

July 22, 2025

Amy Snider
Deputy City Manager
409 S. Main Street
Harrisonburg, VA 28801

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL: Community Connectors Program--History of Urban
Renewal in Harrisonburg

Dear Ms. Snider:

We are pleased to submit this report on the history of urban renewal in Harrisonburg as part of the Community Connectors Program grant.

If you are viewing this within Google Docs, you can navigate to particular sections of this report directly from the Table of Contents using hyperlinks to specific bookmarks.

In the interest of long-term digital preservation and sustainability, we provide static spreadsheets as Appendices 1 to 5 of this report. We provide public links (with viewing and downloading privileges) to the dynamic spreadsheets at the beginning of each appendix and, where relevant, in this report. We urge you to make these dynamic spreadsheets, and this report, publicly available on the City's website.

Public links (with viewing and downloading privileges) to images and other materials in this report from our personal Dropbox folder are here:
https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fo/wnuimsbo6dh4yjvd8gtdh/AC42R2tA5_ifNMXptrfqfu4?rlkey=5pykpaesqbb1nzhdko76kdclm&st=s29rd0j2&dl=0

Please inform us if you have trouble accessing any Google Drive or Dropbox documents.

We provide short footnote citations (author, title, page) to references that we include in the annotated bibliography (Appendix 7). We provide fuller footnotes to work that we did not include in the annotated bibliography.

Please let us know if you have any comments or questions or would like further information. We appreciate the opportunity to serve you and the citizens of Harrisonburg.

Sincerely,



David Hochfelder



Ann Pfau



Stacy Sewell

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Introduction

Earlier this year, the Harrisonburg Community Connectors team hired us to document and analyze the history of urban renewal in Northeast Harrisonburg. One of our major charges was to search for and identify any remaining urban renewal records generated by and in the possession of local repositories and public bodies, particularly the Harrisonburg Redevelopment and Housing Authority (HRHA), which planned and implemented Harrisonburg's two urban renewal and public housing projects. We searched for:

- Residential relocation records, property acquisition files, minutes, maps, plans, and any other HRHA documents related to urban renewal.
- Relevant City Council minutes along with documentation generated by or in the possession of City departments, particularly the Community Development (formerly Planning) Department.
- Deeds documenting the acquisition of urban renewal project land and sale of cleared redevelopment parcels.

We worked with Deputy City Manager Amy Snider to identify the records in the City's possession and to reach out to other government entities and local repositories. In the end, we were unable to locate most of the archival records documenting urban renewal in Harrisonburg. Specifically, the relocation and acquisition records referenced in the Community Connectors call for proposals do not appear to have survived.

But with the help of city directories,¹ deeds, and local news reports, we were able to piece together those documents that have been preserved. We reconstructed the story of urban renewal in Harrisonburg, including the protests that brought the Renewal Era to a close. We connected residents, businesses, and two congregations to the

¹ Available via Ancestry.com and in the Massanutten Central Library's Genealogy and Local History Room.

addresses, and where possible photographs, of the buildings that were demolished. We documented the owners and the payments they received for seized properties, with special emphasis on area homeowners, many of whom led the protests. We explored the impact of property seizures on the heirs of owners who died intestate. We identified the first generation of public housing residents, revealing that roughly half were urban renewal displacees. Finally, we documented HRHA's sale of urban renewal land to facilitate the expansion of Northeast Harrisonburg's business district.

The lack of residential relocation and property acquisition files made the job of identifying and tracking renewal area residents and property owners more difficult. As is the case in other municipalities we've surveyed, it may be that HRHA or some other agency² disposed of these records sometime after the financial closeout of the two renewal projects.³ During our visit, we reviewed the small (0.86 cubic feet) collection of photographs transferred by HRHA to [James Madison University \(JMU\) Special Collections](#). HRHA also made the relevant Minutes along with a box of documents, photographs, and maps available to us at their Kelley St. headquarters. However, scans of HRHA documents and photographs shared with us by JMU professor Robert Ehrenpreiss and public historian Kristie Kendall suggest that there may be additional relevant records remaining in HRHA's possession. We advise the City to hire an independent consultant to search and audit the agency's and the Planning Commission's holdings. We further recommend that these and other extant records be

² A possible alternative is the City Planning Commission. HRHA and the Planning Commission shared a director from 1956 to 1965. Furthermore, several maps in the Robert James Sullivan Jr. Papers at JMU Special Collections are from the decade before he became Planning Commission Director in 1965.

³ In our experience inventorying urban renewal records across New York State, these records have survived in less than half of the 90 municipalities we investigated. While Virginia state [records retention schedules](#) do not specifically mention urban renewal records, they do permit confidential destruction of most Redevelopment and Housing Authority records three to ten years after last action.

digitized, collected, and made publicly available. As the Harrisonburg Community Connectors made clear to us, these documents are of public (not just agency) significance.

Putting the Pieces Together: Documenting Urban Renewal in Harrisonburg

Because we discovered much of the Renewal Era documentation generated by HRHA to be missing, we drew on other contemporary sources to fill in the blanks. Without access to relocation records, we matched Northeast Urban Renewal Project ([R4](#)) and Wolfe St. Urban Renewal Project ([R16](#)) demolition maps from City Hall to addresses and occupants listed in the 1958/59, 1960, and 1962 Harrisonburg city directories that we found online via Ancestry.com and purchased on Ebay. We used these sources to create a spreadsheet of [demolished buildings and displacees](#) and then connected these addresses to scans of HRHA photographs shared with us by Dr. Ehrenpreiss. The R16 photographs document specific parcels and are numbered using the same scheme as the relevant demolition map. HRHA transferred these photographs to JMU Special Collections in 2013. The R4 photographs are different. They do not depict specific parcels and are harder to place on the map. Dr. Ehrenpreiss and Ms. Kendall both saw them at HRHA,⁴ but HRHA did not give us access to these photographs. Luckily, Dr. Ehrenpreiss created high-quality scans that he graciously shared with us.

To identify owners and learn what HRHA paid for their properties, we drew on deeds digitized by the Rockingham County Clerk's Office and available via the County Court's [real estate and land records database](#). Lack of HRHA acquisition files (and the

⁴ Some of the R4 photos are reproduced in Ehrenpreiss, *Picturing Harrisonburg*, 212-14, 216 and Kendall, "The Stereotypes Do Not Apply," 60.

appraisals they typically contain) meant that we had limited data on the pre-renewal condition and use of the buildings demolished. Our best (but flawed) sources are a 3-page R4 [“Report on Equivalent Eliminations”](#) in the box of documents we reviewed at HRHA and an assessment of R16 [“Building and Street Conditions”](#) we found at City Hall.

Lacking relocation and acquisition records, it was difficult to figure out where renewal area residents moved. Once again, Harrisonburg city directories, combined with HRHA records, allowed us to identify some of the first generation of [public housing residents](#) and to link this group to urban renewal displacement. Finally, we used deeds, condemnation case files, city directories, and documents available via Ancestry.com to learn more about a small but significant group of residents, [owner-occupiers](#). They played a leading role opposing urban renewal in Northeast Harrisonburg.

Urban Renewal: National and State Context

History and National Scope of the Program. The federal grant and loan program commonly known as “urban renewal” had its origins in the New Deal. In 1937, for the first time in the nation’s history, the federal government began providing funds directly to municipal governments to build public housing projects. Between 1937 and 1947, the federal government subsidized construction of about 170,000 units of public housing. During and after World War II, Congress debated an expansion of this law, culminating in the Housing Act of 1949. President Harry Truman celebrated the new law, promising it would provide “decent homes in wholesome surroundings for

low-income families now living in the squalor of the slums.”⁵ Under Title I of this law, the federal government provided cities two-thirds of the cost of demolishing “blighted” areas and replacing them with “standard” housing.⁶ In the wake of 1954 revisions to the act, the focus of urban renewal shifted away from the goal of improving housing conditions. In the hands of local officials, the program focused instead on generating private investment to revitalize downtown commercial districts and boost property tax revenue.

With federal funds and under local supervision, urban renewal projects proceeded in three stages: Planning, Execution, and Disposition. With federal planning funds, city officials worked with consultants (architects, planners, engineers, appraisers) to determine what to demolish as well as how and for whom to rebuild. Once these plans were completed and approved by the federal government, the city was eligible for execution funds to acquire and demolish “blighted” or “non-conforming” structures. The cleared land could then be assembled into parcels for sale to private developers or redeveloped by the municipality itself.

Many of the residents President Truman had hoped to help were instead hurt by the loss of homes, businesses, and community institutions. By the end of the program in 1974, targeting and clearance of Black and Puerto Rican neighborhoods had made segregation and overcrowding worse in many cities. The scale of urban renewal across

⁵Harry Truman, “[Statement Upon Signing the Housing Act of 1949](#),” 7/15/49, Harry S. Truman Library and Museum.

⁶ By federal definition, a “standard” housing unit included a full private bathroom, hot and cold running water, a kitchen fitted with a stove and refrigerator, and central heating. Local redevelopment agency personnel were charged with relocating displaced residents into standard housing.

the nation was staggering:

- Over 1,200 villages, towns, and cities undertook 3,300 projects.
- 1.3 to 1.5 million people were forced to move. (This figure is doubled if urban highway construction is included.) 60% were nonwhite and 2/3 were renters.
- All levels of government (federal, state, local) spent a total of \$20 billion.
- 156 square miles of urban land were cleared.
- 280,000 buildings, containing 450,000 residences, were torn down.
- 114,000 small neighborhood businesses were forced to move.

Virginia State Context. In 1950, Norfolk hosted one of the nation's earliest federally-funded urban renewal projects. Over the next 25 years, a total of 21 Virginia municipalities undertook 78 urban renewal projects. Total federal spending for these projects was about \$303 million, roughly 2.5% of the national total. This is consistent with Virginia's share of the national population. This translated into about \$450 million in total spending by all three levels of government. (The federal government defrayed 2/3 to 3/4 of total project cost.) According to the 1966 final issue of U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development's (hereafter HUD) *Urban Renewal Project Characteristics*, just over 9,000 Virginians were targeted for displacement for 33 projects, 80% of whom were Black. There is no published count of the people displaced by the additional 45 renewal projects. If we take Virginia's percentage of total federal urban renewal spending and multiply that by our national estimate of 1.3 to 1.5 million

people displaced over the life of the program, we get a total of about 30,000 to 35,000 Virginians displaced for urban renewal projects.⁷

“The City with the Planned Future:”⁸ The Origin and Goals of Urban Renewal in Harrisonburg

On May 19, 1955, Harrisonburg’s Planning Commission met with a representative of the U.S. Housing and Home Finance Administration to discuss how the [Housing Act of 1954](#) might benefit the City. The Commission voted to host a second conversation, with invitations extended to Mayor Walter Green and other stakeholders, the following week. While the minutes do not specify which provisions of federal law attracted the participants’ “keen interest,” the amended Housing Act prioritized private commercial development over publicly funded housing.⁹ In July, the Commission voted unanimously to “take the necessary steps” under Virginia state law to create a Redevelopment and Housing Authority. On that basis, they recommended that the Mayor and City Council appoint commissioners and place a measure on the November ballot.¹⁰

Leading up to the election, city leaders emphasized the financial benefits that would result from a Yes vote. The new agency would be eligible to apply for federal grants to fund local projects. Mayor Green warned that should the referendum fail, “our taxes will continue to go to finance improvements in other cities.” On November 8, 1955,

⁷ See Finn, “[Urban Renewal in Virginia](#),” *Encyclopedia Virginia*.

⁸ The city began using this slogan on letterhead and other documents sometime during the mid-1950s. Ehrenpreiss, “Replace the Old, Guard the New,” 166; W. E. Ayers, “Good Planning Brings Visible Benefits,” *The American City* 76:4 (April 1961), 130-135.

⁹ Flanagan, “Housing Act of 1954.”

¹⁰ Harrisonburg Planning Commission, Minutes, 5/19/55, 5/26/55, 7/28/55, and 9/1/55. “Redevelopment, Housing Agency Members Named: Mayor Selects Five for Authority to be Voted on Here,” *Harrisonburg Daily News-Record* (hereafter *DNR*), 10/5/55.

local voters narrowly approved (by 46 votes out of 2,002 cast) creation of the quasi-independent Harrisonburg Redevelopment and Housing Authority (HRHA).¹¹

The newly formed HRHA moved quickly. The commissioners hired a Director/Secretary-Treasurer, David Clark,¹² the former Assistant County Manager of Henrico, who had recently been hired to serve as the City's Planning Engineer. Working with the outgoing Planning Engineer, Mr. Clark successfully applied for federal urban renewal funds to eliminate "blight" in a residential section of the city's historically Black Newtown neighborhood. The 36-acre renewal area,¹³ bounded by E. Rock, N. Main, E. Johnson, and Broad streets, contained 104 houses. Of those, Mr. Clark judged 86 to be "substandard" (typically due to lack of central heat or indoor plumbing). (See our [property acquisition spreadsheet](#) and this [HRHA map](#).) "Slums," Mr. Clark warned, threatened the city's "financial stability." In such places, tax revenues were too low and the need for costly city services too high. Yet housing was only part of the rationale for redevelopment. Extending and widening Mason Street between E. Market and E. Johnson streets was another major goal. Today, the City is exploring a road diet along this reconfigured route. In 1957, however, this change to the street grid was intended to prevent congestion in the shopping district along N. Main St.¹⁴

¹¹ "Redevelopment Report Drafted: Information Program to Acquaint Public with Authority" and "R&H Authority Wins by 46 Votes," *DNR*, 10/28/55 and 11/9/55. See also Ehrenpreiss, "Replace the Old, Guard the New."

¹² Clark would hold both positions until he resigned and was succeeded by William E. Ayers in 1959. "New Planning Engineer Here: David Clark, of Henrico, Succeeds Lewis on March 1," *DNR*, 1/19/56.

¹³ Acreage per HUD, *Urban Renewal Project Characteristics* (1966), 59

¹⁴ Harrisonburg Planning Commission, Minutes, 5/16/56. "HRHA Is Drafting Application for Planning Funds: Final Phase Will be Completed At Meet Set for Tonight," "Clark to Direct RHA Plan Here: Planning Engineer to Share Work with New Authority," N. Mason Street Plan Approved: Planning Group In Favor of 80-Foot Right-Of-Way," and "City Gets \$50,000 Refund Check," *DNR*, 6/19/56, 12/1/56, 3/28/57, and 9/29/67.

Plans for business expansion and hopes for a resultant boost to local taxes propelled much of the planning. In a 1957 memo to Mayor Frank Switzer and the City Council, HRHA Commissioner E. C. Wine justified the construction of public housing in strictly financial terms. He assured them both that the City would not be responsible for construction costs and would benefit from payment in lieu of taxes. Most importantly, he wrote, “Such a housing program would make feasible a redevelopment program” that “would bring increased taxes from a relatively non-paying area and ... enable business to expand to the northeast section of Harrisonburg rather than push further south into good residential areas.”¹⁵ In other words, the Northeast Harrisonburg Urban Renewal Project ([R4](#)) would destroy a significant portion of a predominantly Black residential neighborhood in order to enlarge a predominantly White commercial district.¹⁶ This and future HRHA plans implicitly followed the advice of prominent real estate economist James C. Downs, who identified low-income residents as a problem for downtown retail (“a ring of low purchasing power” surrounding the area). He advised “replacing the population” in order “to develop a better market for downtown facilities.”¹⁷

A comparison of three planning maps effectively illustrates how residential land became part of Harrisonburg’s business district. The first map shows [land use](#) in 1958, when R4 planning was in process. Acreage dedicated to residential uses (colored yellow and purple) was far larger than that used by business and industry (red and brown). There was also a large amount of vacant land (colored blue) available for

¹⁵ E. C. Wine to Mayor and City Council, Re: Public Housing, 7/26/57, Folder: Mayor and City Manager of Harrisonburg, 9/24/57-12/6/72, HRHA.

¹⁶ Per HUD’s June 30 1966 *Urban Renewal Project Characteristics* report, 62% (78/125) of the families displaced by the R4 project were Black. Data from the 1960 Census suggests that the impact on Black residents was even more skewed. At the time, only 6% of the city’s population was Black (720 of 11,916), while the *City Blocks* report found that 68% (98 of 144) of the households in the R4 area were Black.

¹⁷ Quoted in Isenberg, *Downtown America*, 188.

recreation or construction of new housing. An undated (ca. 1958/59) [rendering](#) by the well-connected¹⁸ Harrisonburg architectural firm of Davis & Associates shows a reorganized space dedicated primarily to parking lots and commercial ventures (a supermarket, a department store, a motel, a bank, restaurants, and office buildings) with a small residential district along Broad Street and a sizable public park. The park was never built and is not included in a 1958 [proposed zoning plan](#), which, like the Davis rendering, restricts residential uses to Broad St.¹⁹ Achieving HRHA's vision would mean displacing 144 families and demolishing their homes.²⁰ (See [buildings demolished and occupants displaced](#) spreadsheet.)

Execution: Demolition and Displacement in Northeast Harrisonburg

Soon after the R4 project went into execution in the summer of 1959, HRHA sought approval for a second, smaller 11.7-acre redevelopment project,²¹ the E. Wolfe Street Urban Renewal Project ([R16](#)), adjacent to R4. Once again, the plan was to widen Mason St. and to demolish “non-conforming” (i.e. residential) and “sub-standard” structures to pave the way for commercial expansion. A new public parking lot near the N. Main St. shopping district (a long-sought goal of the area's merchants) was a centerpiece of this second project.²² By contrast to R4, the majority of households

¹⁸ The firm's founder, D'Earcy Paul Davis, Jr. was a member of the City's Planning Commission, 1953-1959, and served as chair, 1955-1959.

¹⁹ Maps 2 and 13, Series 5, [Robert James Sullivan Jr. Papers](#); Box rs 11, [Davis & Associates Architectural Drawings](#), JMU Special Collections.

²⁰ Data on households is from the Census 1960 *City Blocks* report.

²¹ Acreage per HUD, *Urban Renewal Project Characteristics* (1966), 59

²² D'Earcy P. Davis, Jr., [“Report of Survey of Building and Street Conditions](#), City of Harrisonburg, Virginia, Northeast Harrisonburg Urban Renewal Area, Project No. VA R16” and HRHA, Binder: [“Final Project Report: Part I Application for Loan & Grant](#), US Project No. VA R-16,” 4/18/61, City Hall. “New Parking Lot Is Being Pressed,” “New Plan for Parking Lot is Presented City Council,” and “Second Urban Renewal Unit Plan Presented to Council,” *DNR*, 3/23/54, 11/25/59, and 12/14/60. See also the October 1955 plan for [“Municipal Parking Lot No. 2](#),” City Hall.

displaced by the R16 renewal project were White,²³ but overall, a slight majority of those displaced by urban renewal were Black – 111 households at a time when the Census counted only 200 “non-white” households in the city as a whole.²⁴

Harrisonburg’s two urban renewal projects, which destroyed 225 dwelling units and displaced 215 households (710 people) between summer 1960 and winter 1963/64, depended on the construction of public housing.²⁵ The majority of the households displaced were renters (164 of 215),²⁶ but even some owner-occupiers moved into public housing post-relocation.²⁷ (See [public housing spreadsheet](#).) Displaced families rented public units for a variety of reasons. In many cases, the new public housing with central heat and indoor plumbing was objectively better than the rental units the displacees had been occupying. (See housing conditions described in [property acquisition spreadsheet](#).)

Equally important to understanding why a large number of displaced families moved into public housing was lack of choice. In a 1960 report to the federal Public Housing Administration, HRHA described relocation as “a continuous problem.” Private construction, the agency reported, “has not materialized as anticipated.” Combined with

²³ 58 of 71 R16 households were White, per data from the 1960 Census *City Blocks* report.

²⁴ Census, *City Blocks* (1960).

²⁵ HRHA initially planned to build two racially-segregated public housing projects, 100 units total. Franklin Heights, along Reservoir Street, was designed for White families. Harrison Heights, on Kelley Street, was built for Black families. But sometime between planning and the first rental agreements, Franklin Heights was opened to Black, as well as White, families. HRHA also rented scattered units in the Northeast area to both Black and White tenants. On HRHA’s public housing plans, see ca. 1958/59 [draft reports](#), Folder: Development Program 14-1, and “[Report on Initial Occupancy of Low-Rent Projects](#), VA 14-2,” 5/15/61, Folder: Report on Initial Occupancy of Low-Rent Projects, HRHA. See also “Public Housing Units on Reservoir St. Area” and “Housing Census Will Start in City Areas,” *DNR*, 2/21/58 and 4/10/58.

²⁶ Data on dwelling units, households, and residents is from the Census 1960 *City Blocks* report. HUD’s 1966 *Urban Renewal Project Characteristics* report (based on HRHA data) counted 166 displaced “families” (87 “non-white,” 79 white) but did not include single-person households, which might explain this discrepancy. It is also likely that residents, especially tenants, moved out once they realized their dwelling was slated for demolition.

²⁷ On relocation and public housing, see Kendall, “Stereotypes Do Not Apply,” 66-80; “Urban Renewal Work Here Cited By Federal Official,” *DNR*, 9/23/64.

residential segregation, this situation meant that private rental units for Black tenants were “practically non-existent,” and “those that may become available ... are substandard.” HRHA even had trouble locating “standard private rentals for whites.”²⁸ Finally, the fast pace at which HRHA implemented urban renewal meant that displaced families had limited time to search for or build replacement housing.

Opposition to Urban Renewal

Beginning with the November 1955 referendum, urban renewal divided the people of Harrisonburg. These divisions became more pronounced as Harrisonburg’s two urban renewal projects moved through the planning process. On the pro-side were Mayor Switzer and his political allies, particularly commercial interests represented by the Rockingham-Harrisonburg Chamber of Commerce and the Greater Harrisonburg Association. Most, but not all, of those who led the opposition to urban renewal had a direct financial stake in the R4 and R16 project areas. They owned homes, rental properties, or commercial buildings that would soon be demolished. They were the business owners who would be forced to move. This group counted Black ministers and White lawyers among their supporters.

In court, White lawyers questioned the legitimacy of HRHA and its two urban renewal projects. Attorneys for Lester and Amanda McCall and real estate investors E. L. and Beulah Klingstein challenged HRHA’s contention that the R4 project area was “blighted or deteriorated” as defined by State law and called on HRHA to provide “strict

²⁸ Report inserted into HRHA, Minutes, 11/8/60.

proof of the allegation.” They further questioned whether HRHA was “properly and duly activated” under state law, even the constitutionality of the law itself.²⁹

Black homeowners led the fight in the political arena. (See [homeowners spreadsheet](#).)³⁰ To their eyes, urban renewal threatened both their community and their hard-won financial status as owner-occupiers. Like their White counterparts, these homeowners feared that payment for their seized property would be insufficient to cover the cost of a replacement. The segregated nature of the private housing market created another problem – the lack of houses or vacant land available for sale to Black buyers.³¹ On March 9, 1960, the Mayor’s Relocation Committee, led by Elon Rhodes with Phoebe Tolliver and W.N.P. Harris, appeared before the City Council to discuss the results of their meeting with R4 residents. Among those present were 32 families who were ineligible for public housing. Many of them were homeowners who wished to remain owner-occupiers. But HRHA’s renewal and public housing projects had destroyed the market for building lots and houses in Northeast Harrisonburg. Furthermore, most of the

²⁹ Rockingham Circuit Court Judge Hamilton Haas ruled against the property owners; the question of constitutionality had been settled by the State Supreme Court. Likely in the hope of negotiating a better settlement, a group of R16 property owners, including Mr. Klingstein, raised similar objections and received a similar response in 1963. HRHA v E L and Beulah Klingstein and HRHA v. Lester and Amanda McCall, Rockingham County Circuit Court, cases CL18001877-00 and CL18001657-00. “Urban Renewal Project is Hit by Property Owners,” “Demurrers in 2 URA Cases under Study,” “Petition of HRHA Must Be Amended,” “New Argument Raised against Condemnation,” “RH Authority Buys 12 NE Properties,” “Urban Renewal Act in Circuit Court,” “Urban Renewal Cases Contested in Court,” “Hearing Set in Court on UR Dispute,” “UR Contest in Court Here Withdrawn,” and “Court Told of Agreement on Properties,” *DNR*, 6/9/59, 4/26/60, 4/28/60, 5/5/60, 5/10/60, 2/19/63, 3/2/63, 4/1/63, 4/20/63, and 5/3/63.

³⁰ HRHA identified 21 R4 owner-occupiers; we found 27, and the Census counted 37. In both renewal areas, we counted 42 homeowners, and the Census counted 51. Without access to HRHA’s urban renewal relocation records, we cannot account for these differences. However, we expect we may have missed cases, like that of Doris (Howard) Harper Allen, who lived in a house owned by her parents, Leo and Julia Howard. We treated both the Howard and the Allen households as owner-occupiers. Hopefully, community members will help us identify additional owner-occupiers. With respect to the HRHA and Census counts, see “Urban Renewal Unit Approved by Council; Authority Permitted to Ask Grant,” *DNR*, 6/24/59, and the Census 1960 *City Blocks* report.

