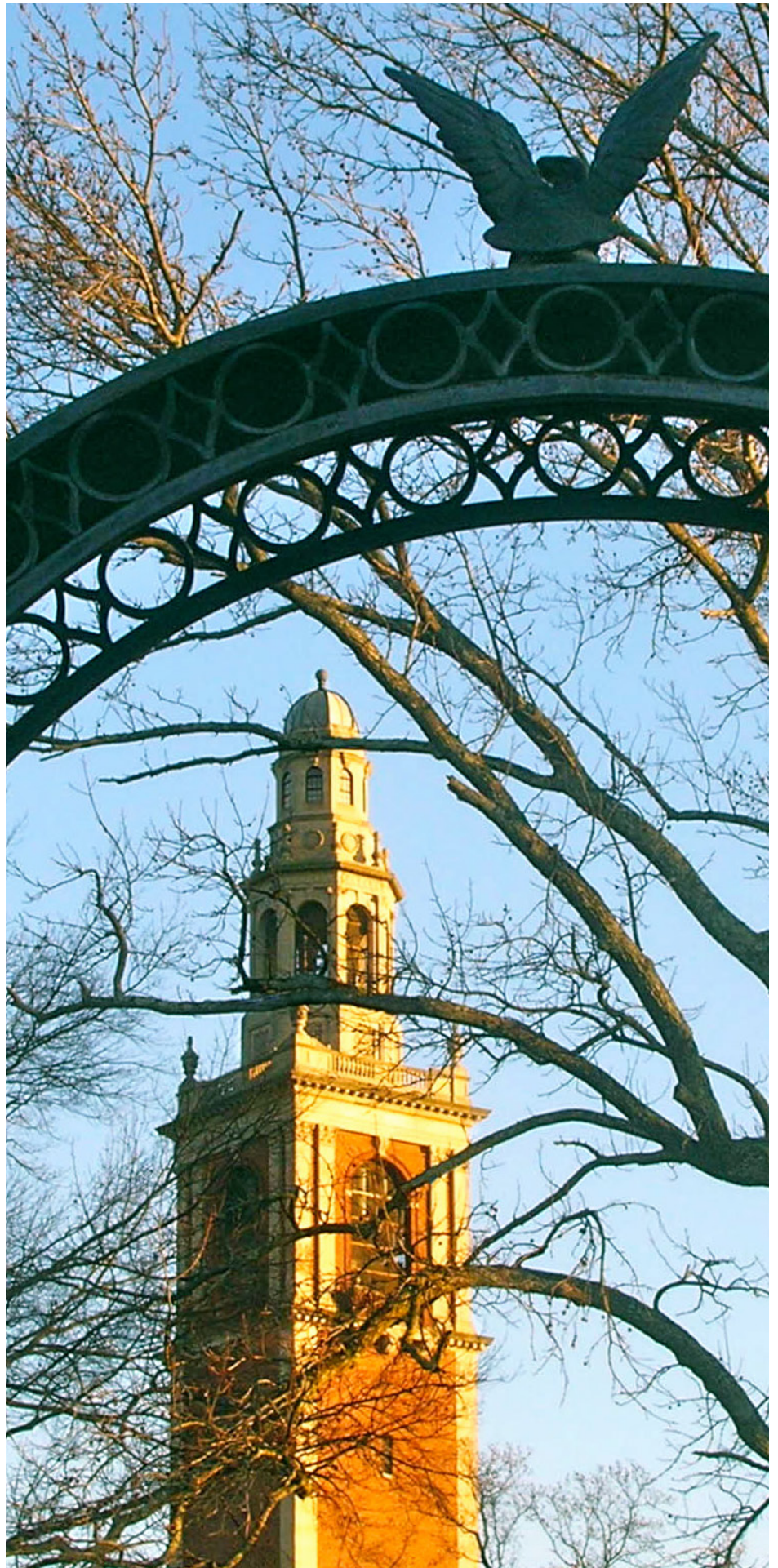


*The Carillon
Neighborhood*

A HISTORY

Elizabeth L. O'Leary
Carillon Civic Association



The Carillon Neighborhood: A History

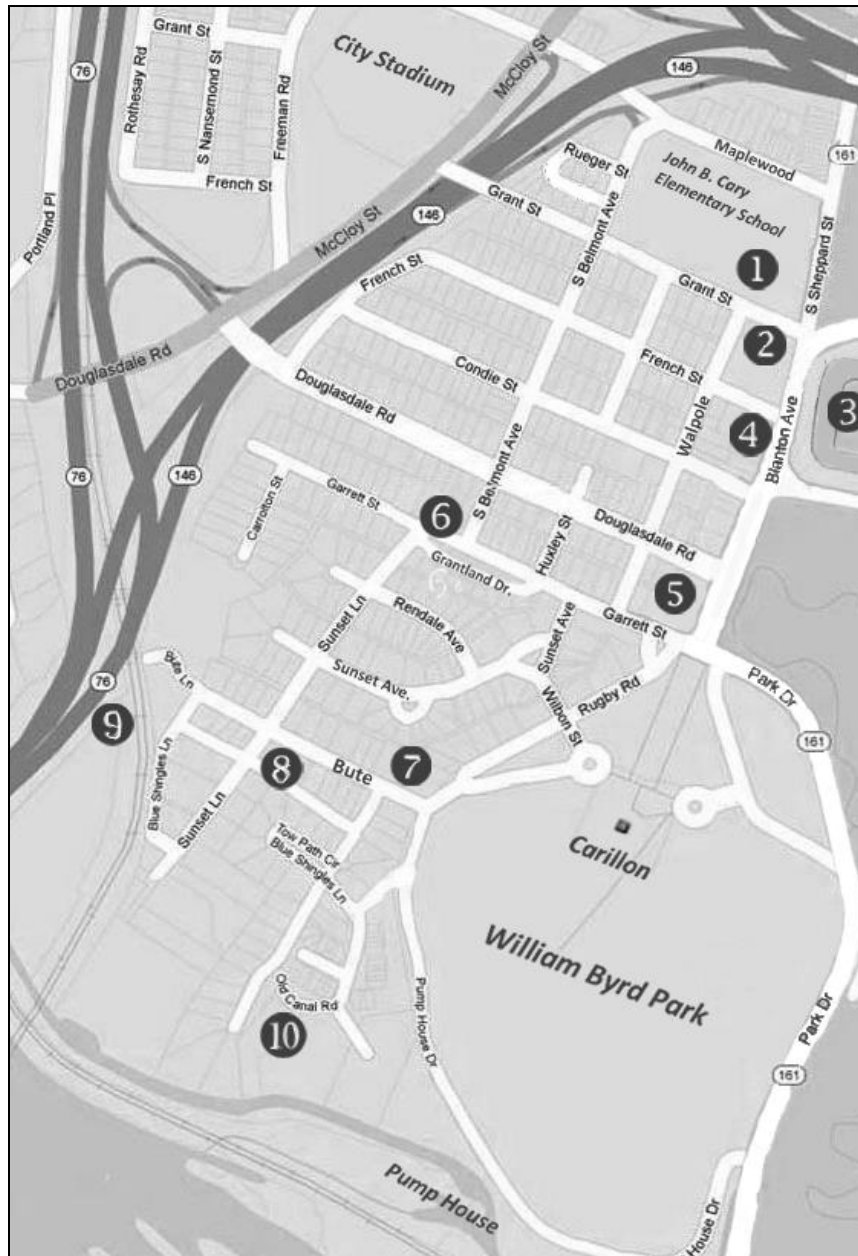
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Elizabeth L. O'Leary, Richmond, Virginia

Spring 2013, revised

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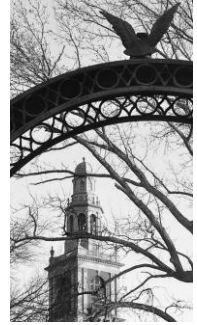
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Carillon Civic Association



1. Former site of Tabb house (Blandon) and, later, Rueger house (Idle Hour)
2. Brown house (currently Blanton House)
3. Reservoir
4. Church - Unity of Richmond
5. Church - First Unitarian Universalist
6. Garrett St. (Granite St.); earlier dividing line between Tabb and Haxall properties; later site of former streetcar stop
7. Euker house (Marburg)
8. Former site of Haxall house (Beechwood Farm); later T.L. Blanton overseer house (Beechwood Dairy)
9. Former site of Evans house (Blue Shingles)
10. Brockenbrough house (Doolough Lodge)

Introduction

First-time visitors to the Carillon neighborhood in Richmond, Virginia, often register surprise when discovering the tucked-away community located immediately west of William Byrd Park. “This is not a neighborhood you bump into accidentally,” points out longtime resident Mary Ellen Connell. “It’s a destination.... It’s quiet and beautiful.”¹ The area gets its name from the landmark Carillon—the park’s looming bell tower built generations earlier as a World War I memorial. Exploration along the tree-lined streets reveals a more extensive neighborhood than initially meets the eye: 427 residences of various ages and styles, an elementary school, and two churches. It is encompassed by physical boundaries: Byrd Park to the east, the James River to the south, the 146 ramp for the Powhite Parkway to the west, and the I-195/SR-195 Expressway to the north. While less than three miles from Richmond’s urban center, the community preserves a suburban atmosphere, reinforced by proximity to the city’s largest green space, with its woods, lakes, and walking trails.



This seemingly idyllic setting is enjoyed by residents of diverse backgrounds, representing different races and ethnicities, ages, socioeconomic standing, sexual orientation, religions, and political beliefs. Moreover, this established community has a tradition of multi-generational residency with some families boasting up to four generations within its boundaries. And some have managed to live in two or three different houses over time, all within the community.

The Carillon neighborhood also retains a rich history. Certainly the development of the adjoining municipal park between 1874 and 1957 helped shape its character. But the land’s story unfolds over a wider span of time and is one of complex change: from colonial frontier to antebellum country estates; Gilded Age streetcar suburb to upscale Jazz Age development; site of a post-war housing boom to hub for civil rights activism. One of its most compelling chapters is the 1968 foundation of the Carillon Civic Association (CCA) and its subsequent record of civic leadership and philanthropy. Forged during a turbulent era of racial unrest and rapidly shifting social and political circumstances, the CCA represented a coalition of white and black neighbors embarked on a bold effort to nurture social and community integration. Today, when surveyed against the broad arc of time, one can only marvel at the fact that the residents made a stand for housing equality on land once owned by two prominent slaveholders—one an active trader. And also that, in the present era and on the same grounds, an estimated 15,000 people assembled to welcome the nation’s first African American President.

17th and 18th centuries

When the English settled Jamestown in 1607, this region stood at the western perimeter of land inhabited by a band of Algonquin Indian tribes closely allied under the leadership of Chief Powhatan. While no known village stood on the site, native peoples traversed the forests and walked along the river banks in search of game. By mid-century when the Powhatan confederacy had been weakened by treaty and war, the English laid claim to the territory as part of its expanding colony. In 1679, the Virginia Assembly gave several major land grants to William Byrd in return for his forming the Henrico Militia to protect the western frontier. Byrd, a successful Indian trader, added the grants to his already considerable land holdings, inherited from his uncle, Thomas Stegge Jr. By the end of the 17th century, Byrd had amassed close to 30,000 acres, including this region. His son, William Byrd II, inherited the vast property and helped lay out the original street plan for the town of Richmond in 1733. Good fortune ran out for the next generation when William Byrd III incurred such large gambling debts that, in 1768, he was forced to sell most of the huge estate in 100-acre parcels through a public lottery.²

Francis Watkins of Prince Edward County won three tracts in the Byrd Lottery and soon after purchased a fourth adjoining lot that had originally been awarded to a small consortium, which included George

Washington.³ Together these tracts formed a roughly triangular shaped property that extended from the Westham Plank Road (today's Cary Street) to the James River in the south. An absentee owner, Watkins held the real estate as an investment with no apparent plans to cultivate crops or reside on the land, then situated in the rough backwoods of Henrico County. In 1799, he sold close to a third of his holdings on the east to John Robinson. For nearly a century afterwards, the Robinson-Sheilds family occupied the Poplar Vale farm and manor house there (132 acres generally located at the present-day site of Swan and Shields Lake in Byrd Park).⁴

19th century: the early republic and antebellum era

By 1801, Watkins had sold the remaining 282 acres—land that incorporates the vicinity of today's Carillon neighborhood. The buyer was Dr. William Foushee, a Richmond resident who had the distinction of serving as the town's first mayor.⁵ No doubt the savvy physician and politician anticipated a return on his investment as the property's southern boundary adjoined the new James River Canal. In 1786, with George Washington as its honorary president, the James River Company set about building the man-made waterway that allowed boats to skirt the dangerous boulders at the Falls of the James. The initial phase, completed in 1795, stretched



Fig. 1. *View of the James River and Kanawha Canal, about a mile and a half down river from Three Mile Locks.* William James Bennett, *The City of Richmond from the Hill above the Waterworks*, 1834. Courtesy, Virginia Historical Society.

from Richmond to the Westham settlement seven miles upriver. One of the canal's earliest notable features, the Lower Arch, is still intact near today's pump house. During a visit in 1791, Washington rode a bateau beneath its stone span.⁶

To facilitate increasing river traffic, Three Mile Locks were built on the canal below Foushee's property in 1809, and then improved and expanded in 1827.⁷ The ultimate goal was to extend the channel farther west to form a major commercial waterway for transporting crops, goods, and passengers between the James River and the Kanawha and Ohio Rivers. Over the following three decades, the project continued under the auspices of the James River and Kanawha Canal Company, with support from the Commonwealth of Virginia and Richmond. The

expensive, labor-intensive effort fell short with disruptions from financial crises, two wars, and competition from the emerging railroads. Still, the canal reached an impressive 197 miles into the Alleghenies and provided an important transportation route into the 1860s.⁸

Above the canal and locks, Foushee's property changed hands frequently between the time of his death in 1824 and 1859. In a flurry of land speculation, subsequent owners subdivided, sold, traded, and reconfigured tracts—all connected with a thin network of wagon lanes that fed into Westham Plank Road (Cary Street). On the eve of the Civil War, two successful Richmond businessmen owned the future Carillon neighborhood property between them: Philip Mayo ("P.M.") Tabb Jr. and Bolling Walker Haxall. The line that divided their land, north and south, fell along a narrow dirt lane that led westward to a quarry at the edge of a deep ravine. Later called Granite Street, it became Garrett Street in the following century.⁹ (Map #6)

The property above this boundary was purchased in 1849 by P.M. Tabb Jr. and his wife, Williana. Their estate, which they named Blandon, originally comprised just over 100 acres and included "a comfortable brick dwelling, containing six or eight rooms, with the usual out-buildings and a well of excellent water." Maps and plat drawings indicate that the manor house stood at today's Rueger Playground (Map #1).¹⁰ The

1850 Federal Census lists Tabb as a farmer. However, in the decade before the Civil War, his reputation rested on another source of livelihood—as the junior partner in P.M. Tabb & Son. With an office in the basement of the Exchange Hotel at 14th and Franklin Streets, father and son operated an active business buying, selling, and hiring out enslaved African Americans. Surviving records and advertisements indicate that the latter was their specialty. Acting as middle agents for slave holders from surrounding counties, they collected fees for placing slave laborers in area factories, mills, mines, and private households. It was a lucrative prospect, as urban demand typically outpaced the supply.¹¹ However it was one of their sales transactions that brought international notoriety when P.M. Tabb Jr. was mentioned by name as the purchaser of the wife of Henry Box Brown. The sensational story of the escaped Richmond slave who gained his freedom by mailing himself in a crate to Philadelphia caught the attention of northern abolitionists, and Brown's autobiography was published both in Boston (1849) and Manchester, England (1851).¹²

Tabb found rural retreat at Blandon with his wife and growing family—there were seven children that would survive to adulthood. Six to eight enslaved people were listed as Tabb's property on Henrico County Slave Schedules for 1850 and 1860. They were likely joined by more slaves, undocumented, as Tabb had a ready supply through his business. Several no doubt labored in the fields since Blandon was a productive farm, "kept in a high state of cultivation for a number of years."¹³

Beginning in 1859, the land below Tabb's (spanning south from today's Garrett Street to just above the canal)—was owned by Bolling W. Haxall. An enormously successful businessman, Haxall's fortune came from his family's flour company, which became one of the nation's largest in milling and exporting during the antebellum decades.¹⁴ He also had other profitable revenue sources. When Haxall purchased the 93.75 acres, he noted the transaction in a business ledger that also chronicled myriad other investments, including real estate and African American slaves.¹⁵ Just the year before, and at the peak of his prosperity, he moved with his wife, Anne, and four children into a residential showplace—a new Italianate-style mansion at 211 East Franklin Street.¹⁶ It is not documented if Haxall ever used the Henrico property as a country retreat, but a detailed map of the region published in 1867 does show a small cluster of dwellings under his name on the site (Map #8; located approximately in the 3100 block of today's Bute Lane). Account book notations in following decades show that, on at least two separate occasions, he signed three-year leases with tenant farmers there. Haxall called the property Beechwood Farm.¹⁷

Civil War and its aftermath

While the American Civil War left an obvious mark on much of the territory in and around Richmond, there were no battles or encampments on the soil of Tabb's Blandon estate or Haxall's Beechwood Farm. During the war and the Federal military occupation immediately afterwards, troops were certainly present at nearby battery fortifications to the north and east, and at the large Fort Winder hospital complex on the eastern boundary of the Poplar Vale estate (site of today's Virginia Home on Hampton Street).¹⁸

Both Tabb and Haxall served the Confederacy in local defense regiments and made it to war's end unscathed.¹⁹ They did sustain, however, long-term economic injury. Haxall's flour mills were damaged suddenly in the horrendous evacuation fire of April 3-4, 1865, which devastated Richmond's commercial district in the final days of the war.²⁰ By contrast, the financial downfall of P.M. Tabb & Son unfolded incrementally, as newspaper advertisements give evidence. Wartime privation and monetary inflation



Fig. 2. Listing from P.M. Tabb & Son advertising the sale of enslaved women and children, Daily Dispatch, 2 January 1865, p. 3.

