything from sleeping habits to regional cultural and architectural traditions.<sup>176</sup> The Mackle Company's upscale **Hurricane Harbor** development on Biscayne Key (1952) was one of the first in Dade County to offer air-conditioning as a standard feature. It transformed both the planning and appearance of the house, as windows, no longer required for natural ventilation, were reconceived to admit light or capture views. The cooling and filtering of air also made houses cleaner and drier, permitting the use of a broader and brighter range of finishes, furniture and fabrics.

Air conditioning was just one facet of the increasingly well-equipped ranch, and how it embodied the rising wealth of the American middle class; ranches grew to encompass more rooms, novel spaces, and lots of amenities. The family room, an informal living area, became standardized, part of a suite of living spaces that flowed into each other beneath spacious, open-beamed cathedral ceilings. Fireplaces, a feature of prewar homes that disappeared in the economy postwar bungalows of the 1940s-50s, returned as well. Private amenities expanded too, including primary bedrooms with private baths and Mr. and Mrs. walk-in closets.





Bel-Hampton Is \$25,400 Including the Pool

## Bel-Aire Offers New Look



Bel-Hampton Floor Plan . . . 40 Feet of Glass Doors

**THAT RARE QUALITY** called "something new in design" exists in Bel-Aire, the 4,400-home development opening today just south of Perrine on U.S. 1.

You'll find a parade of homes on a fully landscaped street that provides a look into the future of the community being developed by Lester Dworkman and Associates.

Tandy & Allen, prize-winning home builders from California and New Jersey, worked with a South Florida architect on the basic design of the Bel-Aire homes. Francis Telesca of Rader & Associates started with an "L," and achieved a plan that wraps the indoor living areas around a screened patio or pool.

Included in the price of every home is central air conditioning and heating. You also get a complete line of RCA Whirlpool appliances including 13.5 refrigerator-freezer, washer-dryer, dishwasher and built-in wall oven and range.

Other prime features of Bel-Aire homes

are cathedral ceilings with laminated beams that extend to the wide overhang, a new type of red cedar folding door that serves to separate the children's bedrooms in the larger homes, louvered closet doors, choice of wallpaper, electric fixtures and paints.

And in each Bel-Aire home is a complete hi-fi set with Bogen amplifier and Garrard record changer. The models open today were furnished and decorated by Waldon Fretz of Dunham's. He has used a different décor in each house. These include Far Eastern, Early American, contemporary, Scandinavian, Spanish.

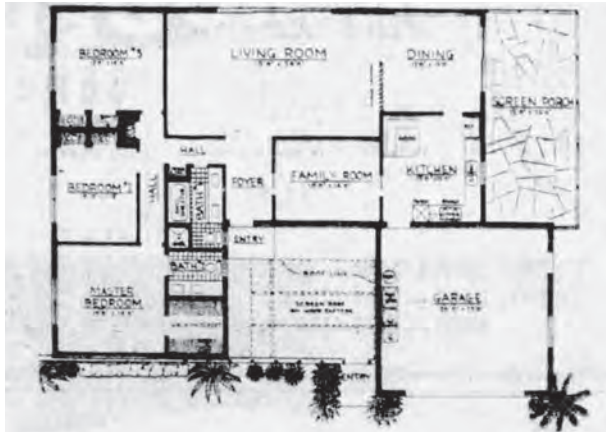
Loaded with appeal is the two-bedroom Bel-Dale. It features a large master bedroom with a wall divider consisting of louvered closets. There is a private bath with dressing area. The second bedroom and bath is at the other end of the house and has private entrance. The house was designed for the retired couple who are always expecting weekend guests.

Prices on the eight models range from \$19,900 for two bedrooms, two baths and screened patio to \$25,900 for four bedrooms, three baths and screened swimming pool with filter. All prices are based on lot size of 75 by 110 feet.

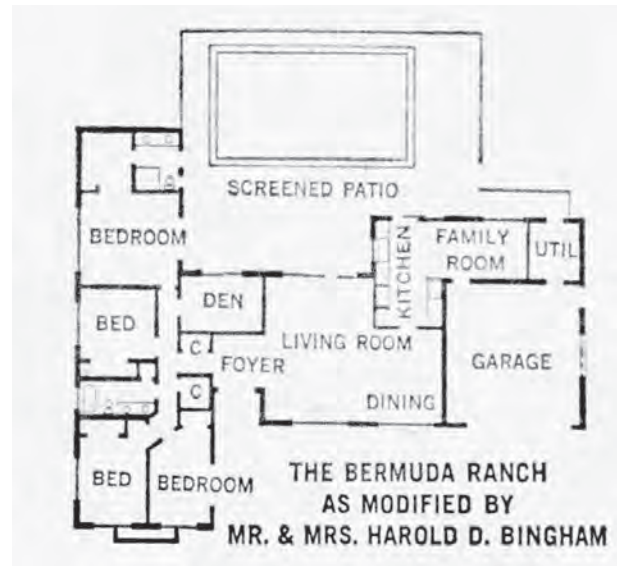
Twenty-five per cent of the homes will be built on a network of canals connecting with Black Creek. Prices of these waterfront homes will run from \$2,000 to \$5,900 higher.

FHA terms are available. Down payments under the government-insured loan program will range from \$2,350 on the two-bedroom model to \$3,300 on the four-bedroom. Three bath Closing costs will be about \$450. Monthly payments, including taxes and insurance, will run from \$124.08 to \$142.65.

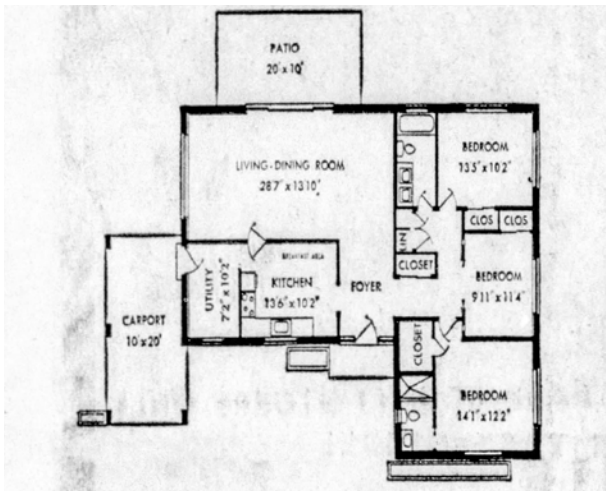
Bel-Aire will have community water and sewage system, underground metered gas, sidewalks and sodded pathways.



Happy Home model home in Coral Reef Estates (1957), from advertisement for Coral Reef Estates, *Miami News*, June 2, 1957



Bermuda Ranch home at Gale Ranch Estates (1959), from advertisement for Gale Ranch Estates, *Miami Herald*, June 10, 1962



Brickell model home in Windward Estates, from advertisement for Windward Estates, *Miami Herald*, January 11, 1959



Laurel II model home in Green Hills (1968), from advertisement for Green Hills, *Miami Herald*, March 1, 1964



Bahama model home in Snapper Creek Park (1960), from ad for Snapper Creek Park, William C. Kreidt, *Miami Herald*, May 7, 1961



**More Room For Less Money**

**SPLIT-LEVEL PLANNING**

**Story-And-A-Half House Deserves A Good Look**

By JOHN ROHRSON

MAYBE A SPLIT-LEVEL house is the answer to your building problem.

If you want the most space for the least money, if you have a small lot, if you like a view from a bedroom, if there is any difference in the contour of your building site, if you want plenty of convenient storage space for a variety of uses, this type of house deserves a good look.

The story-and-half house is becoming more popular all the time because it answers so many different building needs. For some years south Florida home-builders ignored possibilities of this type of planning. This end of the state is flat, with no little hills that naturally suggest splitting levels of a home.

Recently, though, architects and contractors found that the cost of making low hills, or terraces, with fill is more than paid for in savings that this kind of house affords.

Usual plan in a split-level house

is to build garage, storage, laundry and play rooms on the first level, flush or almost flush with the ground. Go up low stairs, four or five feet to the living room area, which is usually one story in height. Then go up a few more feet to the bedrooms, above the service area.

Architect Irvin Korach, who has designed a number of homes of this type on Miami Beach recently, says that there are two basic reasons for their popularity. "The story-and-a-half home costs less per cubic foot than either a one-story cottage or a two-story residence. I've checked several contractors who have bid on all these types, and their figures bear me out.