³¹ Realtor Lowell Miller told the Housing Committee of Rockingham Council on Human Relations, “If a Negro were interested in a listing of local realtors, most of the realtors would prefer to drop the listing and forego the commission rather than risk a general loss of [White] business.” Meeting minutes, 5/17/65, Rockingham Council on Human Relations Collection, HRHS-111, Rocktown History.

displaced homeowners did not wish to buy lots from HRHA. William Curry, who owned a house on E. Rock St., told the City Council that the homeowners viewed HRHA's Broad St. parcels as undesirable "because of the substandard property across the street." In response, the City explored purchasing the 10-acre Simmers Tract, next to Lucy Simms School, for private residential development (rather than the planned public park).³²

During the R4 planning stage, Black homeowners and their neighbors began showing up to public meetings and making themselves heard. In March 1957, a group led by John and Lydia Harper, Taft and Arizona Wardy, Albert Francis, Lester McCall, and Henry Vickers crowded into a Planning Commission hearing on the reconfiguration of Mason Street. They were less interested in street design than in "express[ing] their views and ask[ing for] information" about the City's renewal plans. Over the next couple of years, this group would continue to show up to public forums to speak against the R4 project. At the June 1959 HRHA hearing in City Council chambers, the *Daily News-Record* reported that the commissioners "heard far more opposition than favorable views." Among the critics were homeowners Charles Yeakle, Lydia Mosby Harper, Lena Stephens, and Cuetta Howard Whittaker; business owner Lynwood Miller; and landlord Mary Mitchell. (See [property acquisition spreadsheet](#).) Mrs. Stephens and her husband Erasmus (E.L.) owned six buildings (one of which housed their taxi service) in the project area. She urged HRHA "not to take from us that which we have acquired over years of hard work and thrift." Adding their voices to the property owners was Rev. Thomas Allen, pastor of First Baptist Church. Rev. Allen appealed to the commissioners' "principles of Christianity in all their dealings with our people." He asked

³² City Council, Minutes, 3/9/60 and 3/23/60. HRHA, Minutes, 3/10/60. "Family Relocating Assistance Assured" and "Offer Made Council on Simmers Tract," *DNR*, 3/10/60 and 3/24/60.

for fair prices for seized property, “special consideration” for elderly residents, and job opportunities for Black workers in the expanded business district.³³

Although the project was smaller, protests against R16 were even more forceful, likely because those living or working there had been witness to the effects of displacement and demolition in the adjacent R4 area. On May 10, 1961, the *Daily News-Record* reported that a “near-record throng jammed the Council chamber and corridors of the Municipal building” for a public meeting on the proposed renewal project. Among the buildings slated for demolition was First Baptist Church, and Rev. Allen once again played a key role in advocating for his congregants. He challenged the conceit of “fair market value” set by HRHA’s appraisers, suggesting anything less than replacement value would be unfair.³⁴ Edward Black, a member of the congregation and a former R4 homeowner added, “It would be a shame in the sight of God to take a church to widen a street.” Objecting that she had not been “consulted about the project,” Sadie Katherine Harper let the commissioners know that “her property is not for sale.”³⁵

The End of Urban Renewal in Harrisonburg

While years of protests and lawsuits failed to prevent the R4 and R16 projects from moving forward, their collective weight spelled the end of urban renewal in Harrisonburg. In Spring 1963, as R16 relocations were underway, HRHA began quietly exploring plans for a third, 27-acre redevelopment project adjacent to R4. The

³³ “N. Mason Street Plan Approved: Planning Group in Favor of 80-Foot Right-of-Way,” “Council Hears Opposition to Housing Programs Here,” and “Urban Renewal Project Is Hit by Property Owners,” *DNR*, 3/28/57, 12/10/58, and 6/9/59.

³⁴ The assumption underlying “fair market value” is that it reflects the price a willing seller and informed buyer would agree to.

³⁵ R308: “Public Hearing Re: Second Urban Renewal Project VA R-16,” Binder: Final Project Report Part II Application for Loan and Grant UR Project VA R-16, City Hall. “Varied Views Given on 2nd UR Project,” *DNR*, 5/11/61.

Washington-Johnson Street urban renewal project would have redeveloped a residential neighborhood in the Northeast section of the city bounded by E. Washington St. on the north, Effinger St. on the south, Simms Ave. on the east, and N. Main and Broad streets on the west. In 1960, the area was home to 311 residents, but the population had likely increased by 1964 due to R4 and R16 displacements.³⁶ Eight months later in January 1964, HRHA's leaders presented their proposal to Mayor Switzer and the City Council. Noting that in the Washington-Johnson area there were "a number of standard homes ... and others which could be made standard by improvements," Director William Ayers promised that demolition would be "carried out slowly on a block-by-block basis."³⁷ He pitched the project as a way to encourage residential construction and raise both property values and taxes. HRHA's long-time chairman E. C. Wine emphasized HRHA's "human values," asserting that hundreds of Northeast residents had benefited from redevelopment. Although we cannot judge Mr. Wine's intent, his tone bordered on condescending. ("When we improve living conditions of the less fortunate, we improve the entire city.") The Superintendent of Public Welfare, Chief of Police, and Fire Chief echoed this assessment. All were of the opinion that redevelopment would elevate living conditions, reduce "trouble," and "save" lives. Then it came time for area residents to speak. Elon Rhodes, Lester McCall, and Alfred Howard Sr. conveyed concerns about the treatment of the people who would be forced to move, particularly elderly and unmarried residents. Probably responding to Mr. Ayers's comment that 68 of the 81 Washington-Johnson St. houses (or 84%) appeared substandard based on "street

³⁶ Per the 1960 Census *City Blocks* report, the area was home to 84 households, equally split between White and Black. There were 31 owner-occupier and 53 tenant households.

³⁷ We discovered a [handwritten survey](#) of parcels, appraised value, and owners (designated by race) along with a few Census housing surveys in Folder: Development Program Project VA. 14-1 (Scattered Sites), HRHA. Kristie Kendall shared scans of [contemporary photographs](#) with us; we are trying to track down the source.

observation,” a group of fifteen property owners signed a petition opposing the proposed renewal project.³⁸ They stated “that they will be willing to make such necessary improvements to their homes as would enable them to remain where they now live.”³⁹

Opposition to the Washington-Johnson plan was “vigorous and almost unanimous” at the February 27, 1964 hearing in HRHA’s Kelley St. offices. According to the *Daily News-Record*, 150 people were in attendance, “most of them Negroes.” The group was well-organized and well-armed with arguments. Speaking from experience, they did not wish to move again and voiced the concern that reimbursement prices would be too low to enable them to rebuild. They predicted that additional demolitions would further constrict “residential areas for Negroes.” They further objected to replacing private homes with public housing.⁴⁰

The following week, the editors of the *Daily News-Record* sided with the protestors, citing their complaints as well as their solutions, while urging city leaders to “halt” urban renewal:

All these are complaints based on firsthand observation.... Some may be the result of misunderstanding but there certainly seems to be enough truth to them to constitute a warning to city officials. With the outspoken opposition of the residents who would be directly affected, we can see no justification in proceeding with further urban renewal projects in the northeast area.... Granted, as did some of the residents appearing at the housing discussion, that some houses in the area are sub-standard and may need to be replaced by the owner. Most, however, can be improved with far less expenditure of private funds.

³⁸ 2/8/64 petition not found. HRHA Minutes, 3/18/64, lists a group of 15 “Washington-Johnson Street Property Owners,” the likely signatories: Lester McCall, Elon Rhodes, Alfred Howard, Phoebe Tolliver, Roberta Curry, Robert Fields Jr., Lena Sellers, Doris Harper, Willie Nickens, Hattie Washington, Gertrude Myers, Taft Wardy, Hampton Sampson, Charles Strother, and H. Leslie Giles.

³⁹ HRHA, Minutes, 5/15/63. City Council, Minutes, 1/28/64 and 2/11/64. “City Council Receives Third Urban Renewal-Housing Plan” and “Planning Set for New Building at High School Here, *DNR*, 1/29/64 and 2/12/64.

⁴⁰ “Residents Oppose UR Plans,” *DNR*, 2/28/64.

On March 10, 1964, Harrisonburg's City Council, with many of the same residents in attendance, voted unanimously to disapprove HRHA's Washington-Johnson plan. Community spokesman Rev. William Rowe, a Johnson St. homeowner and superintendent of First Baptist Church, thanked the Council "for the consideration it had given to the residents of the area, particularly the elderly."⁴¹

Disposition: Commercial Expansion in Northeast Harrisonburg

At its core, the federal urban renewal program was a massive land acquisition subsidy designed to encourage private commercial investment by real estate developers. After clearing urban renewal land, cities repackaged it into "disposition parcels" marketed to these developers. In most cities, the disposition stage moved very slowly,⁴² but in Harrisonburg, HRHA sold the land quickly and, what was even more unusual, at a profit. (See [disposition parcels spreadsheet](#).)

The Northeast (R4) project went into execution in 1959. Relocation, land acquisition, and clearance were completed by the end of 1961. Sales of cleared land took place shortly thereafter, and by the end of 1963, all the commercial land had been sold or optioned.⁴³ The Wolfe Street (R16) project moved even quicker. It went into execution in 1962. Land acquisition was over by the end of the following year. Even

⁴¹ HRHA, Minutes, 3/3/64. City Council, Minutes, 3/10/64. "Urban Renewal Halt" and "City Council Rejects New Urban Renewal Project," *DNR*, 3/4/64 and 3/11/64.

⁴² A 1961 study found that only a quarter of parcels cleared between 1950 and 1956 had been disposed of by 1961. Similarly, a 1975 study found that 20% of cleared parcels remained unsold ten years after project start. Lyman Brownfield, "The Disposition Problem in Urban Renewal," *Law and Contemporary Problems* 25.4 (1960): 732–76, 740; Real Estate Research Corp. and RTKL Associates Inc., *Guidelines for Urban Renewal Land Disposition* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1975), 6-16.

⁴³ "All Titles NE Area Obtained: Urban Renewal Court Action Completed," "City 1961 Building \$1,490,000: Business and Homes Make Up Program," "Northeast UR Plans Seen Ahead of Schedule," and "Sale Compact Reached on 19.5 Urban Renewal Acres," *DNR*, 9/14/61 12/27/61, 9/18/62, and 11/15/63.

before then, HRHA had sold much of the land. The agency closed the project's books in mid-1965.⁴⁴

Financially, Harrisonburg fared well. Urban renewal project financing worked like this: For R4, the federal government covered 2/3 of net project cost (total project cost minus proceeds from land sales). For R16, the federal government's proportion rose to 3/4 (the Housing Act of 1961 changed the federal cost share from 2/3 to 3/4 for cities with populations below 50,000). In addition, municipalities could defray their financial obligation through "non-cash local grants-in-aid," or infrastructure improvements like street and sewer construction and, in Harrisonburg's case, a culvert for Black's Run.⁴⁵

PROJECT	GROSS COST	LAND SALES	NET COST	FEDERAL SHARE	LOCAL SHARE (TOTAL)	LOCAL SHARE (CASH)	CREDITS TOWARD FUTURE PROJECTS
R4	\$1,593,223	\$525,416	\$1,067,807	\$580,327	\$487,480	\$21,000	\$81,545
R16	\$1,076,497	\$346,869	\$729,628	\$389,659	\$339,969	\$5,000	\$157,562
TOTALS	\$2,669,720	\$872,285	\$1,797,435	\$969,986	\$827,449	\$26,000	\$239,107

These figures show that land sales from both projects exceeded the city's local financial obligations by about \$45,000. In our experience, this is an unusual development, particularly in a small city like Harrisonburg. And the city was able to cover nearly all (97%)⁴⁶ of its cost share through infrastructure improvements it likely would have made anyway. Finally, the city banked nearly \$240,000 in credit toward the cost of future urban renewal projects. This may explain some of the enthusiasm of HRHA's leaders for

⁴⁴ HUD, *Urban Renewal Directory* (1974), 58. "Two Urban Renewal Blocks Purchased," *DNR*, 8/7/63.

⁴⁵ Figures in the table below are from HRHA *Progress Report: Urban Renewal*, 1964, Rockingham Council on Human Relations Collection, HRHS-111, Rocktown History. We were unable to locate project closeout reports that would have given final financial information.

⁴⁶ The local cost share obligation in cash divided by total local cost obligation.

a third (Washington-Johnson Street) and possibly fourth (Red Hill) urban renewal project.⁴⁷

In September 1967, HRHA Chairman E. C. Wine presented Mayor Switzer with a \$50,000 “refund” check. During the photo op, Mr. Wine emphasized the benefits of urban renewal, estimating that construction of the Valley Plaza shopping center had resulted in \$2.2 million in private investment. He celebrated the replacement of “substandard houses” with “wide streets, grassed areas, and modern buildings.” He praised public housing for having raised residents’ “standard of living” by “500 percent.” Finally, he boasted that HRHA had “set a record...in closing out two Urban Renewal projects in a minimum of time.”⁴⁸

From the perspective of 1967, urban renewal in Harrisonburg appeared to have been a commercial success. The city was in the midst of a construction boom with local architects and construction firms benefiting.⁴⁹ Urban renewal turned Northeast Harrisonburg into a retail hub. The prior year, W. T. Grant had opened what the *Daily News-Record* described as “the largest retail unit in the Shenandoah Valley.” The Grant City department store joined Safeway, People’s Drug, Firestone, and Goodyear as the anchor of the new Valley Plaza. Alongside these commercial developments, public projects like the expansion of James Madison University and Rockingham Memorial

⁴⁷ The proposed Red Hill redevelopment area was across Reservoir St. from Franklin Heights and bounded by Norwood and Hawkins streets. City Council, Minutes, 1/28/64 and “City Council Receives Third Urban Renewal-Housing Plan,” *DNR*, 1/29/64.

⁴⁸ “City Gets \$50,000 Refund Check,” *DNR*, 9/29/67.

⁴⁹ According to *DNR* reporting, Nielsen Construction Co. received the Valley Plaza masonry contract and built new structures for Valley National Bank, Mick or Mack, One Hour Martinizing, and the State Employment Commission. Architect D. P. Davis designed the new Temple Beth El, State Beverage Control, and Valley National Bank buildings. J. C. Bowman designed new buildings for the State Employment Commission and One-Hour Martinizing.

Hospital along with refurbishment of Harrisonburg High School added to the momentum.⁵⁰

The commercial boom was turning bust in 1975, when The Downtown Development Committee (a group of business and civic leaders appointed by the Mayor) hired the firm of Harland Bartholemew and Associates to draw up a new plan for the central business district. The planners acknowledged the area's growth over the past decade but warned that suburban "growth threatens the future viability of downtown." Their 1977 report recommended that the city spend some \$6 million to expand the northern section of downtown. A new 100,000 square foot department store, pedestrian walkways, and another 500 parking spaces would anchor this expansion. This plan appeared to be a reprise of the large-scale demolition and clearance that had marked downtown redevelopment since 1960. Indeed, the "development concept" published in the *Daily News-Record* was a mirror image of R4.⁵¹

Documenting Financial Damages

Eminent Domain and Fair Market Value: The U.S. Constitution and all state constitutions provide for the power of government to exercise eminent domain: the acquisition of private property for public benefit. Before the Urban Renewal Era, this generally meant that the seized property would be put to public use directly, through construction of a new road, school, post office, etc. A 1954 U.S. Supreme Court

⁵⁰ "Grant City: Harrisonburg's Most Costly Store," "\$11 Million in Commercial, Industrial Building Underway," "New Grants Will Be Valley's Largest Retail Unit," "Last Stage in City's Largest Real Estate Deal Completed," *DNR*, 2/10/66, 6/25/66, 9/7/66, and 6/2/67.

⁵¹ Harland Bartholemew and Associates, "Central Business District 1977 Plan Update," 1977, City Hall; "Expand Downtown North, City Advised," *DNR*, 7/23/77.

decision (*Berman v. Parker*) expanded this definition to include the seizure of private property for urban renewal projects. Thus, municipal agencies had the power to seize private property, even though that property would ultimately be sold to another private owner.

Under eminent domain, property owners were supposed to receive just compensation based on fair market value as determined by independent appraisals. Fair market value was the price arrived at by a willing seller and an informed buyer. But in the case of urban renewal, very few sellers were willing, and housing discrimination, redlining, and predatory lending practices depressed urban property values. Economist Patricia Munch (Danzon) found that owners of “low-valued” properties in urban renewal project areas in Chicago generally received less than fair market value, while owners of “high-valued” properties tended to receive more. Her results further indicate that Black owners were less likely to be compensated fairly for their properties.⁵²

Oral histories and memoirs by Black community elders in Harrisonburg match Dr. Munch’s findings. Eddie Bumbaugh thought that the compensation paid to Black owner-occupiers “was not sufficient enough” and led many to become renters. Elon and Edna Rhodes, who owned two adjoining properties on E. Rock St. taken for R16, recalled that many owner-occupiers “had to move into the projects” because “loans were not available, nor were property for them to build on.” The Rhodes’ were able to build a new home, because they owned land elsewhere in the city. But “it took more

⁵² Patricia Munch, “An Economic Analysis of Eminent Domain,” *Journal of Political Economy* 84:3 (June 1976), pp. 473-98.

money than they [HRHA] were paying” for the two properties seized. They took out a Veterans Administration mortgage to build their new home. Ruth Toliver described urban renewal as a “fiasco” for Black homeowners like her parents, Phoebe and Theodore Toliver, “people who had worked and struggled to pay off a mortgage in order to own something to pass to their children. These were the homes which could never be described as blight or slums. They just happened to be in the way of progress.”⁵³

Missing Records: Lack of property acquisition files makes it difficult to document and assess the financial harms reported by Black homeowners. The appraisals contained in these files typically recorded not just a building’s age, size, features, and condition (verbally as well as in photographs) but also the owner’s investment in the property (purchase price, improvements, business fixtures, etc.) They reported income in the form of rents, sales, or production. In other words, without these records we cannot measure the property’s financial value to its owner at the time of seizure. Furthermore, this lack of documentation has foreclosed the possibility of calculating lost wealth by matching seized property to present-day comparables.⁵⁴

Relocation records typically identified individual displacees, documenting where they moved and the cost of both pre- and post-renewal housing. Without these records, we are not only unable to identify all the people displaced, we also don’t know

⁵³ Bumbaugh interview, [Shenandoah Valley Oral History Project](#), JMU Special Collections; Rhodes interview, [African American Oral History Collection](#), HRHS-185, Rocktown History; Toliver, *Keeping Up with Yesterday*, 106.

⁵⁴ See Pfau, Lawlor, Hochfelder, and Sewell, “Using Urban Renewal Records to Advance Reparative Justice.”

where they moved and whether they lost money as a result of urban renewal. What did they pay in rent before and after displacement? Were owners obliged to pay more for their new homes than they received for their seized property?⁵⁵

Lack of business relocation records makes it difficult to track what happened to the owners of displaced businesses, particularly the 4 out of 25 that appear to have moved out of town or closed as a result of urban renewal. All except one were small businesses – Martha’s Lunch, North End Billiard Parlor, and E. L. Stephen’s Taxi, which is consistent with the findings of sociologist Basil Zimmer, who studied business displacement in Providence, RI.⁵⁶ The fourth was E. L. Klingstein’s New National Hotel, but he was more the beneficiary than victim of redevelopment.

As Dr. Munch found in Chicago, it is likely that the wealthiest property owners fared best, in part because they had the financial capacity to protest through legal channels. In Harrisonburg, Mr. Klingstein was the largest owner of urban renewal land, mostly of poorly maintained residential rental properties. (See [property acquisition spreadsheet](#).) He was able to hire a lawyer and take HRHA to court. Although he challenged the agency’s legitimacy, it is likely that the goal of improving his negotiating position informed his decision to sue. Mr. Klingstein was also one of the initial investors in Valley Plaza, the largest commercial parcel sold to private developers.

Heirs’ Property: In Harrisonburg and elsewhere, property seizures went through the condemnation process for two main reasons: (1) the owner refused the city’s offer, or (2)

⁵⁵ Based on our research and contemporary scholarship, it is likely that both tenants and property owners were financially harmed by displacement, particularly during the period before the Housing Act of 1964 began mandating additional payments to displacees.

⁵⁶ Zimmer, *Rebuilding Cities*, 48-52.

clear title could not be established. About 68 parcels were condemned for both urban renewal projects from the cases provided to us by the Rockingham County Court. HRHA seized a total of about 152 parcels (about 101 for R4 and 51 for R16). (See [property acquisition spreadsheet](#).) HRHA acquired 68 of these parcels through 36 condemnation cases. While most cases involved one property, some involved owners of multiple properties. E.L. Klingstein, for example, owned 10 parcels and Frances Grattan 6 in the R4 project area.

In Harrisonburg, a high percentage (15 of 36) of [condemnation cases](#) were used to establish clear title in cases when the owner had died intestate. The *Daily News-Record* reported on September 14, 1961, at the end of the property acquisition process, that there were about 25 condemnation cases to date, “most of them friendly suits to establish titles and share-ownerships.”⁵⁷ In these cases, the City needed to identify all legitimate heirs. This was a lengthy process involving letter correspondence, depositions from living relatives, etc. Although the numbers are low, condemnation cases may have made it less likely that Black owner-occupiers retained that status after relocation, because distributing the reimbursement for seized property among multiple heirs represented a diffusion of wealth. In short, none of the individual heirs would receive in payment enough money to purchase a replacement home. Of the six owner-occupiers who lost that status as a result of renewal-related heirs property cases, all were Black.

Heirs’ property is commonly associated with populations who cannot afford to hire lawyers to draw up wills--or who distrust lawyers due to past experience. It is particularly prevalent among southern Black and rural Appalachian White populations.

⁵⁷ “All Titles NE Area Obtained: Urban Renewal Court Action Completed,” *DNR*, 9/14/61.

Historically, heirs' property has been a major cause of Black land loss, accounting for much of the 90% decline in ownership since 1910. Today, over half of White households have wills, but less than a quarter of Black households do. In 2016, the Atlanta Federal Reserve Bank estimated that 11% of residential lots were jointly owned by heirs in the Southeast United States. But it is not exclusive to a particular region. In 2021, the Pew Charitable Trust found about 10,000 properties in Philadelphia with "tangled titles," predominantly in Black neighborhoods, representing about 2% of the city's 500,000 residential properties. This division of property among several heirs hinders the formation of intergenerational wealth. Furthermore, lack of clear title makes it harder for owners both to sell their property and to obtain traditional bank financing.⁵⁸

Harrisonburg's condemnation cases illustrate how heirs' property served to diffuse family wealth. For example, Frederick Goodlowe died intestate in 1923. His widow died in 1936. They had no children. His heirs were his seven brothers and sisters, five of whom had also died intestate. The city bought the property for \$3,500 in 1960. Sixteen heirs split the \$3,500 payment. Two (Frederick's surviving siblings) received quarter shares, two 1/12 shares, five 1/24 shares, two 1/48 shares, and five 1/60 shares. Blanche Goodlowe, the widow of Frederick's nephew and the only family member still living in the area, had been occupying the house and paying the taxes. Her share was \$51.81. She moved into a public housing unit on Lincoln Circle.⁵⁹

Even clouded titles to vacant land could diminish a family's ability to accrue intergenerational wealth. Owners often used this land for productive purposes or had

⁵⁸ "[What You Need To Know About Heir Property](#)," US Department of Agriculture, n.d.; Gaither, et al; "[How 'Tangled Titles' Affect Philadelphia](#)," 2021; Carr and Zonta, "Heirs' Property in the United States," 2025; Schermerhorn, *The Plunder of Black Wealth*, pp. 176-84.

⁵⁹ HRHA v. Fredrick Goodlo[w]e's Heirs, case CL18002502-00, Rockingham County Circuit Court.

plans to build a home on it. For example, Owen Dallard owned a lot in the R16 project area. He and his son William Owen Brookins used it sequentially as a place for students from Eastern Mennonite College to ride horses, then to repair cars, and finally as a garden. When Dallard died in 1960, Brookins assumed that the lot would become his. The city bought the lot for \$1,050 in 1963. Brookins testified that he had paid the taxes and maintained the property for the last eight years, only learning that the title was clouded “at the Redevelopment hearings.” Brookins provided the court with the names and addresses of his siblings and uncles living in Canada. It turned out that Dallard’s heirs were not entitled to any money, because the woman from whom he bought the property in 1941 did not have clear title either. The money was handed over to the court receiver and lay unclaimed as of 1989.⁶⁰

Taken together, the condemnation cases for R4 and R16 serve two purposes. They reveal how lack of a clear title prevented descendants from benefiting from their ancestors’ property ownership. They are also useful genealogical resources. Depositions, letters to and from family members, and other evidence give names and addresses of children, siblings, nieces and nephews, and other relatives. They often include birth and death dates of the family members.