diminished the slave traders' market. In response to rising Confederate taxes, P.M. Tabb & Son publically dissolved their partnership in May, 1863, just months before P.M. Sr.'s death. Afterward, for the duration of the war, his son continued to post slave sale and rental announcements under the company name. P.M. Tabb also appeared with regularity in notices about runaway slaves as a number of his hirelings made their escape. These included workers placed as laborers with the Confederate Army and a group hired out to a Midlothian coal mine, the latter reported as having been absconded by "Yankee raiders."²¹ In the early months of 1865, Tabb's sales ads adopted an imploring tone. For "two likely women and their children, all of good stock," one reads, "we will not ask 'market prices.'"²²

Shortly after the war ended, Bolling Haxall relied upon his farm holdings to apply for a presidential pardon in the summer of 1865. In his petition, he failed to mention his family's flour business and minimized his Confederate reserve service, describing his wartime position instead as "Assessor of Agricultural Products" in Henrico County. He closed by stating: "I have never been a Politician, and my business is that of a Farmer, cultivating my farm near this city." Haxall's pardon came through, but his finances remained in such disarray that he had to sell his grand city house at a loss in 1869. Still, before his death in 1885, he managed to achieve a creditable recovery with revenue from his rebuilt (albeit scaled back) Haxall-Crenshaw Mills and investments in insurance and railroads.²³

P.M. Tabb Jr. had fewer resources in the post-war years. The former slave trader supported himself and his family by farming at Blandon. In the wake of the financial Panic of 1873, he defaulted on his taxes, prompting the first of many lawsuits that would beleaguer him and his descendants into the 20th century. By 1880, Tabb had become an absentee owner after relocating with his wife and most of his grown children to Louisville, Kentucky. He died there in 1888—but not before making the first of many efforts to sell Blandon. The Tabb family gained unexpected marketing leverage when the City of Richmond chose the adjoining property on which to build a new reservoir and park.²⁴

Parkside development in the Gilded Age –1870s-1910s

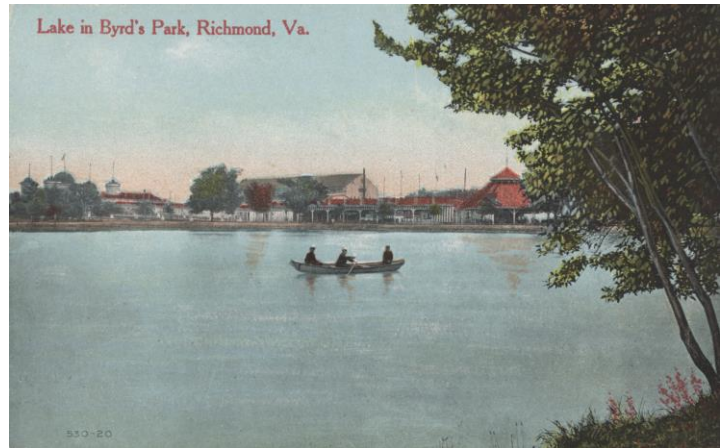
When Richmond built a large double reservoir in 1873-75 at the south end of Clover Street—later renamed the Boulevard—it modernized the city's waterworks and set in motion what would become its largest public works project of the 19th-century. It also sparked a multi-decade campaign of real estate speculation as the park grew and streetcars began making their way to the pleasure grounds just beyond Richmond's western boundary.

Swept up with the ideals of the American Parks Movement (which gave notable birth to New York's Central Park), city engineer Wilfred Cutshaw proposed developing the land around the new reservoir into a carefully planned green space. The initial phase was the 1874 purchase of 55 acres and construction of the four-million gallon reservoir (Map #3). Within a few years it was ornamented with a wide walkway around its upper ramparts and, nearby, the most appealing feature: a man-made boat lake with meandering pedestrian promenades. Within a few years, the city offered boat rentals, concessions, and built a bandstand there.²⁵ The exciting appeal of New Reservoir Park—later renamed William Byrd Park in 1906—was not lost on auctioneer Frank Hill, commissioned to sell the "Very Valuable and Attractive Farm, Called Blandon" immediately to the west. A lengthy notice ran repeatedly in the newspapers in May and June 1884, describing the Tabb residence and property as being:

the most desirable in that section on account of its proximity to the public Park, which has grown in the past year or two to be the most fashionable and attractive place near the city. The grounds lie beautifully, the place is healthy, and is destined to become very valuable; and this sale altogether offers more inducements for solid investment than any that has taken place in the neighborhood of Richmond for some time.²⁶

To the consternation of both auctioneer and owner, the large farm did not sell quickly or in one piece. Instead, most real estate sales took place tantalizingly nearby. By 1888 the city had purchased over twenty parcels of land from other owners in order to expand the park south toward the canal. This included a fairly recent 19-lot subdivision called Glen Ellen (incorporating today's Vita Course and Carillon grounds). The development scheme, which sold lots but brought no new construction, appears to have faltered after the Panic of 1873. To the east of this was the city's largest purchase, Poplar Vale, the large Shields-Robinson estate described for many years afterwards as Shields Grove.²⁷

Reaching a total of 300 acres, the park underwent additional development in the following decades. A new loop road was completed to carry visitors to the magnificent new pump house built in 1882 near the site of the old Three Mile Locks. It became a popular tourist attraction with its dramatic Gothic revival granite façade and dance pavilion. (Much of the rock used for Pump House Road was quarried from behind the Carillon and the area across from today's intersection of Bute and Pump House Drive.) To the north, ball fields and a speedway for horseracing were built (the latter converted to ball fields in 1909). In 1890, the city established a municipal nursery to propagate deciduous shade trees in the already wooded acreage south of the reservoir. Until a new nursery was established thirty years later in Joseph Bryan Park, tens of thousands of saplings were transplanted from the site to city streets, parks, and cemeteries. To the east on the former Poplar Vale site, both Swan and Shields Lakes were excavated, filled, and landscaped by 1915.²⁸



Figs. 3 & 4. Vintage postcards, ca. 1908. Top: Boat Lake (now Fountain Lake) with Idlewood Park in the background. Bottom: the Pump House, view showing the pavilion balcony. Courtesy, Special Collections and Archives, VCU Libraries.

As the park grew, so did the number of visitors, particularly after new railroad and electric streetcar lines began shuttling city dwellers to its open spaces and attractions. In 1887, the Richmond Union Passenger Railway extended a “dummy” steam engine line into the park with tracks that skirted the south side of the reservoir and terminated at a picnic area and pavilion (along today's Trafford Street, ending at the northwest corner of the current Vita Course). In 1895 the Richmond Traction Company completed an electric streetcar line down Robinson Street, ending at the northeast corner of Boat Lake.²⁹ This passenger station came into heavy use just after the turn of the century when the privately owned West End Electrical Park—reorganized and named Idlewood Park in 1906—enticed thrill seekers with its roller coaster, casino, shooting ranges, and swimming pool. Sprawling alongside the eastern boundary of Boat Lake, the massive entertainment complex drew tens of thousands before going bankrupt suddenly in 1908. Two years later the city cleared the site to make way for new residential development.³⁰



Fig. 5. Aerial view of Rueger estate "Idle Hour" (center house with gable), ca. 1936. Lower half pictures Mann & Brown greenhouses, Minor house (center bottom), and Mann house (center right, now Blanton House). Detail from Fig. 22.



Fig.6. William Rueger, pictured in Richmond Times, April 19, 1896.



Fig. 7. Summer residence of Judge E.C. Minor, built ca. 1892. It stands today at the corner of Walpole and Condie Streets.



Fig. 8. Edmund Christian ("E.C.") Minor, who lost an arm during the Civil War, Times Dispatch, September 10, 1903.

Responding to changing circumstances and wishing to entice the new crowds to their property, the Tabb family began leasing their farmhouse and surrounding grounds to an independent concessionaire in the 1890s. For over ten years, the so-called Blandon Park stood as an unofficial extension of the city park, providing an additional site for picnics, veterans' reunions, concerts, and baseball games. Heavily wooded to the west, it also proved an attractive venue for gun club tournaments.³¹ Blandon Park ceased to exist in 1902 when William Rueger—prominent saloonkeeper, hotel owner, and hunting enthusiast—purchased the 6.5-acre lot (now the site of John B. Cary Elementary School). After razing the old Tabb residence there, he built his own suburban mansion, which he named Idle Hour.³²

This wasn't the first portion of the large Blandon estate to be subdivided and sold. Months before his death in 1888, P.M. Tabb Jr. transferred nearly fifteen acres alongside the reservoir to his grown children—including son Condie. In turn, his heirs quickly sold several three- and four-acre lots to investors, such as city residents Anne E. Grant and Clara H. Walpole. As sections were laid out by developers in the 1890s, the names of these individuals were used to identify some of the new streets. The configuration of the grid plan, including the large block to the north purchased by Rueger, and Tabb Road/Blandon Avenue (now S. Sheppard Street/Blanton Avenue) remain relatively unchanged today. In the 1890s, Mrs. Grant leased her tract to a leading Richmond florist, J.H. Harvey, who began cultivating flower gardens there.³³ In April 1892, the first house built in the area was announced with fanfare in the *Richmond Dispatch*: "The handsome residence of Judge E.C. Minor, on the old Tabb place, near New Reservoir, is approaching completion." Minor, a Confederate veteran who lost an arm during the war and later served with distinction as an equity court judge, enjoyed the dwelling as a summer house until his death in 1906.³⁴ This residence still stands at 3001 Condie Street.

To the south, Bolling Haxall made only slight changes to his sizable Beechwood Farm property, including small sales to the city to accommodate park expansion. Things changed rapidly after his death in 1885. Haxall's descendants promptly sold the 86-acre tract to Thomas L. Blanton, who used a portion of it over the next three decades as a dairy farm. An astute businessman who resided in the city, Blanton also purchased other rural properties in the region to serve as supply farms for his Richmond Cream, Butter, & Supply Company—known after 1901 as Richmond Dairy Company. One of two commercial dairies operating in the city at the turn of the century, the business had a modern processing plant on N. Foushee Street and boasted over thirty wagons delivering milk and cream throughout Richmond. The Henrico property, which Blanton referred to as Beechwood Dairy, was managed by a caretaker. Its cow barns and small farmhouse were likely older structures dating to the earlier Haxall days.³⁵ By 1914, Blandon Avenue simply became known as Blanton Avenue—a transition likely due to the well-known dairyman.

While the dairy business was his primary livelihood, Blanton also benefitted greatly from real estate deals. After buying Beechwood Farm in January 1887, he subdivided and sold portions of it at an impressive profit. That fall, these transactions caught the attention of the *Richmond Dispatch*, which noted Blanton's initial purchase at \$150 per acre and, only months later, his sales to separate parties for \$250 and \$500 an acre. Among the purchasers were James C. Smith and his grown daughters, Harriet and Minnie. A colorful individual nicknamed "Junky," Smith owned a profitable scrap metal business in the city. He was also a politician who was elected to consecutive terms as City Sergeant in the 1880s and '90s. Smith, who resided at his horse farm off Mechanicsville Pike, held the Henrico property as an investment. The acreage (which comprises the site of present-day Kanawha Trace) remained in the hands of his daughters into the early 20th century.³⁶ The *Dispatch* article mentioned another purchaser by name: Dr. Hugh Hagan, a Richmond native who established a medical practice in Atlanta. Hagan and his sister, Stella Smith (no relation to "Junky"), bought a 20-acre tract from Blanton at the higher price. Their investment—which sat north of the Smiths' and was located between today's Garrett Street and Bute Lane—would become the site of intense development in the 1920s.³⁷



Fig. 9. Charles Euker built his “Marburg” residence ca. 1889-90 (view from the south). It presently stands at the corner of Bute Lane and Rugby Road but awaits impending demolition by its present owner/developer.

In 1888 Thomas Blanton also sold a much smaller tract, just over an acre, to another well-known Richmonder, Charles Euker. In short time, Euker and his wife, Augusta, built their new country residence (Map #7; standing today on the northwest corner of Rugby Road and Bute Lane) and named it Marburg after the German city from which Euker, his father, and three brothers emigrated in the 1850s. After serving as a Confederate officer during the Civil War, he gained prominence as the owner of a downtown saloon and billiard hall. A popular member of the Richmond Horse Guards, Euker appeared frequently as a dignitary at post-war events. By 1905, Euker had sold Marburg and, at age 65, took a position as commandant of the R. E. Lee Camp Confederate Soldiers’ Home on the Boulevard. He died there two years later.³⁸

A significant late-19th century development that defined the physical contours of the future Carillon neighborhood was the expansion of the railroad lines to the south and west. In 1880, after the James River & Kanawha Canal Company went out of business, the Richmond & Allegheny Railroad acquired the riverside property and began laying train tracks along the old canal towpath. In the following decade, the railroad was absorbed by the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad. Around the same time, the Richmond, Fredericksburg & Petersburg Railroad (R.F. & P.) began purchasing property along the long ravine to the west for a beltline connector (the site of today’s CSX lines and ramp to the Powhite Parkway). After facing resistance and a lawsuit from dairyman Thomas L. Blanton, the R.F. & P. won a ruling in the Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals to proceed with laying the beltline tracks. In 1919, the railroad company constructed the handsome open-spandrel concrete bridge over the James River, replacing the earlier 1891 one, made of steel girders.³⁹

Early 20th century: an age of elegance

Across the nation, the new century ushered in an era of growing prosperity, a trend illustrated in both residential and commercial development in Richmond.

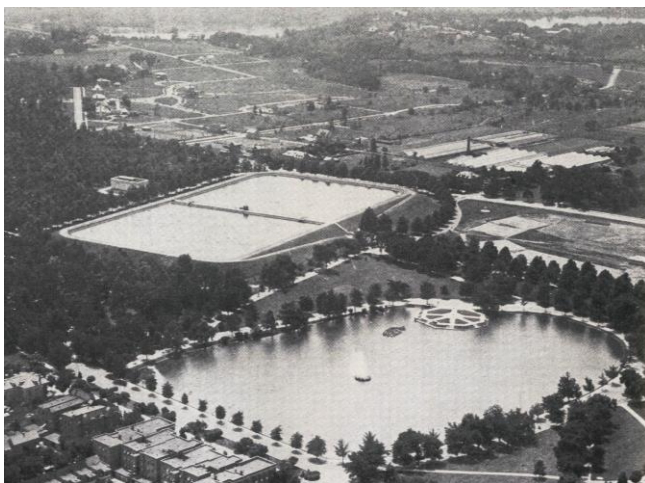


Fig. 10. Aerial view, ca. 1925. Top half pictures the new William Byrd Parkway development and, top right, the Mann & Brown green-houses. Courtesy, Valentine Richmond History Center.

The next spurt of activity in the future Carillon neighborhood came with the arrival of large commercial greenhouses just west of the reservoir. In 1898, the newly formed partnership of William A. Mann and Herbert Brown bought out J.L. Harvey’s florist business in the city and continued cultivating the gardens that Harvey leased from Anne Grant in the west end. By 1900, Mann & Brown had purchased her property (south of today’s Grant Street), and soon owned additional lots extending to French Street, Blandon Avenue (Blanton) and Nelson Street (present-day S. Belmont). Within a few short years, their immense greenhouses dominated the open fields there and supplied plants and flowers to their expanding floral business in the city. Over the next half century, Mann & Brown became a

leading purveyor of elaborate floral decorations for society events. At 700 Blandon Avenue, opposite the northwest corner of the reservoir, English-born Herbert Brown built a sturdy frame farmhouse. As his fortunes grew with the success of his business, he had the structure moved a few blocks southwest to 822 Walpole on the corner of Condie, where it became a residence for the greenhouse manager. It stands there today.⁴⁰ In its place, Brown built an opulent brick residence around 1920—known today as Blanton House (Map #2).⁴¹

Another commercial florist business developed close by. In 1920, locomotive engineer Grayson L. Nickel purchased the home of the late Judge E.C. Minor at 3100 Condie Street. His wife, Robbie M. and son Grayson Jr. turned their hands to gardening in the lot behind the property on Walpole. By 1928, the family established Nickel's Florist there, with Mrs. Nickel as the proprietor. While not the huge enterprise of neighboring Mann & Brown, the Condie Street greenhouse continued production over the next five decades. Nickel's Florist opened a retail shop at 3100 W. Broad in the 1950s. By that time, Grayson Jr. had become proprietor, managing the business until the 1970s. Remnants of the greenhouse still remain at the Condie property.⁴²

Annexations by the city in the early 20th century more than doubled the size of Richmond and brought both the newly renamed William Byrd Park and the budding community to its west into the city limits. With land acquired from Henrico County in 1906, the new municipal boundary ran along S. Sheppard Street, down Blandon Avenue, and—after an odd zag to incorporate the Marburg acre—south through sections of the Blanton and Smith properties to the river. Another annexation in 1914 moved the perimeter west to run along the R.F. & P. beltline. To physically define the new boundaries, city workers set up several obelisk markers. Today at least four are still in place in the neighborhood, marked either “C.L. 1908” or “C.L. 1914.”⁴³

Contractors began purchasing small lots and constructing a handful of middle-class residences during this period. Among them was a series of tidy brick row houses built on S. Sheppard Street in 1924-25. Before that, in the wide open fields to the south, a pair of frame dwellings went up, anchoring opposite corners of what would become the 3100 block of Granite (Garrett) Street—including a Dutch Colonial house at the corner of Nelson (now S. Belmont). Within a few years, its owner may



Figs. 11-13. Top: Farmhouse (ca. 1890s) that originally stood at 700 Blanton Ave., moved to 822 Walpole St. (ca. 1920). Center: Billhead (ca. 1910) of Mann & Brown florists. Bottom: Residence built by Herbert Brown (ca. 1920) at 700 Blanton Ave., now called Blanton House.

have been surprised to discover the plans of the Virginia Electric & Power Company to run a streetcar line south from Broad Street terminating at that intersection (Map #6). Beginning in 1925, cars would come to a stop there and then reverse course; passengers riding north would first need to flip the seatbacks over to face the opposite direction. The line was

taken out after 1949 when the city removed all streetcar lines in favor of the bus system. By coincidence, the 1940 U.S. Census lists two renters in this corner house: Joel Walton, a bus operator, and James Agee, a streetcar conductor.⁴⁴