"The decisive factors in cost are probably that one foundation and one roof serves the two-story section, and that finishes in the first floor level the service area—can be very inexpensive. If the overhead bedroom wing is big enough, it is possible to put a playroom or a low garden-terrace room on the first level. All rooms on this level can be finished with, perhaps, ex-

terior masonry serving as the interior wall."

Since the war, the great demand in most Miami areas, Korach says, is for one-story homes. People seem suddenly conscious of the extra effort involved in going upstairs. For this reason it is much easier to re-sell a one-story home than it is a two-story home. But, he adds, split-level homes have such short flights of stairs that there does not seem to be nearly as much effort involved in getting around, as in the two-story home.

In this flat country, any elevation gives much better view and ventilation than a ground-level room affords. It is this elevation that is making these homes popular in the county, where ground

space is no problem. If you have an acre, it is nice to overlook that acre from your bedroom window.

Certainly on narrow city lots, many home-builders turn to this type of house because they discover they want more room than can be built in one level on a 50-or 75-foot lot.

For a house-wife who is conscious of storage space, the split-level home is ideal. It puts an attic on the ground floor, where it is easily accessible for all sorts of indoor and outdoor storage.

Usual method in Dade county on city building lots is to provide elevation needed to stagger levels of this type of home by having fill hauled in. This fill may be handled on a slope so that it looks like a natural mound, or it may be

terraced with a decorative stone retaining wall. On country acres, Korach suggests, a split-level house gives an excellent use of the bulldozer pile that often remains after land-clearing.

If there is any natural difference in elevation on a lot, such as the rock ridge that borders the shoreline in many sections of Dade and Broward county, it is wise to consider a split-level home.

One of its chief advantages, one that seems to come naturally from the plan, is that such a house has what every woman wants—one point of control from which the whole home is easily accessible. The entrance area is usually this point, with living room, bedrooms and service area all branching off from it.



Bedroom wing, the second level of this house, is above a carport and storage area on ground level.

**THIS IS A SPLIT-LEVEL HOUSE**

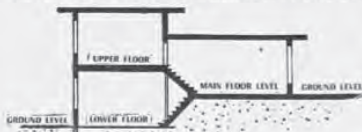


Illustration showing cross section of a split-level house shows main floor level placed midway between lower and upper levels. Ground level under main floor is built up with fill, or takes advantage of a natural land contour. Upper floor is usually a bedroom wing over garage and service area, with living, dining and kitchen areas on the main floor level.



A terrace was built up from fill to allow this split-level house to get best view of the bay beside it.



For this split-level house an artificial terrace was built up from fill, and blocked off with a low, decorative stone wall. This terrace supports the living area wing of the residence.

Split-level homes, from John Rohrson, "Split-Level Planning," *Miami News*, April 4, 1953



The most notable improvements, however, came in the kitchen, which expanded to include an eat-in nooks and work islands. All electric surface-unit ranges, ovens, and refrigerators were flush-mounted into finished cabinets, and furnished in a variety of colors that could be matched to plastic laminate countertops and furnishings. Time-saving appliances, including the dishwasher and fanciful devices like the NuTone built-in food center, were not just practical – they were futuristic.

Two-car garages, which became commonplace in the 1960s, were among the most obvious (and public) expressions of the rising material standards of middle-class families. They allowed direct entry from the car into the home, but they also manifested the abundance of extra stuff that had to be stored. Around this time, the U.S. Census stopped asking about indoor plumbing, and focused instead on how many cars a family owned and whether they had air-conditioning, color TVs, Hi-fi radios, dishwashers, and a clothes dryer. As the *Miami Herald* noted, “There will be more questions on the 1960 census form than ever before because, it seems, we can own so many more things.”<sup>177</sup>

As the most important house type of the 1960s, the ranch sponsored many variations, including the “**split-level.**” Featuring staggered floor levels and even more space, the split-level was pioneered by architect Charles Goodman in models developed for National Homes, the nation’s largest prefabricated home manufacturer. In a typical split-level, the intermediate level living area was connected to a two-story volume comprising upper-floor bedrooms over the garage and service areas. The type had a logic all its own in Dade County, where raised bedrooms and intermediate-level living areas were substantially raised above the floodplain. As an added benefit, the artificial landscape of small hillocks around the raised living areas gave a sense of topography often lacking here, and broke up the monotony of suburban streetscapes.

## The Townhouse

Townhouses were hardly a factor in Dade County’s early development. The few models that were built were generally for tourists, like the maisonette units of L. Murray Dixon’s Forde Ocean Apartments (1935), and the “studio apartments” of Igor Plevitzky’s Wahl Studio Apartments (1948), both on Miami Beach. As vacation rentals, they were generally organized as private units around public amenities.

Starting in the late 1950s, however, attached townhouses emerged as a popular and economical model of suburban housing. Mort Adler developed the first commercial postwar townhouses in Florida in the late 1950s, constructing hundreds of one- and two-story townhouses around rockpit lakes in Hialeah. In a city still dominated by free-standing homes, Adler’s continuous rows of homes introduced new and sometime complex representational challenges. To avoid the terrace effect of rowhouses in American cities like New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, his homes were staggered to create alternating courts on the street and water side. Architect Wahl Snyder also gave the townhouse a themed character by developing a varied palette of ornamentation based loosely on the “New Orleans style.” Small gaps were also left between units so they would qualify as freestanding under the rules that governed Florida’s homestead tax exemption, an important incentive toward home ownership.

In hearings before the Dade County Commission in 1965, townhouses were criticized by many as out-of-place throwbacks to obsolete northeastern cities, instant slums of “bunched-up dwelling units offering wall-to-wall neighbors” and lowering adjacent property values. Nevertheless, Zoning Director Robert F. Cook declared “This is a new way of living and I think Dade ought to have it;” that same year Metro-Dade adopted its first townhouse ordinance, including stipulations relegating them to commercial areas with high densities and regulating their design to

*Tired of Rent Receipts & Cramped Quarters?*

# GO THAT ONE STEP BEYOND

. . . to a New Concept in Residential  
Lakefront Living in Hialeah

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WITH ALL THE PRIVILEGES AND BENEFITS OF INDIVIDUAL, YET CAREFREE, HOME OWNERSHIP — COMPLETE PRIVACY

A NEW LIBERAL TRADE-IN PROGRAM NOW AVAILABLE

**PAYMENTS FROM**

**\$63<sup>26</sup> TO \$70<sup>11</sup>**  
Per Mo. Per Mo.

INCLUDES PRINCIPAL & INTEREST

**TOWN N' LAKE ESTATES OFFERS FOR YOUR COMFORT AND CONVENIENCE**

- Underground telephone lines
- City sidewalks
- City of Hialeah police and fire protection
- Elementary schools within walking distance
- Major expressway access within 10 blocks
- Neighborhood churches
- Major shopping centers close by
- Choice of exterior elevations
- Full choice of decorative colors in paints, terraces, formica, tiles and plumbing fixtures

**LAKEFRONT LIVING AT ITS FINEST**

**BOATING FISHING & SWIMMING AT YOUR DOORSTEP**



**\$5,000 HOMESTEAD EXEMPTION AVAILABLE**

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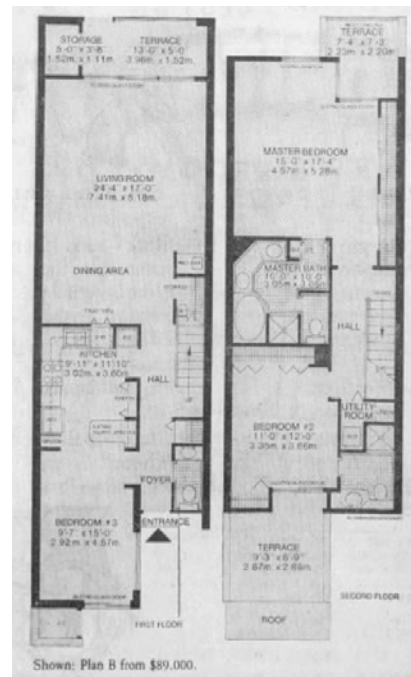
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Plan B home in Delvista at Aventura, from advertisement for Delvista at Aventura, *Miami Herald*, May 7, 1978



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Advertisement for The Adler New Orleans Town Houses, *Miami News*, July 7, 1964

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UNTIL 8 P.M.  
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Custom Deluxe Townhouses  
2 & 3 Bedrooms - 2 1/2 Baths



PRODUCED BY GENERAL ELECTRIC

Townhouses at Palm Springs Villas, from advertisement for Palm Springs Villas, *Miami News*, May 18, 1973

Town houses in Town n' Lake Estates, from advertisement for Town n' Lake Estates, *Miami Herald*, January 20, 1966

guarantee a suburban look.<sup>178</sup> Townhouses grew in popularity and by the late 1960s fee-simple townhouses had become a regular strategy for low-cost and middle-class housing in Dade County.