Urban Renewal and Community Bonds

In general, displacement and dispossession associated with urban renewal tended to weaken community bonds. Loss of home, neighborhood, and community institutions could cause psychological trauma. The elderly were particularly hard hit. Sociologist

⁶⁰ HRHA v. Elizabeth Goodloe’s and O. A. Dallard’s heirs, case CL18002294000, Rockingham County Circuit Court.

Paul L. Niebanck found in 1965 that an anomalously high 15-20% of elderly displacees died within two years of the move. Psychiatrist and urbanist Mindy Fullilove describes this trauma as “root shock.”⁶¹

In Harrisonburg, urban renewal was a major blow to the small Black community. Oral histories by community elders bring out three general themes about life in Harrisonburg before and after urban renewal. First, everyone describes how Jim Crow operated in downtown Harrisonburg. Black customers could only enter white-owned restaurants through side or back doors and typically could not get a table inside. The movie theater likewise had segregated seating. There were even two separate taxicab services. E. L. Stephens, who owned the company serving Black residents, was displaced by urban renewal. Second, people remember a tight-knit community. Paradoxically, the shared experiences of segregation and poverty help explain these tight bonds. Finally, urban renewal frayed these bonds. Weldon Bundy recalled that “redevelopment knocked all that down... I still think today we don’t have the social life that we used to have in the old days.”⁶² The protests against urban renewal emerged and grew in this community, because the members experienced the most loss and had the most to lose.

Differences of race and wealth may have shaped how displacement and dispossession affected individuals and communities. In this case, a comparison of the two congregations displaced by urban renewal, First Baptist and Beth El, is instructive. Most, if not all, of the former lived in the Northeast neighborhood. Even if they were not displaced, their community had been disrupted by urban renewal. The same was not

⁶¹ Niebanck and Pope, *The Elderly in Older Urban Areas*, 143; Fullilove, *Root Shock*.

⁶² [African American Oral History Collection](#), HRHS-185, Rocktown History; Kendall, chapter 7.

true of Congregation Beth El, whose members were drawn from a larger region. Furthermore, the Jewish congregation enjoyed greater wealth and access to public accommodations. They were able to move into a new, larger synagogue outside of the renewal area. By contrast, the Baptist congregation remained in the Northeast neighborhood, rebuilding on a R4 disposition parcel. The *Daily News-Record* reported that at the May 10, 1961 public meeting on the R16 project, Rev. Thomas Allen told City leaders, “that his congregation would be forced to oppose the project unless they receive somewhat near the replacement cost” for their church. The members were “people of limited means, [who] could not afford to build a new church if their property brings only what is considered fair market value.”⁶³

The Hebrew Friendship Congregation was established on the east side of Main Street in 1891.⁶⁴ The congregation’s small membership had been declining since World War Two. The children of the congregation recall the building’s sanctuary as a dark, perhaps dingy, “yet awe-inspiring place.” Hebrew Friendship members typically drove to the congregation, and they remember it being difficult to find street parking. Parking was important to them because the Shenandoah Valley had few Jewish houses of worship, and some congregants travelled from far outside of Harrisonburg for religious services and Sunday School.

Building the new \$125,000 synagogue on Old Furnace Road near the Jewish Cemetery was also an opportunity to build community.⁶⁵ The new structure, designed by Davis & Associates, is a source of pride for the congregation. The triangular-shaped

⁶³ “Varied Views Given on 2nd UR Project,” *DNR*, 5/11/61.

⁶⁴ Our research on Congregation Beth El was conducted with assistance and recollections of current and former members Daniel Bly, Andrew Kohen, Lester Mintzer, William Ney, Carol Schepp, and G. David Robinson. The Congregation opened its archives for our research.

⁶⁵ The building was funded by the congregation with substantial gifts from E. L. Klingstein and the estate of Joseph Hirsch.

sanctuary seats 150. The social hall next to the sanctuary can accommodate even larger crowds. The new building also houses the pulpit, piano, organ, chairs, menorahs, and cornerstone from N. Main St. In 1963, as the new building was under construction, the Board of Directors voted to revert to its original name, Congregation Beth El.

The new synagogue was dedicated in August 1964. A week later, Carol Schepp (nee Robinson) was Bat Mitzvahed, and there was a tremendous crowd present for this milestone. The ceremony had been delayed until she was 15 years old because of the need to wait for the new building. Hers was not only the first such ceremony in the new building but also it was the first Bat Mitzvah for a girl.

All members of the congregation, including the children, had some role in the construction or, more likely, the decoration of the new building. The interior decoration was devised in the display shop of Joseph Ney's department store, owned by Adrian Sonn. Sonn, Robert Marshman, the display manager at Joseph Ney's, and Marshman's wife Helen designed and crafted much of the ornamentation for the bimah (pulpit), ark, and the stained-glass windows for the sanctuary. A grand mosaic greeted entrants, and the congregation's sisterhood engaged many members in various aspects of the decorating. Les Mintzer recalls his mother arranging for him and other children to lay pieces of the Italian-imported tiles for the mosaic.

The move to Old Furnace Road, east of the urban renewal project area, corresponded with an increase in membership beginning in the late-1960s. New parking, better facilities, and expanding employment opportunities at James Madison University allowed the congregation to double in size and thrive in its new location.

Recommendations and Research Opportunities

To build a fuller picture of urban renewal and its impact on Harrisonburg, we developed this series of recommendations directed at community organizations, public officials, and academic researchers.

First, we recommend that a coalition of community organizations undertake an effort to reach and interview two groups of displacees who, in our scan of oral histories, have been underrepresented: tenants and White displacees. We think that renewal-area tenants could help fill in the contested picture of pre-urban renewal housing conditions. Those who became part of the first generation of public housing residents could help identify other residents and describe if and how conditions in their new neighborhood differed from the old. We also recommend outreach to White displacees and property owners. One goal is to give this group their say. (Although the majority of those displaced were Black, close to half were White, and the majority of property owners were White.) Outreach to this group would also help build a better understanding of the extent to which race and wealth affected post-renewal outcomes. In part because so much government documentation is missing, we recommend that community groups sponsor a [history harvest](#), asking community members to allow relevant images, documents, and artifacts to be scanned or photographed and shared with the larger public.

Second, to ensure that all relevant documents are made available to the interested public, we recommend that city officials hire an independent consultant to conduct a records audit. This consultant would search for, collect, and digitize all urban renewal and ca. 1960s public housing documents that remain in the possession of

HRHA and the Planning Commission. (Some of these records may require redaction to protect the privacy of displacees, public housing residents, and agency employees.) Furthermore, in the name of transparency, we encourage HRHA and the City to give local stakeholders a role in guiding this process.

Finally, although we were not able to uncover any likely leads in correspondence with archivists at the National Archives, it is possible that copies of some of Harrisonburg's missing documentation may have ended up in the [Department of Housing and Urban Development records](#) in College Park, MD. (In exchange for public housing and urban renewal funds, the federal government required local agencies to submit a multitude of reports.) Such a search would be time-consuming and might not yield much in the way of results. If successful, it could unearth applications for federal loans and grants, quarterly relocation and demolition progress reports, correspondence between HRHA and federal officials, and final financial figures.

Conclusion

The Harrisonburg Community Connectors team presented us with two “overarching questions”:

- 1) What were the positive and negative consequences of Urban Renewal for residents, Harrisonburg City, and commercial investors?
- 2) What was the effect of involuntary displacement and forced relocation on residents and property owners?

At least in the short-term, commercial investors and businesses appeared to benefit from urban renewal. That includes many of the businesses located in the R4 and R16

areas before redevelopment. Among the few buildings to remain standing was a group of filling and service stations owned by Valley Distributors, Glen Shomo, and DC Heatwole. Though displaced, One Hour Martinizing, John Kline's ice cream shop, and the State Employment Commission quickly moved into custom-built structures on renewal land. Finally, landlord E. L. Klingstein, the owner of fifteen renewal-area rental properties, was an early partner in the Valley Plaza project. (See July 1967 Planning Commission [map of redevelopment in renewal areas](#).) Local architects, like D'Earcy Paul Davis Jr. and J. C. Bowman, and construction companies, particularly Nielsen Construction, benefited from the redevelopment construction boom. Furthermore, as HRHA Chairman E. C. Wine predicted, by increasing the value of downtown land, redevelopment also increased taxes collected by the City.⁶⁶

The broader community likely benefited from the construction of a new department store (Grant City), supermarket (Safeway), and grocery store (Mick or Mack) along with new public housing. Furthermore, unlike other cities we've studied, Harrisonburg's public housing opened in time to house some of the renewal area displacees. But 100 units of public housing could not make up for the 225 units demolished. And many of those who moved into public housing had no connection to R4 or R16. Furthermore, while partially integrated, public housing in Harrisonburg reinforced segregation. The original residents of the 40-unit Harrison Heights development on Kelley St., Lincoln Circle, and Sterling St. were exclusively Black, as were many of their neighbors.

⁶⁶ "Urban Renewal Clears Blighted Part of City," *DNR*, 1/12/78. E. C. Wine to Mayor and City Council, Re: Tax Revenues Derived from Proposed Redevelopment Area, 7/25/57, Folder: Mayor and City Manager of Harrisonburg, 9/24/57-12/6/72, HRHA.

As Andrew Toliver observed, speaking about the loss of his family's Mason St. home, "It's no accident we all got jammed up here in the northeast section."⁶⁷ We estimate that roughly half of Harrisonburg's small Black community of 720 people was displaced by the R4 and R16 projects. Had the proposed Washington-Johnson St. project been implemented, hundreds more would have experienced the same fate. The problem was not just displacement and dispossession but the loss of space – houses, building lots, community institutions – where Black residents were welcome and could afford to settle. This loss of Black space facilitated the expansion of Harrisonburg's business district. It is possible that urban renewal played a role in the decline of Harrisonburg's Black population between 1960 and 1970.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ [African American Oral History Collection](#), HRHS-185, Rocktown History. See also Toliver, chapter 7.

⁶⁸ Per the 1970 Census, Harrisonburg's African American population declined (720 to 653). At the same time, the White population increased (11,175 to 11,361).

Appendix 1: Property Acquisitions

Link to dynamic spreadsheet:

<https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1UAgGREMrwyapjK5iX8qGwrDdnvjVH9y1M6aAlmtv9-E/edit?usp=sharing>

Number	Street	Block	Parcel	Owner	Payment (from deeds)	Building Condition	R-4 or R-16	Owner Occupied?	Condemnation Case?	Notes
						(HRHA R4 Equivalent Eliminations; DP Davis R16 survey) Note: dwelling units are by definition "non-conforming" under CBD zoning.				
325	Federal	1	2	Klingstein, EL and Beulah L.	\$4,025	Brick and frame; 2 family; no heating.	R-4	FALSE	TRUE	Condemnation case because owners challenged city's right to seize this property. Also 327 Federal.
356	N. Main	1	3	Harrisonburg Coca Cola Bottling Works, Inc.	\$60,000		R-4	FALSE	FALSE	Payment is for parcels 3 and 3A combined.
356	N. Main	1	3A	Harrisonburg Coca Cola Bottling Works, Inc.			R-4	FALSE	FALSE	
370	N. Main	1	4	Weaver, Winston and Phyllis	\$27,527	Frame; 1 family; no heating.	R-4	FALSE	FALSE	Payment is for parcels 4, 4A, and 4B combined.
384	N. Main	1	4A	Weaver, Winston and Phyllis		Frame; 2 family; no heating.	R-4	FALSE	FALSE	
383	Federal	1	4B	Weaver, Winston and Phyllis		Stucco over frame; 2 family; no heating	R-4	FALSE	FALSE	
390-394	N. Main	1	5	Weaver, Winston and Phyllis	\$42,680		R-4	FALSE	FALSE	Commercial: Rockingham Construction Co.
371	Federal	1	6	Grattan, Frances R.	\$2,885	Stucco; 2 family; no heating	R-4	FALSE	TRUE	Reason for condemnation case unclear.

108	E. Rock	2	1	Schaeffer, Lula Virginia	\$5,400	frame, 2-family, toilet on porch, lacks central heat	R-4	TRUE	FALSE	
199	E. Gay	2	10	Fields, Robert A.	\$9,327	Frame; 1 family; good condition	R-4	TRUE	FALSE	Payment is for both Parcels 10 and 11, Block 2.
		2	11	Fields, Robert A.		vacant lot	R-4	TRUE	FALSE	
185	E. Gay	2	12	Grattan, Frances R.	\$3,764	Frame; 1 family; no heating	R-4	FALSE	TRUE	Reason for condemnation case unclear.
179	E. Gay	2	13	Mitchell, Mary W., et al	\$10,985	Frame; 2 family; outside toilet; no plumbing or heating	R-4	FALSE	TRUE	Payment is for Parcels 13, 14, 15, 16, 17; Block 2. Condemnation to clear title because of heirs' property.
173	E. Gay	2	14	Mitchell, Mary W., et al		Frame; 1 family; outside toilet; no heating	R-4	FALSE	TRUE	
167	E. Gay	2	15	Mitchell, Mary W., et al		Frame; 1 family; no bath; no heating	R-4	FALSE	TRUE	
151	E. Gay	2	16	Mitchell, Mary W., et al		Frame; 1 family; outside toilet; no heating	R-4	FALSE	TRUE	
117	E. Gay	2	17	Mitchell, Mary W., et al		Frame; 1 family; outside toilet; no plumbing; no heating	R-4	FALSE	TRUE	
398	Federal	2	18	Klingstein, EL and Beulah L.	\$3,410	Frame; 1 family; toilet on porch, no heating	R-4	FALSE	TRUE	Condemnation case because owners challenged city's right to seize this property.
388	Federal	2	18A	Klingstein, EL and Beulah L.	\$3,575	Frame; 1 family; no heating	R-4	FALSE	TRUE	Condemnation case because owners challenged city's right to seize this property.
364-366	Federal	2	19	Williams, Olive Myers and Lenwood Myers, heirs	\$5,175	364: Block; 1 family; toilet outside. 366: stucco over frame; 1 family; good condition	R-4	FALSE	TRUE	Condemnation to clear clouded title because of heirs' property.
118	E. Rock	2	2	Senger, Harlan A. and Mary C.	\$4,150	Frame; 2 family; 2 toilets on porch, no heating	R-4	FALSE	FALSE	
362	Federal	2	20	Gasway, Florence E.B.	\$6,150	Frame; 1 family; no heating	R-4	TRUE	TRUE	Reason for condemnation case is unclear.

160	E. Rock	2	3	Curry, Carrie Mae	\$7,122	Frame; 1 family; no heating	R-4	TRUE	TRUE	Condemnation case because owner refused offer.
170	E. Rock	2	4	Curry, William Lee	\$7,892	Frame; 1 family; good condition	R-4	TRUE	FALSE	
180	E. Rock	2	5	Goodlowe, Frederick, heirs	\$3,500	Frame; 1 family; toilet on porch, no heating	R-4	TRUE	TRUE	Condemned to clear clouded title because of heirs' property.
188	E. Rock	2	6	Gleason, Bernetta A.	\$1,870	Frame, 2 family; toilet on porch, no heating	R-4	FALSE	FALSE	
198	E. Rock	2	7	Black, Sallie, estate	\$1,975	frame, 1-family, frost-free toilet, lacks central heat	R-4	TRUE	FALSE	Edward Black, executor.
345	N. Mason	2	8	Harper, Lydia Mosby and John Paul	\$7,177	frame, 1-family, lacks central heat	R-4	TRUE	FALSE	
355	N. Mason	2	9	Ware, Lucille and Vernon and Albert J. Francis	\$6,930	frame, 1-family, outside toilet, lacks central heat	R-4	TRUE	FALSE	
398	N. Mason	3	10	Wardy, Taft O., et al	\$8,250	Stucco over frame; 1 family; good condition	R-4	TRUE	FALSE	
388	N. Mason	3	11	Temple, Ruby E.	\$7,650	Frame; 1 family; good condition	R-4	TRUE	FALSE	
370	N. Mason	3	12	Solomon, Janie S. et al	\$6,957	frame, 1-family, lacks central heat	R-4	TRUE	TRUE	Condemnation to clear clouded title because of heirs' property.
352	N. Mason	3	13	Ware, Elsie Scott, heirs	\$5,150	frame, 1-family, frost-free toilet, lacks central heat	R-4	TRUE	TRUE	Condemnation to clear clouded title because of heirs' property.
	vacant	3	14	Winston, Helen and Louise	\$1,100		R-4	FALSE	FALSE	
336	N. Mason	3	15	Toliver, Theodore and Phoebe	\$14,000	stucco over block, 1-family, good condition	R-4	TRUE	FALSE	
		3	16	Berry, Nellie C., et al	\$1,000		R-4	FALSE	TRUE	
306	N. Mason	3	17	Berry, Nellie C., et al	\$3,050	Brick; 1 family; no bath, no heating	R-4	FALSE	TRUE	
218	E. Rock	3	18	Webster, Edith B. and Olin A.	\$1,830	Frame; 1 family; frost free toilet; no heating	R-4	FALSE	FALSE	

220	E. Rock	3	19	Berry, Nellie C., et al	\$2,500	Frame; 1 family; outside toilet, no plumbing, no heating	R-4	FALSE	TRUE	
224	E. Rock	3	20	Wilson, James, heirs	\$6,300	frame, 1-family, lacks central heat	R-4	TRUE	TRUE	Occupied by Rachel Wilson. Condemnation to clear clouded title because of heirs' property.
	SE cor Broad/E Gay	3	8	Awkard, Joseph C., heirs	\$9,350		R-4	FALSE	TRUE	
213	E. Gay	3	9	Awkard, Mary Frances	\$4,000		R-4	FALSE	FALSE	
204	E. Gay	4	10	McCall, Lester and Amanda		Frame with asphalt siding; 2 family; toilet on porch; no heating	R-4	FALSE	TRUE	Purchase amount covers Parcels 8, 10, 10A. Condemnation case because owners challenged city's right to seize property.
215	E. Gay	4	1	Howard, Leo M. and Julia	\$6,930	asphalt siding over frame, 1-family, good condition	R-4	TRUE	FALSE	Ann's o-o spreadsheet has acquisition payment as \$9790
206	E. Gay	4	10A	McCall, Lester and Amanda		Frame; 1 family; toilet on porch; no heating	R-4	TRUE	TRUE	Purchase amount covers Parcels 8, 10, 10A. Condemnation case because owners challenged city's right to seize property.
210	E. Gay	4	11	Brown, Annie R., et al	\$5,000	Asphalt shingles over frame; 2 family; toilet on porch; no heating	R-4	TRUE	TRUE	Condemnation case to clear clouded heirs' property title.
		4	6	Harrisonburg Telephone Co.			R-4	FALSE	FALSE	No amount given in deed or newspaper coverage. The telephone company was one of the last holdouts in selling; it brought proceedings in state court and the State Corporation Commission.
		4	6A	Harrisonburg Telephone Co.			R-4	FALSE	FALSE	

		4	6B	Harrisonburg Telephone Co.			R-4	FALSE	FALSE	
192	E. Gay	4	7	Grattan, Frances R.	\$16,685	6 buildings: five 1-family, one 2-family duplex. All Frame; toilets outside; no heating	R-4	FALSE	TRUE	Reason for condemnation case unclear.
200	E. Gay	4	8	McCall, Lester and Amanda	\$14,750	Asbestos shingles over frame; 1 family; no heating	R-4	FALSE	TRUE	Purchase amount covers Parcels 8, 10, 10A. Condemnation case because owners challenged city's right to seize property.
202	E. Gay	4	9	Vickers, Henry and Savilla	\$5,665	Frame; 2 family; no heating	R-4	FALSE	FALSE	
406-434 and 120-130	Federal and E. Gay	5	1	Klingstein, EL and Beulah L.	\$18,481	All: Frame; outside toilet, no heating	R-4	FALSE	TRUE	Condemnation case because owners challenged city's right to seize this property.
140-168	E. Gay	5	1A	Klingstein, EL and Beulah L.	\$6,160	4 buildings; three 1 family, one 2 family; all no bath or heating, water outside.	R-4	FALSE	TRUE	Condemnation case because owners challenged city's right to seize this property.
447-463	Conrad Ave.	5	1B	Klingstein, EL and Beulah L.	\$20,515	All 1 family. 447, 451, 453 Conrad: stucco, 2 frost free toilets, no heating; 457, 459 Conrad: brick, frost free toilet, no heating; 461, 463 Conrad: brick, 2 toilets, no heating; 135, 141 Effinger: frame, 1 family, frost free toilet, no heating.	R-4	FALSE	TRUE	Condemnation case because owners challenged city's right to seize this property. Parcel contains 8 buildings--176 & 188 E. Gay, 4 on Conrad, 135 & 141 Effinger.
126	Effinger	5	2	Taliaferro, George W.	\$4,000		R-4	FALSE	TRUE	Purchase price is for both parcels. Condemnation case to clear clouded title because of heirs' property.
123	Effinger	5	2A	Taliaferro, George W.		Brick; 1 family; frost free toilet; no plumbing; no heating.	R-4	FALSE	TRUE	Purchase price is for both parcels. Condemnation case to clear clouded title because of heirs' property.

107-117	Effinger	5	3	Weaver, Margaret G.	\$6,600	107 & 113: frame, 1 family, toilet outside, no plumbing or heating; 117: frame, 1 family, outside toilet, no plumbing or heating.	R-4	FALSE	FALSE	3 buildings in parcel: 107, 113, 117
450	Federal	5	4	Chase, Sarah M.	\$3,825	frame, 1-family, half bath, lacks central heat	R-4	TRUE	TRUE	Chase is "incompetent."
402	N. Main	6	1	Klingstein, EL and Beulah L.	\$34,097		R-4	FALSE	TRUE	Condemnation case because owners challenged city's right to seize this property.
	vacant	6	10	McInturff, Nellie C. Rhodes and Harry C.	\$8,075		R-4	FALSE	FALSE	Deed and purchase price is for two parcels: Block 6, Parcel 10 and Block 7, Parcel 1A.
	vacant	6	11	Kelley, John E. estate	\$15,125		R-4	FALSE	FALSE	Deed and purchase price is for two parcels: Block 6, Parcels 11 and 11A. First National Bank of Harrisonburg is executor
	vacant	6	11A	Kelley, John E. estate			R-4	FALSE	FALSE	
430-432	N. Main	6	12	Conrad, James	\$23,540		R-4	FALSE	TRUE	Condemnation case because of dispute over rent.
90	E. Gay	6	2	Klingstein, EL and Beulah L.	\$8,415		R-4	FALSE	TRUE	Condemnation case because owners challenged city's right to seize this property.
419, 427, 429	Federal	6	3	Klingstein, EL and Beulah L.	\$6,022	All: Frame; 1 family; no plumbing, heating, or bath.	R-4	FALSE	TRUE	Condemnation case because owners challenged city's right to seize this property.
81	Effinger	6	4	Bowman, Pauline Pence and Charles E.	\$4,980	Frame; 1 family; no heating.	R-4	FALSE	FALSE	Payment is for two parcels: B6 P4 and B7 P25.
69	Effinger	6	5	Hawse, Fred and Margaret	\$8,700	Frame; 1 family; no heating.	R-4	FALSE	FALSE	
39-41	Effinger	6	6	Hawse, Fred and Margaret		Both brick, 1 family, no heating.	R-4	FALSE	FALSE	

37	Effinger	6	7	Klingstein, EL and Beulah L.	\$3,300	Frame; 1 family; frost free toilet; no plumbing or heating.	R-4	FALSE	TRUE	Condemnation case because owners challenged city's right to seize this property.
27	Effinger	6	8	Simmons, Effie R.	\$5,252	frame, 2-family, lacks central heat	R-4	TRUE	FALSE	
468-470	N. Main	6	9	Conrad, CO and Virginia	\$6,000	Cinder block; 3 family; good condition.	R-4	FALSE	FALSE	Also 25 Effinger. Building condition taken from listing for 25 Effinger.
500	N. Main	7	1	McInturff, Nellie C. Rhodes and Harry C.	\$12,950		R-4	FALSE	FALSE	
27	E. Johnson	7	10	Harper, Lydia Mosby and John Paul	\$7,188	Brick siding over frame; 1 family; no heating.	R-4	FALSE	FALSE	
37	E. Johnson	7	11	Clatterbuck, Elizabeth and Boyd	\$7,865	Frame; 1 family; no heating.	R-4	TRUE	FALSE	
39	E. Johnson	7	12	Newland, Glen Preston	\$1,850		R-4	FALSE	TRUE	Condemnation case because wife is institutionalized and cannot convey clear title.
41	E. Johnson	7	13	Yeakle, Charles	\$5,802	frame, 1-family, lacks central heat	R-4	TRUE	FALSE	
51	E. Johnson	7	14	Ott, ED and Rosa	\$2,970	Frame, 1 family; no heating; no bath.	R-4	FALSE	FALSE	
69-79	E. Johnson	7	15	Stephens, EL and Lena T.	\$6,600	Both frame; 1 family; no heating.	R-4	FALSE	FALSE	Two buildings on parcel.
89	E. Johnson	7	16	Stephens, EL and Lena T.	\$11,990	frame shingle, 1-family, lacks central heat	R-4	TRUE	TRUE	
91 and 639	E. Johnson and N. Broad	7	16A	Stephens, EL and Lena T.	\$8,497	Stucco over frame; 1 family; no heating.	R-4	FALSE	TRUE	
629	N. Broad	7	17	Stuart, Henry and Minnie	\$4,400	brick asphalt siding over frame, 1-family, lacks central heat	R-4	TRUE	FALSE	

variousl y given	Kelley Field	7	18	Grattan, Frances R.	\$13,381	All 4 buildings: Frame; 1 family; frost free toilet, no heating	R-4	FALSE	TRUE	5 buildings listed with varying addresses. Reason for condemnation case unclear.
	vacant	7	19	Stephens, EL and Lena T.	\$440		R-4	FALSE	FALSE	
503	N. Broad	7	19A	Stephens, EL and Lena T.	\$3,003	Asphalt shingle over frame; 1 family; no heating.	R-4	FALSE	FALSE	
514	N. Main	7	1A	McInturff, Nellie C. Rhodes and Harry C.		Frame; 1 family; no heating	R-4	FALSE	FALSE	Deed and purchase price is for two parcels: Block 6, Parcel 10 and Block 7, Parcel 1A.
516	N. Main	7	2	Miller, Nelson Elizabeth	\$9,157	frame, 1-family, half bath, lacks central heat	R-4	TRUE	FALSE	
	vacant	7	20	Howard, Leo M., et al	\$752		R-4	TRUE	FALSE	
194	Effinger	7	21	Howard, Leo M., et al	\$9,790	Asphalt siding over frame; 1 family; good condition.	R-4	TRUE	FALSE	
	vacant	7	22	Mosby, Frank and Bessie, heirs	\$400		R-4	FALSE	TRUE	Condemnation case to clear clouded title because of heirs' property.
188	Effinger	7	23	Whittaker, Cuetta	\$5,400	Shingle over frame; 1 family; frost free toilet; no heating.	R-4	TRUE	FALSE	
134-186	Effinger	7	24	Grattan, Frances R.	\$34,252	All: Frame; 1 family; no inside plumbing; frost free toilet.	R-4	FALSE	TRUE	13 buildings.Reason for condemnation case unclear.
110	Effinger	7	25	Bowman, Pauline P. and Charles E.		Frame; 1 family; outside toilet; no plumbing or heating.	R-4	FALSE	FALSE	Payment is for two parcels: B6 P4 and B7 P25.
	vacant	7	26	Ott, ED and Rosa	\$330		R-4	FALSE	FALSE	
80	Effinger	7	27	Berry, John Raymond	\$2,139	Frame; 1 family; frost free toilet; no heating.	R-4	FALSE	FALSE	
62	Effinger	7	28	Grattan, Frances R.	\$2,033	Frame; 1 family; frost free toilet; no plumbing or heating.	R-4	FALSE	TRUE	Reason for condemnation case unclear.