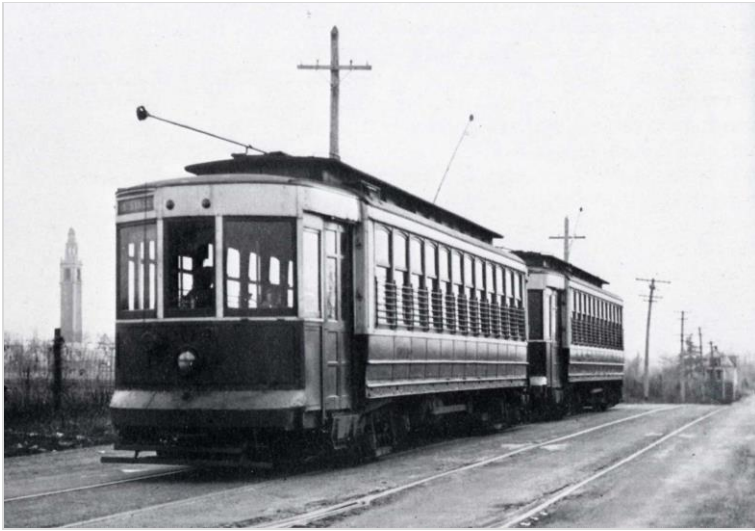


Fig. 14. *The South Belmont streetcar, photo before 1948. The Carillon is pictured in the background (left) and Dutch-colonial residence at 3118 Garrett Street (right). From Carlton Norris McKenney, Rails in Richmond, p. 138.*

Even farther south, new residential development in the early 20th century was bolstered by the completion of the loop drive through the lower reaches of Byrd Park. Dr. E.J. Moseley Jr. built a summer residence there around 1907. Four years later, the Harvard-trained physician sued Southern Bell for failing to connect telephone lines to that remote site (present-day 1410 Pump House Drive). The court case was reported in

detail in a local newspaper. Moseley, who had recently sold the house at a loss, also lost the suit.⁴⁵ The name of the next owner is unknown, but the house gained a reputation in the 1920s as a discrete watering hole during Prohibition. Various oral histories describe parties coming to the site to purchase drinks. The house gained more respectability the following decade as the residence of Dr. Samuel Anderson and his family, although stories of livelier days lingered—including its name, Swan Tavern.⁴⁶

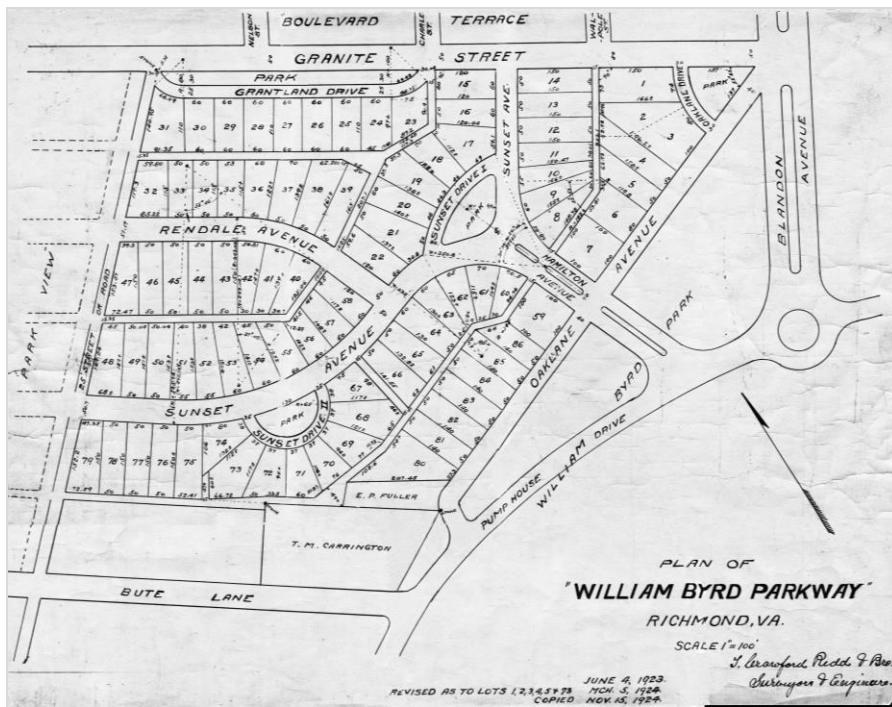
In the second decade of the century, John M. Brockenbrough Jr. and his wife, Clara, began exploring the area to build their own rural retreat. Sometime after 1915, they purchased 20.5 acres of the former Smith property, also accessed from Pump House Drive. A small frame farmhouse from earlier years sat on the brow of a hill. With its sweeping view of the James River, it provided a pleasant, if not a bit cramped, summer dwelling for the growing Brockenbrough family—altogether there would be seven children.⁴⁷ In 1920, the couple hired distinguished architect W. Duncan Lee to design an imposing British Arts-and-Crafts style mansion for the site (Map #10). Construction began once the smaller house was removed—done in one piece, as their daughter Kenny later described, by rotating it to one side using a stone wheel and a team of mules. This structure then served as the children's play house and, decades later, would become the location of the family-run nursery school called Old House Play School.⁴⁸ Until 1985, two generations of Brockenbroughs enjoyed the manor house and grounds—which they named Doolough.⁴⁹ The residence remains on its original site today, nearly enveloped by the Kanawha Trace development.



Fig. 15. *Doolough Lodge, built by John M. and Clara K. Brockenbrough, 1918-20. It stands presently on Brockenbrough Lane in Kanawha Trace.*

Citywide, the convergence of ambition and money during the 1920s fanned a surge in the construction of grand residences in myriad revival styles: Colonial, Queen Anne, Tudor, Arts and Crafts, and Mediterranean. The decade ushered in the heyday of academically trained architects, who were kept busy with commissions for homes along Monument Avenue and in growing developments like Windsor Farms, Ginter Park, and William Byrd Parkway—the latter laid out on the former Hagan property. At first, an unidentified developer produced a densely packed grid plan that divided the twenty acres into a warren of 144 connecting row houses. The short-lived scheme existed only on paper, abandoned around 1921 when the tract gained a more graceful, organic design in the hands of another planner.⁵⁰

Spearheaded by real estate developer Roger Gregory, William Byrd Parkway established the street pattern recognizable today—Granite (Garrett) Street, the thin crescent of Grantland Drive, Rendale Avenue, Sunset Avenue, Bute Lane, and Nelson Street (now Sunset Lane)—punctuated by a few semi-circular islands of grass. Facing Byrd Park on the east was Oaklane Avenue (briefly called Bellevue, and ultimately named Rugby Road). Sweeping diagonally to the southwest to merge with Pump House Drive, this park-side thoroughfare featured a formal two-way entrance at center, calculated to line up with an area of the park the city had recently donated for a yet unplanned World War I memorial. As the streets were being laid out and construction began on the first homes, the builder signaled his plans for an upscale development by embellishing its entryway with flanking brick pillars crowned with eagle-topped arches, each pillar anchored with a half-circular concrete bench. Placed in the median between them was a classicized brick marker, originally decorated with a bas-relief plaque of the Byrd family coat of arms.⁵¹



Figs. 16 & 17. Left: Plan of William Byrd Parkway, 1923. Courtesy of Pat Lovelace. Right: Plaque of Byrd family coat of arms that once ornamented the Rugby Road entrance marker. Courtesy of Richmond Times-Dispatch.

By the early 1930s, several lavish residences sprouted up in the neighborhood opposite the park, many of them designed by notable architects, including D. Wiley Anderson, Otis K. Asbury, and W. Duncan Lee. The mansions were finely constructed by local builders, engineers, and craftsmen; and a good number of them were finished with romantic gardens designed by acclaimed landscape architect, Charles Gillette. The new owners were prominent Richmond businessmen, merchants, physicians, and lawyers who left city residences behind to seek the pleasures of suburban living. Among them was H. William Nolde, the successful German-

born owner of Nolde's Bakery. His Georgian-revival mansion (1112 Sunset Avenue), designed by D. Wiley Anderson, was one of the first in the new development. Not far away, Otis K. Asbury created an English Country Tudor House (2904 Rugby Road) for Charles H. Fentress, proprietor of a paper company. Next door, for his New England flavored shingle-style house (2900 Rugby Road), U.S. District Court Judge Robert N. Pollard commissioned W. Duncan Lee. This same architect created the Brockenbroughs' Doolough Lodge and was the designer for attorney Stuart G. Christian's new residence at the end of Nelson Street (now 1529 Sunset Lane).⁵² Clara Brockenbrough, writing a letter to her daughter Kenny away at school in New York in 1924, related a wry exchange with her friend Stuart Christian on a brisk December day. Coming back after walking down Pump House Drive to see the construction progress on the new Boulevard Bridge (completed the following year), she met him with his son, Punky: "I told him that our houses showed up from the bridge," she wrote. "And he said he only hoped they could not see the mortgages on his."⁵³

Of all the newly minted homes in the area, none had a more dramatic setting than Blue Shingles. The three-story mansion, designed in 1922 by Otis Asbury for coal executive Lorenzo Sibert Evans and his wife, Alma, sat on the crest of a hill with a breathtaking view of the James River. The house—now demolished—was built on a 14.5-acre tract that was once the westernmost property of dairyman Thomas Blanton (Map #9). Years earlier, his unsuccessful lawsuit against the R.F. & P. Railroad resulted in its being sliced through by the beltline tracks, with upper and lower sections joined by a small concrete bridge. Before the land was purchased by the Evanses, the property changed hands in quick succession, *Richmond News Leader* publisher John Stewart Bryan being the last owner.

The mansion at Blue Shingles was a playfully outsized Arts and Crafts "cottage," which—like the Rugby Road house Asbury designed for Fentress—featured a stucco exterior peppered with Tudor-revival rustication. Blue-gray colored window trim hinted at the source of the estate's name. The property was finished with a formal garden, reflecting pool, and bridle paths designed by Charles Gillette. Despite the



Fig. 18. 1112 Sunset Avenue, built ca. 1924 for H. William Nolde in William Byrd Parkway. Pictured here flying today's Arts in the Park flag.



Fig. 19. Blue Shingles on a knoll overlooking the James River, before its demolition. Pictured in *Historic Virginia* (Charlottesville: Roy Wheeler Realty Co., 1948), p. 114.

isolated setting of their home, accessed by a spur road at the end of Bute Lane, the Evans family welcomed neighbors from the growing community nearby. Robert (“Bob”) Lovelace III, who grew up on Rendale, recalled childhood visits in the early 1940s when he enjoyed lunch and lemonade in the sunroom. Decades later, Bute Lane residents Millie Taylor and her daughter, Betsy, were frequent guests of the owners’ daughter, Mary Ann Steele. Mrs. Taylor especially recollects the fine interior details, including oak paneling, custom-fitted china cupboards, and parquet floors.⁵⁴ The property came to a sad ending. After the land was sold for development in 1966, vandals quickly looted and destroyed the empty house. The city condemned and razed it the following year. Afterwards, the site would become hotly contested territory with repeated—and so far unsuccessful—campaigns to build high-rise condominiums there.⁵⁵

Not all of the early houses in William Byrd Parkway were large and opulent. W. Duncan Lee also designed a pair of complementary Arts & Crafts cottages on Bute Lane. Just slightly over 1,000 square feet each, they were built in the early 1920s reportedly as country havens for a Richmond businessman and his lady friend. The so-called “love cottages,” with their meticulous hand-crafted interiors, still stand at 3109 and 3113 Bute, but the Gillette garden that once connected them does not.⁵⁶

Two monuments: Columbus and the Carillon

The prospect of two monuments coming to Byrd Park during the 1920s—one a figural sculpture and the other an architectural memorial and plaza—brought additional waves of excitement to new residents and developers alike. The statue of Christopher Columbus, which stands at the reservoir on the south end of the Boulevard, arrived with fanfare and controversy. Privately commissioned by Richmond’s Italian-American community, the image of the 15th-century explorer was modeled by Ferruccio Legnaioli, a prominent émigré sculptor. The city’s monument committee, however, was influenced to reject the sculpture by prevailing anti-Catholic, anti-immigrant sentiment espoused by the Ku Klux Klan. But pressure from local newspapers and assurance that the bronze figure would not compete with the marble Confederate heroes along Monument Avenue helped reverse the decision. With fanfare and speeches by Governor Harry Byrd and the Italian ambassador, Nobile de Martina, the statue and its fountain alcove were dedicated on December 9, 1927.⁵⁷

Drama surrounding the planning of the World War Memorial was played out in a long public battle, well documented and fueled by the local press. In 1924, six years after the ending of the Great War, the Virginia General Assembly appointed a commission to plan an appropriate monument commemorating the “patriotism and valor of the soldiers, sailors, marines, and women from Virginia who served in the World War.”⁵⁸ Following a juried competition, celebrated Philadelphia architect Paul Cret won the commission with his design for a sleek classicized temple that would house a tomb of an unknown soldier. Governor E. Lee Trinkle laid the cornerstone in early 1926 with great ceremony, but changing circumstances soon rendered invalid the Cret plans buried within the time capsule. A citizen’s committee waged a popular campaign to build a carillon instead. Such musical bell towers had become fashionable in the U.S. and Europe. With the blessing of newly elected Governor Byrd, and armed with a Colonial-revival carillon design by the renowned Ralph Adams Cram of Boston, the advocates successfully convinced the General Assembly to



Fig. 20. Editorial cartoon by Fred Seibel, Richmond Times-Dispatch, February 28, 1928. Courtesy VCU: Special Collections and Archives, VCU Libraries.

reverse its decision.⁵⁹ Construction continued, though it slowed considerably following the collapse of the stock market in October 1929.

Great Depression era: 1930s

With funding from the Commonwealth set aside before the financial crash, the building of the 240-foot Carillon in Byrd Park provided much needed jobs for builders, tradesmen, and laborers during the period of rising unemployment.⁶⁰ The dedication of the “Singing Tower” also brought a boost of morale to Richmond and Virginia in the grip of the Great Depression. On October 15, 1932, a crowd of 15,000 attended the opening ceremonies launched with military pageantry that included battalions of Virginia Military Institute and Virginia Tech cadets marching from the State Capitol.⁶¹ Speeches by dignitaries alternated with musical interludes played by the unseen carillonneur at the keyboard four stories up. Suspended above him, sixty-six bronze bells, specially cast by a firm in England, rang out hymns and patriotic songs. The celebration continued throughout the month of November with a dozen additional public bell concerts.⁶²



Fig. 21. Aerial view of the War Memorial Carillon dedication, October 15, 1932. Cadet regiments march down Blanton Avenue, here just arriving at Douglasdale Road. William Byrd Parkway development in the background. Courtesy, Dementi Studios.

Over the next few years, work continued on the tower and grounds. The Carillon’s lower floor was prepared as a war museum displaying war relics assembled by local citizens. As a boy Donald McNeill visited the exhibits frequently. In 1935 his family moved to 3201 Bute Lane—at the time one of only four houses on the street. He recalls the various artifacts in the war museum, some in cases and others sitting on shelves. “They had a watchman,” he adds. “If you were real nice to him, once in a while he’d take you up in the tower.” The Carillon interior was less elaborate than originally planned. Dwindling budgets had eliminated the addition of a central dome room and statue of a soldier. Shortfalls also forced modifications to the original plans for the

grounds, curtailing formal plantings and a reflecting pool—excavated but never completed. (For years afterwards, however, tourist postcards based on preliminary conceptions pictured a filled basin; see back cover.)⁶³

Toward the end of the 1930s, the entire park saw great improvement as workers from federally funded Works Progress Administration (WPA) programs made repairs and constructed walks, terraces, and steps. Moreover, members of the James River Garden Club donated holly and dogwood trees in 1937 to flank the sunken green in front of the tower. Two years later, the Richmond Federation of Garden Clubs planted an arboretum of over 500 dogwoods in the vale to the east—appropriately christened Dogwood Dell. A final embellishment came in 1940: a large gold star made of terrazzo laid into the floor of the plaza in front of the Carillon. Paying tribute to mothers whose sons died fighting in the so-called “War to End All Wars,” the emblem would have additional somber resonance as the U.S. entered World War II the following year.⁶⁴



Fig. 22. Aerial view of Carillon neighborhood, ca. 1936 (detail). Pump house is seen at bottom right and the Brockenbrough's Doolough estate near bottom left. Courtesy, Valentine Richmond History Center.

Aerial photographs made in the 1930s reveal that the Carillon neighborhood remained mostly undeveloped. Streets were laid out through open fields, punctuated by a few houses, either alone or in clusters. However, despite the poor economy, over twenty new dwellings were built during the decade. While the lofty plan that William Byrd Parkway would become a posh enclave of manor houses ground to a halt, developer Roger Gregory continued to sell lots under the aegis of his Parkway Corporation. Various contractors, whether for owners or their own speculation, built middle-income residences—most of them Colonial revival dwellings on Sunset and Rendale Avenues. And to the north, in an area described at times as Boulevard Terrace, other builders put up a handful of small brick houses on Condie and Philip (later Douglasdale Road).⁶⁵

The poor economy brought transient people to the neighborhood looking for food or work. Dr. Basil Jones and his wife, Ruth, had regular visitors to their house on Sunset Avenue. The couple later discovered that their kindness in giving out food was communicated to other vagabonds by markings left on the property. Don McNeill, who moved to 3201 Bute Lane with his parents in 1935, has a similar recollection of occasional hobo sightings: “They did come by a few times, and they had a big white ‘X’ on the back of our fence.” He notes that they likely came from a nearby encampment set up in the wooded ravine near the beltline railroad tracks. An adventurous Bob Lovelace, McNeill’s childhood friend, sometimes made his way there after his morning paper route to join the motley gathering for breakfast.⁶⁶

World War II and the subsequent housing boom: 1940s – 1950s

Don McNeill distinctly recalls the commencement of World War II on December 7, 1941. He and other members of the local Boy Scout troop had gathered in the grass in front of the Carillon to watch their scoutmaster, Al Dodge, fly a miniature gas-powered airplane in the air above them. “And somebody came out saying that the Japanese had just bombed Pearl Harbor,” he said. “Everybody just took off and went home.” In the following years, McNeill remembers that the small neighborhood supported the war effort through paper and metal drives. “One time they were collecting all this scrap metal. They had the one end of the grass circle [on the Sunset Avenue] about half full.”⁶⁷

McNeill’s most vivid memory of these years came in the final days of the war—and this time the airplane was real. On September 1, 1945, two P-47s collided in the air just south of Blue Shingles. “Three or four of us were up in my garage fooling around with old bicycles,” McNeill recalls. “We heard this big boom...Bob [Lovelace] was outside. He said, ‘A plane just crashed!’ It was during the war...[and] two planes were training and collided. One of them went down just on the other side of the canal and exploded. And we were...the first on the scene. That was not pretty.” As the plane dove into the ravine, it created an eight-foot crater, killing the pilot. For a 2008 interview, Lovelace recounted the harrowing experience as well, describing the crash site. Because the boys were familiar with the swampy area, they could guide the rescue workers to the wreckage.⁶⁸

World War II fueled a strengthening economy, but at the same time it diverted raw materials into the war effort. Nonetheless, Colonial Homes, Inc., one of the many development companies active during the war years, moved forward with speculative housing on Sunset and Rendale Avenues and Bute Lane. The company’s promotional literature in 1942 explained that the builder had set aside the “better materials” such as copper for wiring and gutters before market prices rose.⁶⁹ The more concentrated development effort during this time took place a few streets to the north with the introduction of Rueger Street and the expansion of Grant, French, Condie, Philip (Douglasdale) and Granite (Garrett) westward past S. Belmont.