While the rockpit lakes of West Dade continued to serve as Dade County's townhome subdivision laboratory (for instance the Lake Royall Townhouses, designed by Reuben Schneider in 1965, Alesam Corp's **Town n'Lake Estates**, designed by Harvey Ehrlich in 1966, and the many townhouse project rising in Miami Lakes), by the late-1960s large townhouse concentrations were under construction throughout Dade County. Cliff Bretthauer's **Executive Manors** (1967) in North Miami mitigated the concerns and lawsuits of adjacent homeowners by deploying buffer zones, five-foot concrete separation walls, and off-street parking. **Palm Springs Villas** in Hialeah (1973), among the first large-scale townhouse settlements, was a compact 23-block subdivision of fee-simple townhouses organized around a gridiron of streets and narrow service alleys.<sup>179</sup> Designed and developed by Ray and Ellis Lovell, the Palm Springs townhouses offered arcaded facades like those of urban Havana, adapted to their U.S. context through the use of landscape buffers and off-street parking courts.

Initially marketed as affordable family housing, in the mid-60s most townhouse development shifted from fee-simple to condominium ownership, paving the way for projects that maintained a more consistent character and provided shared amenities. The lifestyle advantages of condominium townhouses were explored first in Broward County, where Charles Sumwalt's Townhouse Isle project (1962) in Wilton Manors, designed by Gamble, Pownall, and Gilroy, offered a sheltered island of two-story townhouse clusters with private front garden courts, no required maintenance, and amenities like a pool and dock space. Townhouse condominium developments offered a sense of community that proved attractive to part-time residents, retirees, and childfree families.

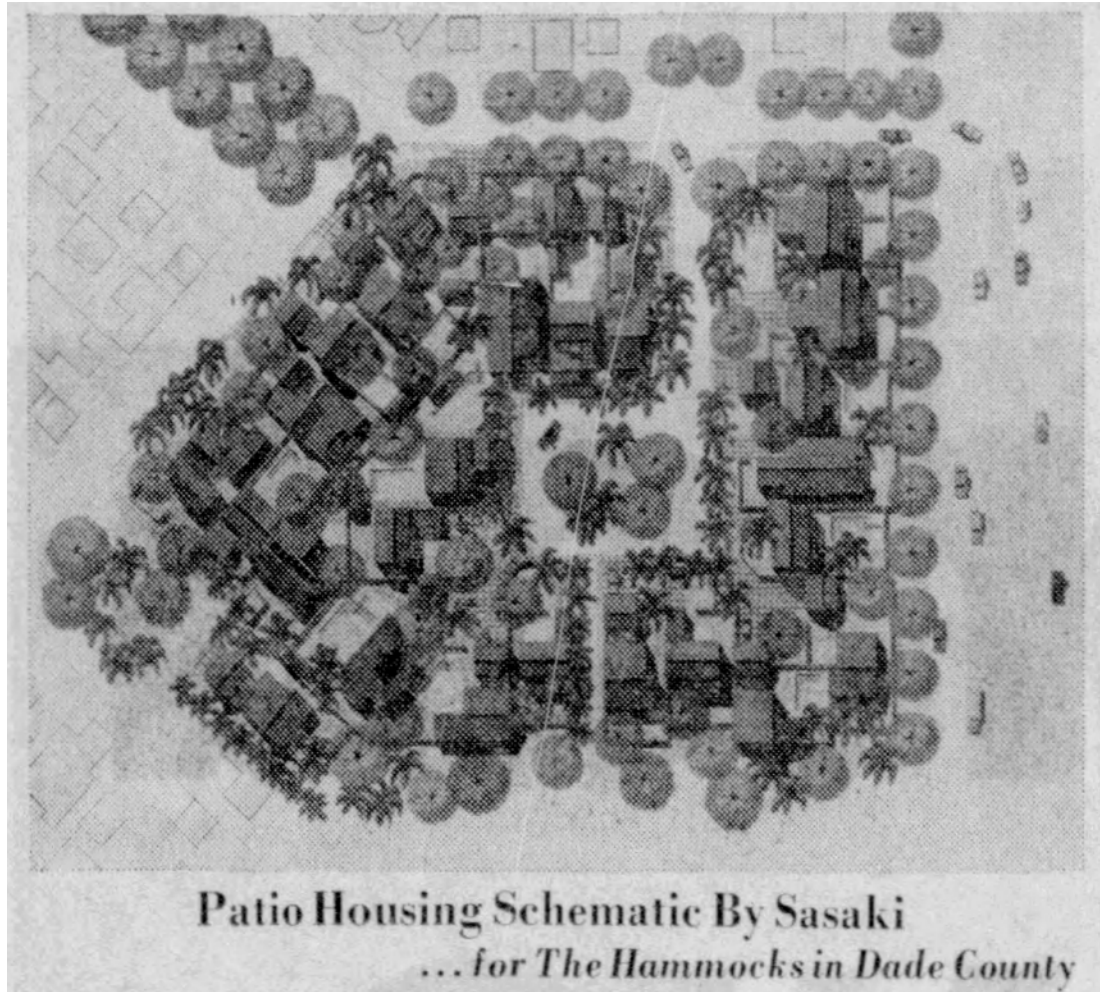
By the 1970s, most townhouses were built in the context of cluster-planned developments. Here developers organized units into smaller rows, and sometimes into compact pods of three or four units, called "cluster houses" or "quadrominiums." Following the logic of cluster-planned communities, these rows or pods floated in the landscaped seclusion of an urban superblock, with internal pedestrian greenway-systems that connected housing clusters to common amenities like a pool, clubhouse, and playground (see Planning Context above). For example, **The Oasis** (1975) in southwest Kendall featured connected pods of four-units each, comprising masonry site walls that enclosed private patios, and aggregated into U- and L-shaped groups. A village feel was emphasized by the intimate scale of the cubic building volumes, by the jaunty grouping of mono-pitch roofs and projecting balconies, and by the interconnected green spaces that linked the complex to its center.

### The Patio Home

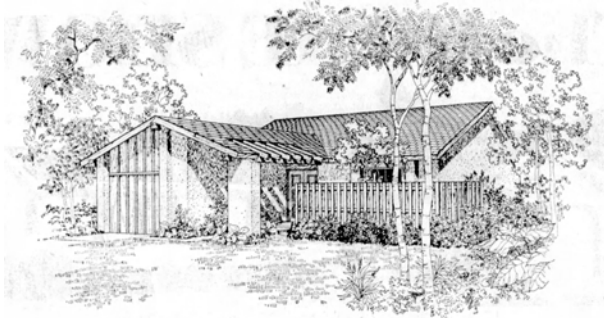
In Dade County, the postwar **Patio home** (also called cluster housing) did not refer to a home built around a patio, as in the Spanish tradition. Rather, patio homes, influenced by examples in California and appearing in Miami in the 1970s, used a variation of zero-lot line development made possible by cluster-planning to reduce suburban lot sizes and setback restrictions, and achieve higher densities and lower costs. The name likely relates to the small patio-like yards in the front, side, or back of the home (or some combination), private worlds defined by screens, fencing, or walls.