518	N. Main	7	3	Berry, Nellie C., et al	\$15,500	Frame; 2 family; no heating.	R-4	TRUE	TRUE	Condemnation case because owner died without a will.
	vacant	7	5	Masters, Evelyn	\$11,886		R-4	FALSE	FALSE	
556	N. Main	7	6	Kelley, John E. estate	\$6,803	Frame; 1 family; no heating	R-4	FALSE	FALSE	First National Bank is executor.
580	N. Main	7	7	Wise, Olis C. and Sue	\$32,500		R-4	FALSE	TRUE	Service station. Originally not to be acquired, but later decided to acquire "for proper relocation of Mason Street," per condemnation case. Case brought by Wise because he claimed area was not "blighted."
	vacant	7	9	Gaines, Luther and Mary, Heirs	\$215		R-4	FALSE	TRUE	Unimproved lot. Condemnation case to clear clouded title because of heirs' property.
127-129	E. Rock	H	11	May, Chloe Harper	\$7,200	Nonconforming (dwelling); sound construction; substandard repair	R-16	FALSE	FALSE	Duplex apartments.
139	E. Rock	H	12	Klingstein, EL and Beulah L.	\$30,550	Conforms (business); sound construction; deficient repair; fire ravaged	R-16	FALSE	FALSE	
171	E. Rock	H	13	Rhodes, Elon W. and Edna T.	\$4,109	Nonconforming (dwelling); sound construction; satisfactory repair; inadequate electrical and heating.	R-16	TRUE	TRUE	H 13 and 14 condemned together. Condemned to clear clouded title because of heirs' property.
177	E. Rock	H	14	Rhodes, Elon W. and Edna T.	\$3,391	Nonconforming (dwelling); sound construction; substandard repair	R-16	TRUE	TRUE	H 13 and 14 condemned together. Condemned to clear clouded title because of heirs' property.
195	E. Rock	H	15	Terrell, Walter S. and Theresa L.	\$6,200	Nonconforming (dwelling); sound construction; satisfactory repair; inadequate electrical and heating.	R-16	TRUE	FALSE	

221	N. Mason	H	17	First Baptist Church	\$23,750	Nonconforming (dwelling), sound construction, satisfactory repair, inadequate heating	R-16	FALSE	TRUE	Payment is for parcels 17 and 18. H17 is parsonage, H18 is church. Reason for condemnation case is unclear.
184	E. Wolfe	H	18	First Baptist Church		Conforming (church), sound construction, satisfactory repair	R-16	FALSE	TRUE	Payment is for parcels 17 and 18. H17 is parsonage, H18 is church. Reason for condemnation case is unclear.
168	E. Wolfe	H	19	Anderson, Ruth L., et al	\$3,000	Nonconforming (dwelling), sound construction, deficient and neglected repair	R-16	FALSE	TRUE	Condemnation case to clear clouded title because of heirs' property. 2 buildings, 1 with business.
156	E. Wolfe	H	20	Dallard, O.A. and Elizabeth R. Goodloe, heirs	\$1,050		R-16	FALSE	TRUE	Condemnation case to clear heirs' property clouded title. Vacant lot.
142	E. Wolfe	H	21	Thomas, Peggy S., et al	\$1,400	Nonconforming (dwelling), substandard construction, deficient repair	R-16	FALSE	TRUE	Condemnation case to clear heirs' property title. Parcel map lists owner as "Lucy Strother Estate."
138	E. Wolfe	H	22	Vickers, Henry and Savilla	\$9,675	Nonconforming (dwelling); sound construction; satisfactory repair; inadequate heating.	R-16	TRUE	FALSE	
122	E. Wolfe	H	23	Barber, Emsie (Irvin) and Frank	\$7,450	Nonconforming (dwelling); sound construction; satisfactory repair; inadequate heating.	R-16	TRUE	FALSE	8 claimants to be paid.
102 & 108	E. Wolfe	H	24	Howard, Leo M. and Julia	\$3,000	Nonconforming (dwelling), substandard construction, substandard repair, inadequate plumbing, electrical, and heating	R-16	FALSE	FALSE	3 buildings including a shed, incl 204 Federal St.

204-212	N. Main	H	25	Masters, Evelyn	\$30,800	Conforming (hotel); sound construction; substandard repair. 2nd building 2/3 vacant; sound construction; substandard repair	R-16	FALSE	TRUE	Condemnation case brought to challenge constitutionality of urban renewal project. Case settled. One Hour Valet was listed as defendant that failed to appear or plead.
38	E. Wolfe	H	26	Klingstein, EL and Beulah L.	\$4,800	Nonconforming (dwelling); sound construction; deficient repair; inadequate plumbing (outside), electrical, heating, ventilation	R-16	FALSE	FALSE	
48-58-68	Federal	H	27 and 28	Loewner Granite and Marble Co.	\$13,750	H-27: Conforming (business); sound construction; deficient repair; inadequate plumbing and heating; H-28: Nonconforming (business and dwelling; substandard construction; deficient repair; inadequate plumbing, electrical, heating, ventilation.	R-16	FALSE	FALSE	Signed by president Mildred L. Sherrick
241	Federal	H	29	Patterson, Foster C.	\$2,850	Nonconforming (dwelling); substandard construction; substandard repair	R-16	TRUE	FALSE	
253	Federal	H	30	Klingstein, EL and Beulah L.	\$1,300	Nonconforming (dwelling); substandard construction; neglected repair; inadequate or minimum plumbing, electrical, and heating	R-16	FALSE	FALSE	
37	E. Rock	H	31	Klingstein, EL and Beulah L.	\$5,300	Nonconforming (dwelling); sound construction; satisfactory repair	R-16	FALSE	FALSE	R-16 owners and parcels table has Mary C. Green as owner; per deed, Klingstein bought it from her estate in 1961.
47	E. Rock	H	32	Harper, S. Katherine	\$5,700	Nonconforming (dwelling); sound construction; satisfactory repair	R-16	FALSE	TRUE	Reason for condemnation case is unclear.

57	E. Rock	H	33	Harper, S. Katherine	\$5,700	Nonconforming (dwelling); sound construction; satisfactory repair	R-16	FALSE	TRUE	Reason for condemnation case is unclear.
67	E. Rock	H	34	Harper, J. Delmar and Ethel	\$6,100	Nonconforming (dwelling); sound construction; satisfactory repair.	R-16	FALSE	FALSE	R-16 owners and parcels table lists Chloe Harper May as owner.
270	N. Main	H	35	Sullivan, Mamie	\$15,900	Nonconforming (dwelling); 3 apartments; sound construction; substandard repair; inadequate plumbing and heating.	R-16	TRUE	FALSE	Payment is for both parcels 35 and 36.
269	Federal	H	36	Sullivan, Mamie		Nonconforming (dwelling); substandard construction; neglected repair; inadequate plumbing and heating; minimum electrical.	R-16	TRUE	FALSE	
254	N. Main	H	37	Kline, John L.	\$19,100	Nonconforming(business and dwelling), sound construction, satisfactory repair	R-16	TRUE	FALSE	
242	N. Main	H	38	Temple Beth El	\$30,800	Conforming (church); sound construction; satisfactory repair	R-16	FALSE	FALSE	
224	N. Main	H	39	Klingstein, E.L.	\$46,000	Nonconforming (dwelling); two apartments; sound construction; substandard repair	R-16	FALSE	TRUE	\$30,000 paid to First National Bank to satisfy mortgage. Old National Hotel building. Condemnation case brought because owner challenges right of city to seize this property.
158	E. Elizabeth	K	40	Croy, Sidney J. and Leona E.	\$7,000	Nonconforming (dwelling), sound construction, substandard repair, minimum electrical service, inadequate heating	R-16	FALSE	FALSE	two apartments

146	E. Elizabeth	K	41	Purcell, Edward S. and Kathryn B.	\$10 and o.v.c.	Nonconforming (dwelling), sound construction, satisfactory repair	R-16	FALSE	FALSE	2 apartments
120	E. Elizabeth	K	42, 43, 44	Purcell, Margaret T., estate	\$32,900	3 buildings in all (2 residential (6 apartments in all), 1 business). Residential: non-conforming land use, sound construction, satisfactory repair. Business is conforming land-use, sound but minimum construction, sub-standard repair	R-16	TRUE	TRUE	And 130 Federal. Condemned to clear clouded title due to heirs' property.
150	Federal	K	45	Purcell, Lawrence J.	\$6,500	Nonconforming (dwelling), sound construction, satisfactory repair	R-16	FALSE	FALSE	
160	Federal	K	46	Eckard, Richard and Lucy	\$6,400	Nonconforming (dwelling), sound construction, satisfactory repair, inadequate heating	R-16	TRUE	FALSE	
172	N. Main	K	47	Reiter, Jessie V., et al	\$37,825	Nonconforming (dwelling); sound construction; satisfactory repair; inadequate heating.	R-16	TRUE	FALSE	Payment and property condition apply to parcels 47, 48, 49.
174	N. Main	K	48	Reiter, Jessie V., et al		Conforming (business); sound construction; satisfactory repair.	R-16	TRUE	FALSE	
178	N. Main	K	49	Reiter, Jessie V., et al		Conforming (business); sound construction; satisfactory repair.	R-16	TRUE	FALSE	
	SE Corner Federal & Wolfe	K	50	City of Harrisonburg			R-16	FALSE	FALSE	

129	N. Mason	K	51	Sampson, Hampton L. and Ruby H.	\$4,885	Nonconforming (dwelling); sound but minimum construction; substandard repair; inadequate plumbing and heating, minimal electrical.	R-16	TRUE	FALSE	
127	N. Mason	K	52	Dewey, Bernard	\$26,000	Nonconforming (dwelling), sound construction, satisfactory repair, inadequate heating	R-16	FALSE	TRUE	Payment and property description covers parcels 52, 53, 54. Reason for condemnation case is unclear.
119	N. Mason	K	53	Dewey, Bernard		Nonconforming (dwelling--2 apts and business); sound construction, later addition minimum; satisfactory repair; minimum electrical, inadequate heating.	R-16	FALSE	TRUE	2 apartments. Payment and property description covers parcels 52, 53, 54. Reason for condemnation case is unclear.
178	E. Elizabeth	K	54	Dewey, Bernard		Nonconforming (dwelling--3 apts), sound construction, satisfactory repair	R-16	FALSE	TRUE	3 apartments. Payment and property description covers parcels 52, 53, 54. Reason for condemnation case is unclear.
	E. Wolfe	K	55	Catholic Church	\$9,000		R-16	FALSE	FALSE	
114	E. Market	N	1	Miller, Annie	\$25,960	Nonconforming (dwelling with 3 apartments); sound construction; satisfactory repair	R-16	TRUE	FALSE	
59	N. Mason	N	10	Pankey, Ida L., estate.		1st bldg: Nonconforming (dwelling), sound construction, substandard repair, inadequate plumbing and heating. 2nd bldg: Conforming (business); sound construction; good repair.	R-16	FALSE	TRUE	Martin Pankey is executor. 10 claimants total. Condemnation case brought because executor challenged city's right to seize property.

102-104	E. Market	N	2	Heatwole, Clymer	\$40,700	Nonconforming (business with dwellings), sound construction, satisfactory repair, inadequate plumbing (1 apt lacks bath) and heating	R-16	FALSE	TRUE	"Entire first floor is business, with adequate entrance on East Market Street. Second floor has three apartments, two of which are entered inadequately from Federal Street." Condemnation case brought by owner to challenge depiction of area as "blighted" and "not dilapidated," and replaces residences with parking and street widening.
50	Federal	N	3	Good, Annie Burke, estate	\$7,013	Conforming (business), sound construction, substandard and neglected repair, inadequate plumbing, heating, and ventilation	R-16	FALSE	TRUE	Reason for condemnation case is unclear.
113	E. Elizabeth	N	4	Cline, A. Frank and Edith V.	\$33,300	Dwelling: 4 apts; sound construction, satisfactory repair, inadequate heating; Businesses: both sound construction, 1 standard repair, 1 substandard repair with inadequate heating.	R-16	FALSE	TRUE	Reason for condemnation case is unclear.
133	E. Elizabeth	N	5	Muhlenberg Evangelical Lutheran Church	\$10,800	Nonconforming (dwelling); sound construction; satisfactory repair.	R-16	FALSE	FALSE	R-16 map gives owner as JT Strole estate
145	E. Elizabeth	N	6	Martz, Grace A. and Stella V. Phillips	\$10,450	Nonconforming(dwelling with rooms to rent); sound construction; satisfactory repair	R-16	TRUE	FALSE	Both listed as widows in deed.
157	E. Elizabeth	N	7	Saum, Randolph and Virginia E.	\$8,700	Nonconforming(dwelling with apartments), sound construction, satisfactory repair.	R-16	TRUE	FALSE	Parcel map lists John Saum as owner.
159	E. Elizabeth	N	8	Pankey, Ida L., estate.	\$14,000	Nonconforming (business and dwelling), sound	R-16	FALSE	TRUE	

						construction, satisfactory repair.				
39-49	N. Mason	N	9	Pankey, Ida L., estate.	\$36,000	Nonconforming (dwelling), sound construction, substandard repair, inadequate plumbing and heating	R-16	FALSE	TRUE	Amount is for parcels 9 and 10 together. Martin Pankey is executor. Condemnation case brought because executor challenged city's right to seize property.

Appendix 2: Buildings Demolished and Occupants Displaced

Link to dynamic spreadsheet:

https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1Nry6_GGRcwyQ23HSKsud0gyM5RNETbdWZEgSTPVcbPM/edit?usp=sharing

Number	Street	Photograph(s) from R4 and R16 albums. (Scans courtesy of David Ehrenpreiss.)	UR project	Residential, Business, Church, Mixed (R, B, C, M)	Last name	First name(s) head of household	Business or Institution name	Notes
451	Broad		R4	R	Polk	William H		
503	Broad	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/8633tvplgeuk461hega71/0013-West-from-Effinger-and-Broad.jpg?rlkey=iaiji8siza82sr7fre8jdrvi&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/dz0jk6a4qispghqghd6dp/0016-503-Broad-outhouse-looking-at-telephone-building-on-Effinger.jpg?rlkey=or51y9iswrnjkpqrq61zrn32b&dl=0	R4	R	Madden	Margaret		
629	Broad	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/epoujznf6uzoliugt12vw/0011-South-from-corner-Broad-and-E.-J.jpg?rlkey=zafh4glm65bf01dg6vmhgkxkqc&dl=0	R4	R	Stuart	Henry E and Minne H		
639	Broad	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/epoujznf6uzoliugt12vw/0011-South-from-corner-Broad-and-E.-J.jpg?rlkey=zafh4glm65bf01dg6vmhgkxkqc&dl=0	R4	R	Turner	Rosa		
447	Conrad		R4	R	Strother	Harry E and Olivia W		

449	Conrad		R4					"no return"
451	Conrad		R4	R	Broaddus	Mary C		
453	Conrad		R4	R	Lewis	Rachel P		
457	Conrad		R4	R	Madden	Floyd and Rachel		
459	Conrad		R4	R	Jackson	Ardell V		
461	Conrad		R4	R	Goodwin	Joe L and Irene R		
463	Conrad		R4	R	Scott	Fannie M		
10	E Gay		R4					vacant
90	E Gay	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/o9a4hn4nyjvywzkim80s6/0030-North-side-E.-Gay-no-rth-from-N..jpg?rlkey=9m68xmai1ao4wic3sxnmpgqv&dl=0	R4	B			Econ-O-Wash No. 2	1957 photo shows Spitzer's Market. Econ-O-Wash appears to have moved in after 1958/59 was printed.
110	E Gay		R4	R	Wright	Calvin		no listing for this address in 1960 c.d.
111	E Gay		R4	R	Myers	Mattie E		
115	E Gay		R4	R	Myers	Hannah		
117	E Gay		R4	R	Young	James		no listing for this address in 1960 c.d.
120	E Gay	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/q40fao0sfc3vf5hef13rw/0028-Looking-east-on-Gay-from-N.-Fede.jpg?rlkey=j3pgkvi3a7xe4z9u3av8vgdy8&dl=0	R4	R	Holley	Bradley L and Marie M		
130	E Gay	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/q40fao0sfc3vf5hef13rw/0028-Looking-east-on-Gay-from-N.-Fede.jpg?rlkey=j3pgkvi3a7xe4z9u3av8vgdy8&dl=0	R4	R	White	Marshall		
140	E Gay	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/q40fao0sfc3vf5hef13rw/0028-Looking-east-on-Gay-from-N.-Fede.jpg?rlkey=j3pgkvi3a7xe4z9u3av8vgdy8&dl=0	R4	R	Sandy	Bertha F		

150	E Gay	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/q40fao0sfc3vf5hef13rw/0028-Looking-east-on-Gay-from-N.-Fede.jpg?rlkey=j3pgkvi3a7xe4z9u3av8vgdy8&dl=0	R4	R	Fink	Garland B and Ressie W		
151	E Gay	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/zuam6bvlwax2pb0t14cte/0027-Looking-east-on-Gay-from-N.-Fede.jpg?rlkey=owtufwuj1eku2yppdrsufa41h&dl=0	R4	R	Sampson	Clarence L and Mattie M		
160	E Gay		R4	R	Pennington	Paul and Lillie W		
167	E Gay	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/zuam6bvlwax2pb0t14cte/0027-Looking-east-on-Gay-from-N.-Fede.jpg?rlkey=owtufwuj1eku2yppdrsufa41h&dl=0	R4	R	Snell	Theresa W		vacant in 1960
168	E Gay		R4	R	Coffman	Ethel F		
173	E Gay		R4	R	Clinedinst	Myrtie W		
176	E Gay		R4	R	May	James and Henrietta (James Jr too)		
179	E Gay		R4	R	Alt	Charles H and Maxine S		
180	E Gay		R4	R	Stevens	Howard M and Virginia R		
182	E Gay	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/jrt1ngy6v18v6hka1yk15/0026-East-on-E.-Gay-from-Conrad-and-G.jpg?rlkey=8unpbega1k8yomqfxebgqp91&dl=0	R4	R	Vaughn	Irving W and Elizabeth S		
185	E Gay		R4	R	Yokley	Joeseeph E and Marguerite H		

186	E Gay	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/jrt1ngy6v18v6hka1yk15/0026-East-on-E.-Gay-from-Conrad-and-G.jpg?rlkey=8unpbeqa1k8yomqfxebrgqp91&dl=0	R4	R	Tuckson	Bessie C		
188	E Gay	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/jrt1ngy6v18v6hka1yk15/0026-East-on-E.-Gay-from-Conrad-and-G.jpg?rlkey=8unpbeqa1k8yomqfxebrgqp91&dl=0	R4	R	Tams	Clara W		
190	E Gay	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/jrt1ngy6v18v6hka1yk15/0026-East-on-E.-Gay-from-Conrad-and-G.jpg?rlkey=8unpbeqa1k8yomqfxebrgqp91&dl=0	R4	R	Tuckson	Ernest and Mildred M		
192	E Gay	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/jrt1ngy6v18v6hka1yk15/0026-East-on-E.-Gay-from-Conrad-and-G.jpg?rlkey=8unpbeqa1k8yomqfxebrgqp91&dl=0	R4	R	Ware	Vernon and Lucille F		
198	E Gay	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/jrt1ngy6v18v6hka1yk15/0026-East-on-E.-Gay-from-Conrad-and-G.jpg?rlkey=8unpbeqa1k8yomqfxebrgqp91&dl=0	R4	R	Williams	Inez		
199	E Gay		R4	R	Fields	Robert A and Bertha S		
200	E Gay	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/jrt1ngy6v18v6hka1yk15/0026-East-on-E.-Gay-from-Conrad-and-G.jpg?rlkey=8unpbeqa1k8yomqfxebrgqp91&dl=0	R4	R	Darcus	Henry C and Ann C		
202	E Gay		R4	R	Lewis	Pauline V		
204	E Gay		R4	R	Price	Helen B		

206	E Gay		R4	R	McCall	Lester and Amanda B		
210	E Gay		R4	R	Brown	Annie B		
213	E Gay		R4	R	Thomas	Fannie A		
215	E Gay		R4	R	Harper	Robert L and Doris J		Doris Harper Allen's home; owned by her parents, Leo and Julia Howard.
83*	E Gay		R4				Church of God in Christ	no listing for this address in 1960 c.d.
27	E Johnson	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/sss15ph4f9rpa0ibzcin4/0009-East-from-corner-of-E.-Johnson-a.jpg?rlkey=7h8gekcs5wcnaxkipsmo1ndfx&dl=0	R4	R	Smith	Verna W		
37	E Johnson	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/sss15ph4f9rpa0ibzcin4/0009-East-from-corner-of-E.-Johnson-a.jpg?rlkey=7h8gekcs5wcnaxkipsmo1ndfx&dl=0	R4	R	Yeakle or Yeakel	Bessie J		Died 4/7/60
39	E Johnson	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/sss15ph4f9rpa0ibzcin4/0009-East-from-corner-of-E.-Johnson-a.jpg?rlkey=7h8gekcs5wcnaxkipsmo1ndfx&dl=0	R4					vacant
41	E Johnson	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/sss15ph4f9rpa0ibzcin4/0009-East-from-corner-of-E.-Johnson-a.jpg?rlkey=7h8gekcs5wcnaxkipsmo1ndfx&dl=0	R4	R	Yeakle or Yeakel	Charles L		
41	E Johnson	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/sss15ph4f9rpa0ibzcin4/0009-East-from-corner-of-E.-Johnson-a.jpg?rlkey=7h8gekcs5wcnaxkipsmo1ndfx&dl=0	R4	R	Clatterbuck	Boyd and Elizabeth (Yeakle)		