No period of time brought as much building activity to the Carillon neighborhood as the 1940s and 1950s, when over 250 single-family houses were constructed. The Federal Housing Administration (FHA), established during the Depression to support the housing market, provided loans to large builders wanting to put up acres of tract housing. Seemingly overnight, hundreds of modest-sized homes—primarily brick Cape Cods—went up north of Douglasdale Road and in the cul-de-sacs of Rendale and Sunset Avenues. The

demolition of the old Mann & Brown greenhouses also opened dozens of lots between Grant and Condie. The new houses sold quickly. FHA loans came readily to qualifying buyers. Moreover, veterans returning to civilian life had benefit of low-interest, zero down payment home loans courtesy of the G.I. Bill.⁷⁰



Figs. 23 & 24. Aerial views of new development west of the open-air reservoir, early 1950s. Top: The Rueger mansion has been demolished to make room for future John B. Cary Elementary School. Bottom: Looking toward the Carillon, the vista also includes new houses on Granite (later Garrett) Street and Grantland Drive. Courtesy, Adolph B. Rice Studio Collection, Library of Virginia.

There was plenty to draw potential buyers to the neighborhood, located within a short distance from downtown by car, streetcar, or bus. Beyond the natural attractions of Byrd Park were its ball fields, tennis courts, and municipal swimming pool on the southern end of Shields Lake. Plans were also in the making for a large outdoor amphitheater to be built at Dogwood Dell (completed in 1961). Meanwhile, ongoing special events attracted many visitors. These included the city's Festival of the Arts summer program, the Fourth of July fireworks exhibit, and the staging of the annual Richmond Nativity Pageant—all three events continue there today. Maymont Park, with its historic mansion and grounds, was in hiking distance, and a variety of churches and synagogues were in easy proximity—soon to be joined by the Asbury Wesleyan Methodist Church on the corner of Blanton and French Street (Map # 4; built in 1962, now the Unity of Richmond church). And nearby Cary Street beckoned with its shops, grocery stores, and movie theaters.⁷¹

Young families were especially attracted by the brand new John B. Cary Elementary School, built by the city in 1954 on the site of the old Rueger estate north of Grant Street. And those with very young children could send them to the Old House Play School off Pump House Drive, owned and operated by Clara Brocken-



Figs. 23 Old House Play School, drawing made mid-1980s before the dwelling was demolished. CCA Archives.

brough in the vintage outbuilding on her Doolough estate. The widow and her daughters Kenny and Mary Austin opened the preschool during World War II to benefit mothers volunteering for the war effort. With ongoing support from co-owner Miriam Nichols and her daughter, Ann, it stayed in operation for another thirty years. The school's station wagon, making its rounds to pick up and deliver children, became a routine sight. Former pupils recall the dispensing of firm discipline there. At age five, Clint Peters, then residing with his parents on Rendale, planned and plotted to run away. "And one day I did," he recalls. "I came up Rugby and ran into [a neighbor] who squealed on me. By the time I got home, they called the school.... [Soon] they wheeled up in the station wagon."⁷²

A heady optimism permeated the 1940s and 1950s in the Carillon neighborhood, captured in the Colonial Homes sales brochure that assured potential buyers that William Byrd Parkway had the "RIGHT LOCATION – RIGHT CONSTRUCTION – RIGHT PRICE – RIGHT NOW." Similar boosterism resonated in a 1950 promotional poster for Richmond, published by the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad. It pictures well-dressed tourists and suburbanites happily mingling under blue skies and the towering Carillon. Clearly understood by all, however, was the fact that not everyone was welcome. As the Colonial Homes literature confirmed, the neighborhood was "restricted" to "the *right* neighbors."⁷³ African Americans were excluded.

By custom and law, blacks were not permitted access to Byrd Park and its myriad attractions. (Tennis legend Arthur Ashe, for instance, was barred as a youth from playing on the park's segregated courts.) Likewise, the adjoining neighborhood to the west prohibited black residency. Housing segregation had been a long tradition in Richmond; codified in 1911, it was enforced through state and city housing ordinances. Although contested more than once by the U.S. Supreme Court, the racial divide held firm through societal pressure and restrictive neighborhood covenants. Accordingly the Carillon neighborhood, while diverse in religions was not diverse racially. Its covenant, a standard attachment to land titles, included a clause stating that the property "shall not be sold, leased, conveyed, devised or otherwise disposed of to, or held or occupied by, any person not of the Caucasian Race, or to any body politic or corporate composed of or controlled by, persons not of the Caucasian Race."⁷⁴

After World War II, an intense battle by blacks against race discrimination gained momentum with the growing Civil Rights Movement. The crucial breakthrough came in 1954 when the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously struck down the long-standing doctrine of “separate but equal” in its decision in the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* case. The ruling prompted segregationists to fight against court-ordered school integration with strategies such as Virginia’s “Massive Resistance” efforts.⁷⁵ At the same time, the victory galvanized civil liberties activists to persevere in ongoing challenges against discrimination in transportation, public accommodations, and assembly as well as in voting, marriage, and housing rights.

The housing question became especially intense in Richmond with the implementation of a comprehensive “Master Plan for the Physical Development of the City,” drawn up in 1946 by the nationally renowned consulting firm of Harland Bartholomew & Associates. To make room for the Richmond-Petersburg Turnpike (now I-95) and, later, a commuter expressway to the western suburbs (I-195), the city undertook an aggressive campaign of clearance that destroyed or invaded nearly every major black neighborhood in the city. “Unfortunately, the demolition of scores of dwellings and business places will create difficult problems for some of the persons involved,” an editorial noted in the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* on August 2, 1955. “This is not the first time, nor will it be the last, when individual citizens must be inconvenienced for the good of the community.” Two years later, on January 14, the same newspaper noted a resulting housing shortage and the beginning of white flight—the exodus of white residents to the suburbs outside the city. The “inconvenience” of construction would ultimately displace an estimated 20,000 black Richmonders by the early 1960s, and the limited number of housing units available in segregated neighborhoods and newly constructed projects proved inadequate.⁷⁶

1960s: A “changing neighborhood”

The Carillon neighborhood, by this time numbering 350 households, felt the direct effect of the Bartholomew Plan for urban renewal. One of the final stages of the thirty-five year effort was the construction of the Downtown Expressway (I-195/SR-195) and ramp to the Powhite Parkway (SR-146) along its northern and western periphery. Announced in 1966 and commenced two years later, clearance for construction shaved off acreage, including whole blocks of residences on Idlewood and Rosewood just to the north and, within the neighborhood, dozens of houses from the western ends of Maplewood, Rueger, Grant, French, Condie, and Douglasdale—with some of the dwellings being moved by builders to the growing Maymont development east of Byrd Park. Moreover, the path of the thirteen-mile expressway demolished large segments of African American communities immediately to the northeast, including the Byrd Park and Randolph neighborhoods. In this phase alone, the Richmond Metropolitan Authority, through the power of eminent domain, displaced an additional 1,000 households. As black families from these and other Richmond regions explored sites for relocation, new federal laws made once segregated neighborhoods like the Carillon viable options.⁷⁷

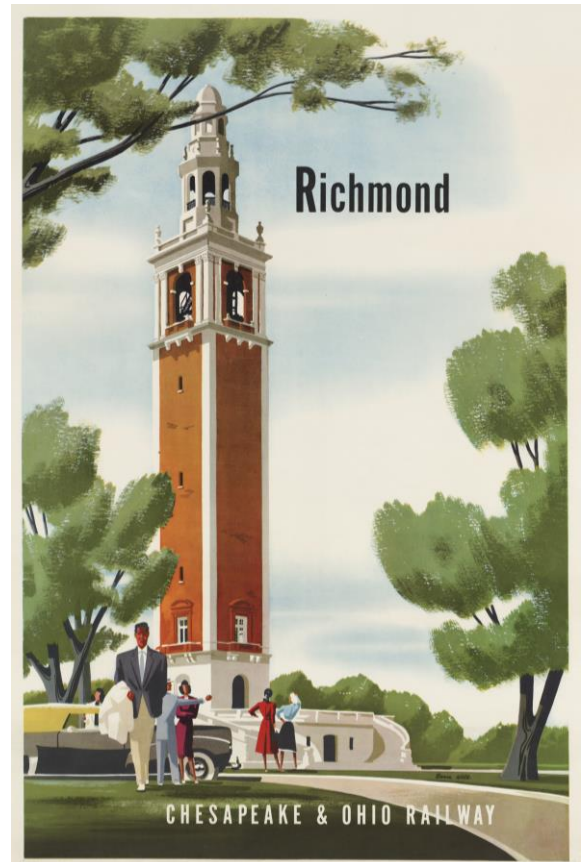


Fig.25. Poster published in 1950 by the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad; image by Bern Hill. Courtesy, Library of Virginia.



Fig. 26. Lyndon B. Johnson signs the Civil Rights Act, July 2, 1964, as Martin Luther King looks on. Photo detail, Library of Congress.

During this decade of profound change, the hard-won Civil Rights Act of 1964 outlawed major forms of discrimination against racial, ethnic, national, and religious minorities, and women. Four years later, Congress enacted the Fair Housing Act (Title VIII of the Civil Rights Act of 1968), which banned discrimination in the sale, rental, or financing of housing.⁷⁸ In June 1968, *The Afro-American* newspaper in Baltimore explored the impact of that recent ruling on Richmond, Virginia, noting the city and state's reputation for ducking earlier civil rights decisions. Among the officials interviewed was Councilman Phil J. Bagley Jr., "considered certain to be the city's next mayor." Bagley, a realtor who had resided in the Carillon neighborhood since the early 1950s, responded he hadn't read the decision, but, "It's the law of the land, people will have to abide by it." No doubt Bagley was aware that, beginning in 1967, the first African American residents had moved into his own community, purchasing homes on Grant and French Streets. The following year brought several more black families to the modestly priced houses north of Douglasdale. Within three years the entire Carillon neighborhood was integrated, with a black population surpassing 40 percent.⁷⁹

Among the new residents were Richard ("Bobby") Twiggs and his wife, Ann, who admired the community at an "emotional distance" when the young couple resided on nearby Jacquelin Street. In May 1968—with new open housing laws, GI Bill provisions, and a windfall inheritance from Mrs. Twiggs's mother—the couple purchased their home on French Street, where they still reside today. Twiggs, a building contractor, recalls the turnover that soon followed: "It was intense for a while. When we moved here, the block was all white except four black families. And I think in less than two years only one or two [white] families were still left here.... It took on a snowball effect." Twiggs is quick to note that they were also befriended by several of the white residents who remained in the neighborhood. One of them was engineer Dan Kalman, who has lived on Grant Street since 1950. In thinking of his own street, he remembers: "Our first black neighbor? Charlie Wilkerson, two doors down. We became good friends. As for the color—made no difference one way or the other." But race did make a difference for many of the residents, and Kalman recalls the role aggressive blockbusting played in the initial wave of flight. "We had real estate agents come by and knock on your door and say, guess who your neighbors are going to be?"⁸⁰

Circumstances in 1968 were especially volatile. White Richmonders, already unnerved by the onset of nearby Expressway clearance, read warnings in the newspapers about growing black voting power in the upcoming City Council elections and also witnessed the specter of riot-gearred police patrolling Broad Street in the tragic days following the assassination of Martin Luther King. Overtly at first—then subtly when the Fair Housing Act made the practice illegal—both white and black real estate agents profited by fanning race-based fears. Defining a neighborhood as "changing," agents informed homeowners that property values were quickly plummeting because an African American moved into the block, street, or neighborhood. The agents would then readily purchase homes at a reduced rate and sell them at a tidy profit to new black occupants. It would be a triple play if they also handled the fleeing owner's relocation to the suburbs.⁸¹ "That's when we began to have interesting things happening," longtime Rendale resident Libby Soffee notes. "Lines were drawn. People moved out. Some people moved out in the middle of the night. There was a lot of secrecy about how people truly felt about living in an integrated neighborhood."⁸²

Carillon Civic Association: the early years, 1968-1970

"The neighborhood was in utter panic," Frank Gilbert stated when recalling the circumstances that launched the Carillon Civic Association (CCA). In the summer of 1968, the business executive and a handful of concerned residents, including his wife, Kippy, began holding small informal meetings in their home or at the residence of their Sunset Avenue neighbors, pediatrician Basil Jones and his wife, Ruth. "There were a number of white folk who thought the purpose was to keep black folk out," Gilbert recalls. They left the gatherings disappointed. "Times were changing," remembers Bernice Walter, who attended with her late husband, Bob. "People really decided that we'd just better all get along together." By fall, the group—which had grown to approximately 20 households, both black and white—formed the association with Gilbert as its president.⁸³



Fig.27. Bob Lovelace and Frank Gilbert (2nd and 1st CCA presidents) outside the Lovelace house, ca. 1977. Courtesy, Laura Gilbert Carr.

The goal of the nascent coalition was to foster economic and social stability in the neighborhood by combating prejudice. Among its top priorities: to bring an end to the onslaught of phone calls, door knocking, and letters from aggressive real estate agents. To this end, the group began its own door knocking campaign to allay fears, share news about the new organization, and hand out flyers inviting residents to the CCA's first public meeting. They devised a plan of action through committees dedicated to rumor control, press relations, real estate issues, and human relations—the latter an overall effort to promote community through open dialogue.⁸⁴

An impromptu front porch visit by Gilbert brought the efforts to the attention of Harold M. Marsh Sr., who had just moved to Douglasdale Road. The Downtown Expressway clearance had taken his residence on Addison Street, originally his parents' home where he and his brother, then City Councilman Henry L. Marsh



Fig. 28. Harold M. Marsh Sr. and Henry Marsh III at a family event, ca. 1997.

III, had grown up. Partners in the formidable law firm of Hill, Tucker & Marsh, the brothers unsuccessfully lobbied to have the path of the expressway relocated along the river. As Harold Marsh related in later interviews, it took nearly two years for him to find the Douglasdale house and the evocation of the Fair Housing Act to purchase it. While he had been a pioneer in breaking the color divide as the first African American graduate of the University of Virginia Law School, his goal in moving to the Carillon neighborhood was finding the best home for his family, not an exercise in integration. At first he was skeptical of the newly formed civic group. However, after attending the early meetings, he soon became a crucial advocate, eventually serving as the association's third president.⁸⁵

Frank Gilbert recalled, “Those original meetings would go from 8 p.m. to around 12 a.m. After Harold joined up, the meeting would go to 1:30 a.m. Harold had a lot to fill us in about the black community.” Writing in tribute to Marsh years later, Carol Towell expressed similar sentiments, “Harold led the way in teaching us what it was like to be a black man in Richmond. By turns angry and compassionate, [he] led us along to understanding.” In summing up the early efforts of the group, she added, “We were young then, and full of energy, and we thought we could make a difference in a city of segregated neighborhoods. We would be different, and that is what we became.”⁸⁶



Fig. 29. CCA officers and board members meet, summer 1971. Left to right: Bob Lovelace (floor), Bob Walter, Marjorie News, Carol Towell, Bernice Walter, Imogene Draper, Martha Rollins, and Abbot Lambert. Published Richmond News Leader; photo courtesy, Richmond Times-Dispatch.

The initial gathering of the new civic association at John B. Cary Elementary School on November 18th, 1968, drew a moderate crowd. More significant was the publicity it attracted for the interracial organization with the bold stated purpose of maintaining an integrated neighborhood. Headlines read: “Biracial Unit Fights ‘Panic,’” “Carillon Group Promotes Community,” and “Group to Try to ‘Stabilize’ Carillon Area.” Ruth Jones, one of the CCA spokespersons and a social worker by training, stated that families “who are founding the group feel that with a united front... [we] can guide the community through its transition.” As to residents who were determined to leave, she dryly concluded: “Most of the people who are going to run have already run.”⁸⁷ The statement was optimistic. It would take several more years and significant effort on the part of the association to stop the flight of white residents and the fear tactics that helped drive them away.