The patio home reflected changing suburban sensibilities that emphasized reduced maintenance, greater privacy, and more usable outdoor spaces. Tightly organized around courts and cul-de-sacs, patio homes suggested the urbanity of a small village, conveying a strong sense of community. An early version of the patio home was built by Heftler Construction in



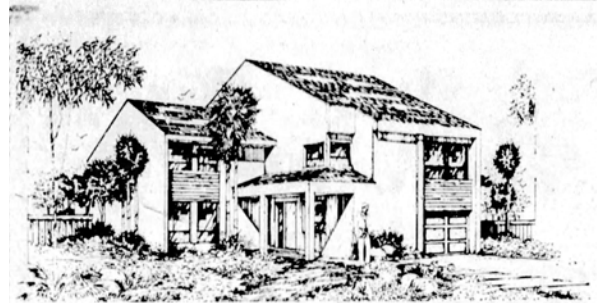


**Patio Housing Schematic by Sasaki for The Hammocks (1974)**, from Wayne Markham, "Does Miami Face Los Angeles' Fate?" *Miami Herald*, March 7, 1976



**Patio Home Maximizes Outdoor Living Spaces**  
... smaller inside means lower costs, builder says

**Patio Home at the Crossings (1976)**, from Wayne Markham, "How Do You Get More Home In Less Space?" *Miami Herald*, September 19, 1976



**Three floor plans are available at The Hammocks.**

**Three patio-home models to open at The Hammocks (1974)**, from advertisement for The Hammocks, *Miami Herald*, February 22, 1981

the **Sunset Park** district of South Miami (1968), using zero-lot line zoning to enhance security and privacy with completely walled side and rear yards. Heftler exploited the romantic idea of the Spanish patio home, using Mediterranean styling on rows of homes that formed continuous closed walls toward the street, and featured zaguan-type passageways protected by grilled gateways. More compact patio homes were pioneered by the Canadian developer Genstar and planners Sasaki Associates at **The Hammocks** in the late 1960s, and became particularly prevalent in Southwest Dade.<sup>180</sup>

By the 1970s, patio houses were nearly synonymous with the California Style, assembled with a strong expression of post and beam construction, sweeping roofs that evoked a sense of crisp geometry, broad windows, earthy colors and rustic wood siding (often California redwood). The western ranch house aesthetic continued inside, with wood-paneled living spaces, vaulted cathedral ceilings, and sunken conversation pits. Expansive glass walls opening onto walled front and rear patios expanded these interior space and emphasized indoor-outdoor connections.<sup>181</sup>

### **Low- and mid-rise garden apartments**

Townhomes and patio homes weren't the only signal of rising suburban density. In the 1960s low- and mid-rise multi-family apartment buildings sprouted along the frontiers of Miami's postwar suburban development. Far from an outlier in the suburban context, thousands of apartment buildings came to define neighborhoods and new Florida lifestyles across the county. By 1962, 45% of all units built in Dade County were apartments, and by 1968 Dade and Broward Counties led the nation in apartment house construction.<sup>182</sup> Virtual multi-family villages formed across the county, from South Beach and North Beach in Miami Beach, to Liberty City and Brownsville in northwest Miami, to North Miami North Miami Beach, and Aventura in north Dade, to Kendall Drive and the US1 corridor in Southwest and South Dade.

Multi-family buildings appealed to newly emergent demographic groups, and those underserved by previous single-family home construction in Dade County. Among early adopters were a rising tide of elderly snowbirds and retirees, who appreciated their greater amenities, built-in maintenance, and sense of community. As Matthew Gordon Lasner and Deborah Dash Moore have pointed out, American retirees were living longer and better thanks to improved health care, union pensions, and Social Security. For this group, apartment living perpetuated a state of "permanent tourism" in Dade County.<sup>183</sup> Indeed, Miami's apartment living boom was, in some respects, a new resort trade.

The postwar growth of collective forms of home ownership, like cooperatives and condominiums, further boosted the development of multi-family buildings. Housing cooperatives, pioneered in late 19<sup>th</sup> century, had a corporate ownership structure, with residents as shareholders holding rights to a particular unit. In contrast, condominium ownership conveyed legal title to individual living units, allowing them to be individually mortgaged, and permitting owners to claim the advantages of Florida's Homestead Tax exemption. Already popular in Europe and Latin America, the first American experiments in condominium ownership were in Puerto Rico, where they were used to promote urban housing to middle-income families.<sup>184</sup> Condominiums came to Miami and the rest of the United States when Section 234 of the Federal Housing Act of 1961 authorized low-cost FHA-financed mortgages on individual condominium units.

While the role of FHA mortgage financing (and U.S. housing policies generally) in creating low-density suburban sprawl is well known, the Housing Act of 1961 demonstrates how these policies were liberalized and broadened to benefit higher-density housing too. FHA chief Neal J. Hardy, explaining the new policy, emphasized how expanding mortgage assistance to condominium ownership would emphasize the needs of "urban areas, low- and moderate-income families, the preservation and rehabilitation of existing

housing, greater efficiency in the production of new housing, and a broadening of opportunities for home ownership.”<sup>185</sup> In an address to Miami realtors, Raymond T. O’Keefe, Vice-president of Chase Manhattan Bank of New York, predicted that the condominium would reverse migration to the suburbs and restore middle-income families to the cities.<sup>186</sup>

While it did little to stimulate development in the urban core, the Housing Act of 1961 stirred an apartment development frenzy in Dade County, creating new centers of density. As condominium ownership eclipsed cooperative ownership in the mid-1960s, condominium developers adopted various building types, including townhouses, patio homes, duplexes, and especially multifamily buildings.<sup>187</sup>

Many of the first condominium projects in Dade County were low- and midrise catwalk-type apartment buildings. These inexpensive and utilitarian housing types, first envisioned by Bauhaus planners in the 1920s, featured exterior circulation galleries – their defining characteristic – that were meant to be cost effective while also stimulating social contact among residents.<sup>188</sup> Easily scalable in height and length, and readily adapted to site conditions, catwalk types notably emphasized construction efficiency. For example, their vertical circulation cores (including stairs and elevators) were generally constructed independent of the main housing block and, sheathed in breezeblock, textured stucco, tilework, or even decorative metalwork, embodied the building’s principal embellishment. Floor-through, cross-ventilated apartments opened directly to the open catwalks, emphasizing direct connections with the surrounding landscape and reinforcing the identity of these buildings as garden apartment housing – a type favored by the FHA in prewar guidelines and well-established throughout Miami in the 1930s as a popular and humane model of commercial housing.<sup>189</sup>


In Dade County, the catwalk type acquired different meanings, depending on factors like location and level of amenity. For example, a

low-rise garden apartment variant popular in Miami Beach, which in-filled the city’s urban grids in the 1950s, proved particularly attractive to retirees and became the dominant housing type in the city’s North Beach district. As Liberty City and Brownsville transitioned toward higher densities in the 1950s, the catwalk type became ubiquitous there too. **Alberta Heights** (1950), an 80-unit garden apartment complex developed by W. B. Sawyer (the Black physician and real estate developer who also owned the Mary Elizabeth Hotel), was constructed on a spacious, campus-like green superblock. Such developments, with quality open space and industry-leading amenities, were promoted as examples of housing reform.<sup>190</sup> Yet most of the new catwalk types in the Liberty City area lacked amenity and were packed onto small residential lots. In their congestion, they followed the logic of the tenement. In reference to their poor quality, housing reform advocate Elizabeth Virrick labeled these buildings “Concrete Monsters.”<sup>191</sup>

On spacious suburban sites throughout much of Dade County, catwalk-type developments grew in size and height to form full-service and highly amenitized residential communities. The T-shaped **Keystone Arms Cooperative Residences** (1959) at Keystone Point in North Miami, a three-story 60-unit co-op apartment building designed by Gilbert Fein, had long, narrow wings fitted to the triangular shape of the site, embracing parking on one side and amenities like the pool deck and boat docks on the other. Frese and Camner’s 65-acre **Point East** (1967) in North Miami Beach, occupying a peninsula into Maule Lake, comprised more than 1,400 units in 17 mid-rise buildings. Loosely arrayed along the landscaped perimeter of the peninsula, and including a substantial community center and clubhouse, it was a marriage of density, amenity, and green space. **Skylake West** in North Miami Beach, one of the first master-planned high-density communities in Dade County, mixed low-rise garden apartment pods with taller catwalk-type condominium slabs, including the 360-unit **New Horizons** (1962), 560-unit **Rolling Green**



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Apartments at Keystone Arms (1959), from advertisement for Keystone Arms, *Miami Herald*, May 5, 1960



Alberta Heights (1950), from Brownsville Historic Survey- permission pending

(1968), and 800-unit **Jade Winds**, which boasted an extraordinary amenity tower (see Northeast Corridor context). In attracting residents, size mattered because larger housing projects could afford more community and recreational amenity. Developments like Skylake West created a standard of suburban living akin to country club membership.