51	E Johnson	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/sss15ph4f9rpa0ibzcin4/0009-East-from-corner-of-E.-Johnson-a.jpg?rlkey=7h8gekcs5wcnaXkipsmo1ndfx&dl=0	R4	R	Turner	Howard Jr and Evelyn B	
69	E Johnson	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/mfe0pzfme0drgcywzgaf9/0010-West-from-E.-Johnso n-and-Broad.jpg?rlkey=l42vd8zxvvnnc0c88czx2ddf0&dl=0	R4	R	Carter	Alice M	
79	E Johnson	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/mfe0pzfme0drgcywzgaf9/0010-West-from-E.-Johnso n-and-Broad.jpg?rlkey=l42vd8zxvvnnc0c88czx2ddf0&dl=0	R4	R	Abney	Horace A and Mary S	
89	E Johnson	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/mfe0pzfme0drgcywzgaf9/0010-West-from-E.-Johnso n-and-Broad.jpg?rlkey=l42vd8zxvvnnc0c88czx2ddf0&dl=0	R4	M	Stephens	Erasmus L and Lena T	Stephens Taxis
89.5	E Johnson	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/mfe0pzfme0drgcywzgaf9/0010-West-from-E.-Johnso n-and-Broad.jpg?rlkey=l42vd8zxvvnnc0c88czx2ddf0&dl=0	R4	R	Thomas	Fannie	listed as vacant in 1960 c.d.
91	E Johnson	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/mfe0pzfme0drgcywzgaf9/0010-West-from-E.-Johnso n-and-Broad.jpg?rlkey=l42vd8zxvvnnc0c88czx2ddf0&dl=0	R4	R	Bruce	Belle S	
37*	E Johnson	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/sss15ph4f9rpa0ibzcin4/0009-East-from-corner-of-E.-Johnson-a.jpg?rlkey=7h8gekcs5wcnaXkipsmo1ndfx&dl=0	R4	R	Shifflett	James A and Doris J	no listing for this address in 1960 c.d.
108	E Rock		R4	R	Schaeffer	Lula H	
118	E Rock		R4	R	Taylor	Geneva	
160	E Rock		R4	R	Curry	Carrie W	
170	E Rock		R4	R	Curry	William L and Roberta F	

180	E Rock		R4	R	Goodlowe	Blanche		1960 cd lists Helen Winston as occupant
188	E Rock		R4	R	Pittington	Isaac		
198	E Rock		R4	R	Black	Edward		
218	E Rock	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/fsmh0zktl075w3ghn5isy/0031-North-side-E.-Rock-east-from-N..jpg?rlkey=jz4pn2ixbopsl0tnyiuld82dy&dl=0	R4	R	Scott	Daisy J		
220	E Rock		R4	R	Reedy	M Clara		
224	E Rock		R4	R	Wilson	Rachael		
25	Effinger		R4	R	Dellamonica	Una A		
27	Effinger	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/ftp6m5ejxz m8ejh7skod8/0019-South-side-of-Effinger-looking-e.jpg?rlkey=n4ojswwvojmzht2utibpxjf9xc&dl=0	R4	R	Simmons	Effie		
37	Effinger	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/ftp6m5ejxz m8ejh7skod8/0019-South-side-of-Effinger-looking-e.jpg?rlkey=n4ojswwvojmzht2utibpxjf9xc&dl=0	R4	R	Curry	Janet H		
39	Effinger	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/ftp6m5ejxz m8ejh7skod8/0019-South-side-of-Effinger-looking-e.jpg?rlkey=n4ojswwvojmzht2utibpxjf9xc&dl=0	R4	R	Clatterbuck	James		
41	Effinger	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/ftp6m5ejxz m8ejh7skod8/0019-South-side-of-Effinger-looking-e.jpg?rlkey=n4ojswwvojmzht2utibpxjf9xc&dl=0	R4	R	Weber	Raymond F and Selena H		
62	Effinger	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/50qg0z8vsq00dxhul47su/0020-North-side-of-Effinger-looking-e.jpg?rlkey=bcotbthpkd8qmub3elz2ccm32&dl=0	R4	R	Brown	Basil and Leona		
69	Effinger		R4	R	Ford	Mamie C		

80	Effinger	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/50qg0z8vsq00dxhul47su/0020-North-side-of-Effinger-looking-e.jpg?rlkey=bcotbthpkd8qmub3elz2ccm32&dl=0	R4	R	Burkett	Jacob M and Myrtle V	1960 c.d. lists as vacant
81	Effinger		R4	R	Falls	Paul E and Frances F	
107	Effinger		R4	R	Graves	Charles H and Alice M	
110	Effinger		R4	R	Simmers	Charles and Lucille	
113	Effinger		R4	R	Foshee	Carl L and Lula L	1960 c.d. lists as vacant
117	Effinger		R4	R	Black	Edna	
123	Effinger		R4	R	Strowther	Charles and Bernice M	
126	Effinger		R4	R	Carter	Lennis C and Hilda J	
134	Effinger		R4	R	Dunn	Warren C and Catherine W	
135	Effinger		R4	R	Williams	Clarence G and Louise R	1960 c.d. lists as vacant
136	Effinger		R4	R	Madden	Merle J	
138	Effinger		R4	R	Bryant	Betty M	
141	Effinger		R4	R	Jordan	Fleming S Jr	
144	Effinger		R4	R	Williams	Ormrode	
148	Effinger		R4	R	Smith	Virginia T	
152	Effinger		R4	R	Green	James D and Louise	
156	Effinger		R4	R	Scott	Etta S	

160	Effinger	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/79b4lqis0x9qb0tsy0ppt/0017-North-side-of-Effinger-fom-Effi.jpg?rlkey=hwl86lovxs1m7lvgxk31r51mh&dl=0	R4	R	Holly	Frances E		
165	Effinger	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/rsgks964p31b20od7vlcj/0015-Southwest-from-Effinger-and-Broad.jpg?rlkey=5uonv9eck2emw0n0hxlouq7go&dl=0	R4	B			Harrisonburg Telephone Co	Former Effinger St School building.
166	Effinger	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/79b4lqis0x9qb0tsy0ppt/0017-North-side-of-Effinger-fom-Effi.jpg?rlkey=hwl86lovxs1m7lvgxk31r51mh&dl=0	R4	R	Thomas	Charles and Peggy S		
174	Effinger	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/79b4lqis0x9qb0tsy0ppt/0017-North-side-of-Effinger-fom-Effi.jpg?rlkey=hwl86lovxs1m7lvgxk31r51mh&dl=0	R4	R	Holly	Gurney N		
178	Effinger	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/79b4lqis0x9qb0tsy0ppt/0017-North-side-of-Effinger-fom-Effi.jpg?rlkey=hwl86lovxs1m7lvgxk31r51mh&dl=0	R4	R	Abernathy	Dorothy J		
182	Effinger	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/79b4lqis0x9qb0tsy0ppt/0017-North-side-of-Effinger-fom-Effi.jpg?rlkey=hwl86lovxs1m7lvgxk31r51mh&dl=0	R4	R	Brown	Isaiah S and Madge B		
186	Effinger	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/8633tvplgeuk461heqa71/0013-West-from-Effinger-and-Broad.jpg?rlkey=iaiji8siza82sr7fre8jdrvi&dl=0	R4	R	Ray	Griffin L and Bessie L		

188	Effinger	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/8633tvplgeuk461heqa71/0013-West-from-Effinger-and-Broad.jpg?rlkey=iaiji8siza82sr7fre8jdrvi&dl=0	R4	R	Whittaker	Cuetta		
194	Effinger	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/8633tvplgeuk461heqa71/0013-West-from-Effinger-and-Broad.jpg?rlkey=iaiji8siza82sr7fre8jdrvi&dl=0	R4	R	Howard	Leo M and Julia F		
80	Federal	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/3tt9wjuauwzr6nj4snbi8/5065.016.jpg?rlkey=4plfpmwxguyvkeb5f1bw3eu6c&dl=0	R4	B	Cline	Frank	Frank Cline & Sons Plumbing and Heating	
325	Federal		R4	M	Shiflet	Rosa L		
362	Federal	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/g39carje7x3zmys9ilcmy/0029-N.-Federal-south-from-N.-Federal.jpg?rlkey=znm8e5brj9k74mfkna3nfozti&dl=0	R4	R	Gray	Florence G		
364	Federal	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/g39carje7x3zmys9ilcmy/0029-N.-Federal-south-from-N.-Federal.jpg?rlkey=znm8e5brj9k74mfkna3nfozti&dl=0	R4	R	Fairfax	James M and Frances S		
366	Federal	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/g39carje7x3zmys9ilcmy/0029-N.-Federal-south-from-N.-Federal.jpg?rlkey=znm8e5brj9k74mfkna3nfozti&dl=0	R4	R	Harris	Willie E and Cornell W		
371	Federal		R4	R	Sampson	Kenwood M and Maggie K		
383	Federal		R4	R	Payne	Martha H		
388	Federal		R4	M	Payne	Goldie and Martha	Martha's Lunch	Martha's husband and co-owner Goldie died in 1956. Not sure restaurant is still in business. Martha's Lunch is listed by street # but not alphabetically or among restaurants in the 1958-59 or 1960 c.d.

388	Federal	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/g39carje7x3zmys9ilcmy/0029-N.-Federal-south-from-N.-Federal.jpg?rlkey=znm8e5brj9k74mfkna3nfozti&dl=0	R4	M	Strother	Addie L		Addie is identified as a widow employed as a cook (40-50 Census says works for private family). Does she run a side business out of her home?
398	Federal		R4	R	Francis	Earl J and Mary C		
406	Federal		R4	R	Barber	Luther and St Clair		
408	Federal		R4	R	Faulkner	William B and Minnie B		
412	Federal		R4	R	Jackson	Clyde E and Pearl		
416	Federal		R4	R	Graves	Bessie N		
417	Federal		R4	R	Jackson	Claude		no listing for this address in 1960 c.d.
418	Federal		R4	R	Powell	Bernice B		
419	Federal		R4	R	Nelson	Margie		
426	Federal		R4		Young	Lee R and Bernice B		
427	Federal		R4	R	Hudson	Willie and Margie E		
429	Federal		R4	R	Madden	James E and Frances E		
434	Federal		R4	R	Shirkey	Sarah R		
450	Federal		R4	R	Chase	Sarah C		
325*	Federal		R4	M	Taylor	Cammie C and Earl T Dean	Peoples General Repair Service	1958 c.d. lists address as 225 N Federal

38	Kelley	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/34faipq4fspwwegbhzu8g/0007-Looking-southeast-from-corner-of.jpg?rlkey=iqw4iomalh6hik7xajr1uwp4l&dl=0	R4					no listing for this address
45	Kelley		R4	R	Foley	Juanita L		no listing for this address in 1960 c.d.
47	Kelley		R4	R	Phillips	Williard B and Frances E		no listing for this address in 1960 c.d.
49	Kelley		R4	R	Freeze	Alice M		no listing for this address in 1960 c.d.
49*	Kelley	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/34faipq4fspwwegbhzu8g/0007-Looking-southeast-from-corner-of.jpg?rlkey=iqw4iomalh6hik7xajr1uwp4l&dl=0	R4	R	Suttle	Carl and Phoebe V		no listing for this address in 1960 c.d.
356	N Main	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/znrmrhha7lwq8teviv3gg/0001-N.-Main-from-corner-of-E.-Rock-a.jpg?rlkey=v16607oag24hflwcdcv0q4z8t&dl=0	R4	B			Coca Cola Bottling Works	Per map, house in foreground was "demolished by others."
370	N Main	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/rd4c5k716g98c9sggcg12/0002-South-from-corner-of-E.-Gay-and.jpg?rlkey=xeklp4np6lep28wrmoy2pyzps&dl=0	R4	R	Mitchell	Herman T and Louise M		vacant in 1960 c.d.
384	N Main	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/rd4c5k716g98c9sggcg12/0002-South-from-corner-of-E.-Gay-and.jpg?rlkey=xeklp4np6lep28wrmoy2pyzps&dl=0	R4	R	Wolverton	Paul F and Ruby S		
390	N Main		R4					vacant
392	N Main		R4	R	Hull	Henry C and Jarmie D		vacant in 1960 c.d.
394	N Main		R4	B	Weaver	Winston O	Rockingham Construction Co	

402	N Main		R4					no listing for this address
408	N Main	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/axfs38dj08hwzvtrxaqn9/0003-North-from-corner-of-E.-Gay-and.jpg?rlkey=6u2vsapxicirjhw4yktg7jjxv&dl=0	R4	M	Jackson	Elva F and Irene V	Jackson Restraunt	
430	N Main	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/axfs38dj08hwzvtrxaqn9/0003-North-from-corner-of-E.-Gay-and.jpg?rlkey=6u2vsapxicirjhw4yktg7jjxv&dl=0	R4	B	Hawse	Margaret M	Pop's New Stand & Grocery	
432	N Main	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/axfs38dj08hwzvtrxaqn9/0003-North-from-corner-of-E.-Gay-and.jpg?rlkey=6u2vsapxicirjhw4yktg7jjxv&dl=0	R4	B	Hawse	Margaret M	Sis's Lunch	
432.5	N Main		R4	R	Devier	Albert Jr and Catherine B		
468	N Main		R4	B	Conard	Charles	North End Billiard Parlor	business different 1958 and 1960
470	N Main		R4	B	Cook	Cecil M	C & C Soda	
500	N Main	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/62x5dt2emcvvdhxokee8s/0005-Northeast-from-gas-station-on-No.jpg?rlkey=m07zh8jx0yxy0secqkokokebv&dl=0	R4	B	Heatwole	Dwight C	Dunlop Tire & Battery	vacant in 1960 c.d.
514	N Main	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/62x5dt2emcvvdhxokee8s/0005-Northeast-from-gas-station-on-No.jpg?rlkey=m07zh8jx0yxy0secqkokokebv&dl=0	R4	R	Charlton	Elmer L and Edna P		
516	N Main	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/62x5dt2emcvvdhxokee8s/0005-Northeast-from-gas-station-on-No.jpg?rlkey=m07zh8jx0yxy0secqkokokebv&dl=0	R4	R	Miller	Lynwood E and Nelson C		vacant in 1960 c.d.
518	N Main		R4	R	Berry	Nellie C		

556	N Main		R4	R	Deviers	Ernest J and Stella A		
580	N Main		R4	B			Valley Washers	
392*	N Main		R4	R	McDonalds on	Vernon L and Ruth C		vacant in 1960 c.d.
306	N Mason	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/fdp60flpvq0ajor8rrp68/0033-Northeast-corner-N.-Mason-and-E..html?rlkey=m6zafgmiqdc0m17qtvvyvqpfsh&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/fsmh0zktl075w3ghn5isy/0031-North-side-E.-Rock-east-from-N..jpg?rlkey=jz4pn2ixbopsl0tnyiuld82dy&dl=0	R4	R	Strother	Evelyn W		
336	N Mason		R4	R	Toliver	Theodore R and Phoebe H		
345	N Mason		R4	R	Harper	John P and Lydia M		
352	N Mason	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/1cjl5xqe659ii91w0k2yq/0032-East-side-N.-Mason-looking-north.jpg?rlkey=vgmtf66mhbelffgb9bqu5udrr&dl=0	R4	R	Burgess	Roscoe E and Josephine G		
355	N Mason		R4	R	Francis	J Albert		
370	N Mason	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/1cjl5xqe659ii91w0k2yq/0032-East-side-N.-Mason-looking-north.jpg?rlkey=vgmtf66mhbelffgb9bqu5udrr&dl=0	R4	R	Solomon	Janie M		
388	N Mason		R4	R	Temple	Ruby E		
398	N Mason		R4	R	Wardy	Taft O and Arizona L		

113	E Elizabeth	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/3tt9wjuauwzr6nj4snbi8/5065.016.jpg?rlkey=4plfpmwxguyvkeb5f1bw3eu6c&dl=0	R16	R	Jackson	Daisy S		no listing for this address in 1962 c.d.
113*	E Elizabeth	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/3tt9wjuauwzr6nj4snbi8/5065.016.jpg?rlkey=4plfpmwxguyvkeb5f1bw3eu6c&dl=0	R16	R	Cave	Helen S		no listing for this address in 1962 c.d.
113*	E Elizabeth	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/3tt9wjuauwzr6nj4snbi8/5065.016.jpg?rlkey=4plfpmwxguyvkeb5f1bw3eu6c&dl=0	R16	R	Grimmelsman	Ruth		no listing for this address in 1962 c.d.
145*	E Elizabeth	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/9gdkz0hrrxbieckhth6mh/5065.019.jpg?rlkey=spmiki6glwcv3e1k9pdklfo0o&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/hc6ejs3h28oi0t831j5r2/5065.020.jpg?rlkey=1sthb9ucofarb51mujfdynxio&dl=0	R16	R	Phillips	Donald F		no listing for this address in 1962 c.d.
178*	E Elizabeth		R16	R	Turner	Hattie E	Grapevine Apartments	no listing for this address in 1962 c.d.
178*	E Elizabeth		R16	R	Hinkle	Virgil O and Bessie B	Grapevine Apartmetns	no listing for this address in 1962 c.d.
133	E Elizabeth	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/4kaprpxe1m6ost781lndz/5065.017.jpg?rlkey=sgz2cwcbwq8s1jlqfs5r0b8dq&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/1bumrb7whdqvcclkfgdega/5065.018.jpg?rlkey=lsxoujwv8ppyekv8oudx6f8rw&dl=0	R16	R	Jenkins	Minnie L		no listing for this address in 1962 c.d.
145	E Elizabeth	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/9gdkz0hrrxbieckhth6mh/5065.019.jpg?rlkey=spmiki6glwcv3e1k9pdklfo0o&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/hc6ejs3h28oi0t831j5r2/5065.020.jpg?rlkey=1sthb9ucofarb51mujfdynxio&dl=0	R16	R	Martz	Grace L		no listing for this address in 1962 c.d.

146	E Elizabeth	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/ik84zld2sgyd3tk9wlfng/5065.075.jpg?rlkey=zvtdrtb39hauv1nl8geajbujz&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/apbeir4i8gptkccij5l6y/5065.074.jpg?rlkey=fenjntfdd2o1leffu5f0pb11j&dl=0	R16	R	Lincoln	Wilda C		vacant in 1962
157	E Elizabeth	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/b5x59zd3ebgip4gg0cwq0/5065.021.jpg?rlkey=60ry3ts914otpskdq9yd8jplm&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/cas0affh60h2qrb7bvciw/5065.022.jpg?rlkey=b97fubk1lpbbokxts6jtn9rxo&dl=0	R16	R	Saum	John R and Virginia L		no listing for this address in 1962 c.d.
158	E Elizabeth	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/l8qwqymh8103karihjp7w/5065.072.jpg?rlkey=tor21prh8jr027nocgmcs450h&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/8xfpxvymg9ym1ya99df67/5065.073.jpg?rlkey=s8t1e9q3mmeacjmhwlk4d2mmy&dl=0	R16	R	Croy	Freddie H and Betty S		no listing for this address in 1962 c.d.
159	E Elizabeth	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/qx1ml671fpf4jvlheua9a/5065.023.jpg?rlkey=288qfb0cb49boqdbudunqgd7&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/hg6za2dxjbtq3nt9q3pf4/5065.024.jpg?rlkey=iim2jmywcyv4gefipph4y85j0&dl=0	R16	M	Johnson	Charles O and Frank H Phillips	Johnson Restaurant	no listing for this address in 1962 c.d.
159.5	E Elizabeth	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/qx1ml671fpf4jvlheua9a/5065.023.jpg?rlkey=288qfb0cb49boqdbudunqgd7&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/hg6za2dxjbtq3nt9q3pf4/5065.024.jpg?rlkey=iim2jmywcyv4gefipph4y85j0&dl=0	R16	M	Kersh	Arnold C and Ava L		no listing for this address in 1962 c.d.

161	E Elizabeth	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/2sj66zhya76p2q88912i/5065.025.jpg?rlkey=pt7okr5u8dfmionhdmxjujp9e&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/l85tb08fpps20juefiapy/5065.026.jpg?rlkey=61zj92cl5jpryhy08ct6p9z0f&dl=0	R16				State Employment Service	no listing for this address in 1962 c.d.
178	E Elizabeth		R16	R	Shifflett	Herman G and Lilly B	Grapevine Apartments	no listing for this address in 1962 c.d.
120	E Elizabeth - 130 N Federal (multiple structures)	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/k15jlxbkllb1iyst61f13/5065.076.jpg?rlkey=wtu2rugvaugad8we16nrby4m&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/9st0nnr7ar ef6fg3q6ck2/5065.078.jpg?rlkey=dzys31uccofyage2pogw5bvft&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/2mpbd51ctgotolfjbbg7e/5065.080.jpg?rlkey=5ep8kxxwv8thb9ajadnosbndg&dl=0	R16	M	Liskey	Mattie L	dressmaker shop	no listing for this address in 1962 c.d.
120	E Elizabeth - 130 N Federal (multiple structures)	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/k15jlxbkllb1iyst61f13/5065.076.jpg?rlkey=wtu2rugvaugad8we16nrby4m&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/9st0nnr7ar ef6fg3q6ck2/5065.078.jpg?rlkey=dzys31uccofyage2pogw5bvft&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/2mpbd51ctgotolfjbbg7e/5065.080.jpg?rlkey=5ep8kxxwv8thb9ajadnosbndg&dl=0	R16	M	Purcell	Edward S and Katherine B	Purcell Plumbing & Heating	See 12/26/62 DNR story on the history of this house.
102	E Market	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/450vwdv1ozxurwx8ycnxh/5065.013.jpg?rlkey=jf87owah37ldzxerjo9298cxo&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/ohagrza0na2d87namomr0/5065.012.jpg?rlkey=xu78xidkucsjo fhrfns7993mv&dl=0	R16	B	Whitesel	Norman A	Whitesel Music	

104	E Market	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/450vwdv1ozxurwx8ycnxh/5065.013.jpg?rlkey=jf87owah37ldzxerjo9298cxo&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/ohagrza0na2d87namomr0/5065.012.jpg?rlkey=xu78xidkucsjothrfns7993mv&dl=0	R16	R	Stroop	Robert B		vacant by 1962
114	E Market	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/et22cougg38avkq5uwtqc/5065.011.jpg?rlkey=mate13vqiqv0z3cpuj9f000pj&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/wptl5cp41k7srjkyxc0pk/5065.010.jpg?rlkey=63qxrko7e24cek86if9m7mhy&dl=0	R16	R	Miller	Annie		vacant by 1962
37	E Rock	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/t99mtvhhzncrqzaxk322g/5065.060.jpg?rlkey=lr0xvgo50dhsawfeibcmaj8s&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/hj0p9i3y8jopskuuyttfd/5065.061.jpg?rlkey=er2vf96nauklaeo6dtjd76k6d&dl=0	R16	R	Fravel	John S and Dolly T		
47	E Rock	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/82nv7wp7yay3r0da481lr/5065.062.jpg?rlkey=pk520ofwy3siyf5jo5i58fb66&dl=0	R16	R	Rhinehart	Velva		
57	E Rock	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/c8p6kofs4ph5t3ogojnbu/5065.063.jpg?rlkey=kvmpxjlz38dim62slwowc03pw&dl=0	R16	R	Deavers	Marie G		
67	E Rock	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/izlx42ed4nxcrv5oey8de/5065.064.jpg?rlkey=r45d12qkr58rbx1c0jrualwd&dl=0	R16	R	Falls	Robert J and Eva R		
127	E Rock	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/9k0w388ndldpnlumjwgd2/5065.028.jpg?rlkey=m1xq5nqrrut8xgj5heydhbibv&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/c6wcsq3tkzvo5wmbin1sq/5065.029.jpg?rlkey=7i5it6a7zpxxesmuuey6fgzlw&dl=0	R16	R	Ford	Leonard F and Virgie D		