The tumultuous 1970s

The first formative decade of the CCA played out against the backdrop of one of the most tumultuous periods in the history of Richmond. “It was stifling,” Collie Burton stated, remembering the atmosphere in the metropolitan region when he arrived to assume the job of associate director for the Richmond Urban

League in 1971. “It was stifling in the sense that attitudes and behavior had not changed any.” The sentiment was echoed by his wife, Audrey, who at the time worked as an adjunct assistant professor at Virginia State University: “It was almost like a blanket was over the city.... It was a hostile environment.” Residing at first in Chesterfield County, the couple grew concerned about finding a community “conducive and balanced” for raising their children. They were—and remain—dedicated community activists. After learning about the integrated Carillon neighborhood, the Burtons purchased a home on Garrett Street in 1973, where they still reside.⁸⁸

The atmosphere was indeed charged. Race-based struggles informed the major issues of the 1970s: ongoing demolition of black neighborhoods, housing discrimination, integration of the public schools, suburban annexation, and the changing form of city government. Each would resonate in the Carillon community. As resident Rutledge Dennis, professor of sociology, succinctly puts it: “Richmond and the Carillon neighborhood have concurrent histories.”⁸⁹

The decade opened with the anticipated annexation by the city of twenty-three square miles of Chesterfield County, an agreement negotiated by Richmond’s then mayor, Phil J. Bagley Jr., over the previous two years. Bagley understood that annexation would bring an infusion of white voters that could influence city elections for years to come. The decision—unpopular with Chesterfield County residents within the so-called Bagley-Horner line and with African Americans who recognized an attempt to dilute the growing black vote—brought occasional protestors to Bagley’s house at 3120 Bute Lane in the Carillon community.⁹⁰ Annexation was halted in 1970 by a federal lawsuit that cited violation of the Voting Rights Act. While the case, argued by W.H. Cabell Venable, slowly made its way to the U.S. Supreme Court, Richmond was ordered by the Justice Department to suspend City Council elections. The final ruling in 1975 held that the city could keep the annexed land but had to change its at-large council form of government—a decision that paved the way for a new nine-ward system. Elections would not be held again until 1977.⁹¹

In December 1970, long before the final annexation decision, Phil Bagley moved out of the Carillon neighborhood, reportedly overnight. Within eighteen months, Venable, the white attorney who brought the original class action suit, purchased a home one street over on Sunset Avenue.⁹² These years saw the arrival of other high-profile residents who played roles in the changing dynamics of the city. The next occupant of the former mayor’s house was black: Timothy Langston, Dean of Student Services at Virginia Commonwealth University (VCU) and a founding board member of Housing Opportunities Made Equal (HOME), an organization that would soon partner with the CCA to fight housing discrimination. Also in 1971, a young African American attorney, JeRoyd Greene, purchased a house in the next block of Bute Lane—a surprising choice of residency for the Yale-educated militant who had publically denounced integration as a failed system. Within a few years, Greene moved from the neighborhood (his former wife remained, now a forty-two year resident), but not before offering *pro bono* legal support to the fledgling civic association. Changing his name to Sa’ad El Amin after converting to Islam, he became a controversial member of City Council between 1998 and 2003. Subsequently serving prison time for tax fraud, he returned to Richmond as a forceful voice in the city’s discourse on race issues.⁹³

Following the Supreme Court ruling, the Carillon neighborhood became part of Richmond’s Fifth District, identified as a crucial “swing” district with its diverse population. The 1977 elections resulted in Richmond’s first black-majority City Council and the election of Henry L. Marsh III as the city’s first African American mayor. Representing the new Fifth District was Councilman H.W. (“Chuck”) Richardson, who had just moved to Grantland Drive in the Carillon neighborhood. (He eventually relocated to his present-day residence on Blanton Avenue.) Richardson would go on to become the city’s longest serving councilman, resigning after eighteen years in 1995 following a drug arrest and sentencing. Not an active member of the CCA, the African American politician generally supported its initiatives and stances, with occasional differences emerging over development issues.⁹⁴

During the early 1970s, the Carillon Civic Association gained momentum and new members through meetings, programs, and social events. Among the first scheduled speakers was Richmond City Manager Alan Kiepper, who also served as the guest of honor in the CCA's Fourth of July parade in 1970. He was accompanied by close to a hundred neighborhood children waving American flags. In these days, to show solidarity with the CCA and to help raise funds, residents purchased geraniums and displayed them on front porches. Some volunteered as project committee heads or as block captains who welcomed newcomers and fostered communication. Association meetings typically convened at John B. Cary Elementary School or at the brand new First Unitarian Church at 1000 Blanton Avenue (Map #5). Even before the church opened its doors in the fall of 1972, its minister and members (including several neighborhood residents) contributed time and money in support of the fledgling CCA.⁹⁵ Neighborhood announcements and association updates were shared with residents through flyers and a newsletter, initially printed by the church and, later, on a mimeograph machine in the basement of the Rugby Road home of O. Randolph ("Randy") and Martha Rollins.⁹⁶

The presence of attorneys Randy Rollins and Harold Marsh on the CCA board facilitated the drafting of the association's By-laws and Articles of Incorporation in 1970. The process helped solidify overall missions, which included stabilizing and promoting the neighborhood, certainly, but also sponsoring beautification, crime prevention, recreational and cultural events, and encouraging strategic development. A driving force behind the last was the recent rezoning by the city of the Blue Shingles property, rendering it eligible for townhouses or high-rise apartments. With funding from donations, yard sales, and a house and garden tour, the civic association commissioned a neighborhood survey and plan.⁹⁷ The final report was completed in 1971 and presented to the Richmond Planning Commission by CCA's second president, Bob Lovelace—former adventurous newsboy, later owner of a heating and cooling company. The study outlined long- and short-range goals including improved traffic patterns, landscaping, and development—the last including construction of multi-unit dwellings at select sites.⁹⁸ The CCA would find itself challenged by that possibility in coming years.

The civic association's reputation as a scrappy, determined lot grew during this period by means of several articles in Virginia newspapers and a feature story in *Richmond Magazine*.⁹⁹ National Neighbors, a nonprofit federation of interracial neighborhoods of which the CCA was an early member, featured the community as the only southern venue in a documentary about successful integration. Funded with a grant from the Ford Foundation, a production crew arrived in April 1974 to film residents enjoying a picnic and participating in a litter patrol. The film was screened for the neighborhood the following March by the National Neighbors executive director but, as it turns out, was never released for wide distribution.¹⁰⁰

Probably no single event did more to bolster the neighborhood's standing in these early years than the glowing public endorsement the CCA received from Governor Linwood Holton on September 20, 1971. Accompanied by Mayor Tom Bliley, he attended an association meeting and spoke before an audience of over 300 residents—evenly divided between races. The Governor praised the community's "extraordinary effort" and deemed it a national model for integration, stating:

It is my sincere belief that what happens in a small Richmond neighborhood with less population than a Manhattan apartment complex can be of enduring importance to America. It is people trying. It is people showing that this nation does profess the ideals for which it is supposed to stand.¹⁰¹

The following year Holton, the Commonwealth's first Republican governor since Reconstruction, signed the Virginia Fair Housing Law, passed by the General Assembly along the lines of the earlier federal Fair Housing Act.¹⁰² Despite the power of the law, however, housing discrimination persisted for some time to come.

Community busting and building

The Carillon neighborhood's status as an integrated neighborhood remained in a precarious balance for several years. When Frank Gilbert penned final thoughts as outgoing CCA president in 1971, he pointed out:

All was not, or is not today, a bed of roses. People moved for various reasons. Others could not psychologically work with people of different races and creeds. Some wanted and still desire us to fail, to prove their own prejudices. Yet, the organization still functions—stronger, more widely known and helping to make Richmond a better place to live.¹⁰³

At the time, the community was in its peak period of turnover, the highest number of sales coming the following year. As Rutledge Dennis explains, the situation had already surpassed the “tipping point” when enough African Americans move into a formerly all white neighborhood—typically 15 to 20 percent—to trigger the perception that it is a “black” neighborhood. In 1971, as a newly minted Ph.D. taking up a teaching position at VCU's Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Dennis was one of those newcomers, the first black resident on Sunset Avenue. He met his immediate neighbors, Basil and Ruth Jones, when first looking at the house. “And they greeted me and said ‘Oh, we’d love to have you,’” Dennis recalls. “And they explained some of the issues they were trying to combat. And she was a feisty person, by the way. She said: ‘We are not going to run. We are going to create a stable integrated neighborhood...the kind of community we’ve long talked about and hoped for in Richmond.’ And this was very inspiring to me.”¹⁰⁴

There were promising signs of stabilization. For the first time in several years, a few white families also began arriving as new residents. Among them were Larry and Jeanne Cessna, who moved into their Rendale Avenue home in late 1969. Their real estate agent informed them that the neighborhood was “in transition,” but, as Larry recalls, “he didn’t try to influence our decision. We had the sense that the previous owner was relieved that the color of our skin was what it was.... We were reducing the white flight.” The news that the neighborhood had integrated surprised the hospital pharmacy director and his wife, who were simply drawn by the attractiveness of the house and street. But the information had relevance to these Midwesterners who had adopted two biracial children and were in the process of adopting a third. They were also followers of the Bahá’í Faith, which seeks unity among all people. “It was time to put our money where our mouth was,” Larry states. “We wanted to be in a mixed neighborhood. We weren’t going to worry about real estate values.”¹⁰⁵

Negotiating a house purchase at the very same time were Martha and Randy Rollins, who moved into their Rugby Road residence in January 1970—but not without real discouragement from their agent who tried to steer them away from the community. Falling in love with the house and location, they came anyway, even with the agent’s prediction that they would move again in five years when the “neighborhood goes.” Martha Rollins, now a forty-three year resident, recalls thinking: “I’m going to look for a different way.” And so I went out and started meeting the neighbors.... Over that first year I probably knocked on doors of all 350 homes.” Rollins describes a pivotal moment in meeting Imogene Draper, who was



Fig. 30. Martha and Randy Rollins in their Rugby Road home. Pictured in *The Richmond Mercury*, October 18, 1972, p. 9.

outdoors tending roses at her Douglasdale Road home. Rollins had noticed a Duke University bumper sticker on the car—her own alma mater. They soon learned they had another significant thing in common: the two women—white and black—had each grown up in the small town of Martinsville, Virginia, and never knew the other. “I comprehended at a deeper level the unspoken reality...of enforced racial separation,” Rollins comments. “You see, we would have been in the same high school except we lived in the separate-but-unequal days.” The two became friends and began working together in the civic association.¹⁰⁶ Within five years, Rollins was even more committed having served as a CCA board member and vice president under the association’s first three presidents. And in the mid-1970s, her husband, Randy, became the CCA’s fourth president—with Imogene Draper serving as vice president.

Beyond CCA events, the couple looked for ways to bring neighbors together in casual gatherings at their house “because if you create community,” Martha Rollins notes, “you can dispel fear.” They hosted dinners, pool parties, and “Neighbor Day” (instead of Labor Day) picnics. Brought up in segregated North Carolina, they understood the potential discomfort of guests attending their first integrated social events. “You just grow up separate,” Rollins explains, “...it takes a while.” During these years, black neighbors extended interracial hospitality and friendship as well, among them Imogene Draper and her husband, Isadore, Reggie and Elsie Brown, Kitty and Oscar Blake, and Collie and Audrey Burton. Rollins singles out Harold Marsh and Abbot Lambert as mentors who shaped this significant time in the neighborhood—and in her life. Libby Soffee describes both men in similar terms. The Soffee family bonded especially with Lambert, his wife, Rose, and their daughter, Rhonda—the first African American family to move to Rendale Avenue. “I was so grateful to have him guide us through the process of integration.” She reflects on her own learning curve, and Lambert’s role in bringing fresh understanding. When the Thalhimers department store executive was dying of cancer many years later, Soffee, Rollins, and a handful of their neighbors gave and took comfort during weekly prayer gatherings with him conducted via speaker phone. Rollins, too, describes the experience as transcendent, “It was beyond dialogue.”¹⁰⁷

Of course not everyone had interest in meeting their neighbors or wanted to join the CCA. Some white residents who didn’t move for various reasons could be subtly or openly hostile, including one Bute Lane resident who reportedly grew certain of an impending race war, stockpiled firearms, and encouraged his neighbors to do the same. Tipped off by concerned citizens, federal agents removed illegal ordnance from his house, including a bazooka. The man slipped into wary acceptance, and his neighbors breathed easier.¹⁰⁸ Tensions played out elsewhere in less dramatic fashion; some remained unresolved, others brought occasional moments of grace. An elderly woman on Sunset Avenue made a point of turning her back on her new black neighbors when encountering them outside. The awkward choreography extended indoors. “When I would open my kitchen window shade in the morning,” Mary Stanton remembers, “she’d make a point of pulling hers down.” She relates that she and her husband, Eddie, found other supportive relationships in the neighborhood and were determined not to let the behavior bother them. “But a few years later, I learned that she and her husband were quite ill,” Stanton remembers. “Seeing her outdoors, I called to her and said, ‘I know you don’t want me here. But I want you to know that I’m available to help in any way.’ As usual there was no response. But the next day, she did call to ask for a ride to the doctor’s office, which I was happy to do. I did that several times more. We became friends in the remaining months of her life.”¹⁰⁹

The slow work of trust and relationship building was still being undermined by illegal housing practices. Some overt resistance to selling to African Americans remained, as discovered by Air Force retiree William T. Robinson and his wife, Jenny. To purchase their Douglasdale Road house in late summer 1969, they had to seek legal advice. “My Dad got the loan for the house through the military,” recalls his son, W.T. Robinson. When the owner refused to sell on learning Robinson’s race, “the military said, ‘Just sue them.’” In the end, litigation proved unnecessary, but the title policy for the house nevertheless arrived with the old covenant restrictions attached—including the defunct “Caucasian Race” clause.¹¹⁰

Of particular concern to civic association members was the dual listing of housing ads in the classified sections of the local newspapers. Immediately after passage of the Fair Housing Act in April 1968, the designation “Colored” vanished from sales notices. However an ongoing racial distinction was made—and was understood—that white residential property was listed under “Houses for Sale” followed by a numerical zone and non-white property under the simple heading “Houses for Sale.” With integration, houses in the Carillon area began appearing under the latter. Nevertheless, in 1970, the CCA placed an ad in the Zone 2 section promoting the Carillon as “A Good Place to Live.” CCA presidents Frank Gilbert and Bob Lovelace persistently filed complaints about the dual listings, including contacts with the U.S. Justice Department. By summer 1971, the system had ended, and all ads appeared together according to residential zones. However, each section carried a new, bold-face disclaimer: “Federal Law Contains Prohibitions Against Discrimination in the Sale of Houses.”¹¹¹

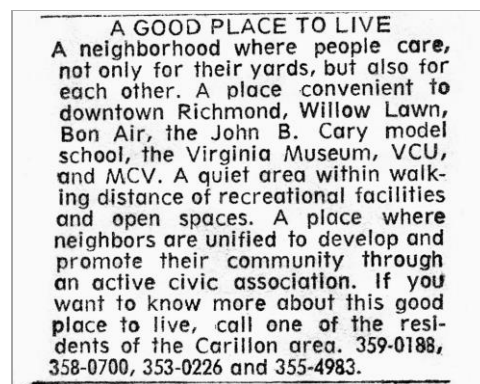


Fig.31. *Housing ad placed by CCA, ca. 1971-72. CCA Archives.*

Blockbusting persisted through the 1970s, with real estate agents employing less-pointed language when encouraging residents to sell. Broad canvassing sometimes incorporated new black residents. Middle school teacher Vera Ryan, who with her husband, Jimmy, was among the first African Americans on Garrett Street, remembers: “Everyday we’d see these flyers in our door that said, ‘If you want to sell your house please contact us.... We can get you a good deal on your house and show you a nicer area to live in’.... We’d throw it in the trash can.” Like Martha and Randy Rollins, the Ryans also experienced race-based steering to particular neighborhoods during their house search. In calling to set up appointments, they learned that perceived dialect would often limit housing availability. On one occasion, Ryan notes, they successfully booked a showing after having a white friend place the call. On site, the flustered agent hastily told them that the property had already sold.¹¹²

Alongside steering and blockbusting, residents were also troubled by redlining—the denial or limitation of financial services to borrowers purchasing property in racially mixed or all-black neighborhoods. In purchasing their house on Rendale Avenue in 1971, Mary Jane Walsh and her former husband, Mike Hyland, experienced such difficulties. She recalls that “even though we were the preferred color of the day, white, we had to go to a few banks before we qualified for our mortgage in the red-lined neighborhood.” Similarly, in the following year, John Moeser and his wife, Sharon, went to three different banks before securing an adequate loan for their Sunset Avenue house. Both employed educators—he an assistant professor in the Department of Urban Studies at VCU and she a high school teacher in Chesterfield County—the white couple was surprised to find that lending institutions were reluctant to provide the full amount needed. “At either the second or third bank...the appraiser was there and casually mentioned to the loan person, ‘Well you know it’s a changing neighborhood.’ And that tipped [our realtor] and us off. The fact that this was an integrated neighborhood meant that it was, according the bank, a poor risk.... Given what we ran across with the lending institutions, we went to HOME and we reported what was happening. HOME contacted the Justice Department; they were beginning to really looking at redlining.”¹¹³

The Moesers had been involved with HOME—Housing Opportunities Made Equal—when it organized the year before. Dedicated to fair housing in the Richmond metropolitan area, the non-profit group seeks ways to change attitudes about integration, advise potential homeowners, and enforce laws. Of particular interest to the organization were the lingering discriminatory episodes in the Carillon neighborhood, and, in 1976, CCA and HOME partnered in an exploratory survey about real estate practices. Moreover, several of the early board members of HOME relocated to the area in the 1970s: Timothy Langston and Rutledge Dennis, each

mentioned earlier, William Henderson, and John Moeser.¹¹⁴ These community leaders brought additional organizing experience and strategies to the neighborhood. But the exchange was mutual. Moeser recalls being invited along with his VCU colleague Rutledge Dennis to attend a CCA board meeting:

And one of the most interesting conversations I've ever had in my life took place at that meeting in the Rollins' house.... This was an integrated group; there were black and white officers. We were sitting in the living room, and this was the conversation: "How can we maintain the integrated character of the neighborhood?" And what made it fascinating is that a very difficult subject was addressed forthrightly and openly: "When does a neighborhood 'tip?'" And yet there was this level of trust where we could talk about it.... If I can just make a comment about where we are today...conversations like that just don't happen anymore. They really don't.¹¹⁵

"Hard work," is the phrase used regularly by Carillon residents who reflect on those early efforts to stabilize the community. "I recall dozens and dozens of truly remarkable and good people who worked hard to keep our neighborhood intact," notes Mary Jane Walsh. She continues, "We always had to be on guard to keep it a beautiful and serene place to live and to prove our founding mission: racially integrated neighborhoods work." Their labors brought positive results. Despite dire predictions from outside and within, not only did housing turnover slow to a pace typical of any neighborhood, but property values rose. "People that lived here decided that we were going to do whatever it took," states Pat Lovelace. "Somebody said to me years later, 'It seems that your neighborhood is coming back.' And I said, 'Coming back from where? I don't think we went anywhere!'"¹¹⁶