By the mid- to late 1960s a new and distinct form of catwalk type, known as the “Dingbat,” flourished. Generally four- to five-story, and raised over an open-air parking area, the Dingbat evolved in response to the increasing importance of cars in postwar development, and on-site parking requirements codified into zoning codes in the 1960s. Critic Reyner Banham famously decried the related dingbats of postwar Los Angeles as symptoms of the city’s “urban Id” coping with unprecedented residential densities.<sup>192</sup> In Dade County, these clumsy postwar specimens of urban infill more likely reflected a utilitarian compromise between lot size, allowable density, and parking requirements. Many were built in Miami Beach, where their functional facades stand in stark relief against the rich street architecture of the 1920s and 1930s.

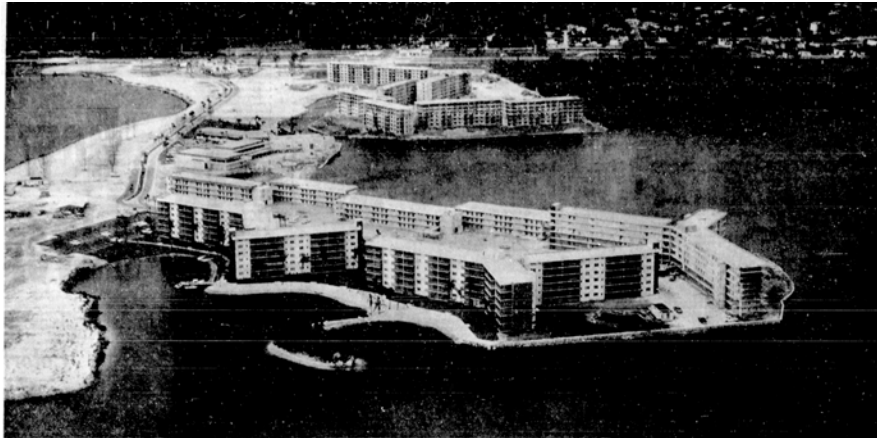
### **Tower apartment buildings**

Starting around the 1960s, tower blocks sprouted across the metropolitan area, especially along waterfronts and arterial corridors, and in emergent metropolitan districts: Brickell Drive, the oceanfront of Key Biscayne, downtown Coral Gables, the mid-beach section of Miami Beach, and along the Northeast Corridor of Dade County. The trend to larger, taller, and more efficient buildings was partly driven by land scarcity in the face of a growing population and rising construction costs. Yet high-rise housing also thrived for reasons particular to Miami’s distinct demographics, climate, and combination of retirement and resort economies.<sup>193</sup> In contrast with many American cities, where the economy of high-rise construction frequently translated into

affordable or public housing, the only high-rise public housing in Miami served the elderly. Most towers were constructed by mercantile builders, fulfilling the needs of an increasingly transient citizenry, including retired people and snowbirds to be sure, but also transnationals. Towers were marketed to middle-class consumers, emphasizing the prospect of aerial living in attractive locations. Height and density were translated into increased luxury, amenity, views, and a sense of community. Their spacious units boasted well-equipped kitchens, air conditioning, and individual balconies from which to survey the landscape. Built during the apex of automobile culture, towers offered plenty of parking, elaborate automobile arrival sequences, and luxuriously planted automobile drop-offs.

High-rise housing units were generally sold as cooperative or condominiums apartments. Ownership transformed high-rise living into another extension of the American Dream, and vertical suburban living created a new threshold of suburban density in Dade County. An explosion of tower development during the 1960s helped make Florida, as the *Miami News* reported, the “cradle of the condominium in America,” with Miami as its “condominium metropolis.”<sup>194</sup>

Towers were not new in Miami; they were a characteristic building type of the 1920s boom that persisted through the 1950s in various forms as hotels, residential buildings, and office blocks. Notably, tower hotels formed the iconic 1920s bayfront skyline of both Miami and Miami Beach. By the 1960s modernist tower slabs, seen as particularly cost-effective, inspired a new wave of high-rise development. The postwar tower slab benefitted from new construction technologies like flat-slab construction (allowing lower floor-to-floor heights), ready-mix concrete (providing faster curing), and “scatter columns” (permitting structures to be designed after the unit plans were optimized for marketing considerations).<sup>195</sup> The tower slab model also engendered higher plan efficiencies. Some early towers, like the 13-story **Robert King High Towers** (1964),



Rapid Growth of Point East Can Easily Be Determined by Comparing These Photos

## *A Building Boom on 65 Acres*

Point East (1967), from Fred E. Fogarty, "A Building Boom on 65 Acres," *Miami Herald*, January 22, 1967



**EVERY APARTMENT AT POINT EAST HAS A WATERFRONT VIEW . . .** with its own screened Florida room . . . Favorite water sports at your door-step . . . Easy access to the Intracoastal Waterway . . . A picture-book private boardwalk along two miles of protected waterfront.

Apartments at Point East (1967), from advertisement for Point East, *Miami Herald*, February 26, 1967



erected by the Miami Housing Authority on the Miami River, incorporated catwalk-type circulation systems. Later, towers incorporated a double-loaded unit configuration – a more economical plan layout that also produced long interior corridors, deeper floor plates, and diminished access to light and cross-ventilation. No wonder the tower slab type arrived in sync with air conditioning.

Comprising from 150 to over 1,100 units each, tower slabs generally deployed a functional approach to image that could be described as mechanical, and in some cases tectonically numbing. Most employed compositional patterns derived from the interplay of solid wall and projecting balconies (often staggered to provide “interest” to the large expanse of walls).<sup>196</sup> Notwithstanding their functional exteriors, towers could be lavishly adorned, with sumptuous use of stone and precious metals, and patterned walls of screen-block and precast concrete panels that emphasized richness and complexity. Grounds were often festooned with sculptural luminaries, statues, tropical foliage, and elaborate waterworks that included grottoes and waterfalls.

The **Brickell Town House** (1962) was among Miami’s earliest postwar residential towers. The Y-shaped 21-story tower, designed by Steward-Skinner, was steel-framed with projecting concrete floor slabs and balconies, continuous walls of glass on its main facades, and blank end walls. It was supported on columns over its ground level lobby, gardens and an extensive area of parking. The **Towers of Key Biscayne** (1970) raised its towers over structured parking decks, a more space-efficient alternative to grade-level parking. Architect Don Reiff (Reiff & Fellman) and landscape architect Taft Bradshaw concealed the two levels of automobile and service functions below a landscaped platform that established a “garden floor” for the tower nestled into the tropical foliage and dune system.<sup>197</sup>

Club condominium towers, a high-rise variant that thrived along the Northeast corridor, conjoined the iconic potential of towers with Miami’s growing social stratification. The **Palm Bay Club** (1965), the first of this type, occupied the nine-and-a-half-acre estate of Miami’s pioneer naturalist Charles Torrey Simpson, set between Biscayne Boulevard and Biscayne Bay. On this green retreat, futurist condominium structures like the 26-story **Palm Bay Tower**, a svelte rocket ship-like tower by Lawrence & Belk with James Deen, were organized around a lavish marina, clubhouse, and amenity complex. Conceived around the personality and connections of Cornelia Vandegaer Dinkler, a society figure newly arrived in Miami, the club was touted as a place for the “Jet Set” and “Yacht Batch.”<sup>198</sup> The success of the Palm Bay Club spurred similar developments along the boulevard, like Walter Troutman’s **Jockey Club** (Bleemer and Levine, 1968), and Alvin Malnick’s **Cricket Club** (1975).<sup>199</sup> As each acquired thousands of members, the club condominium acquired a privileged social status.