129	E Rock	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/9k0w388ndldpnlumjwgd2/5065.028.jpg?rlkey=m1xq5nqrrut8xqi5heydhbiv&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/c6wcsq3tkzvo5wmbin1sq/5065.029.jpg?rlkey=7i5it6a7zpxxesmuuey6fgzlw&dl=0	R16	R	Smith	Sam H and Margie S	
139	E Rock	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/94mgx1kenew2e8cz2qyl2/5065.030.jpg?rlkey=p8we84g00k31pqmc3fz0blg46&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/y1cl3m57u98dyzdm3yg0w/5065.031.jpg?rlkey=6c78g6idb56l85o44k360z6n6&dl=0	R16	B		Pepsi Cola Bottling Co	Kristie Kendall scanned additional photos https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fo/8aq7qr3f48h0uzwzzg5lx/AF9GKwyZK8AZwCqienVmJdY?rlkey=4il9slo pj0y360h0mryxtoa6l&dl=0
171	E Rock	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/t7ohgp8bg7iutbertrr1/5065.032.jpg?rlkey=slb4wmjfyw4va0i0onh8oaxtr&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/45b4zszn6on7ajw4tw5h1/5065.033.jpg?rlkey=kjo0iuos0ufk9fxzphi7sornm&dl=0	R16	R	Temple	Harry T and Peggy Y	
177	E Rock	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/k4q39h111wwuk0dvely63/5065.035.jpg?rlkey=s3q8f25q0zw2f1jydu6vz0llw&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/joz481qhw n8o5o229v9ym/5065.034.jpg?rlkey=la62emifise5sw1h2jwd7qcrf&dl=0	R16	R	Nickens	Joseph L and Edith C	
195	E Rock	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/bkzflaauch4lqj5278k16/5065.036.jpg?rlkey=rmti8hx61yxj32ta89akzbm8h&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/j0ctcfl0bqrlwgku7oplz/5065.037.jpg?rlkey=zgmz4lclw h422lbe299104nh7&dl=0	R16	R	Terrell	Walter S and Theresa B	

38	E Wolfe	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/bdrjcunpx6z5v8glfelo/5065.054.jpg?rlkey=m1d8r8p eh3glt36cbautqfwv2&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/drh89wl8excdi7w8ini84/5065.055.jpg?rlkey=cfo5w8hmc84vuci7hz2mg39pd&dl=0	R16	R	Strother	Addie L	
102	E Wolfe	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/w01yvbexc uhy1ealesm1h/5065.052.jpg?rlkey=vprnj1rk9z3xm8zbb6g4p251d&dl=0	R16	R			vacant; owned by Leo M and Julia F Howard
108	E Wolfe	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/w01yvbexc uhy1ealesm1h/5065.052.jpg?rlkey=vprnj1rk9z3xm8zbb6g4p251d&dl=0	R16	R			vacant; owned by Leo M and Julia F Howard
122	E Wolfe	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/cpezdkble 0b5n8ipb8tct/5065.050.jpg?rlkey=tart13p m0dvdx9giazhtzn3&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/w6wrvdds mn342y5qcvy30/5065.051.jpg?rlkey=xup nzceb2yui7oykjt看pj01da&dl=0	R16	R	Barber	Emsie I	
138	E Wolfe	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/wlrvf25zag 2f02f7gnu2i/5065.048.jpg?rlkey=v9i9g0bu fzoq5paj7m38pw58d&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/ndmuwks9 fzhnc0dxtz104/5065.049.jpg?rlkey=xj543 agf6n1q179gtzhinalsm&dl=0	R16	R	Vickers	Henry W and Savilla T	
142	E Wolfe	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/ykmljf5zm bb6zguklu2bh/5065.046.jpg?rlkey=vk0lqg dw5n58ampay1xdwj3ro&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/oh124bu9 b6n5wqlw9wnzx/5065.047.jpg?rlkey=bera cunz2aa8hslrn0ee4r56&dl=0	R16				vacant

156	E Wolfe	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/gw4p46n0wa6ysg689z9be/5065.045.jpg?rlkey=28590w0pjl7utwab010ljfxh2&dl=0	R16					vacant
168	E Wolfe	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/th0l1vitje3m6ym18zeg1/5065.044.jpg?rlkey=q5lu6e4rrew2v8dw63xhmyds4&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/iaa794ykevzvumheg169u/5065.043.jpg?rlkey=j1uyrmrou01zww4dfonrzuze7&dl=0	R16	R	Jackson	Clyde		The same Clyde Jackson displaced by R4? (1962 c.d. lists 2 Clyde Jacksons, both employees of Famous Restaurant #1.)
176	E Wolfe	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/0k6r130lnxe30lnlwkg4s/5065.041.jpg?rlkey=82ebsoo7rias3sezdf4wber1j&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/335t2wnkq98x1rv647sr3/5065.040.jpg?rlkey=lh7mjc366t1gm8a97yenmnnr1&dl=0	R16	C			First Baptist Church	
48-58-68	E Wolfe	no photo	R16	B			Loewner Granite & Marble	Loewner family sold business to James H Bryan ca 1963. Bryan, who had managed the firm for 26 years, moved it about a mile outside Harrisonburg US Hwy 115/Rd 1.
48-58-68	E Wolfe	no photo	R16	R	Thompson	Herbert I and Virginia C		
	E Wolfe	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/3t0g8m4sxbbslnqqfn8zj/5065.098.jpg?rlkey=ek8ngd7o95wln24so29cwpebr&dl=0	R16				Catholic church	parking lot
50	Federal	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/6z5b9cfhziq6lmal7gn51/5065.014.jpg?rlkey=36qmuo0qnwxp0vw1ykgim642v&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/tvour3fwguwixed69dau/5065.015.jpg?rlkey=vy9qb5ql6gciyvp4lox8m5hmk&dl=0	R16	B			Joseph Ney's Display Room (storage)	

150	Federal	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/0adnutek48vqtrkp9y9eb/5065.082.jpg?rlkey=n0392m14orvwpr80a32xbqju8&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/j6q6i5vzlzyywsil6xw0y/5065.083.jpg?rlkey=u4tu6zze0sb6gruam0r6zi73e&dl=0	R16	R	Golden	Walton A	
160	Federal	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/8jzh97cpmhyoxihwcjzd/5065.085.jpg?rlkey=e9rr10omhcc4u7i4iueh1ve85&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/8jzh97cpmhyoxihwcjzd/5065.085.jpg?rlkey=e9rr10omhcc4u7i4iueh1ve85&dl=0	R16	R	Eckard	Richard and Lucy S	
204	Federal	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/w01yvbexcuhy1ealesm1h/5065.052.jpg?rlkey=vprnj1rk9z3xm8zbb6g4p251d&dl=0	R16	R			"No return"; owned by Leo M and Julia F Howard.
241	Federal	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/538o2isi6gvn1ppg3fmbm/5065.057.jpg?rlkey=79cqy7n2ldszi1f30sbpujtwq&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/jeccah9pgvz922ej79rpf/5065.056.jpg?rlkey=kn5e0ldeolwt6q739nbk5fo96&dl=0	R16	R	Patterson	Foster C	
253	Federal	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/5o53lch0lsdo4hi746rti/5065.059.jpg?rlkey=gahb506yi02fsnjlw1tcavvm&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/zsm7ihdyvi0v8nmklvcse/5065.058.jpg?rlkey=w7uxtq1kb10dm15dchk3hfqpd&dl=0	R16	R			Small dwelling, "substandard" and "neglected" per Davis report; owned by E L Klingstein
269	Federal	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/cr8e1y6y3v8qxs8kk39n3/5065.065.jpg?rlkey=cq3xmzsba2k15tmnss1f688n0&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/8ijkvdlzn7v8gylccx0xx/5065.067.jpg?rlkey=c7thikpi6c4tqjzw0cgx45gmz&dl=0	R16	R	Brown	Madison H and Hazel F	

S. E. corner	Federal & E Wolfe	no photo	R16				city-owned parcel	
172	N Main	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/60rkgi9d4bypi4wv9spsy/5065.088.jpg?rlkey=bm3un4eao13bl62n71qdtgw7r&dl=0	R16	B	Sandridge	Tallie R	M & S Restaurant	Restaurant moved to 441 E Rock by 1962, probably in expectation of displacement.
174	N Main	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/mvkex6bbejeu0f4cna9xu/5065.086.jpg?rlkey=t615bunnlxjz7w4qxo7zz6j&dl=0	R16	B			Loewner Granite & Marble	Loewner family sold business to James H Bryan ca 1963. Bryan, who had managed the firm for 26 years, moved it about a mile outside Harrisonburg US Hwy 115/Rd 1.
198	N Main	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/mvkex6bbejeu0f4cna9xu/5065.086.jpg?rlkey=t615bunnlxjz7w4qxo7zz6j&dl=0	R16	R	Reiter	Jessie V		Historic house; see https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/oda9tc7ye2evngcmr369g/62-11-23-demotion-Jesse-Reiter-home-Harrisonburg-Daily-News-Record-Nov-23-1962-p-8.pdf?rlkey=0y47dgmct2h4g1krm46yf4oun&dl=0
204	N Main	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/7gai7yv36glyz8atqiay7/5065.053.jpg?rlkey=qgvj7iisk70ga9frmmbllyy6p3&dl=0	R16	B			One Hour Martinizing	Rebuilt on disposition parcel https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/uqnaexehzppypseanjz1va/64-1-28-modern-laundromat-Wolfe-St-Harrisonburg-Daily-News-Record-Jan-28-1964-p-5.pdf?rlkey=xzm1x75dbhxagad8w2ohowbjo&dl=0
216	N Main	no photo	R16	B	Edwards	W Frank and Harriet O	Harriet was the hotel's manager	a resident of the hotel
216	N Main	no photo	R16	B	E L	Klingstein	New National Hotel	partial image in H-25, 38
224	N Main	no photo	R16					vacant

242	N Main	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/z8edwm5m007074g3ympxj/5065.070.jpg?rlkey=pwn9j8urwih8t4t1vbjvmdcam&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/sw99l8us0lr8xmgvgvwby/5065.071.jpg?rlkey=7totaoui861e4bwjdwq3c58i&dl=0	R16	C			Hebrew Friendship Congregation / Temple Beth El	
254	N Main	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/l70bhox3r6tehve43l6cz/5065.069.jpg?rlkey=4pwrqb4qmf3pq8flou3yexex9&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/cr8e1y6y3v8qxs8kk39n3/5065.065.jpg?rlkey=cq3xmzsba2k15tmnss1f688n0&dl=0	R16	M	Kline	John L	Kline's Frozen Custard	Rebuilt on disposition parcel
270	N Main	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/cr8e1y6y3v8qxs8kk39n3/5065.065.jpg?rlkey=cq3xmzsba2k15tmnss1f688n0&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/1bas6qopczmfbcl5b8q7z/5065.066.jpg?rlkey=2jwm1k2fsxc92l5e3np46roym&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/8ijkvdlzn7v8gylccx0xx/5065.067.jpg?rlkey=c7thikpi6c4tqizw0cgx45gmz&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/62kfk90k4jqcca0lsq3z8/5065.068.jpg?rlkey=v1964twzgev5t9filqrvyvq3&dl=0	R16	R	Sullivan	Mame		

270*	N Main	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/cr8e1y6y3v8qxs8kk39n3/5065.065.jpg?rlkey=cq3xmzsba2k15tmnss1f688n0&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/1bas6qopczmfb1c5b8q7z/5065.066.jpg?rlkey=2jwm1k2fsxc92l5e3np46roym&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/8ijkvdlzn7v8gylccx0xx/5065.067.jpg?rlkey=c7thikpi6c4tqizw0cqx45gmz&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/62kfk90k4jqcca0lsq3z8/5065.068.jpg?rlkey=v1964twzqev5t9filqrvyvq3&dl=0	R16	R	Newman	Guy A and Evelyn P		
39	N Mason	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/2sj66zhya76pzaq88912i/5065.025.jpg?rlkey=pt7okr5u8dfmionhdmxjujp9e&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/l85tb08fpps20juefiapy/5065.026.jpg?rlkey=61zj92cl5ipryhy08ct6p9z0f&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/q117r0o5p9uoug5u55ka2/5065.027.jpg?rlkey=5wm7xwuau7frlwu7vf9knswe&dl=0	R16	R	Hoover	Paul and Marjorie S		
49	N Mason	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/2sj66zhya76pzaq88912i/5065.025.jpg?rlkey=pt7okr5u8dfmionhdmxjujp9e&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/l85tb08fpps20juefiapy/5065.026.jpg?rlkey=61zj92cl5ipryhy08ct6p9z0f&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/q117r0o5p9uoug5u55ka2/5065.027.jpg?rlkey=5wm7xwuau7frlwu7vf9knswe&dl=0	R16	R	Kisling	Amos H and Minnie C		

59	N Mason	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/2sj66zhya76p2q88912i/5065.025.jpg?rlkey=pt7okr5u8dfmionhdmxjuip9e&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/l85tb08fpps20juefiapy/5065.026.jpg?rlkey=61zj92cl5ipryhy08ct6p9z0f&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/q117r0o5p9uoug5u55ka2/5065.027.jpg?rlkey=5wm7xwuau7frlwu7vf9knswe&dl=0	R16					no listing for this address
119	N Mason	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/79lbyg6ob4t0ok7jgiob5/5065.094.jpg?rlkey=sgfxqze633mc8dv689hvycn63&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/snzwlfd0mowsg6cw9p3ff/5065.095.jpg?rlkey=veeq0i76fl6mo2au1bz0ddc7e&dl=0	R16	R	Shifflett	Hensel V and Myrtle F		vacant in 1962 c.d.
119.5	N Mason	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/79lbyg6ob4t0ok7jgiob5/5065.094.jpg?rlkey=sgfxqze633mc8dv689hvycn63&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/snzwlfd0mowsg6cw9p3ff/5065.095.jpg?rlkey=veeq0i76fl6mo2au1bz0ddc7e&dl=0	R16	R	Turner	Margie M		vacant in 1962 c.d.
127	N Mason	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/eu3utglodd7liy78m9lm3/5065.093.jpg?rlkey=if1jwwijfsir950xm4bfazg56&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/93g0jyyuwzx5gcwy9msu1/5065.092.jpg?rlkey=wpa4sov6wuwaee8g9kfvzfczwi&dl=0	R16	R	Hinkle	Virgil O and Bessie B		

129	N Mason	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/y3e6tmoykodymyly4b2q9/5065.096.jpg?rlkey=cryqi6bpa21gf5mhreyyg2o15&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/rmfowrqu756uvc958whxl/5065.097.jpg?rlkey=jxxkddfxvilwd5q7zaslkq82u&dl=0	R16	R	Sampson	Hampton L and Ruby F	
221	N Mason	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/kd74t25cl3golqhu3fva6/5065.039.jpg?rlkey=liws83jc8gzs5wwgqbtm8udw&dl=0 https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/335t2wnkg98x1rv647sr3/5065.040.jpg?rlkey=lh7mjc366t1gm8a97yenmnnr1&dl=0	R16	R	Allen	Thomas C and Evelyn G	
245	N Mason	https://www.dropbox.com/scl/fi/oxp32y9qc8ipgbbznyis8/5065.038.jpg?rlkey=5z6fhjs3k2x41auyr8cso4znu&dl=0	R16				City-owned

Appendix 3: Homeowners

Link to dynamic spreadsheet:

<https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1Ogyzrm2p9WFOuNblwdlVTy8G2K0upROYLi9cT65-q0s/edit?usp=sharing>

Address	Last name	First name(s)	Race	Birth year	block-parcel	UR Project	Acquisition Payment	Owned multiple seized properties	Remained homeowner (Y, N, ?)	New address	Moved to public housing	Notes
180 E Rock	Goodlowe	Blanche	B	1924 (PA marriage cert.)	2-5	R4	\$3,500	FALSE	N	6 Lincoln	TRUE	
362 N Federal	Gray	Florence Gasway	B	1895 (6/30/84 DNR obit)	2-20	R4	\$6,150	FALSE	?		FALSE	Widow of Dr. Samuel Gray, physician. Living in Staunton at time of her death.
218 E Rock	Scott	Daisy J	B	1906 (Find-a-grave)	3-13	R4	\$5,150	FALSE	N	511 Sterling	TRUE	one of Ellsie Scott Ware's heirs
224 E Rock	Wilson	Rachel	B	1885 (VA death cert.)	3-20	R4	\$6,300	FALSE	N	418 Broad	TRUE	Widow, died 1962
210 Gay St	Brown	Annie R	B	1919 (VA death cert.)	4-11	R4	\$5,000	FALSE	N	410 Kelley	TRUE	widow, Richard
450 N Federal	Chase	Sarah Mauzy	B	est. 1876 (VA death cert.)	5-4	R4	\$3,825	FALSE	N	410 Broad	TRUE	Sarah, described as "incompetent" in legal records; moved in with Evelyn Chase.

89 E Johnson	Stephens	Erasmus Lester (E. L.) and Lena	B	1888 and 1889 (VA death cert.)	7-16	R4	\$11,990	TRUE	?		FALSE	Living in Bridgewater, VA at time of E L's death in 1965.
160 E Rock	Curry	Carrie May	B		2-3	R4	\$7,122	FALSE	Y	238 Broad	FALSE	
370 N Mason	Solomon	Janie	B		3-12	R4	\$6,957	FALSE	Y	513 Broad	FALSE	513 Broad had housed her husband's shoe shine business.
206 E Gay	McCall	Lester and Amanda	B		4-10A	R4	\$10,500	TRUE	Y	205 E Johnson	FALSE	Also owned 200 and 204 E Gay
171 E Rock	Rhodes	Elon and Edna	B		H-13 and 14	R16	\$7,500	TRUE	Y	366 Effinger	FALSE	also owned 177 E Rock
518 N Main St	Berry	Nellie	W		7-3	R4	\$15,500	TRUE	?		FALSE	Died in 19611
corner Federal and Elizabeth	Purcell	Edward and Kathryn	W		K-42 43 and 44	R16	\$32,900	TRUE	Y	373 Franklin	FALSE	
198 Rock St	Black	Edward (Sallie Black's executor)	B	1893 (VA death cert.)	2-7	R4	\$1,975	FALSE	N	422 Broad	TRUE	Check acquisition price--I have \$975 in Property Acquisition spreadsheet
122 E Wolfe	Barber	Emsie	B		H-23	R16	\$7,450	FALSE	Y	434 Kelley	FALSE	

129 N Mason	Sampson	Hampton L and Ruby F	B		K-51	R16	\$4,885	FALSE	?	375 Broad	FALSE	
170 E Rock	Curry	William Lee and Robertta	B		2-4	R4	\$7,892	FALSE	Y	444 Kelley	FALSE	
345 N Mason	Harper	John P and Lydia Mosby	B		2-8	R4	\$7,177	TRUE	Y	385 Broad	FALSE	
355 N Mason	Ware	Vernon and Lucille (and Albert J Francis)	B		2-9	R4	\$6,930	FALSE	Y	525 Sterling	FALSE	
398 N Mason	Wardy	Taft and Arizona	B		3-10	R4	\$8,250	TRUE	Y	517 Broad	FALSE	Purchased building lot from HRHA.
388 N Mason	Temple	Ruby	B		3-11	R4	\$7,650	FALSE	Y	610 Myrtle	FALSE	
336 N Mason	Toliver	Theodore and Phoebe	B		3-15	R4	\$14,000	TRUE	Y	520 Myrtle	FALSE	Also lost property to public housing.
215 E Gay	Harper	John and Doris	B		4-1	R4	\$6,930	TRUE	Y	314 Kelley	FALSE	Doris (Howard) Harper Allen was the daughter of owners, Leo and Julia Howard.
194 Effinger	Howard	Leo and Julia	B		7-21	R4	\$9,790	TRUE	Y	237 Broad	FALSE	
629 Broad	Stuart	Henry and Minnie	B		7-17	R4	\$4,400	FALSE	Y	180 Kelley	FALSE	
188 Effinger	Whittaker	Cuetta Howard	B		7-23	R4	\$5,400	FALSE	Y	158 E Johnson	FALSE	

199 E Gay	Fields	Robert and Bertha	B		2-10 and 11	R4	\$9,327	FALSE	Y	610 Broad	FALSE	
195 E Rock	Terrell	Walter and Theresa	B		H-15	R16	\$6,200	FALSE	Y	306 Kelley	FALSE	
138 E Wolfe	Vickers	Henry and Savilla	B		H-22	R16	\$9,675	TRUE	Y	509 Broad	FALSE	Purchased HRHA disposition parcel
108 E Rock	Schaeffer	Lula	W		2-1	R4	\$5,400	FALSE	N	512 E Gay	TRUE	
27 Effinger	Simmons	Effie	W		6-8	R4	\$5,252	FALSE	?	250 Paul	FALSE	
516 N Main	Miller	Nelson Elizabeth	W		7-2	R4	\$9,157	FALSE	?		FALSE	Not sure where she moved
241 Federal	Patterson	Foster	W		H-29	R16	\$2,850	FALSE	?		FALSE	Not sure where he moved
270 N Main	Sullivan	Mame	W		H-35 and 36	R16	\$15,900	FALSE	N	131 N Main (Kavanaugh Hotel)	FALSE	
254 N Main	Kline	John L	W		H-37	R16	\$19,100	FALSE	?	281 N Main	FALSE	Not sure if he owned or rented his home, but we do know he did purchase a lot from HRHA. the current

												location of Kline's Dairy Bar on 58 E Wolfe
114 E Market	Miller	Annie	W		N-1	R16	\$25,960	FALSE	?	93 Franklin	FALSE	Not sure if she owned or rented new home, but she was still living at same address in 1969.
145 E Elizabeth	Martz	Grace	W		N-6	R16	\$10,450	FALSE	?	432 E Elizabeth	FALSE	
157 E Elizabeth	Saum	John and Virginia	W		N-7	R16	\$8,700	FALSE	?		FALSE	Not sure where they moved.
37 E Johnson	Clatterbuck	Boyd and Elizabeth	W		7-11	R4	\$7,865	FALSE	Y	530 W Wolfe	FALSE	Inherited from Bessie Yeakle or Yeakel, who died 4/7/60. Bessie was Elizabeth's aunt.
41 E Johnson	Yeakle or Yeakel	Charles	W		7-13	R4	\$5,802	FALSE	Y	530 W Wolfe	FALSE	Charles moved in with his daughter Elizabeth and son-in-law Boyd Clatterbuck
160 N Federal	Eckard	Richard and Lucy	W		K-46	R16	\$6,400	FALSE	Y	866 Stuart	FALSE	
198 N Main	Reiter	Jessie V	W		K-49 47 and 48	R16	\$37,825	TRUE	Y	85 N High	FALSE	

Appendix 4: Public Housing Residents

Link to dynamic spreadsheet:

https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1ilz_keF9CjaibRfjyfKu1JZklAWoghWHafhwx4klEus/edit?usp=sharing

First name	Last name	pre public housing address (1958/59 or 1960 city directory)	Urban Renewal Displacee?	HRHA address	Source (cd = city directory)	Notes
Dorothy	Abernathy	178 Effinger	TRUE	513 Myrtle	62 cd	
Catherine	Barber	147 Johnson	FALSE	431 Kelley	8/11/61 Memo; 1963 cd	lost home 147 E Johnson to indebtedness (1959 trustee sale)
St Claire T	Barber	408 N Federal	TRUE	14 Lincoln	62 cd	
Edward	Black	198 E Rock	TRUE	422 Broad	10/19/60 Minutes; 62 cd	former owner-occupier -- Sallie Black executor
Mary C	Broaddus	451 Conrad	TRUE	434 Hill	62 cd	
Rossie C	Broaddus	451 Conrad	TRUE	513 Sterling	62 cd	Mary's brother
Annie	Brown	210 E Gay	TRUE	410 Kelley	7/19/1961 HRHA Minutes	former owner-occupier -- see condemnation case
Isaiah	Brown	182 Effinger	TRUE	15 Lincoln	62 cd	
Madison H	Brown	269 N Federal	TRUE	517 Stelring	62 cd	
Rosa S	Brown	156 Effinger	TRUE	430 Hill	62 cd	
Belle	Bruce	91 E Johnson	TRUE	446 Broad	10/19/60 Minutes; 62 cd	
Willie R	Bryant	138 Effinger	TRUE	424 Hill	62 cd	
Robert C and Nellie F	Carrier	Mt Crawford, VA	FALSE	520 E Gay	62 cd	
Dennis E and Loretta C	Carter	204 E Gay	TRUE	511 Myrtle	62 cd	
James L and Alice M	Carter	117 Newman Ave	FALSE	9 Lincoln	5/17/61 Minutes; 62 cd	no listing in 58/59 or 60 c.d.