Promotional efforts and Arts in the Park

From the CCA's earliest days, association leaders understood the importance of generating a positive perception about the community. Early promotional efforts included a House and Garden Tour on May 2, 1970. "What a pleasure to welcome you to...one of the most wonderfully unique but little known areas in the city," a brochure enthused, guiding paying customers to five homes ranging from revival mansions on Rugby to a modern tri-level home on Douglasdale and one of the tidy Cape Cods on Condie—houses belonging to both black and white residents. "It was sort of our first real public 'coming out' as an integrated neighborhood," recalls Martha Rollins, who sponsored an art exhibit in her home as part of the event. In an article about the tour, the *Richmond News Leader* ran the headline, "Balanced Community Mirrored."¹¹⁷

The press-savvy CCA released regular press releases about programs in addition to those occasional targeted classifieds that described the Carillon neighborhood as "a good place to live." In the early 1970s the message was amplified in a tri-fold brochure produced on a Selectric typewriter with hand-lettered headings. What it lacked in professional finish was made up for in enthusiasm as it extolled the community's advantages. The civic association's new motto was emblazoned on the back: "Good Neighbors Come in All Colors." In 1976 resident Jim Gillespie, a graphic designer and marketing professional, produced a handsome booklet to be distributed to government and business leaders, as well as to realtors to share with potential buyers. Between brick-red covers, *The Carillon* offered limited text but over a dozen photographs of street views and residents who seem to be enjoying life and each other. It also highlighted what had already become the CCA's signature public event: Arts in the Park.¹¹⁸

A weekend trip to the beach in June 1971 launched the idea of a CCA-sponsored art show. Four couples—Richard and Carol Towell; his brother John Towell and his wife, Barbara; then-president Bob Lovelace and his wife, Pat; and Frank and Kippy Gilbert—traveled to see the Boardwalk Art Show at Virginia Beach. "We discussed on the way home that Richmond didn't have such a thing," Pat Lovelace recalls, "and [how] we could get something started like that." After Richard Towell did preliminary research on open-air art shows, the civic association began organizing its first two-day event, scheduled for the following May, with Towell and Pat Lovelace serving as co-chairs.¹¹⁹ While there was hope that some post-expense income might be

realized from selling spaces to exhibiting artists and homemade refreshments, the primary goal of Arts in the Park was to find an activity in which the entire neighborhood could participate. The thinking was that new relationships could be formed while people worked together on a common goal. Moreover, such a public endeavor brought a new opportunity to showcase the beneficial aspects of the integrated community.¹²⁰

Arts in the Parks indeed became an all-community event, with dozens of neighbors handling artist contacts, setup, hospitality, concessions, parking, and publicity. For the first show, Jim Gillespie designed a snappy logo—paint brushes and tulips arranged in a two-handled vase—and, with his artistic family, produced posters to distribute around town. Some logistics were especially challenging for the outdoor event. In an era before standard pop-up tents, the civic association provided display racks that the artists could rent. “I remember driving pipe into the ground to hang burlap panels on for them to hang their artwork on,” recounts Dan Kalman. The labor-intensive process is also remembered by Richard Towell. “Those racks weighed about 4,000 pounds each,” he chuckles wryly, “It was a ball.” He also recalls their setting up one of the early shows twice. “On Sunday it rained very hard. [We] took the show inside the Carillon. (It was a lot smaller.) We stopped doing that after the third or fourth year. If it rained, it rained.”¹²¹

In coordination with the Richmond Department of Parks, Recreation and Community Facilities, the civic association navigated issues of liability insurance, parking, security, and litter control—all with an eye toward satisfying city regulations. A particularly daunting obstacle was an ordinance that prohibited any exchange of money in city parks. Customers could make art purchases only through a complicated system that involved multiple receipts and a trip to a payment station across the street on private property. “Richard and I made an appointment with the Parks Director,” Pat Lovelace recalls, “And we had Plan A, B, C, and sometimes D.” Still it took three years and various trips to City Hall before direct money transactions were permitted. It would also take several years to sort out the parking situation—“atrocious,” as Towell describes the log jam that spilled into the neighborhood. When emergency service concerns grew, permission was given to block off residential streets and to direct visitors to park at nearby City Stadium and ride shuttle buses to the event. “It has evolved a lot,” Towell notes, “There were a lot of little things that came up that got resolved.”¹²²

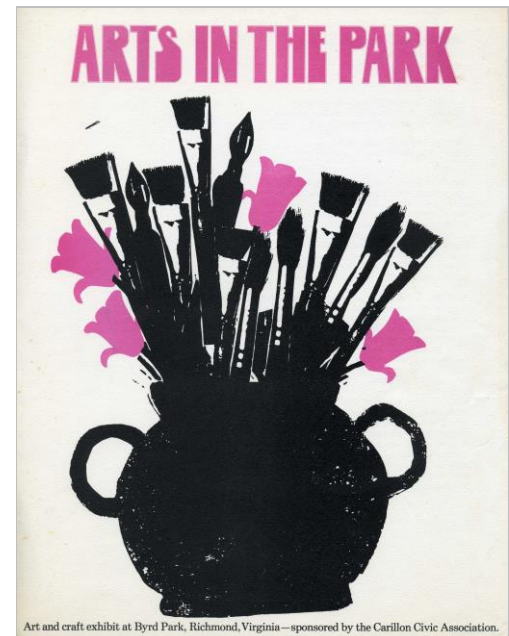


Fig.32. Original *Arts in the Park* poster designed by James Gillespie, 1972. CCA Archives.

The inaugural Arts in the Park in 1972 did quite well, with 127 artists participating and a profit of \$220. Among the artworks featured were those produced by men and women incarcerated at the Virginia State Penitentiary. The prisoners benefited directly from individual sales and indirectly when the CCA decided to donate over half of the show’s profits to the penitentiary’s art program. The next year, the plucky Carillon neighborhood organizers decided to try it again the following year—and the next. Through trial and error, event production grew and was refined over time, including the introduction of food vendors.¹²³

Ultimately, the CCA-sponsored art show, held annually the first weekend in May, became a banner event for the city and remains so to this day. The success of Arts in the Park, selected later as one of the top twenty shows in the U.S. by *Sunshine Artist* magazine, has been extraordinary. Even by the early 1980s, the event was drawing close to 100,000 visitors who came to browse the work of approximately 450 artists from all over the United States. Lovelace notes that far more exhibitors apply each year, but not all make it through



Fig. 34. Tens of thousands visit the CCA volunteer-run Arts in the Park, held each year during the first weekend in May.



Fig. 35. Volunteer hostesses greet artists and vendors at the Cohen home on Rugby Ave., 2011. Left to right: Marsha Andrews, Maureen Leipertz, Mary Slaughter, Mari Droney, Sallie Rollins, Melissa Dilworth, Steve and Libbie Cohen.



Fig. 36. Charles Burruss and Warren Arrington direct traffic ca. late 1990s.



Fig. 37. Pat Lovelace, who has coordinated Arts in the Park since 1972, with husband, Bob, ca. late 1990s.

the vetting process, which is oriented more toward the fine arts than bazaar or craft items. And there is the issue of space limitations. “We’ve used up every spot in the area,” comments former board member Dan Kalman, who, from the first show, has helped lay out the grid for exhibitors in the irregular acreage around the Carillon. “We can’t squeeze anymore in.”¹²⁴

For many years, Lovelace and Towell continued to head up the effort together, but after Towell temporarily resided abroad to take part in international teaching exchanges, Lovelace became the sole coordinator. She has now been directing Arts in the Park for a remarkable forty-three years, with several of the original volunteers still by her side. “It is a big job,” Towell states. “Pat does a marvelous thing with it.” In looking back over the years, Lovelace reflects, “It was [begun as] a neighborhood project to work together. And, man, we get the neighbors out. I like to say it is the glue that holds the neighborhood together.” In press coverage through the decades, Lovelace has made a point of mentioning the original goals of the art show and the history of the civic association. She also never fails to point out that proceeds from the event benefit the city, local charities, and public service causes.¹²⁵

Within a few years, the art show that started out as a community building exercise became a major fund raiser. A certain amount was set aside each year to fund the next Arts in the Park. What to do with the rest? The non-profit CCA faced the happy but serious task of determining how “to spend all the money we worked so hard to make,” as Kalman puts it. Beyond supporting the business of the civic association, related programs for adults and children, and beautification such as neighborhood plantings and clean up, the CCA undertook an ongoing philanthropic mission.¹²⁶

Over the past four decades, the organization has donated hundreds of thousands of dollars to a variety of causes. Some of the donations were sizeable, *one-time gifts*. The Richmond Department of Parks, Recreation and Community Facilities has been a major beneficiary, receiving funds to help restore the Carillon during various campaigns; repair the terrazzo Gold Star plaza; build an irrigation system; repair the stage at Dogwood Dell; build and maintain the children’s Ha’Penny stage; purchase equipment for a Vita Course exercise trail; build and maintain a toddler play lot on the Carillon grounds, purchase and maintain playground equipment; replace the gym floor at the Humphrey Calder Community Center; and restore the Columbus statue at the reservoir. Along with tree plantings in Byrd Park, the CCA also paid for plantings along the south side of the RMA Expressway. Ongoing *annual donations* continue to support the Department of Parks and Recreation as well as the city’s Festival of the Arts summer program (today through the EnRichmond Foundation). The CCA has regularly provided additional donations to the Belmont branch of the Richmond Public Library, John B. Cary Elementary School and its PTA, and the Richmond Nativity Pageant.¹²⁷



Fig. 38. CCA donations support city programs and parks, as well as area charities. The Tot Lot is located to the west of the Carillon near Rugby Road.

To determine other beneficiaries, the civic association formed a special biannual grant program in which a volunteer donations committee reviews neighbor-sponsored applications from non-profit and public service organizations and makes recommendations to the board. Beyond the recipients named above, over 130 different entities—too numerous to list here—have been given CCA grants since 1972. They include museums, emergency and homeless shelters, boys and girls organizations, rescue squads, theater and dance

troupes, music and choral organizations, health centers and medical clinics, hunger alleviation programs, occupational training centers, and prison ministries. Such charitable giving bolsters participation of residents, artists, and customers alike. In short, as Lovelace puts it, “The community supports Arts in the Park because it is a fun event—but also because many folks understand that it gives back to Richmond in significant ways.”¹²⁸

John B. Cary Elementary—a model school

One of the strong selling points of the Carillon neighborhood has been John B. Cary Elementary School, which soared in reputation during the volatile years of Richmond’s school desegregation efforts. In August 1970, after a decade and a half of failing to effectively integrate its school system, the city was compelled by federal court order to commence busing to achieve racial balance. Fully implemented the next year, cross-town busing brought widespread disruption and, with it, confusion and anger on the part of parents, students, and teachers alike. A full year before Linwood Holton spoke at the CCA meeting, the Governor made headlines when he and his wife voluntarily enrolled their three children in the public school system. While admirable, especially since the couple had other options because they resided on state, not city, property, their example had limited effect.

Predictably, busing escalated the rate of white flight from the city as thousands of families—unwilling to support multiracial schools and unable to afford private education—relocated to white-majority suburbs and exurbs. Ultimately, the long contentious endeavor failed to achieve integration. When the court permitted the city to return to a neighborhood plan in 1986, black enrollment in Richmond Public Schools approached 90 percent. The schools had resegregated.¹²⁹



Fig. 39. John B. Cary Elementary School, built in 1954, was designated as a special Model School in 1969.

The school situation unfolded differently for the Carillon community. Certainly, parents there faced the usual choices. As mandated by the city, some enrolled their children in reassigned

public schools—Maymont and Robert E. Lee Elementary Schools, Thompson Middle School, and Huguenot High School. Others opted for private education, including parochial programs long favored by particular families. The Carillon neighborhood had benefit of another unusual option. In 1969, the school board had designated John B. Cary Elementary as a Model School, a transformation that exempted it from the realignment process and busing that arrived the following year. With open enrollment, the new “citizen’s school” drew K-6 students from the entire city, but gave preference to those already attending and, initially, to their siblings.¹³⁰

The new open education model brought innovative changes. Developed by a coalition of progressive parents and educators and supported by a state grant, the program extended the school year by an additional 36 days. It also organized pupils into groups with similar achievement rates instead of traditional grade levels, the goal being the students’ ability to advance at their own pace. “It was very creative,” recalls Carillon resident and parent, Jeanne Cessna. “The children had their own files; they could just go in and pick out their work for the day. It wasn’t regimented like we used to be.... Lots of art and music.” In addition, the model

program sought diversity by maintaining a student population that mirrored the racial and economic demographics of Richmond. As a result, even before the court ruling in 1970, John B. Cary Elementary had integrated.¹³¹ This, on the same property where, three generations earlier, a slave trader's house once stood.

Against the tumultuous backdrop of cross-town busing, the Model School was soon perceived as an island of scholastic achievement and social unity. It thrived, especially under the administration of the indomitable Barbara Grey (the principal who also envisioned and located the school's signature red caboose). "It was the school where they had the highest scores...in the city," recalls Rutledge Dennis, whose children attended and who served a term as president of the Cary PTA. "And even those whites that left the city due to fear of desegregation were trying to get their children in." After its first year, applications for enrollment exceeded available seats. By 1976, school officials dropped the sibling legacy provision, and all new students were chosen by lottery.¹³²

Among the requirements of student admission was active parental involvement. This meant volunteering time to the school at least one day a month. "Not just make an appearance," Libby Soffee notes, "but do something.... It was a real matter of making a commitment." Deedee Damschroder (then Patterson), another dedicated Cary parent, adds, "That made a difference. The teachers felt supported and the kids somehow felt that school was important." Dennis describes additional results of such high parental engagement: "The school prospered and did well because we, as concerned parents, played an active role in the school.... We were invested. For example, if the school needed playground equipment or other classroom items, we got it. We simply contacted friends and acquaintances who had access to these items."¹³³

Through the 1970s, a large percentage of Cary students were Carillon neighborhood children whose parents took the initial option of keeping them there during the tenuous first years of the experimental program. The families benefited also from the initial sibling legacy policy. A symbiotic relationship formed between the school and the CCA, which developed an ad hoc committee to help support Cary and other public schools during the desegregation transition. As their children matriculated, the open education experience led some of the Carillon parents to apply to the city's other alternative schools—Binford Middle School, Open High and Community High Schools (the latter having high academic ability as its criteria). Other students entered the mainstream school system or transferred to private institutions. But the Cary experience remains foremost in many neighborhood remembrances. "It made the Carillon [community] an even more special place," Dennis observes. "And in the minds of many people living here, it was *our* school.... Cary teachers, administrators, saw it as our school because we were always there." He continues:

There was this unbreakable link between a community and a school, and—unfortunately or fortunately—parents outside of the Carillon began to complain because it was being seen as a private school for the neighborhood, not one for the entire community. They knew that was not the way it should be. I have mixed emotions because it conjures up ideas of elitism. But as parents, we wanted our children to have the best. And Cary gave them the best.¹³⁴

In following decades, the Carillon neighborhood continued its support of John B. Cary Elementary School, whether as parental volunteers or through the CCA, which donated regularly to its programs and PTA. The school continued its emphasis on individual curriculum development but relinquished much of the open education approach. Cary has garnered notable honors: in 1987 and 1988, it was recognized by the U.S. Department of Education as one of the Commonwealth's most outstanding elementary schools, and in 2007, it became one of twenty-five schools in the nation to be named a NASA Explorer School. Over time, Cary's demographics have come to resemble those of the Richmond Public School System as a whole, with a white student population ranging between 9 and 13 percent.¹³⁵ Today, having fewer eligible children residing in its district, the school (now K-5) is under-enrolled and—under budgetary and rezoning pressures—at risk of closure. In early 2013, the Richmond School Board is exploring reintroducing sixth grade classes as a way to keep its doors open.¹³⁶

The presence of children

Young people figure prominently in resident recollections about the Carillon neighborhood. “After moving in, the one thing that was so endearing to me was the presence of children,” Rutledge Dennis recalls. “And



Fig. 40 Left: W.T. Robinson and Butch Walter. Right, back to front: Scott Gilbert, David Hurdert, and Eric Towell. Photo by Jim Gillespie, pictured in *The Carillon*, 1976.



Fig. 41. More of the Carillon Gang. Back: Selwyn Langston, Peter Cessna, Mark Wasson, Wendell Langton. Front, on steps: Phil Hyland, Anne “Timmi” Soffee, ca. 1976. Courtesy, Phil Hyland.

you can’t imagine it now because we’re not seeing the volume of children. There were children all around.... There was a liveliness about that.” Several longtime Carillon residents comment on the child-friendly atmosphere of the community, something the CCA nurtured with planned recreational and holiday events—the Halloween Party being a perennial favorite—as well as sponsoring team sports and scout troops. Martha Rollins recalls regular pool parties sponsored by neighbors, providing children an integrated swimming experience then often still denied in public and private venues throughout the city. “This was the greatest neighborhood for our children to play in.... [with] lots of kids,” notes Audrey Burton.¹³⁷

W.T. Robinson, who was among the first black students to enter John B. Cary Elementary School in 1969, recounts the formation of close friendships with schoolmates with whom he walked to school. Today a Big Ten Conference program manager, Robinson returns from Chicago regularly to visit family but also to catch up with lifelong pals like Butch Walter, Finance Director for Henrico County, who now raises his own children on Bute Lane. Robinson is quick to point out, however, that their childhood adventures—like “hanging out” at each others’ houses, playing ball on the grass circles, or exploring the nearby woods—involved plenty of other youngsters outside the Cary cadre. Richard Towell, a retired Math teacher who taught in local private schools, estimates that Carillon children “went to about eleven or twelve different schools, but they were all friends. The circles here were active with kids playing.”¹³⁸ Such variety added to the community’s unique character. “Even when [my husband] Bob was a little boy, the kids always went to diverse schools,” notes Pat Lovelace. “They always could come home and play with somebody that wasn’t in competition with them [there].” This continues to be the case for Lovelace’s grandchildren who today reside on Rendale, a few houses away from their grandfather’s childhood home. “They don’t go to school with the kids they play with,” she points out, “and that makes for healthy relationships too.”¹³⁹

The cohort of youngsters growing up in the 1970s seems to have been especially close knit. Today, adults in their 40s and 50s, several of the former residents share updates, memories, and photographs through a social media site, “Carillon Kids.”¹⁴⁰

Development battles and other building issues

Challenges for the Carillon neighborhood and its civic association were hardly limited to housing and school issues. In the last quarter of the 20th century, some of their most difficult battles came in response to both public and private campaigns to develop property in and around the community. Major episodes played out in the media and required legal guidance and a substantial outlay of individual and association time, energy, and resources. Internally, the community sometimes struggled for cohesiveness—if not civility—while sorting out conflicting opinions between neighbors.