While not strictly speaking a club, the redevelopment in 1981 of the unfinished 32-acre **Quayside** complex on Biscayne Boulevard (see above) achieved something similar, merging 1,000 new residential units in three 21- to 24-story with extensive club and resort facilities. Set in a lush green park, creating a sense of urban oasis, the complex included a health and spa facility, a private tennis complex, a market and coffee shop, marina, and a bayside specialty dining complex known as The Great House.<sup>200</sup>

Tower residences, and their assimilation of club or resort characteristics, reached an apotheosis in the master planned community of Aventura. Occupying 785 acres of landfill, Aventura was master planned by San Francisco-based Hall & Goodhue in 1970 to produce a total population between 17,000-23,900. Touted as a “total community,” a term used by the homebuilding industry to indicate a positive balance of public



**Robert King High Towers (1964)**, Smith and Korach, Pancoast Ferendino Grafton Skeels and Burnham, from Spillis Candela DMJM collection, date unknown

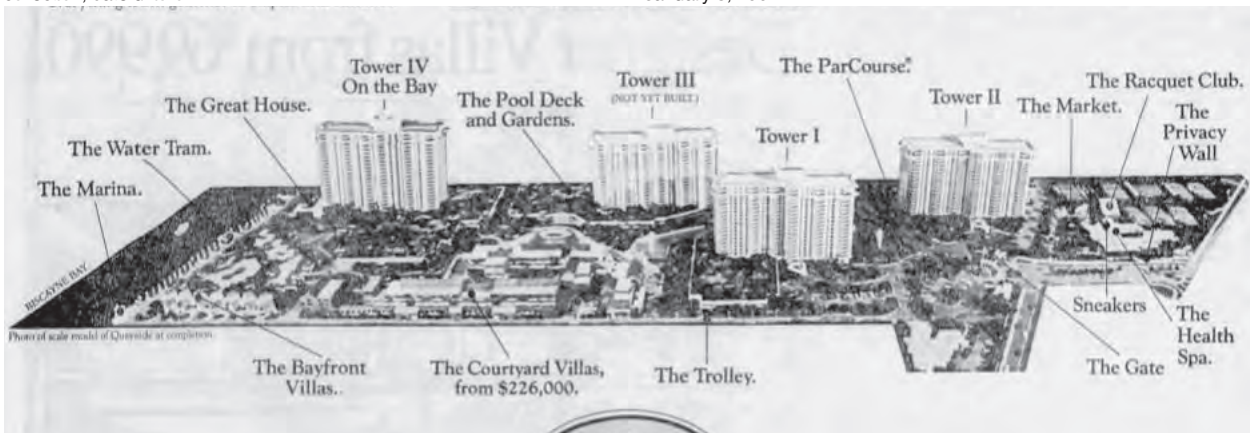


**Robert King High Towers (1964)**, Smith and Korach, Pancoast Ferendino Grafton Skeels and Burnham, from Spillis Candela DMJM collection, date unknown



**Brickell Town House One of 315 Entries**  
... 21-story apartment gets FHA award

**Rendering of Brickell Townhouse (1962)**, Steward-Skinner, from "Brickell Town House Wins FHA's Award for Design" ad, *Miami Herald*, January 5, 1964



**Aerial of towers of Quayside**, from Quayside advertisement, *Miami Herald*, April 15, 1984



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That paradise is a 785-acre pleasure preserve (as large as Central Park).

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It's all here. Right now. All you have to do is decide which part of our world is for you. The Bonavista is north of the north golf course and closest to

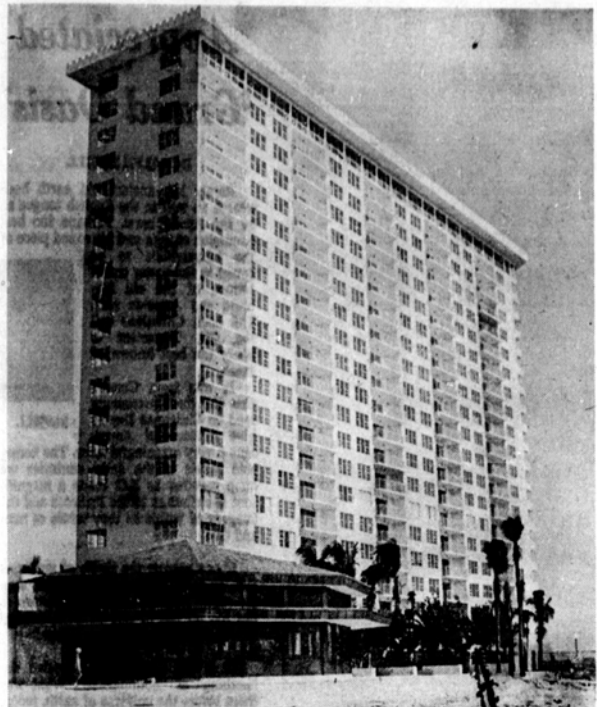
the waterways. The Bonavida is west of the country club, and closest to the club and the shopping center. At either one, you can see your actual apartment today, and move in tomorrow. Apartments start at \$33,500.



Apartments in North Dade, from Vicki Salloum, "A new lease on life," *Miami Herald*, April 13, 1978

Condominium apartments at Bonavista (1972), from advertisement for Bonavista, *Miami Herald*, September 9, 1973

### Watching Florida Grow



Phase two of the multi-million dollar Jockey Club on 118th Street and Biscayne Blvd. has just been completed. The 21-story structure representing an initial \$10 million investment, will have a companion building of

similar size which will make the total cost in excess of \$20 million. Architect for the complex is James W. Voorhies, and the general contractor is Burk Builders Inc.

Jockey Club (1968), James W. Voorhies, from "Watching Florida Grow" advertisement, *Miami News*, January 2, 1969





Aerial photo of Aventura used as a city planning tool, source unknown, c. 1970s

and private amenity, it comprised clusters of low-, mid-rise and tall buildings surrounding a broad 40-acre park – an arrangement that developer Aventura Donald Soffer conceived as an allusion to Central Park in New York City.<sup>201</sup> The park included twin 18-hole championship golf courses and a country club, along with lakes, bicycle paths, landscaped walks and bird sanctuaries.<sup>202</sup> Country Club Drive, the beltway ringing this central green, was Aventura’s main street, and was organized to provide continuous park views on one side and views of residential skyline on the other. The interaction of open green space and towers loosely realized the modernist “tower in the park” ideal pioneered by Le Corbusier in his 1923 Ville Contemporaine, but rarely achieved in Miami because of the smaller increment of private development tracts, the ubiquitous presence of zoning-mandated parking, and most of all the detachment of housing development from issues of social reform.

### Mobile/trailer home communities

Among the housing types rising in postwar Dade County, trailer homes and trailer parks are generally overlooked in most planning. Yet the type has a deep resonance locally. Since the 1920-30s, transience, tourism, and poverty made Dade County a mecca for mobile home parks and trailer camps. They stretched along the byways of the county, from Biscayne Boulevard in Northeast Dade, to the Tamiami Trail in Southwest Dade and South Dixie Highway in South Dade. Economical camper trailers, and the trailer communities built to serve them, initially helped democratize and desegregate Miami’s tourism industry, previously restricted to White, middle and upper-class tourists. Originally hitched to cars and considered recreational vehicles, trailers were reprogrammed during the depression as temporary homes. During WWII, at places like **Victory Park** (1944) in Miami Springs, the federal government deployed them as temporary worker housing.

Trailer development really took off in the late-1940s as manufacturers increased the size and amenity of the trailers. Trailers were progressively widened, from ten to twelve feet, and their size increased from about 220 square feet in the 1940s-50s to as much as 700 square feet in the 1960s. Manufacturers also began incorporating standard home-like amenities like bathrooms and kitchens, and architectural features like bay windows and decorative skins. By the 1970s trailers could be arranged as “double-wides,” producing residences that approached site-built homes in size. As trailer sizes grew, they became less vehicular, towable only by commercial vehicles.<sup>203</sup> To accommodate these new manufactured residences, trailer camps became trailer parks and their designs began to mimic the best practices of suburban community design.

As trailers and trailer parks emerged in the postwar as low-cost alternatives to single-family homes, Miami emerged as a testing ground of new trailer-based lifestyles. **Trailer City** (1947), just east of Biscayne Boulevard, was advertised as a demonstration of the “trailerite way of life.” Promising a rich community life, it was equipped with a central park (today **Highland Village Community Center**), and public facilities like a business center, food market, restaurant, drug store, barbershop, clinic, and a playground. It also boasted athletic facilities including tennis courts, shuffleboard courts, and horseshoe pits. In line with the machine-age trailers assembled there, the park’s architecture was emphatically futuristic. Designed by Ashburn and C.E. Kirksey, Robert Law Weed, and Montgomery Atwater (alternately named as designers), the community center featured a streamlined design, and each lot had a pastel-painted bath and toilet cabana equipped with a rooftop deck. Most importantly, and in contrast with standard rental arrangements, Trailer City comprised 800 privately-owned lots sold under a cooperative arrangement with FHA support, making a trailer residence an alternative way in to the American Dream of suburban home ownership.