Sarah	Chase	450 N Federal	TRUE	410 Broad	8/11/61 Memo; 63 cd	Evelyn Chase also lived at 410 per 1963 c.d.
Ruth and James Ambrose	Coxen		FALSE	508 E Gay; 516 E Gay	8/11/61 Memo; 62/ 63 cd	no listing in 58/59 or 60 c.d.
Orville L and Nancy H	Cupp		FALSE	498 Norwood	62 cd	no listing in 58/59, 60 or 63 c.d.
Elmer G and Pauline	Dallard	171 E Rock	TRUE	519 Sterling	62 cd	Elmer was Elon Rhodes stepfather and lived with the family until UR.
Cecil D	Dean	539 East View	FALSE	205 Myers	62 cd	
Norma J	Dean		FALSE	405 E Bruce	63 cd	no listing in 58/59, 60 or 62 c.d.
Warren	Dunn	134 Effinger	TRUE	415 Kelley	62 cd	
Raymond	Eckard	160 N Federal	TRUE		10/2/1961 Memo	no listing in 58/59, 60, 62, or 63 c.d. Brother of Richard.
William and Esther	Evans	681 N Main	FALSE	495 Norwood	10/2/1961 Memo; 62 cd	
Lucille and Samuel	Ewell		FALSE	13 Lincoln Pl	8/18/61 Memo; 62 cd	no listing in 58/59 or 60 c.d.
James M and Frances S	Fairfax	364 N Federal	TRUE	427 Kelley	6/21/61 Minutes; 62 cd	Appears to have been a temporary move; lived at 312 Kelley in 1963 per c.d.
Paul E	Falls	81 Effinger	TRUE	438 Myrtle	62 cd	
Eugene F	Fitzwater		FALSE	167 Reservoir	62 cd	no listing in 58/59 or 60 c.d.
Ivan	Fitzwater		FALSE	208 Myers	62 cd	no listing in 58/59 or 60 c.d.
Mamie E	Ford	69 Effinger	TRUE	202 Myers	62 cd	
Richard	Frye		FALSE	492 Norwood	HRHA vacated apartments list	no listing in 58/59 or 60 c.d.
Blanche C	Goodlowe	180 E Rock	TRUE	6 Lincoln	62 cd	
Joe L and Irene R	Goodwin	461 Conrad	TRUE	420 Hill	62 cd	

Charles H	Graves	107 Effinger	TRUE	413 Kelley	62 cd	
Jack	Haliburton		FALSE	11 Lincoln	62 cd	no listing in 58/59 or 60 c.d.
Woodrow T	Harper		FALSE	462 E Gay	62 cd	no listing in 58/59 or 60 c.d.
Lillian B and Leonard Jr	Hedrick	297 W Water	FALSE	147 Reservoir	62 cd	
Shirley	Helmick		FALSE	211 Reservoir	8/18/61 Memo	no listing in 58/59, 60, 62, or 63 c.d.
Nicholas E and Betty H	Hensley	7 S Liberty	FALSE	491 Norwood	62 cd	
William P	Higgins		FALSE	496 Norwood	62 cd	no listing in 58/59 or 60 c.d.
Elsie	Hoback	Ashby Ave	FALSE	489 Norwood	63 cd	no listing in 58/59 or 60 c.d.
Gurney	Holly	174 Effinger	TRUE	414 Broad	10/19/60 Minutes	Gurney Mae Holly died 2/21/62
Margaret	Hottinger	857 N Liberty	FALSE	211 Reservoir	63 cd	listed at 857 N Liberty in 1962 cd
Allen	Howard	190 E Gay	TRUE	2 Lincoln	62 cd	
Willie and Margie E	Hudson	427 N Federal	TRUE	10 Lincoln	62 cd	
Ardell V	Jackson	160 Effinger	TRUE	403 Kelley	63 cd	
Viola B	Jordan	141 Effinger	TRUE	403 Kelley, 418 Broad	62/63 cd	
Margaret S	Lawson	108 Ash Tree	FALSE	204 Myers	62 cd	
Arthur M and Elsie V	Leake	540 Hawkins	FALSE	497 Norwood	62 cd	appear to be related to Nancy
Nancy J	Leake	542 Hawkins	FALSE	499 Norwood	62 cd	
Doris and Charles W	Lewis	306 Garland	FALSE	403 E Bruce	8/1/61 Memo; 62 cd	
Trenton W and Mae	Long	188 E Rock	TRUE	401 E Bruce	62 cd	
James E and Frances	Madden	429 N Federal	TRUE	8 Lincoln	62 cd	

Lena	Madden	336 N Federal	TRUE	414 Broad	62 cd	
Merle	Madden	136 Effinger	TRUE	515 Sterling	minutes 3/31/61; 62 cd	
Jewel and James R	Mason	202 N Mason	FALSE	438 Broad, 413 Kelley	62/63 cd	
Aaron	Mercer		FALSE	401 E Bruce	63 cd	no listing in 58/59 or 60 c.d.
Lawrence W	Messerley		FALSE	489 Norwood	63 cd	no listing in 58/59 or 60 c.d.
Beatrice or Bernice	Michael	276 E Water St	FALSE	516 E Gay	8/11/61 Memo; 62 cd	
Thomas and Eve	Miller		FALSE	155 Reservoir	62 cd	no listing in 58/59 or 60 c.d.
Joseph and Gloria	Moore	190 E Gay	TRUE	412 Kelley	6/21/61 Minutes; 62 cd	
Carl A	Morris	1563 Island Rd (VA)	FALSE	151 Reservoir	62 cd	not sure where in VA he was living before moving into public housing
Martha H	Payne	383 N Federal	TRUE	407 Kelley	62 cd	
Wheeler B and Frances	Phillips		FALSE	262 Kelley	62 cd	58/59 c.d. lists name but not address; no listing in 60 c.d.
Helen B	Price	204 E Gay	TRUE	12 Lincoln	62 cd	
Shirley and Walter	Price	204 E Gay	TRUE	231 Reservoir	8/11/61 Memo; 62 cd	
Griffin L and Bessie L	Ray	186 Effinger	TRUE	405 Kelley	62 cd	
Ernest B and Martha S	Rexrode	351 E Gay	FALSE	442 Mytle	62 cd	
Elmer and Betty H	Runion	722 N Liberty	FALSE	223 Reservoir	8/18/61 Memo; 62 cd	
Betty R	Sampson	771 Stuart	FALSE	1 Lincoln	62 cd	
Kenwood M and Maggie T	Sampson	371 N Federal	TRUE	3 Lincoln	62 cd	

Ralph and Sarah	Sampson	129 N Mason	TRUE	4 Lincoln	63 cd	
Lula H	Schaeffer	108 E Rock	TRUE	512 E Gay	62 cd	
Daisy	Scott	218 E Rock	TRUE	511 Sterling	62 cd	
Frances D	Scott	463 Conrad	TRUE	417 Kelley	62 cd	
Isaac C	Seekford		FALSE	470 E Gay	63 cd	no listing in 58/59 or 60 c.d.
Henry J and Hazel M	Shank		FALSE	163 Reservoir	63 cd	no listing in 58/59 or 60 c.d.
Rosa L	Shifflet/Shifflett	325 N Federal	TRUE	429 Kelley	62 cd	
Herman G	Shifflett	180 N Liberty	FALSE	227 Reservoir	62 cd	
Betty J	Shifflett/Shifflette	RD 4	FALSE	215 Reservoir	63 cd	
Ethel	Shirkey	276 E Water St	FALSE	159 Reservoir	62 cd	
Clarence N and Gladys V	Showalter	775 Massanutten	FALSE	492 Norwood	8/11/61 Memo	Family of 10. Appears to have been temporary move; 492 is listed as vacant in 62 c.d.
Leona	Simmers		FALSE	309 Reservoir	8/11/61 Memo; 62 cd	no listing in 58/59 or 60 c.d.
Eugene H	Sites		FALSE	223 Reservoir	63 cd	no listing in 58/59 or 60 c.d.
Herbert G and Mary S	Smallwood		FALSE	494 Norwood	8/1/61 Memo; 62 cd	no listing in 58/59 or 60 c.d.
Virginia T	Smith	148 Effinger	TRUE	401 Kelley	62 cd	
LaVerne and Betty Ann	Spitzer	282 N. Liberty	FALSE	219 Reservoir	8/25/61 Memo; 62/63 cd	
Harvey	Stover	150 Academy St	FALSE	407 E Bruce	8/26/1961 Minutes; 62 cd	Family of 10. Appears to have moved out by 1963.
Harry E and Olivia W	Strother	447 Conrad	TRUE	7 Lincoln	62 cd	
Anne	Summers		FALSE	508 E Gay	63 cd	no listing in 58/59 or 60 c.d.
Clara	Tams	188 E Gay	TRUE	5 Lincoln Place	5/17/61 Minutes; 62 cd	

Charlotte E or S	Taylor	120 Ash Tree	FALSE	493 Norwood	62 cd	
Fannie A	Thomas	89.5 E Johnson	TRUE	411 Kelley, 438 Broad	62/63 cd	
Bessie	Tuckson	186 E. Gay	TRUE	438 Broad	10/19/60 Minutes	Bessie died 8/24/61.
Mildred and Ernest	Tuckson	190 E Gay	TRUE	412 Kelley	8/31/61 Memo; 62 cd	
Irving W and Elizabeth S	Vaughn	182 E Gay	TRUE	430 Broad	10/19/60 Minutes; 62 cd	
Robert E and Helen L	Ward		FALSE	311 Reservoir	63 cd	no listing in 58/59 or 60 c.d.
Conrad	Washington		FALSE	427 Kelley	62/63 cd	no listing in 58/59 or 60 c.d.
Curtis	Washington	231 E Johnson	FALSE	426 Broad	63 cd	no listing in 58/59 or 60 c.d.
Winston	Washington	91 E Johnson	TRUE	409 Kelley	62 cd	
Julie	Wetzel		FALSE	155 Reservoir	63 cd	no listing in 58/59 or 60 c.d.
Clarence T	Whitelow	221 E Kelley	FALSE	513 Myrtle	63 cd	
Inez	Williams	198 E Gay	TRUE	434 Broad	62 cd	
Otis and Rosetta	Williams		FALSE	424 Hill	63 cd	no listing in 58/59 or 60 c.d.
Rachel	Wilson	224 E Rock	TRUE	418 Broad	10/19/60 Minutes; 62 cd	former owner-occupier displaced by R4; died 1962.
Marcella A and Noland C	Wisman	Penn Laird, VA	FALSE	407 E Bruce	63 cd	
Maria K	Woodbridge		FALSE	442 Broad	62 cd	no listing in 58/59 or 60 c.d.
Barbara	Wright		FALSE	11 Lincoln	63 cd	no listing in 58/59 or 60 c.d.
Dorothy B	Yancey		FALSE	444 Hill	62 cd	no listing in 58/59 or 60 c.d.
Lee R and Bernice M	Young	247 N Federal	TRUE	16 Lincoln	62 cd	

Appendix 5: Disposition Parcels

Link to dynamic spreadsheet:

<https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1TfDq6PBorQYVpAYGnpCkC5vhmalDEypYono9V9ti5Jg/edit?usp=sharing>

Block	Parcel	Project	Price	Buyer	Business	Deed Date	Notes
			From deed or Driver report on R-4; "OVC" = other valuable considerations				
F	7	R-4	\$1,038	Wardy, Taft		1961 04 17	
F	8	R-4	\$1,030	Winston, Tyrone Philip and Mary Catherine		1961 06 20	Conveyed to George R. Aldhizer, Jr. on 1961 06 14 for \$1+ovc.
F	6	R-4	\$1,050	Mintzer, Mignonette		1961 09 13	
1 2		R-4	\$2,932	Valley Distributors, Inc.	Valley Distributors, Inc.	1961 11 15	block/parcel is from acquisition map for R-4
A	1	R-4	\$37,710	Virginia ABC Board	Virginia ABC Board	1962 04 24	
F	9	R-4	\$1,008	Vickers, Henry and Savilla		1962 10 15	
F	1, 3, 4	R-4	\$1,071	Nutter, Hunter C., Sr.		1962 12 19	Driver report says this is only for Parcel F3
F	11	R-4	\$10 & ovc	Wesley Methodist Church		1963 02 13	
F	10	R-4	\$1,150	Virginia Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities	Virginia Mennonite Board of Missions and Charities	1963 03 28	\$150 downpayment
F	5	R-16	\$1,060	First Baptist Church	First Baptist Church	1963 09 10	

F	2	R-4	\$1,160	Howard, Alfred L., Sr. and Geraldine F.		1963 09 15	Conveyed by deed of trust to Vernon L. Duncan and William G. Talley of Roanoke on 1963 09 25
A	1	R-16	\$10 & ovc	Neilsen Construction Co.	Neilsen Construction Co.	1963 10 03	
A	3	R-16	\$10 & ovc	Neilsen Construction Co.	Neilsen Construction Co.	1963 10 11	
D	1&3	R-4	\$106,852	Valley Plaza Inc.		1963 12 02	Parcels made up of 26 acquisition parcels.
A	4	R-16	\$10 & ovc	Kline, John L.		1964 01 06	
A	6	R-16	\$10 & ovc	Driver, James, Joseph, Ruby	Mick or Mack	1964 01 06	Parcel made up of 14 acquisition parcels.
A	6	R-16	\$1 & ovc	City of Harrisonburg		1964 09 09	
C	1	R-16	\$10 & ovc	City of Harrisonburg		1964 09 09	
A	5	R-16	\$10 & ovc	Driver, James, Joseph, Ruby	Mick or Mack	1964 09 11	Parcel made up of 7 acquisition parcels.
B	1	R-16	\$1 & ovc	City of Harrisonburg		1964 09 11	Other various easements and RoW's also conveyed.
E	3	R-16	\$10 & ovc	Harrisonburg Loan & Thrift	Harrisonburg Loan & Thrift	1964 09 11	
E	1	R-16	\$10 & ovc	Harrisonburg Bank Building, Inc.		1964 09 16	
F	4	R-16	\$1,060	First Baptist Church	First Baptist Church	1964 10 30	
C	2	R-4	\$7,217	Awkard, Joseph C. Jr., Mary Frances and Leona		1964 12 31	
F	1	R-4	\$1,160	Yoder, Allen		1965 04 30	
E	1&3	R-4	\$228,771	Valley Plaza Inc.		1965 10 01	Parcels made up of 16 acquisition parcels.
F	1	R-4	\$1,160	Willis, Chasteen and Edwina		1965 11 10	Conveyed to KC Moore and Richard A. Jackson on 1965 12 28

B	1	R-16	\$51,740	Halquist, Roy; Hink, Carl; Lam, Wallace	HH&L	1966 10 01	This parcel made up of 11 acquisition parcels. For Valley Plaza.
A	3	R-16	\$72,637	Halquist, Roy; Hink, Carl; Lam, Wallace	HH&L	1967 05 31	Purchase price covers both parcels A3 and C1. Made up of 19 acquisition parcels. For Valley Plaza.
C	1	R-16		Halquist, Roy; Hink, Carl; Lam, Wallace	HH&L	1967 05 31	Purchase price covers both parcels A3 and C1. Made up of 19 acquisition parcels. For Valley Plaza.
C	1	R-16	\$10 & ovc	Halquist, Roy; Hink, Carl; Lam, Wallace	HH&L	1973 12 14	Public easement of 10 foot strip. For Valley Plaza.
D	3	R-4	\$10 & ovc	Shomo family		1979 03 20	

Appendix 6: Document Inventories

Harrisonburg City Hall Inventory

Northeast Urban Renewal Project (R4):

- 1958 Redevelopment and Housing Authority [Contour Map](#)
- 4/26/62 [R-4 \[Northeast Urban Renewal Area\] Subdivision Map](#) outlining project footprint and parcels acquired
- ca. 1961, 2 versions of hand-annotated and colored hand-colored [Map R-203](#), “Site Clearance, Northeast Harrisonburg, Urban Renewal Project, VA-R-4.” Some structures are marked in red (burned?), others in blue (bulldozed?) with street numbers and demolition dates. We know from the [Daily News-Record](#) that buildings in Kelley’s Field were burned. Doris Harper Allen’s memoir also describes houses burning as part of the demolition process. On the other map, [demolitions are marked only in red](#).
 - David Ehrepreiss also digitized the [first map](#).
 - There is a similar map in the James Sullivan papers at JMU (oversized folder 1).
- “[Reference to Source of Title](#), Project R-4, Northeast Harrisonburg, Harrisonburg Redevelopment & Housing Authority.”
 - Block and parcel list; block and parcel numbers conform to [this map at JMU](#).
- 1/2/62, [R-4 maps](#) by Wiley & Wilson, consulting engineers Maps and diagrams focus on infrastructure improvements – mainly road work.
- [Binder](#): Northeast Harrisonburg Urban Renewal Area, Project VA R4 (2 copies, but the first with “Redevelopment Plan” written on cover includes the documents referenced below in addition to maps and 6/59 redevelopment plan)
 - “Redevelopment Plan, as Revised June 1959”
 - Maps
 - 1: Project Area Plan with rights-of-ways, easements, and proposed land uses
 - 2: Current Zoning
 - 3: Street Adjustments
 - 4a: Public Utilities (sewers to be retained or upgraded)
 - 4b: Public Utilities (electrical and water utilities to be retained or upgraded)

- 5: Existing Conditions -- focuses on structural and plumbing deficiencies [connect to list by address from HRHA and to results of Census Block Report]
- Additional document inserted into copy with handwritten “Redevelopment Plan” front cover
 - 8/17/61 covering note from William Ayers (director of both the Planning Commission and Redevelopment and Housing Authority to Mayor Frank Switzer) forwarding the file
 - Ca. 1965, John Driver (Superintendent of Public Works), [“Harrisonburg Northeast Urban Renewal Project R4”](#) scanned
 - This report analyzes the financial (and tax) effects of R4. Driver planned to write a similar analysis of R16. (A copy of this second report has not yet been found.)
 - See also [7/25/57 HRHA report](#) to Mayor and City Council on tax revenue projections.
 - **Note:** earlier drafts of this report were inserted in the folder below.
- Folder: Harrisonburg Northeast Urban Renewal Project R-4
 - Drafts of the above report on R4 costs
 - Handwritten reports on housing construction, 1950-59, 1966-69
- [Folder:](#) Urban Renewal R-16
 - Handwritten map showing where new housing was built, 1960-69
 - Correspondence between John E Driver (assistant city engineer) and HRHA re: demolition. Includes
 - ca. memos 1960-1961 correspondence between Jesse M McNeill (HRHA Relocation Supervisor), William E Ayers (HRHA Executive Director), and John E Driver (then Assistant City Engineer)
 - Re: vacant structures to be demolished and bathroom and kitchen fixtures to be salvaged.
 - 6/25/63 Driver to R G Heneberger (City Auditor)
 - List of demolition permits (each costs \$4)
 - Includes address and permit #
 - 11/17/61 Appraisal Report, 1210 S Main St
 - Gas station owned by Olis C Sue R Wise

- “Owners states Standard Oil Co. leased the subject service station for 15 years. However, the ‘Highway By-Pass’ took a large part of the business away from this location so Standard Oil, during the seventh year of their 15 year lease, canceled their lease December 1960 and left this station vacant and it remained vacant for approximately 5 months.
“Likewise, Mobile Oil Co. recently canceled their lease directly across the street and moved farther out and the Harrisonburg Building Supply Co., Inc. across the street has been closed since shortly after the war
- Hand-colored Census block map showing “blocks with over 50% deteriorating and/or dilapidated [housing units] reported in 1960

Wolfe Street Urban Renewal Project (R16):

- 10/1/62 [R-16 maps](#) by Wiley & Wilson, consulting engineers; scanned by Amy
 - Front cover shows the location of both R4 and R16.
 - The maps themselves focus on infrastructure improvements – utilities, street work, and parking lots.
- 12/60 R. Stuart Royer & Associates, Consulting Engineers, “Report and Estimates of Demolition and New Utility Construction Costs, City of Harrisonburg, Virginia, Northeast Harrisonburg Urban Renewal Area, R-16”
 - Estimates costs of demolition and infrastructure improvements
 - Included in report is a series of 7 folded maps
 1. Real Estate (showing outline of buildings)
 2. Demolition (identifying which structures to demolish and which will not be acquired)
 3. Streets and Parking Lots
 4. Surface Draining
 5. Sanitary Sewer System
 6. Water System
 7. Electrical Services
- 7/60 D'Earcy P. Davis, Jr, “[Report of Survey of Building and Street Conditions](#), City of Harrisonburg, Virginia, Northeast Harrisonburg Urban Renewal Area, R-16”
 - Includes description and assessment of each structure along with a map key.

- 4/18/61 [“Final Project Report, Part I Application](#) for Loan & Grant, UR Project No. VA R-16, Wolfe Street Urban Renewal Area, Harrisonburg, Virginia”
 - R-201 Cover form with loan and grant request
 - R-202 Wages and Salaries
 - R-203 Aerial and ground photographs missing from Section R-203; a slip of paper notes that “The five ground photographs will follow in Part II of the Application.”
 - R-211 Community Requirements Data
 - R-212 Project Area Report
 - Includes copies of standardized forms, including blank “Family Survey” form and completed HHFA “Summary of Project Data”
 - H-6120 Project Area Map
 - R-213 Redevelopment Plan
 - Boundary Map
 - Land Use Plan
 - Acquisition Map
 - Report on Zoning Proposals
 - City of Harrisonburg Zoning Map
 - R-214 “Report on Minority Group Considerations”
 - R-221 Conservation or Rehabilitation
 - n.a.
 - R-222 Land Acquisition Report and Map
 - Parcel map includes list of owners
 - R-223 Relocation report
 - H-6122 Relocation Report
 - R-244 Statement in Support of Estimates in Noncash Local Grants in Aid
 - Map of planned site improvements
 - Demolition Map
 - R-225 Land Disposal Report
 - Disposition map
 - R-226 Cost Estimates and Financing Plans
 - H-6200 City Council resolution
 - H-6121 Project Expenditures Budget
 - H-6220 and H-630 budget justification
 - R-231 HRHA resolution and minutes
 - Lawyer letter

- [“Wolfe Street Urban Renewal Area, Final Project Report, Part II](#) – Application for Loan and Grant, Redevelopment Project VA-R-16, Harrisonburg, Virginia”
 - Low-quality aerial photograph
 - R-301 Report on Planning Proposal
 - Boundary Map
 - Land Use Map
 - Acquisition Map
 - R-301 HRHA and City Council resolutions approving ... R16
 - R304 same lawyer letter
 - R305 Proposed Cooperation Letter between the Local Public Agency and the Governing Body
 - R308 Minutes of 5/10/61 Public Meeting
 - R-309
 - response to HHFA regional director (outlining changes in response to feedback)
 - Disposition Map
 - Estimate of Acquisition Costs
 - 6/1/61 lawyer letter
 - Informational letter to Displacees
 - Budget forms

Planning Commission Documents

- Folder: Zoning, 1962
- US Census of Housing, 1960, City Blocks Report for Harrisonburg
- Harland Bartholomew and Associates planning reports
 - 1963 “Existing Land Use Analysis”
 - 1963 and 1965 “Economic Base Study and Population Analysis”
 - 1965 “Preliminary Community Facilities and Land Use Plans”
 - 1965 “Neighborhood Analysis”
 - 1965 “Preliminary Central Business District, Parking, Major Arterial Streets, Transportation and Transit Plans”
 - 1966 “Public Improvements Program”
 - 1966 Comprehensive Plan
 - “Central Business District 1977 Plan Update”
- Annual Report, 1967-68
 - **Note:** There is a collection of Planning Commission reports in the [James Sullivan Papers](#) at JMU.
- 2/10/70 “Land Use Plan”

Planning Commission Minute Books

- These minutes cover the period from before creation of the Harrisonburg Redevelopment and Housing Authority (HRHA) through the end of urban renewal and public housing construction in Harrisonburg. Architect D'Earcy Paul Davis served as board chair, 1955-1955.
- Until 1965, the Planning Commission Director was also the Director of the Housing and Redevelopment Authority (David Clark followed by William Ayers). In those roles, Clark and Ayers, along with the chair, appear to have been responsible for the minutes of both organizations. These minutes tend to be more sparse than the City Council minutes.
 - The Redevelopment and Housing Authority Minutes are available in bound volumes from that agency.

City Council Minute Books

- **Note:** Some pages have already been [scanned](#). However, we found additional relevant content.

Related Records

- 10/1955 "City of Harrisonburg, Virginia, [Municipal Parking Lot No. 2.](#)"
- Black Photo Album
 - Ca. 1967-768 before and after photographs connected as part of "Program to Remove Scattered Pockets of Structural Blight in Harrisonburg"
 - In the back are prints of scans of UR-era [aerial photos](#).
- Black binder labeled, "Trends"
 - New housing units, with addresses, 1950-1970

Other Related Records

[Robert James Sullivan Jr Papers](#) at JMU Special Collections. Sullivan served as City Planner, 1965-1991.

Harrisonburg Redevelopment and Housing Authority Inventory Minutes, 1955-1966

These minutes, with David Clark and later William Ayers serving as Secretary-Treasurer, cover the period from HRHA's creation until the completion of Harrisonburg's two urban renewal and two public housing projects. They document the

proposal for a third, [Washington-Johnson Street](#), urban renewal project in 1963 and related protests by [Black community leaders](#) in 1964. With regard to protests, coverage by the *News-Record* fills in a lot of the missing details, see e.g. this [2/28/64 story](#).

- [Indices](#).

[Box of Documents](#) (in HRHA's office)

Folder: PHA Form 2460: Construction & Equipment Budget Control

Folder: Development Program, Harrison Heights, 14-2

- Building materials and budget.