The 1970s brought a perfect storm of simultaneous development projects, all of them sanctioned by the Richmond City Council. The perceived cumulative threat prompted T. Michael Smith, then-president of the CCA, to submit a lengthy letter in December 1978 to the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* titled “Preserving the Carillon Neighborhood.” Mostly he addressed pending rezoning hearings about the Blue Shingles property, but he noted other worrisome issues that had recently dominated the community agenda:

In one six year period, several wise and circumspect city councils have worked hard to transform the Carillon neighborhood from a racially integrated, stable, attractive place to live to an area of the city that would have had within its boundaries a high-speed expressway, a science museum for the entire commonwealth, a large college football stadium and now they wish to have zoning that permits high-rise apartments, commercial offices, hospitals, lodging houses and institutions.¹⁴¹

Plans by the Commonwealth to build the Virginia Science Museum in the woods behind the Carillon prompted the CCA president Harold Marsh and his successor, Randy Rollins, to rally the troops against both city and state. “Be Aware!!” warned a CCA flyer in February 1975, “City Council is About to Give Away Byrd Park. Attend the Public Hearing.... Prevent This Outrage.”¹⁴² A few weeks earlier, Councilman Henry Valentine and Science Museum Director, Paul Knappenberger, had met with Carillon residents for an extended meeting to outline plans and encourage support. Instead, the assembly galvanized CCA opposition, voiced at City Council and in published letters by association spokesperson Mary Jane Walsh (then Hyland). The community effort failed; council members voted to give up 45 acres in Byrd Park to the proposed complex.¹⁴³ Limited state funds soon decided the issue, with a less expensive plan to renovate Broad Street Station gaining favor over building in Byrd Park. Slated for demolition, the 1920s Beaux-Art terminal was repurposed and reopened as the new Virginia Science Museum in 1976.

The story of multiple attempts to develop Blue Shingles is too lengthy to recount here beyond a brief summary, but the CCA archives reveal the intensity with which Carillon leaders met the challenges. Early on, the civic association anticipated development of the property and, in its 1971 neighborhood plan, acknowledged that multi-family dwellings might be built on the river-view bluff west of the beltline railroad tracks. Shortly afterwards, plans were underway for “Windsor Towers” a high-rise apartment complex designed by notable modernist architect Edward Durrell Stone. For financial reasons, that project was abandoned. In late 1978, the next owner campaigned to have the land rezoned for much higher density rating, just as the CCA was attempting to return the property to single-family dwelling status. The owner won in early 1979, despite the eloquence of both T. Michael Smith’s letter to the editor, cited above, and remarks made before City Council by Randy Rollins, who assumed a third term as the CCA president later that year. At City Hall Councilman Chuck Richardson cast the lone vote against the density increase.¹⁴⁴

By 1981, the Boca Raton, Florida, developer unveiled elaborate plans for “James Place” a \$25 million condominium containing 130 units in 15-story twin towers plus twenty-two townhouses to go in along the Blue Shingles bluff. Design and access problems at the craggy, ravine-filled site combined with an economic downturn brought an end to that proposal. A subsequent owner attempted to build the 200-unit “Windsor House on the James” luxury condominiums in the mid-1980s, a plan that also folded, prompting one



Fig. 42. Architectural rendering of the proposed James Place high-rise at Blue Shingles, 1981. CCA Archives

newspaper reporter to recap the property's history and dub it "a Bermuda Triangle of sorts."¹⁴⁵ Yet another developer, in 1990, went public with plans for "Windsor House," a twelve-story condominium "with architecture similar to Gilded Age resorts such as the Greenbrier and Homestead." The project was suspended, and the property changed hands again five years later. Today, the Blue Shingles story remains unfinished since the 15-acre tract is still in play for development, zoned R-73 and slated on the city's Master Plan for "high-density residential or office use."¹⁴⁶

By the time Mary Jane Walsh became the CCA president in 1977, she was already a veteran on the front lines against development. "It was non-stop controversy," she recalls, "and I felt as if I lived at City Hall."¹⁴⁷ Organizing opposition against an expansion of Richmond City Stadium added to an already complicated agenda. Boosters including the Richmond Chamber of Commerce supported the \$4.8 million renovation of the 1929 stadium on nearby McCloy Street, which hosted various high school football games, the University of Richmond home games, the

annual Tobacco Bowl, and—until recently—rock concerts. (The latter events ended after drug induced riots erupted at the site in spring 1974.) Enlarging the stadium's 22,000-seat capacity to 35,000, supporters claimed, would also ensure the UR Spiders' ability to rise in its division rankings.

The CCA joined with the Stadium Civic Association to argue that an increase in seating meant an increase in parking needs, and that the site had insufficient space. Walsh and other residents, including John Towell (Richard Towell's brother) and Audrey Burton, monitored and spoke against the effort at City Council meetings with passionate warnings about the detrimental impact on the surrounding neighborhoods. In the fall of 1977, the coalition—comprising a generation that had come of age during the 1960s happenings and sit-ins—staged a few "park-ins" at the stadium. During football games, dozens of residents legally parked their own cars along the already crowded streets. The point was made. However, City Council, with dissent from Councilman Richardson, moved forward on funding the project's preliminary stages. Pressure to expedite the renovation increased with a highly publicized, anonymous donation of \$500,000. Nonetheless, in August 1978, after hearing a slide presentation by Walsh and other opposition commentary, the Richmond Planning Commission voted to stop the expansion.¹⁴⁸ Issues concerning development at City Stadium would return in coming years.

Perhaps not coincidentally, the civic association closed out the decade of the 1970s—with its multiple challenges and threats of encroachment—by an overt show of neighborhood pride and territorial delineation. Before attending a CCA meeting, Virginia Lieutenant Governor Charles Robb joined residents in dedicating two brick markers on either end of Douglasdale and another on the island near the expressway ramp on Maplewood on September 6, 1979. Each of the new markers, designed by Dan Kalman after the vintage marker on Rugby, bears a plaque that simply reads "The Carillon."¹⁴⁹

By 1980 the bell tower, which served as both war memorial and community icon, became yet another project after falling into a sad state of disrepair. As Carillon residents worked to resolve housing and development issues, one of their neighbors looked out of her front door and up to find another pressing need. Elizabeth Vermillion at 3020 Rugby Road—the modern address for the 19th-century Marburg farmhouse—became concerned about the deteriorating condition of the Carillon. Two years before the 50th anniversary of the

Carillon's dedication, she began a one-woman crusade to have the structure restored. It is a state monument, standing on city property; and under the original 1930 agreement, the City of Richmond agreed to be responsible for its physical upkeep. Over the decades, however, city maintenance funding became sporadic, and occasional stop-gap measures proved inadequate.¹⁵⁰ By August 1981 floors and ceilings crumbling from water damage prompted state inspectors to condemn the building as a public hazard. The city announced it had no funds to address such serious problems, while the state claimed that it had neither appropriations nor a mandate to make repairs. In short, as Vermillion wrote in a guest editorial in the *Richmond News Leader*, "The Carillon has become an orphan."¹⁵¹

Through persistent letters, phone calls, office visits, and interviews Vermillion managed to spur enough interest that a Save the Carillon Fund was established by the Community Foundation. Virginia's First Lady Lynda Robb and State Senator Edward E. Willey served as an honorary chairpersons. City, state, and private donations combined to support a \$1.4 million renovation. The refurbished Carillon was rededicated on Veterans' Day, 1984.¹⁵² The next year, at Vermillion's insistence, the city established the Carillon Advisory Committee, with a seat reserved for a CCA representative. The citizens' group is charged with monitoring the condition and use of the bell tower and grounds. The Carillon would undergo another series of extensive repairs in the 1990s, supported with multiple donations from the civic association.¹⁵³

Kanawha Trace

In early 1984, as the Carillon community was still reeling from a decade of defending the neighborhood from perceived encroachment during the Blue Shingles, Science Museum, and City Stadium campaigns, it learned that the 21.5-acre Brockenbrough property had sold and was being developed into a luxury townhouse complex named Kanawha Trace. Already armed with statistics about zoning and traffic impact studies, CCA officers and board members rallied once again to fight the prospect of high-density housing being built to the south. At the time, no one anticipated another decade of zoning hearings, council meetings, legal consultations, and negotiations that would surround the development's long and ever-changing path to realization. Nor did they anticipate the final surprising outcome—welcomed by the Carillon residents—that most of the former Doolough estate would be developed into single family residences. The initial plan, however, called for something quite different.

"Impact! Too many homes in one area!" CCA president Bob Lovelace warned City Council in a heated debate over zoning on September 25, 1984. "Please in the name of God, look at this thing in terms of density." As residents learned from an earlier preview meeting with developer Jeffrey Rawn, the proposal required new zoning for the 86-unit complex, comprising 69 multiple-family townhouses and 16 detached homes. The complex would also build along Sunset Lane. Despite the impassioned plea, Council voted 7 to 1 in favor of the developer—the dissenting vote, surprisingly, was not Carillon resident Chuck Richardson, who went on the record that he believed that the development would be an asset to the neighborhood and the city.¹⁵⁴ After throwing an on-site reunion for graduates of the Old House Play School, Rawn's Park-Sussex Development Corp. got down to business. The old frame dwelling and other Brockenbrough outbuildings were razed. Construction commenced on Kanawha Trace and, in 1986, the

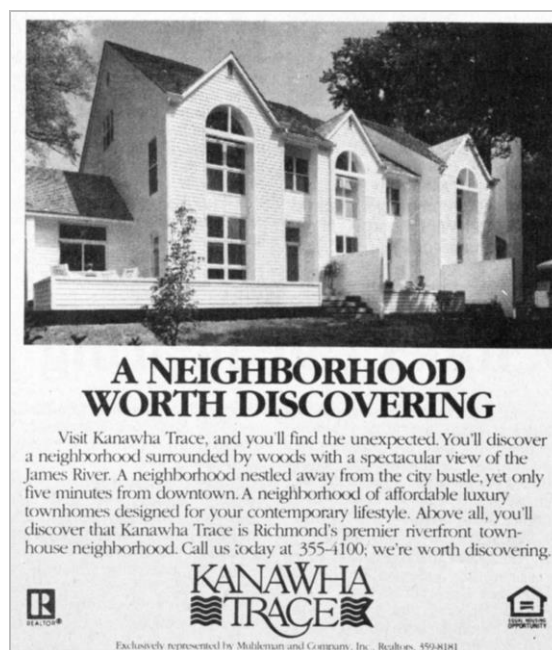


Fig. 43. *Kanawha Trace ad, 1990. CCA Archives.*

townhouses sold quickly with occupants moving in as soon as they were completed and available. Designed by Archimedia of Richmond, the units won a merit award that fall from the Virginia Society, American Institute of Architects.¹⁵⁵

The following year, with 27 residential units completed and 13 partially constructed, cost overruns halted the project. Rawn returned to City Council in 1988 with an amended plan that raised the number of units to 126, adding 99 less-expensive condominium “flats” to the west of the existing townhouses. A ruling on this proposal was postponed, however, when the developer filed for bankruptcy. The property’s next owner, the National Bank of Louisville, put the Kanawha Trace project back on track, with the expansion in place.¹⁵⁶ In light of the large increase in residential units, the CCA again appealed to the city through written affidavits, petitions, and attendance at zoning meetings—with one memorable Richmond Planning Commission session making the news when a frustrated Lovelace was hustled out before speaking. “It was a railroad job,” Lovelace was quoted in the opening sentence of an article the following day.¹⁵⁷ The city authorized the expansion in the summer of 1989. By this time, the CCA had a standing Kanawha Trace Committee in place to monitor the situation and advise the association. In the face of the approved expansion, which would bring an estimated 174 more vehicles into the neighborhood daily, the civic association won some concessions from the bank representatives: a barrier compelling Kanawha residents to enter and exit at the southern end of Pump House Drive, larger buffer zones, and the construction of three single-family dwellings facing Sunset Lane, instead of the planned condominium unit that would back up to the street.¹⁵⁸

When other setbacks delayed further construction, the Bank of Louisville revisited the plans for the undeveloped acreage. To the relief of the CCA and the Kanawha Trace Homeowners Association, a new proposal was introduced in 1994 to replace the high-density housing with approximately 40 single-family dwellings—including three oriented toward Sunset Lane. Additional talks with builders ensued about buffers, alleys, and the barrier on Pump House Drive, which had long been a point of contention. The latter was finally resolved in 2000 by the introduction of a dual cul-de-sac configuration that allows Kanawha Trace occupants access in both directions while, at the same time, provides a baffle for through traffic. (Park cruising had become a growing security concern for residents in both communities.) By that time, construction had commenced on the reconfigured development, managed by new owners William Burch and Pace M. Fonville.¹⁵⁹ Over the past decade, dozens of upscale homes have been built on the bluff-side meadows near the old Brockenbrough manor house.

A peculiar episode lends a postscript to the Kanawha Trace story. Ideas about what to do with the manor house—known as Doolough Lodge to the Brockenbrough family—changed as frequently as the owners. Under the original plan, the mansion was to have been renovated to accommodate two residential units. In the early 1990s, plans were underway to convert the dwelling into a residents’ clubhouse, complete with swimming pool. The final developers put the house up for sale, and, in 1993, Otto von Bressensdorf and his wife, Elena, purchased it. The self-described German baron had relocated to Richmond from Los Angeles, where his Lyons Capital Inc. investment firm was based. Making inroads into Richmond’s upper echelons, the couple enjoyed notoriety and was celebrated by a multipage feature article titled “Richmond’s Royals” that pictured them comfortably ensconced at Doolough. On January 21, 1998, the FBI indicted the von Bressensdorfs for fraud and money laundering; duped investors across the country lost millions in the sham enterprise. That fall, each was sentenced to 11 years and 3 months in prison. The current owners moved into the manor house the following year and have since enjoyed a far less dramatic residency.¹⁶⁰

Neighborhood and neighbors in full stride: 1980 – 2013

By the early 1980s, the Carillon community had become a seasoned, cohesive neighborhood, prepared to respond to multiple challenges. One near cataclysmic event, however, sent residents scrambling into the safety of their houses. On Friday afternoon, April 30, 1982, as preparations for the next day’s Arts in the

Park reached final stages, the air rumbled and ground shook across the area. Residents quickly learned that the commotion came from a massive train derailment. On the R.F. & P. beltline at the community's western perimeter, 43 cars of a 76-car freight train lay strewn along the tracks from the Powhite Parkway, past Blue Shingles, and south to the James River. One car had caught fire and was sending plumes of smoke through the wooded ravine. Emergency crews warned everyone to stay inside until the contents of the damaged and leaking cars were investigated. By day's end, it was determined that none of the spillage was toxic. Over the next three weeks and at a clean-up cost of \$1.6 million, the railroad company removed the wreckage. As for Arts in the Park, the initial hours after the derailment brought great consternation, but the weekend event went on. The indomitable Pat Lovelace recalls, "They needed to prove to me there were any chemicals spilled before I called that art show off."¹⁶¹

Natural and man-made disasters aside, the CCA reached full stride in its efforts to protect and nurture the community. Having successfully thwarted blockbusting and related practices and garnered a few victories on the development front, the organization focused on building strong neighborhood ties. Efforts were made through the years to sponsor a full range of events, including educational programs, nonpartisan political candidate forums, picnics, potluck suppers, progressive New Years Day brunches, holiday parties and dances, field days, and ballpark and riverboat outings. And each spring, bright pink flags on house fronts announced Arts in the Park, the neighborhood's largest collective project. As the event grew, so did the association's ability to support its other activities and to give back to the metropolitan region through charitable giving. In recognition of these efforts, the Richmond Commission on Human Relations (formed under the auspices of the mayor's office) named the CCA as the first organizational recipient of its new Human Relations Award. An engraved silver bowl, presented to the association at a special "Good News!" ceremony on May 12, 1983, still makes an appearance at CCA annual meetings.¹⁶²

Such public exposure continued to bring the Carillon neighborhood widespread recognition as a successfully and, now, unabashedly integrated community. Demographics hovering around the 50 percent mark for white and black households—a figure that sent so many earlier residents packing—had the converse effect of attracting a growing number of new occupants who sought diversity. Several of them were associated with the First Unitarian Church (later renamed First Unitarian Universalist Church), which set an example by intentionally locating its new building in a racially mixed neighborhood. Church members and Carillon residents (interchangeable designations for many) shared ideas, resources, and projects. Among the programs that benefited both was the establishment in 1973 of a no-fee cooperative nursery, managed three days a week at the church by a large corps of parent volunteers. Becky Evans, longtime church administrator and Pump House Drive resident, was one the nursery's founders along with Basil and Ruth Jones. Enrollment was open to any Richmond family, but, during its two decades of operation, the preschool always included a good number of Carillon children. In the spring of 1984, the combined church and residential communities sustained a deep loss with the death of Corrine (Candy) Hecht, best known in the city as the longtime manager and emcee of the Richmond Public Forum. Serving as president of First Unitarian during its transition into the neighborhood, the Sunset Avenue resident continued as a respected liaison. Friends from both communities gathered on a bright June day to dedicate a rose garden in her memory at the intersection of Garrett and Rugby. A memorial marker is still on view there today.¹⁶³

For many, the unique character of the Carillon neighborhood provided a backdrop for both personal and communal growth. As Larry Cessna puts it, "It was a good place to blossom – if you had the potential to blossom." Sunset Avenue resident Rob Corcoran notes that the integrated community offers an "incubator" for dialogue and growth. His longtime neighbor, Audrey Burton, concurs. "The diversity in this neighborhood, whether it is cultural and whether it is gender based – I think people feel safe here," she observes. "And I think you don't have to run in and out of each other's homes, but you feel a sense of neighborliness. And you do feel that... this is a community."¹⁶⁴



Figs. 44 - 49. Various CCA sponsored events, mid-1970s through the present. CCA Archives.