The 600-unit **Li'l Abner Trailer Park** in Sweetwater also set out to mimic the best qualities of suburban planning, and advance the trailer park as a form of community. Founded by Abner Wolf, a Detroit food merchant who believed community could play a role in reversing the dispersal of the family and emphasizing nuclear family life, Li'l Abner was conceived as a family-oriented development that included **Pioneer Corral**, a modern nursery school, as well as after-care facilities for kids in public school and ten acres of recreational park space. In order to offer different housing options, the 100-acre park also included a 63-unit apartment building.<sup>204</sup>

In Dade County, trailer parks were part of a constellation of housing options that blurred the lines between mobility and permanence. Like tourist courts (also known as motor courts and cottage courts), motels, and seasonally-rented apartment buildings, they functioned equally as touristic and low-cost housing. In South Dade, for example, many parks accommodated migrant workers and the overflow housing needs of Homestead Air Force Base. **Oasis Trailer Park**, **Tropical Raines**, and **Silver Palm Mobile Park** in Goulds specialized in migrant housing, and much like work camps, they were often the arrival point of new migrant communities in South Dade. Of the parks in South Dade that accommodated overflow housing for the Homestead Air Force Base, only the **Magnolia Trailer Park** and

**Chandler Trailer Park** were open to Blacks in 1967, attracting the attention of the federal government and action in desegregating parks throughout the region.<sup>205</sup> Nearby, however, the **Goldcoaster**, **Southern Comfort**, and **Palm Garden mobile home parks** in Florida City, and **Larry and Penny Thompson Park** at Metrozoo (1974, renamed Zoo Miami in 2010) continued to function as touristic options, offering facilities like pools and shuffleboard courts, and well-equipped amenity buildings.

Notwithstanding their increasing amenity of trailer homes, and the community-oriented designs of trailer parks, these remained low-cost housing options synonymous with unsubsidized affordable housing.<sup>206</sup> Many trailer parks have endured and demonstrate a housing alternative to both the single-family home and multi-family options. Today, referred to as manufactured housing communities, they form a critical precedent for the 'modular homes' that hold promise of reducing housing costs.



# Florida Trailer Parks, Inc.

Invites You to Attend  
Ceremonies Marking Completion of First Units  
in

*Trailer City*  
AMERICA'S FINEST  
TRAILERCOACH  
Community!



## AT 1:30 P. M. TODAY

**TURN EAST  
OFF BISCAYNE BLVD.  
(U. S. Highway No. 1)  
AT  
N. E. 138th ST.  
SALES OFFICE ON PROPERTY**

**FREE  
BARBEQUE  
And Soft Drinks Will Be Served**

**SEE** The most beautiful trailer lots in the United States, each lot with its own modernistic CBS toilet and shower building featuring attractive sundesk roofs.

**SEE** A display of brand new trailer-coaches arranged on the completed lots. These trailer-coaches, which have been provided by the greater Miami chapter, Florida Trailercoach Dealers assn., will be open for your inspection throughout the afternoon.

**SEE** The prizes awarded in our \$3,500 Suggestion Contest. Some lucky trailerite will win a \$2,000 lot in Trailer City and two others will win down payments on lots of \$1,000 and \$500, respectively, for the best suggestions to help us make Trailer City America's finest trailercoach community.

**THERE ARE STILL SOME LOTS AVAILABLE IN THE FIRST SECTION OF THE TRAILER CITY**  
This section will be ready for occupancy next season

<b>DE LUXE LOTS</b>	40x50 FEET ARE PRICED AT	<b>\$3000</b>
<b>STANDARD UNITS</b>	30x40 FEET ARE SELLING FOR	<b>\$2000</b>

**HERE IS YOUR OPPORTUNITY, TRAILERITES!**  
Come out to TRAILER CITY today, look over the lots which are still available and choose yours NOW!

Exclusive With  
**POWELL & ASHBURN**  
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**8130 Biscayne Blvd. Miami 38, Florida Phone 78-4778**

Completion of first units in Trailer City (1947), from advertisement for Trailer City, Miami News, July 13, 1947



**Miami Heights Trailer Park**, State Archives of Florida, Florida Memory, January 1953, photo by Rand C. Lee



**Miami Heights Trailer Park**, State Archives of Florida, Florida Memory, November 1967, photo by Karl E. Hollan



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23 Marvin Dunn has noted the example of Black workers laying the railroads of Miami, and the establishment near railroad towns (like Opa-locka) of Black settlements. Marvin Dunn, *Black Miami in the Twentieth Century* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), p. 169.

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32 Chanelle Rose has called Miami’s veneer of civility in Black-White relations an “Illusion of moderation” concealing multiple efforts to contain Blacks and deny them rights. Rose, *The Struggle for Black Freedom in Miami*, pp. 1-11.

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largest and most prestigious architectural firm, hired many of the immigrants, including Hilario Candela, who emerged as one of the firm's most important designers and an important translator of Latin American architectural themes and the urban motifs of his native Havana. In the 1970s, a new generation of Cuban born architects, educated in American universities, also came on the scene, including Hernando Acosta, Willy Bermello, Jaime Borrelli, Willy Borroto, Donald Bouterse, Jaime Canaves, Antonio Cantillo, Hector Carillo, Andres Duany, Andres Fabregas, Jorge Khuly, Roney Mateu, Rafael Portuondo, Antonio Quiroga, Raul Rodriguez and Oscar Sklar. Some were graduates of the University of Miami's fledgling School of Architecture. I rely here on research and writing I produced for Metropolis to Global City: Architecture and Planning in Miami-Dade County 1940-1989 (Miami-Dade County: Miami-Dade County Department of Regulatory and Economic Resources, <https://www.miamidade.gov/planning/library/historic-preservation/from-metropolis-to-global-city.pdf>).

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121 Julio Capó Jr., "Queer Miami: A History of LGBTQ Communities," exhibit accessed online at <https://historymiami.org/exhibition/queer-miami-a-history-of-lgbtq-communities/>.

122 At the Democratic National Convention, advocates took the stage to say that gay people were "here to put an end to our fears." Shammas, "Five Moments in Miami's LGBTQ History."

123 Julio Capó Jr., "Locating Miami's Queer History," pp. 27-17, in Megan E. Springate, ed., *LGBTQ America: A Theme Study of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer History*, National Park Foundation and the National Park Service, 2016. Accessed online at <https://www.nps.gov/subjects/tellingallamericansstories/lgbtqthemestudy.htm>

124 Shammas, "Five Moments in Miami's LGBTQ History."

125 In Miami, sections of the Land Ordinance are generally defined by 10 avenue blocks east to west, and 16 street blocks north to south.

126 The Chaille Plan, developed by City Councilman Joseph Chaille, divided the county into four sections (NE, NW, SE, SW), centered at today's Flagler Street (former Twelfth Street) and Flagler Avenue (former Avenue D). A competing street plan, the Brossier Plan, was also considered, but not selected. "Plans for Renaming Miami's Streets Now Before City Council," *Miami Herald*, September 23, 1920.

127 The rationalization of Miami's growing street network followed similar changes in other American cities. In Chicago, for instance, Edward P. Brennan's proposed street numbering system was implemented in 1911.

128 Nolen's comments were made to the National Conference on City Planning (NCCP) in 1926. John Hancock, "John Nolen: New Towns in Florida, 1922-29," *New City No. 1*, Fall 1991, p. 69.

129 Van Dike, "Miami's Second Ghetto," p. 15.

130 "FHA, Underwriting Manual: Underwriting and Valuation Procedures under Title II of the National Housing Act," February 1938 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1938), paragraph 1378." In Andrew John Verhoff, "A Steady Demand for the Usual: The Federal Housing Administration's Effect on the Design of Houses in Suburban Indianapolis, 1949-1955, Thesis submitted to the faculty of the University Graduate School, Indiana University, November 1996, p. 13.

131 Federal Housing Administration, Technical Bulletin No. 7: Planning Profitable Neighborhoods (Washington D.C.: Federal Housing Administration, 1938); Federal Housing Administration, Successful Subdivisions: Planned as Neighborhoods for Profitable Investment and Appeal to Home Owners, Land Planning Bulletin Number 1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1940); Seward H. Mott and Max S. Wehrly eds., *Community Builders' Handbook*, (Washington, D.C.: Urban Land Institute, Community Builders' Council, 1947).

132 Marc A. Weiss, "Developing and financing the 'garden metropolis': urban planning and housing policy in twentieth-century America," *Planning Perspectives*, 5 (1990) 307-319.