Folder: Site Plans for Projects VA. 14-1 and 14-2

- [undated \(ca. 1958/9\) plans](#)

Folder: Architect Engineer, D'Arcy P. Davis, Jr. correspondence with HRHA e.d.s David S. Clark and William E. Ayers, 1958-1960

- Mainly about materials and construction.
 - Note: Davis also served as chair of the Planning Commission, which seems like a conflict of interest. For more on Davis's work for HRHA, [see Davis & Associates architectural drawings](#) at JMU Special Collections.
- Includes: [a letter from Clark urging haste and one from Ayers about RFPs](#).

Folder: Property Line Map, 14-1

- 3/28/59 [parcel maps](#) of properties to be seized for Harrison (not Franklin) Heights

Folder: Approval of Material for Houses

- Correspondence with Thorington Construction Co, 3/1/60 - 8/18/60

Folder: untitled ("904" written in green ink on front)

- Concerns 1986 modernization project

Folder: Development Plan, VA 14-1

- ca. 1958/1959 Multiple drafts of completed HHFA forms for VA 14-1 Franklin Heights.
- Documents HRHA's plan to build segregated public housing as well as plans to build an additional 150 dwelling units.
- Includes this [analysis of the local rental market](#).

Folder: Harrisonburg Redevelopment and Housing, Project 14-1 Metes and Bounds Description

- Description of the entire tract to be seized as well as the individual parcels that comprise the whole.

Folder: Legal Opinion

- Regards specific properties seized, ca 1959

Folder: Deeds for Authority Acquired Property

- ca. 1980s

Folder: Building Permit

- 6/21/60 building permits for Harrison Heights and Franklin Heights

Folder: Harrison Heights Construction Pictures, May 25, 1960 - May 31, 1961

- [Photos](#) by Allen Litten
- JMU's [Harrisonburg Redevelopment and Housing Authority Photographs collection](#) includes similar photos, most of Franklin Heights.

Folder: Harrison/Franklin Heights Pictures, March 27, 1961

- [Photographs of kitchen interiors](#) by Allen Litten.

Folder: Project VA 14-1 Sewer Easement

- Legal correspondence involving a property owned by E L Klingstein

Folder: Memorandum for Acceptance of Occupancy

- From 1961

Folder: Financial Statements

- ca. 1950s and 60s balance statements
- ca. 1960s income limits/household size for public housing eligibility (see [HRHA Minutes](#) 11/8/60 for same)

Folder: PHA (Public Housing Administration) Insurance Bond

Folder: Form 2598, Analysis of Nonroutine Expenditures

- 1964-65

Folder: Sub-Contractors and Information

- 1971

Folder: 1001 Schedule of Amounts for Contract Payment (Partial Payments)

- construction expenses

Folder: [Report on Initial Occupancy](#) of Low-Rent Projects, Form 2209

- ca. 1960-1961.
- This monthly report to the federal Public Housing Administration documents the process of moving tenants into Harrison Heights and Franklin Heights. Also documents the number of white and non-white tenants as well as with and without. See description of [preference](#) from HRHA Minutes.
 - Attached documents list some tenants and potential tenants by name in the context of home visits and interviews.
 - **Note:** By this time, Franklin Heights was accepting both Black and White residents, but Harrison Heights remained Black-only.

Folder: Labor Dispute

- Includes copies of Thorington Construction Co and Electrical Appliance Co payroll with “classification summary” (skilled, semiskilled, unskilled, other, and whether the relevant workers are “Negro”)

Folder: Construction: Sewers, Water, Streets

Folder: Real Estate Correspondence

- This thin file includes 11/13/58 letter from William B Wild, MD, Director Rockingham County Health Dept to David S Clark re: arrangements with the fire department to have an “extremely insanitary” etc. house (255 Reservoir St) “destroyed by burning.”

Folder: Statement of Initial Operating Income and Expenses

- 1962-63

Folder: [Mayor and City Manager of Harrisonburg](#), 9/24/57-12/6/72

- Correspondence between City Manager, HRHA, and Planning Commission. Main focus is payments in lieu of taxes and cooperation agreement between HRHA and City.
- Some discussion of a third (Washington-Johnson Street) urban renewal and a third public housing project.

Folder: Technical Comments VA 14-1 (scattered sites)

Folder: [Development Program Project](#), VA 14-1 (scattered sites)

- A [hand-written table](#) of Washington-Johnson parcels, owners, and appraised value.
- A [list](#) of Harrison Heights property owners.
- A few partially filled out Census housing survey forms from the Washington-Johnson area.
- A [list](#) of buildings demolished for R4.

Folder: Franklin Heights Project Development

Folder: Request for Approval of Advance

- Financial reports to Public Housing Admin, 1958-1960

Folder: 1001 Schedule of Amounts for Contract Payments

- Covers construction

Folder: Temporary Financing

Folder: Contractors Insurance Coverage (Form PHA 299)

Folder: Certification of the Contractor of His Duly Authorized Representative

Folder: Invitation for Bid and Acceptance of Core Borings

- Note: test borings in 1959 uncover problems with old fill in an abandoned quarry. This meant Davis needed to revise 14-1 (Franklin Heights) site layout.

Folder: Temporary Financing, Second Series — Bids Opened 11/15/60

- For both public housing projects

Folder: Report on Equivalent Elimination

- One of the documents in this folder lists [R4 \[Northeast Urban Renewal Area\] properties demolished](#). The properties are organized by address — description includes type of structure, number of families in residence, and “description of unsafe conditions. (This data is included in our [property acquisition spreadsheet](#).)

Folder: Computation of Effective Tax Rate, PHA-2486

- [Taxes owed for parcels seized. 1957](#)

Folder: 52595 Balance Sheet

- 1958-1989

Folder: HUD 52596 — Statement of Income & Expenditures & Changes in Accumulated Surplus or Deficit

- 1980s

Folder: Harrisonburg Redevelopment and Housing Authority, Acquisition of Real Estate, Downtown Property

- 1980s

Loose Maps:

- 4/20/60 [R16 \[East Wolfe Street Urban Renewal Area\] parcel map](#) (with black dots to “indicate blighted structures”)
- ca. 1958 Land Ownership, Assessment, and Square Feet [Map of R4 \[Northeast Urban Renewal Area\]](#) area shows parcels, owners’ names, tax assessments (separates out land and improvements), and lot. (Assessments are consistent with figures from the 1958 Land Book at Rockingham County Court.)

Related Records

HRHA donated a [collection of photographs](#) to JMU Special Collections. The R16 photographs are displayed on the [Historypin website](#).

Other Related Records

[Robert James Sullivan Jr Papers](#) at JMU Special Collections. Sullivan’s records include some Renewal Era maps and images from the period before he was appointed City Planner.

Rockingham County Court Inventory

[Real Estate-Land Records database](#)

- This is a search-type index within the Secure Remote Access (SRA) System. Searching several variants of Harrisonburg Redevelopment and Housing Authority, we were able to download copies of all of the [acquisition and disposition](#) deeds related to the City’s urban renewal and public housing projects.

Land Tax Books

- These books list properties alphabetically by owner. They include assessed value land and improvements for the purpose of taxation. Until 1965, property owners were listed separately by race. Interested researchers may examine the land tax books by appointment in the research room at the County Court.

Condemnation Case Files

- Researchers may search under Civil Court Cases for scanned [condemnation case files](#) using the on-site Office of the Executive Secretary (OES) System

Appendix 7: Annotated Bibliography

Sources on the National History of Urban Renewal

Abrams, Charles. 1965. *The City Is the Frontier*. New York: Harper & Row.

Abrams was an influential lawyer, urbanist, and public official. He analyzes the root causes of urban problems and critiques the urban renewal program as an incomplete way to solve them. He calls for “a recasting of the power, debt, and tax structures at all three levels of government.”

Appler, Douglas R., ed. *The Many Geographies of Urban Renewal: New Perspectives on the Housing Act of 1949*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

This collection of nine articles moves attention away from a focus on large, northern cities in the history of urban renewal and toward smaller places. It also pays attention to renewal’s social history, by centering the experiences of people displaced for these projects. Finally, several articles expand the research base by pointing to archives previous historians have not tapped.

Baldwin, James. 1963. Interview by Kenneth Clark, “The Negro and the American Promise.” Aired April 1, rebroadcast April 28, 2021.

<https://www.pbs.org/video/race-problem-sw2bgt>.

Kenneth Clark was a famous Black psychologist whose work on children and dolls was important to the US Supreme Court’s 1954 *Brown vs. Board of Education* that struck down school segregation. In this show, Clark interviewed Martin Luther King, Malcolm X, and James Baldwin. During the interview, Baldwin called urban renewal “Negro removal” and charged the federal government with being “an accomplice to this fact.”

Berman, Daniel S. 1969. *Urban Renewal: Bonanza of the Real Estate Business*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

While the federal urban renewal program began as a way to improve housing conditions for the nation’s poorest, it soon became mainly a real estate development program. Berman explains to investors and developers how to take advantage of “the opportunities in Urban Renewal profits.”

Carr, James H. and Michela Zonta. 2025. “[Heirs’ Property in the United States: Its Destabilizing Structure and Contribution to Black Property and Wealth Erosion](#).”

National Association of Real Estate Brokers.

This article is an accessible short introduction to heir’s property and how it has hindered Black homeownership and wealth accumulation. It was commissioned by a national association of Black realtors.

Cebul, Brent. 2020. "[Tearing Down Black America](#)." *Boston Review*, July 22.

This article is the best short introduction to the federal urban renewal program. Cebul finds that urban renewal forcibly relocated "a minimum" of 1.2 million people, and he describes the financial and psychological harms experienced by many relocatees.

Digital Scholarship Lab. n.d. "[Renewing Inequality: Urban Renewal, Family Displacements, and Race 1950–1966](#)." *American Panorama*, edited by Robert K. Nelson and Edward L. Ayers. Richmond, Va.: University of Richmond.

This digital project uses 1966 data from the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) to map and provide racial demographics for urban renewal projects from around the country. Because HUD stopped providing this data after 1966, the website does not capture every project. The website provides a bibliography of sources and the ability to layer urban renewal project maps onto redlining maps.

Downs, Anthony. 1970. "[Uncompensated Nonconstruction Costs Which Urban Highways and Urban Renewal Impose Upon Residential Households](#)." In *The Analysis of Public Output*, edited by Julius Margolis. Cambridge: National Bureau of Economic Research.

Real estate economist Anthony Downs estimates that between 1964 and 1972 alone, 1.9 million people were displaced for urban renewal and urban expressway projects. He identifies 22 specific ways in which urban renewal and urban highway projects impose costs on local residents. Downs groups these losses into three broad categories: losses borne directly by displaced residents, losses due to "uncertainty and delays," and losses imposed on residents who were not relocated but live nearby. He estimates that the typical displaced household bore costs of \$800 to \$1200, or about 20% of its annual income. He provides a framework for compensating these households for their financial losses.

Flanagan, Richard M. 1997. "The Housing Act of 1954: The Sea Change in National Urban Policy." *Urban Affairs Review* 33 (November): 265-286.

Flanagan explores the politics behind this law's amendments to the Housing Act of 1949, which prioritized commercial development over public housing construction.

Francis, Dania V., Darrick Hamilton, Thomas W. Mitchell, Nathan A. Rosenberg, and Bryce Wilson Stucki. 2022. "Black Land Loss: 1920–1997." *AEA Papers and Proceedings* 112 (May): 38–42.

The authors note that Black land ownership peaked in 1910, and that Black land loss between 1920 and 1997 amounted to \$326 billion.

Fullilove, Mindy. 2004. *Root Shock: How Tearing Up City Neighborhoods Hurts America, and What We Can Do About It*. New York: One World.

Dr. Fullilove, a psychiatrist and urbanist, examines how forced displacement affected the mental health of those displaced for urban renewal and expressway projects in the 20th century and gentrification in the 21st century. She defines "root shock" as "the traumatic stress reaction to the destruction of all or part of one's emotional ecosystem," and insists that "displacement is the problem the twenty-first century must solve."

Gaither, Cassandra Johnson, Ann Carpenter, Tracy Lloyd McCurty, and Sara Toering, eds.; *Heirs' Property and Land Fractionation: Fostering Stable Ownership to Prevent Land Loss and Abandonment* (US Forest Service, Southern Research Station, 2019).

This book contains articles about the history of heirs' property in the South, Appalachia, and on Native American lands. Other articles explain the legal and legislative remedies available to families with divided property.

Gans, Herbert. 1964. *The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian Americans*. New York: Free Press of Glencoe.

Gans studies the experiences of Italian-Americans displaced for urban renewal in Boston's West End. His study was part of a larger project sponsored by Harvard Medical School and Massachusetts General Hospital, "Relocation and Mental Health: Adaptation Under Stress." His experiences living in the community led him to become a sharp critic of urban renewal.

Hartman, Chester W. 1971. "[Relocation: Illusory Promises and No Relief.](#)" *Virginia Law Review* 57(5): 745–817.

Hartman begins by estimating the scale of forced relocation for urban renewal and expressway projects between 1950 and 1968 as 2.3 million households, with another 1 million through 1975. He describes the financial harms done to those relocated, and remains pessimistic that displaced households will be fairly compensated, without a "major redistribution of power and resources in the society."

Hanchett, Thomas W. 2020 (2nd ed.). *Sorting Out the New South City: Race, Class, and Urban Development in Charlotte, 1875-1975*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Hanchett describes how segregation began in Charlotte during Reconstruction, and how it was strengthened due to steering, redlining, and urban renewal.

Highway Research Board. 1970. [*Relocation: Social and Economic Aspects*](#). Special report 110. Washington, D.C.: National Research Council.

This conference proceeding gives several perspectives on the social and economic aspects of relocation for highway projects. The study notes that about 200,000 people are displaced for public works projects each year, 50,000 for interstate highway construction and 30,000 for urban renewal projects. The study urges adoption of uniform and just compensation for those displaced.

Hill, Beatrice and Brenda Lee. 2005. *South of Main*. Spartanburg: Hub City Writers Project.

This image-heavy book documents the displacement of the Black community of Spartanburg, SC for urban renewal projects. The book relies on oral histories and family photos.

Isenberg, Alison. 2004. *Downtown America: A History of the Place and the People Who Made It*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Isenberg's book contains a wealth of analysis and detail on the rise of "downtown" at the turn of the 20th century, how central business districts weathered the Great Depression and World War II, and its late 20th century competition with suburban malls and shopping plazas. She includes chapters on urban renewal as a response to suburban retail centers, and a chapter on Black consumers during the Civil Rights Era.

James Madison University Libraries and others, [*Histories Along the Blue Ridge*](#).

This digital repository and exhibit documents many facets of the histories of Rockingham, Augusta, Rappahannock, and Madison Counties, including the displacement of thousands of people for the Shenandoah National Park.

Jarrell, Greg and Chanequa Walker Barnes. 2024. *Our Trespasses: White Churches and the Taking of American Neighborhoods*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press.

Minister and historian Greg Jarrell and theologian Chanequa Walker Barnes document how white church congregations directly benefited from the destruction of a Black community for an urban renewal project in Charlotte, NC.

Kahrl, Andrew W. 2024. *The Black Tax: 150 Years of Theft, Exploitation, and Dispossession in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Karhl's book is a history of local tax systems that have worked to the disadvantage of Black Americans. He shows how "local tax assessors have consistently overtaxed the lands and homes that Black people own and the neighborhoods where they live." Municipal sales of tax-delinquent properties--often involving a small amount of money-- has been the most pernicious practice involving local taxation. Karhl shows how the property tax "became a force of bureaucratic racism and structural inequality."

Lowe, Jeanne. 1968. *Cities in a Race with Time*. New York: Random House.

Urbanist Jeanne Lowe intensively studies urban renewal in New York City, New Haven, Pittsburgh, Washington, and Philadelphia. While she is generally supportive of urban renewal as a slum-clearance program, she critiques it for prioritizing downtown redevelopment and for inadequate relocation housing for those displaced.

Niebanck, Paul L. and John B. Pope. 1965. *The Elderly in Older Urban Areas: Problems of Adaptation and the Effects of Relocation*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

This book is the definitive study of the effects of urban renewal relocation among the elderly. It summarizes the results of studies sponsored by the Ford Foundation about the elderly and urban renewal projects in New York, Providence, San Antonio, and San Francisco.

Pew Charitable Trust, ["How 'Tangled Titles' Affect Philadelphia."](#) Aug. 2021.

This study quantifies the extent of clouded titles in Philadelphia (about 2% of the city's 500,000 residential properties), detail the geography and demographics of neighborhoods where they are most common, explain the causes of clouded titles, show how the harm ability to create intergenerational wealth, and suggest ways to remedy a clouded title.

Pfau, Ann; Kathleen Lawlor; David Hochfelder; and Stacy Kinlock Sewell. 2024. ["Using Urban Renewal Records to Advance Reparative Justice,"](#) *RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences*, 10 (2) (June), 113-131.

The authors focus on Kingston and Newburgh, NY and Asheville, NC and show how urban renewal records can support efforts to compensate urban renewal displacees and their descendants. This article is part of a two-part journal issue on ["Black Reparations: Insights from the Social Sciences."](#)

Pfau, Ann, David Hochfelder, and Stacy Kinlock Sewell. 2019. "[Urban Renewal](#)," in *The Inclusive Historian's Handbook*, National Council on Public History and American Association for State and Local History.

This short introduction to the urban renewal program is aimed at local and public history practitioners. It also provides guidance for finding local urban renewal records.

Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America*. New York: Liveright Publishing Corp., 2017.

Rothstein, retired lawyer for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund explains how "today's residential segregation" was not "the unintended consequence of individual choices" but was instead "unhidden public policy that explicitly segregated" the American city. He examines how restrictive zoning, racial covenants, redlining, urban renewal, highways, and public housing all worked to segregate our cities.

Schermerhorn, Calvin. 2025. *The Plunder of Black America: How the Racial Wealth Gap Was Made*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Schermerhorn tells the story of the racial wealth gap through specific families, and shows how their experiences were representative of the widespread theft of Black wealth over the past 400 years. He argues that "the stripping of Black wealth" was key to "American economic development." He periodizes this history into three eras: "dispossession, disinheritance, and decapitalization." In the first era whites seized Black labor and wealth. In the second era, after emancipation, Blacks were denied "full economic citizenship" and were often unable to pass down intergenerational wealth. During the final era, Black property became worth less than white-owned property through practices like redlining, residential segregation, and urban renewal.

Teaford, Jon C. 2000. "Urban Renewal and Its Aftermath." *Housing Policy Debate* 11(2): 443–65.

Teaford argues that the federal urban renewal program accomplished far less than its early supporters and critics had promised and feared. But it did set the stage for later urban revitalization programs intended to lure private developers, like tax abatements and tax increment financing.

Von Hoffman, Alexander. 2000. "A Study in Contradictions: The Origins and Legacy of the Housing Act of 1949." *Housing Policy Debate* 11(2): 299–326.

Von Hoffman examines the competing interest groups and political ideologies that shaped the 1949 Housing Act, which embedded several contradictions into

the legislation. He especially discusses Title III of the Act, which focused on federal funding for public housing.

Wilson, James Q. 1966. *Urban Renewal: The Record and the Controversy*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Wilson collected 26 articles on various aspects of the urban renewal program. The authors of these articles range from strongly supportive to sharply critical. This book is the best contemporary source for understanding the program at the time.

Zimmer, Basil. 1964. *Rebuilding Cities: The Effects of Displacement and Relocation on Small Business*. Chicago: Quadrangle Press.

Zimmer received funding from the U.S. Small Business Administration to study the effects of urban renewal on small businesses. He focused on Providence, Rhode Island, but his results are generally applicable elsewhere.

Sources on Harrisonburg and Other Virginia Locations

Allen, Doris Harper with Mark Metzler Sawin and William “Billo” Harper. 2023. *The Way It Was Coming of Age in Harrisonburg, VA in the Jim Crow Era*. privately published.

This memoir of growing up in the Newtown neighborhood includes a chapter focusing on how urban renewal affected the author’s family and neighbors.

Bowers, Lawrence D. 2002. *African-American Oral History Program in Harrisonburg and Rockingham County*. Dayton, VA: Rocktown History.

This collection documents the history of the Newtown neighborhood. Most of the interviews were conducted by Ruth Toliver. Many of those interviewed were directly affected by urban renewal. The publication is out of print but copies of the interviews are available to researchers at [Rocktown History](#). A copy of the book is available in the Massanutten Central Library’s Genealogy and Local History Room.

Ehrenpreis, David. 2017. *Picturing Harrisonburg: Visions of a Shenandoah Valley City Since 1828*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

Ehrenpreis uses the rich visual record to present Harrisonburg’s history from the 18th century to the present. Chapter 5 focuses on urban renewal, including photographs of buildings in R-16 before demolition.

Encyclopedia Virginia entries:

Bishop, Mary. 2024. "[Urban Renewal in Roanoke.](#)"
Finn, John C. 2024. "[Urban Renewal in Norfolk.](#)"
Finn, John C. 2024. "[Urban Renewal in Virginia.](#)"
Gray-Sparks, Latoya. 2024. "[Urban Renewal in Richmond.](#)"
Malson, Hilary. 2024. "[Urban Renewal in Northern Virginia.](#)"
Yager, Jordy. 2024. "[Urban Renewal in Charlottesville.](#)"

Taken together, these articles give good summaries of urban renewal projects in the Commonwealth as a whole and five specific places. The Finn essay on "Urban Renewal in Virginia" places state history in a national context, exploring how federal housing and redevelopment policies affected cities across the state. See the [ArcGIS storymap](#).

Finn, John C. 2024. "[Urban Renewal in Norfolk, VA: Race, Segregation, and the \(Re\)production of Landscapes of Inequality.](#)" *Nonsite* 47.

Finn argues that race and racism "were at the heart of slum clearance and urban renewal" in Norfolk. And more generally, racism shaped--and continues to shape--the urban landscape

Hagi, Randi B. 2020. "[The Role of Race and Money in Harrisonburg's Urban Renewal,](#)" and "[The Legacy of Harrisonburg's 'Urban Renewal.'](#)"

National Public Radio journalist Hagi interviews Stan Maclin, Karen Thomas, and Ruth Toliver about the legacy of urban renewal.

"[Harrisonburg Tour.](#)" 2022. *Roots Run Deep*.

This self-guided walking and driving tour covers about 40 sites of the city's African American community, focusing on Newtown and the city's two urban renewal projects.

Kendall, Kristie Lynn. 2008. "'The Stereotypes Do Not Apply': Reconstructing the African-American Community of Newtown in Harrisonburg, Virginia, 1945-1965." M.A. thesis, James Madison University.

Kendall's thesis intensively studies Harrisonburg's urban renewal program and its legacy. She draws on several oral histories and municipal records, as well as newspaper research.

McKinney, Lauren. 2000. "[Remembering Project R4.](#)" *eightyone* (Oct.).

This magazine article is a good short introduction to this urban renewal project. It contains several family photographs and pictures of buildings before demolition.

Toliver, Ruth. 2009. *Keeping Up with Yesterday*. privately published.
This family history of the Newtown neighborhood concludes with a chapter on the negative impact of urban renewal.

Government Documents

U.S. Census Bureau. 1960. *Census of Housing: City Blocks*. Washington: Government Printing Office.

This housing census documents dwelling units, housing conditions, rents, and demographics on a block-by-block basis. Due to the lack of local acquisition and relocation records, this count is key to understanding who was displaced by the City's urban renewal program.

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. 1961. [*The 50 States Report*](#). Washington: Government Printing Office.

The Commission was tasked with studying civil rights and their denial around the country. Many of the state committees focused on urban renewal as a mechanism for reinforcing residential segregation and discrimination.

U.S. Commission on Urban Problems. 1969. [*Building the American City: Report of the National Commission on Urban Problems to the Congress and the President of the United States*](#). Washington: Government Printing Office.

The Commission held many hearings and inspections of slum conditions in 22 cities around the country. This is probably the most exhaustive study of urban problems at the time. One of the conclusions the Commission reached is that "the anger of the slums is that of people disinherited from our society."

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). 1967-1975. *Statistical Yearbooks*. Washington: Government Printing Office.

These yearbooks give detailed information about HUD operations, including urban renewal.

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). 1967-1975. [*Urban Renewal Directory*](#).

This publication, produced at six-month intervals, gives statistics (especially project dates and costs) about every federal urban renewal project around the country.

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). 1955-1966. *Urban Renewal Project Characteristics*. Washington: Government Printing Office.

These reports are [available for download here](#). They contain statistical information about all urban renewal projects funded by the federal government through 1966. The information includes estimates of the numbers of white and nonwhite people displaced for each project, acreages of each project, and financial cost data. The *Urban Renewal Directory* superseded this publication in 1967.