133 Ibid.

134 Clarence Arthur Perry, "The Neighborhood Unit, a Scheme of Arrangement for the Family-Life Commu-

nity,” (Published as Monograph 1 in Vol. 7 of Regional Plan of N.Y. Regional Survey of N.Y. and Its Environs, 1929). See also Jason Brody, “The Neighborhood Unit Concept and the Shaping of American Land Planning 1912-1968,” *Journal of Urban Design*, Volume: 18, Issue: 3, pp. 11-12. Retrieved from <http://krex.ksu.edu>. Weiss, “Developing and financing the ‘garden metropolis.’ Clarence Perry’s superblock model was developed further by Clarence Stein and Henry Wright during the 1930s in projects like Chatham Village in Pittsburgh, where attached houses enclosed an interior park, and at Radburn, New Jersey, where automobile and pedestrian circulation networks were split to support a continuous network of park spaces. These projects focused very much on the home as an affordable building block of middle-class neighborhoods. Stein developed these models further in *Toward New Towns for America*, including the development of a planned regional framework of greenbelts and parks. Yet, as Jean-Francois Lejeune has described, the socialist connotation of planned communities doomed both local and federal efforts, especially after the attacks of Senator Joseph McCarthy gave them an un-American tinge. Jean-Francois Lejeune, “Planning the Spectacle of Greater Miami,” in Allan Shulman Ed., *Miami Modern Metropolis: Paradise and Paradox in Midcentury Architecture and Planning* (South Pasadena: Balcony Press, 2009), pp. 30.

135 The FHA published urban planning guidelines in a number of government bulletins and pamphlets, including Technical Bulletin No. 7: *Planning Profitable Neighborhoods* (1938), *Successful Subdivisions: Planned as Neighborhoods for Profitable Investment and Appeal to Home Owners* (1940). The Urban Land Institute published the *Community Builders’ Handbook* (1947).

136 See for instance Ada Louise Huxtable, “American the Beautiful, Defaced, Mutilated,” *New York Times*, January 12, 1964. Huxtable described the American urban scene as “amputation by expressway and slaughter by suburban sprawl.”

137 I rely here on research and writing I produced for *Metropolis to Global City: Architecture and Planning in Miami-Dade County 1940-1989* (Miami-Dade County: Miami-Dade County Department of Regulatory and Economic Resources, <https://www.miamidade.gov/planning/library/historic-preservation/from-metropolis-to-global-city.pdf>).

138 Matthew Gordon Lasner, “No Lawn to Mow: Co-ops, Condominiums, and the Revolution in

Collective Homeownership in Metropolitan America, 1881-1973,” PhD dissertation presented to the Harvard University Department of Architecture, Landscape Architecture, and Urban Planning, 2007. p. 319.

Accessed online. <https://www.proquest.com/openview/bcd722f2000317f227e6dc4f44adf4b0/1?pq-origsite=scholar&cbl=18750>

139 Dade County approved its first Cluster Zoning Ordinance in 1970. Carlos Alvarado and Barry McCabe quoted in Fred Tasker, “Zoning Remains Firm, Commissioners Wilt,” *Miami Herald*, 21 April 1972. Creeping Nimbysm was reflected in residents objecting to recreational facilities in their communities drawing outside users and increased traffic.

140 Robert C. Weaver, “Review: Better Living via Clustering,” *Landscape Architecture*, Vol. 55, No. 2 (January 1965), p. 144.

141 Eli Adams, “New Look for an Old Idea,” *Miami Herald*, March 23, 1969. Townhouses and patio homes were combined to increase suburban density from 6 to 12 units per acre.

142 Adam W. Rome, “William Whyte, Open Space, and Environmental Activism,” *Geographical Review*, April, 1998, Vol. 88, No. 2, p. 264.

143 Miami golf course development included new types of courses, including short courses (Key Colony, Colonial Palms) perfect for elderly players.

144 For background on the issue of metropolitan planning, I rely on William R. Grove Jr., “Metropolitan Planning?” *21 University of Miami Law Review*, 60 (1966). Accessed online at <https://repository.law.miami.edu/umlr/vol21/iss1/4>

145 Dick Knight, “2.5 million in Dade Forecast by 1985,” *Miami Herald*, August 3, 1963.

146 I rely here on the excellent overview growth control measures in Florida provided by David Brain, “An Introduction to New Urbanism in Florida,” *A Guidebook to New Urbanism in Florida* (Miami Beach: Congress for the New Urbanism, 2002), pp. 1-4.

147 “History,” South Florida Water Management District website. Accessed at <https://www.sfwmd.gov/who-we-are/history>

148 Florida Atlantic University professor John DeGrove quoted in Sandi Reed, “New FCD: Agency With Hand On The Tap,” *Miami Herald*, July 15, 1974.

149 Ibid.

150 The CDMP ultimately passed the county commission by one vote under the threat of a one-billion-dollar loss in federal funds for construction of Dade County’s rapid transit system. H. Ruvin, speech delivered to Dade County Commission, 1990, in Burga, “Spatial



Politics in Metropolitan Miami,” p. 35.

151 John Camp, “Review of City Zoning Considered by Metro,” *Miami Herald*, April 30, 1975. See also “Development Impact Committee,” Miami-Dade County Department of Regulatory & Economic Resources. Accessed online at County <https://www.miamidade.gov/zoning/development-impact-committee.asp>

152 “Tiptoeing Through The Blueprints,” *Miami Herald*, February 21, 1975.

153 According to John Frederick Jr., of the Association of Lime and Avocado Growers Inc., “...the problem will be keeping the land for agricultural purposes. The growing urbanization of our county is a real threat to the preservation of agriculture here.” E.A. Torriero, “Master Plan Game: Homes vs. Farmland,” *Miami Herald*, April 16, 1978.

154 Ibid.

155 Mohl, “Whitening Miami,” 319-345.

156 W. B. Dickinson Jr., “Suburban migration”. Editorial research reports, 1960 (Vol. II). Accessed <http://library.cqpress.com/cqresearcher/cqresrre1960072000>, August 18, 2022. As Dickinson writes, Max Lerner complained that what made suburbia’s standardization even bleaker was “the uniformity of age, income and class outlook,” while John Keats, in *The Crack in the Picture Window*, concluded that the physical monotony of mass suburban housing was “a leveling influence in itself, breeding swarms of neuter drones.”

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

158 Van Dike, “Miami’s Second Ghetto,” 21.

159 Mohl, “Whitening Miami,” p. 322.

160 George E. Merrick, *Planning the Greater Miami for Tomorrow* (Miami, 1937), 11. In Mohl, “Whitening Miami,” p. 323.

161 Connolly, *A World More Concrete*, pp. 87-88.

162 Mohl, “Whitening Miami,” 324. Mohl noted that the elements of the Negro Resettlement Plan were “...historically important for at least two reasons. First, they reveal the racial thinking of white civic leaders on housing issues, and the lengths to which they were willing to go to achieve their goals. Second, they provide insight into the purposes of subsequent policies and plans that Dade County ultimately implemented.”

163 Ibid, pp. 331-332. On December 29, 1943, the

commission designated two areas of Opa-locka known as Bunche Park and Magnolia Gardens to be “set aside for negro occupancy.” On February 22, 1944, the commission approved a resolution establishing a boundary line “dividing White and Colored residents, in the town of Goulds, Florida.” Three months later, the commission voted to change the zoning of an agricultural area of Opa-locka, declaring it “open to Negro occupancy.” However, the Commission also stipulated that a planted “buffer strip at least sixty feet in width” be established along the eastern border of the property, walling off the new black residential area from nearby white commercial and residential property. Subsequently, Opa-locka experienced a rapidly rising black population in the years after World War II. All of these decisions culminated in an August 1945 zoning resolution that made manifest the commission’s segregationist designs: The resolution was followed by instructions to the county zoning director to make necessary alterations to official zoning maps of the County.

164 Dickinson Jr., “Suburban migration.”

165 “Pick Negro Area, Plan Board Told,” *Miami Herald*, December 4, 1946.

166 Connolly, *A World More Concrete*, pp. 93-98. See also Mohl, “Whitening Miami,” 325-328, and John Archer, Sennott R.S. *Encyclopedia of Twentieth Century Architecture*, Vol.3 (P-Z) (Fitzroy Dearborn, 2005), accessed online at <http://architecture-history.org/schools/SUBURBAN%20PLANNING.html>

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Today," *Miami Herald*, December 11, 1949.

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