Rob and Susan Corcoran arrived in August 1980 just in time to attend one of Martha and Randy Rollins's now-legendary Neighbor Day picnics. The young British couple relocated to Richmond as part of the international organization Moral Re-Armament (MRA, today called Initiatives of Change). Their commitment to the nonsectarian movement's goal of facilitating racial reconciliation took them previously to live for several months in South Africa, where they were with one of the first international groups to enter Soweto after the 1976 uprisings protesting apartheid. Now in Richmond and sponsored by the local MRA chapter, their goal was to address similar issues of ongoing discrimination and segregation through open dialogue. Critical to this mission was establishing a comfortable setting where people of different backgrounds could convene. That place was their home at 1103 Sunset Avenue.¹⁶⁵ Rob remembers:

Richmond didn't need just another organization. There were lots of groups already at work. What was missing was a space for people to come...and just connect with each other and have good honest conversation.... [And] to be able to have places like this neighborhood to come and do that. So, oftentimes, we'd invite the school superintendent or the police chief to just meet with folks over a potluck dinner. There was no agenda other than: "How can we support you?" It was a very empowering thing for people...the idea that there was a supportive network.¹⁶⁶

Only a day or two after they moved in, the Corcorans' own supportive network grew in a momentous way. Susan recalls, "There was this knock...Rob went to the door, and there was Audrey Burton standing there. She said, 'My name is Audrey, and I've come to welcome you to the neighborhood.' She swept past Rob to see me and the baby.... And then we invited them back, had them for dinner. It's just that sort of relationship. And it grew." Not only did Audrey and Collie Burton become their closest friends, but these across-the-street neighbors also became engaged in the MRA mission.¹⁶⁷

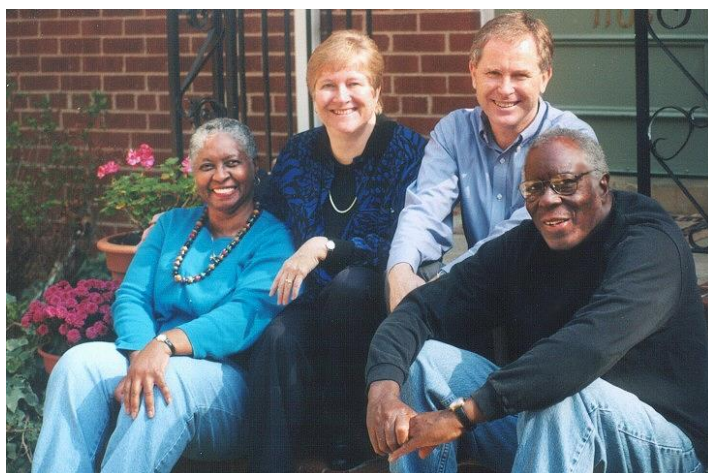


Fig. 50. *In dialogue: Audrey Burton, Susan and Rob Corcoran, and Collie Burton. Courtesy, Rob Corcoran.*

In his recent book, *Trustbuilding: An Honest Conversation on Race, Reconciliation, and Responsibility*, Rob describes three decades in the effort to help metropolitan Richmond engage in interracial healing and growth. The Burtons, experienced African American community organizers, played a significant role in developing a new paradigm for trust building. As the couples raised their families

side by side, their houses reverberated with myriad discussion groups and shared meals. Together and separately, they traveled abroad to conferences and, at home, hosted guests from all over the United States, Europe, Asia, and Africa. An important result was Rob's foundation of Hope in the Cities in the early 1990s with other civic, business, and faith leaders. The citizen-led non-profit program, sponsored by Initiatives of Change, facilitates racial reconciliation and dialogue about community issues. Today Hope in the Cities provides training for other cities in the U.S. and on other continents, with Rob serving as national director for the program and for Initiatives of Change as well. In similar spirit, Collie partnered with faith leaders and St. Giles Presbyterian Church to establish a monthly interdenominational prayer breakfast for metropolitan area pastors. Audrey, who also worked over time as a city and state government administrator, founded an organization to assist African American women enhance personal development.¹⁶⁸ Ten years apart, in the mid-1980s and 1990s, the Burtons each served as president of the CCA.

Martha Rollins, so active in the early years of the civic association, definitely blossomed in the dynamic environment of the community. The "changing neighborhood" she moved into so long before actually

changed her. “All of my philosophy was formed through the neighborhood,” she states. “I wouldn’t have known the richness of diversity. My life wouldn’t have been changed.” Rollins elaborates:

In Martinsville I [grew up] on Plantation Road between Jeb Stuart and Jeff Davis Streets. It is a miracle that I escaped—let me say *am escaping*. The Carillon neighborhood is the primary part of my journey that is setting me free.

Over time, Rollins grew determined to find a creative way to make a difference in the broader Richmond community, “to pass on the gifts given to me by my friends and experiences in the CCA,” she recalls. An idea emerged when, as owner of an antique furniture store, she observed how her young shop assistants grew confident and competent when mastering restoration projects. In late 2002, Rollins stepped out in faith and opened Boaz & Ruth, a nonprofit organization dedicated to reducing poverty and providing job skills & life training for the formerly incarcerated. Opening originally as a home furnishings store and restoration shop, Boaz & Ruth eventually expanded its Highland Park complex to include a clothing thrift shop, restaurant and catering business. Its other initiatives include a house renovation business and a moving service. Now in its 11th year, the organization has trained more than 200 ex-offenders and created hundreds of jobs. And in recognizing outstanding volunteer efforts, Rollins confers annual awards that she named in memory of former Carillon neighbors Harold M. Marsh and Abbot J. Lambert. The successful programs of Boaz & Ruth have garnered significant grants and widespread recognition, including feature stories on NPR and in *The Wall Street Journal*. In 2009, Rollins was invited to the White House for an event honoring American social entrepreneurs who address serious issues. Very recently retired—her daughter-in-law Megan Rollins now serves as Boaz and Ruth’s interim president and CEO—Rollins is still pondering new ways to “move the economic needle toward justice.”¹⁶⁹

This spirit of civic service and volunteerism flourished within the community in numerous ways. Over the past four decades, various CCA officers, board members, and volunteers—unfortunately too many to mention individually in this narrative—have worked tirelessly to manage the business of the association and implement initiatives aimed at improving the lives of residents. Some of the programs are ongoing, and others have run their course: major beautification campaigns that involved the planting of hundreds of trees and shrubs; an annual clean-up day during which residents worked alongside city employees to rid the alleys of debris and oversize household trash; the formation of a security committee and active Neighborhood Watch—especially crucial during the mid-1980s when a crime wave brought 90 break-ins in a three-year period; a skills bartering exchange to help each other with carpentry and plumbing needs; and a food co-op for weekly deliveries of locally grown fruit and vegetables. As community interests, needs, and concerns have changed, so has the programming.¹⁷⁰

Racial tension became a primary issue once again in 1992. The front page of the summer civic association newsletter left no doubt about the cause: “The L.A. Riots: An Impact on the Carillon Area.” In late April that year, the acquittal of four white police officers caught on videotape beating black motorist Rodney King set off several days of intense rioting in Los Angeles. The violence that claimed 50 lives and destroyed 1,100 properties shocked the world. The events reverberated in Richmond, prompting many to question how the root causes of the riot also related to the city. Among those concerned was a group of black and white Carillon residents, informally organized by Delores and Al Reeves, that gathered several times through the spring to process reactions to the Los Angeles mayhem. “Participants questioned their own personal internal feelings as individuals, asking what was being done to promote positive progress as a unified American society and local neighborhood,” noted the association newsletter.¹⁷¹

With support from CCA president and vice president, Glenn Van Tuyle and Milton Lewis, the newly formed race relations committee sponsored a Carillon Community Unity Forum on September 12th, facilitated by the Richmond Peace Education Center and attended by about 70 Carillon residents. The day-long event led participants through a series of exercises that encouraged careful listening, candid discussion, and

understanding. Among those attending was Councilman Chuck Richardson, who observed for an article in the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* that his neighborhood “probably lives a better example of good race relations than many parts of the community. Which is not to say we don’t have our problems.” When asked why integration was apparently successful there, he responded, “What makes it work is working at it.”¹⁷² One of the results of the forum was the establishment of two cluster groups of eight to ten neighbors dedicated to meeting regularly to continue the effort of “working at” race relations in the community and Richmond at large.

Naming themselves Carillon Action for Racial Enlightenment (CARE), the interracial break out groups met in each others’ homes to share personal narratives, watch movies, read articles and books, and travel together to workshops (some sponsored by Hope in the Cities), unity walks, and regional African American heritage sites. They also enjoyed group social events like Christmas caroling and picnics. “Those gatherings were a personal blessing,” notes Jan Forst, who resides in one of the 1920s bungalows on Bute Lane. She and her husband, Bill, participated in the bi-monthly CARE II group for five years. “It dropped from Heaven. I learned so much from dear friends like Oscar and Kitty Blake and Edith Boatwright about what it was like to grow up African American. To me, their stories were about perseverance and courage.... Together we faced the present and said, ‘This is how it is. We’ll make a difference.’” Among the community initiatives that the CARE groups implemented was a network matching neighbor-to-neighbor needs with resources, such as tutoring, transportation, babysitting, and food assistance. The groups eventually disbanded, Forst said, as members shifted priorities, moved, grew ill, or died. Nonetheless she describes a lasting impact; for her the CARE experience was life changing.¹⁷³



Fig. 51. CARE II group outing to a Dogwood Dell Concert, July 1997. Seated from left: Bob Williams, Kitty Blake, Edith Boatwright, Oscar Blake, Jan Forst, unidentified, and Bill Forst. Standing: Helen Williams. Courtesy, Jan Forst.

21st century

At the turn of the new century, Midge Liggan became the first CCA president since the association’s founding to live north of Douglasdale Road. In her first newsletter message, the library media specialist voiced concern about resident communication and participation. She proposed that the association sponsor a National Night Out event at Rueger Park, on the north end. The goal was to help residents get to know each other and—customary in this nationwide program—to meet local safety and law enforcement officers. In August 1999, in partnership with the Department of Parks, Recreation and Community Facilities, the CCA hosted 250 residents at an outdoor barbecue picnic, made even more festive with live jazz entertainment. The National Night Out gathering has since become a favorite annual event with widespread appeal. And in recent years, among the law enforcement officers welcomed at the summer event is Sunset Lane neighbor C.T. Woody, who has served as Sheriff for the City Richmond since 2005.¹⁷⁴

On September 6, 2003, the neighborhood and nearby Byrd and Maymont Parks sustained sizable damage from Tropical Storm Isabel. The gale force winds that uprooted dozens of trees also took out electrical power



Figs. 52 - 54. *National Night Out at Rueger Park (corner of Blanton Ave. and Grant Street) has been a favorite summer event since 1999.*

for 8 to 10 days. Neighbors pooled resources and offered support in the storm's aftermath. The experience came in handy when, a year later, August 29th, Tropical Storm Gaston took out addition trees and power poles. Stalling out over Richmond, the storm inundated the city, causing unprecedented flooding. Once again, in the emergency situation, neighbors helped each other with food, emergency supplies, and clean up.¹⁷⁵

Things were almost back to normal the following spring when the Carillon neighborhood was featured for the first time as a multi-house venue during Historic Garden Week. On April 19, 2005, five homes and one garden on Rugby Road and Sunset Avenue faced a "deluge" of well-heeled visitors.¹⁷⁶ Of course, Garden Week guests would have noticed the dozens of bright pink Arts in the Park flags flying on residences in the weeks leading up to the exhibit—each featuring the show logo developed so long ago: a double-handled vase filled with tulips and paintbrushes. In April 2011, Richmond City Council recognized the 40th anniversary of Arts in the Park by conferring a Community Service Award on the Carillon Civic Association and Pat Lovelace each during a special ceremony at City Hall. The outdoor event continues to be a popular favorite. Lovelace has just learned that *Virginia Living Magazine* will be recognizing the show for the second consecutive year as one of the Commonwealth's best places to purchase art in its May 2013 issue.

In recent years, several development campaigns have surprised and sometimes challenged the neighborhood. Both Unity of Richmond and First Unitarian Universalist announced plans for church expansions. Each shared preliminary proposals with the community and, in open dialogue with neighbors, responded to a few specific concerns by making adjustments. Unity has just completed its renovation, which includes a handsome glass belvedere that brightens the Blanton corridor. Construction is still pending for First Unitarian's expansion.

Far more contentious are other development issues that arrived in rapid succession. The first was the construction of three baseball diamonds at the corner of Grant and South Belmont, approved by the Richmond School Board without public notification or hearings. When the plan was discovered in 2009, Faye Cates, CCA board member and Grant Street resident, tried to mobilize the community to stop it, but the effort came too late. Construction was quickly underway that fall. When ball season arrived the following spring, resident concerns about increased noise, litter, and traffic congestion proved true.¹⁷⁷

The following year brought additional alarm when a newspaper article announced that the city's Urban Design Committee had just approved a ropes course for the woods behind the Carillon in Byrd Park. The director of the city's Department of Parks, Recreation, and Community Facilities favored the plan—which would lease 8 acres to an out-of-state commercial firm in return for modest revenue—and was shepherding the proposal to the Planning Commission. The article described the proposed “Go Ape” installation of zip lines, walkways, and a recreational rope course among the tree tops of the urban forest—and indicated completion by the end of the year. Scrambling quickly to marshal facts and learn more about the company and specific plan, Carillon residents enlisted Fifth District Councilman Marty Jewell to monitor the proposal's progress through city channels. The project quietly faded that fall when the parks director resigned over other issues. “Go Ape” is slated to open this spring in Freedom Park in Williamsburg.¹⁷⁸

An even larger development proposal was quietly making its way to the forefront. In November 2010, area residents from the Carillon, Stadium, the Fan, Bryan Park, and Westover Hills responded to mailed invitations from Poole and Poole Architecture to meet with them and Councilman Jewell for “an open forum and discussion about the future of City Stadium.” In the previous year, University of Richmond held its last game at the site in favor of its own newly constructed campus facility. The question remained: what then will become of the underused and aging sports arena left behind? At what was billed as an “initial work session” and “vision meeting,” the forum hosts informed the assembled that the city had put the 16.5-acre property “in play” on its economic development board. On behalf of an unnamed developer, the architects were gathering community ideas and insights. Over a three-hour session, the participants shared their thoughts, which were summed up at meeting's end. In the CCA newsletter, Milton Lewis, former CCA president and then community development coordinator, shared the group consensus list, in priority order: “1) Continue usage as a stadium, possibly involving VCU and a future football team; 2) Upscale retirement community; and 3) Mixed use development of reasonable density.” Lewis also reported “things that folks didn't want: 1) high density high-rise housing; 2) A big box store; and 3) Anything noisy, smelly or creating excessive traffic.”¹⁷⁹



Fig. 55. Addressing residents from several neighborhoods to discuss possible City Stadium development, February 2012. From left: Milton Lewis, Francine Young, Councilman Marty Jewell, and Paige Quilter.

The early months of 2012 revealed that Fulton Hill Partnership was the developer in question and that the firm was far beyond the initial planning stages of a proposal. In fact, they had forwarded an unsolicited offer to City Hall. The details were revealed through newspaper articles and series of public meetings. The mixed-use plan included office, residential, health and fitness, and cultural categories. Most alarming to area residents was the 12 percent retail allotment, which could permit an “anchor store” and signaled the real potential of introducing high customer and delivery traffic into the surrounding neighborhoods. The proposal elicited mixed public response, those against it being the most vocal and insistent on keeping the facility a stadium. As the controversy played out in the press, Mayor Dwight Jones assured residents that there was no “done deal,” and Jewell won Council approval that the city would first do a study of the true value and potential uses of the stadium. On behalf of the CCA, Paige Quilter met frequently with Jewell and other relevant parties to explore alternatives. To date, the Fifth District has a new Council representative, Parker Agelasto, and the preliminary study has not been completed.¹⁸⁰

While a determination about City Stadium is still pending—and for the Blue Shingles property, for that matter—other looming development issues will likely demand the attention of the Carillon neighborhood in the near future. Any day now, the Richmond School Board will deliver a verdict about John B. Cary Elementary School. “Our” school—with its Cougar Pride and cheery red caboose—may shut its doors in the coming year. Beyond the obvious loss of a valuable community resource, the closure would bring its own property redevelopment questions. And in recent months, the historic Marburg property at the corner of Rugby and Bute has been sold. Neighbors have learned that new owner plans to raze the 1880s farmhouse and replace it with a dense cluster of six houses.

In recent years, the Carillon Civic Association has undertaken its own internal redevelopment processes with a revision of organization by-laws. A more pressing concern is maintaining resident engagement and retaining volunteer leadership in an era of multi-job households and limited leisure time. Moreover, the long-standing mission of community building faces new challenges at a time when individuals have ready access to friends and family via cell, text, and social media messaging. In short, the portability of “community” from other sources may have lessened the need or desire to connect with one’s neighbors. In response, the board is examining and recalibrating its outreach efforts by using data from a recent neighborhood survey to shape future programs and events. The CCA is also updating its various communications platforms, including the delivery of a current residential directory, refurbishment of a weekly electronic network, and development of a new community website.

What has remained constant since the late 1960s is the neighborhood’s diversity. This also includes a wide range of political beliefs, made visible during regular election cycles by colorful yard signs and bumper stickers. During heated campaigns, those with opposing beliefs typically coexist in harmonious disagreement, averting their eyes from offending slogans while warmly greeting each other on the sidewalk. On October 25, 2012, Richmond hosted Barack Obama, who came to speak before the Carillon during an intense multi-state campaign sweep just eleven days before his reelection. On this warm fall day, the considerable logistics of bringing a sitting U.S. President to an open-air rally with more than 15,000 spectators disrupted the regular routine of the community. Beginning in the morning hours, motor coaches made their rounds down Blanton, Garrett, Sunset, and Rugby—cleared of automobiles the night before. As passengers disembarked, they took their place at the end of long lines, some extending blocks away from the security checks at the park perimeter.¹⁸¹ Several Carillon residents joined the throngs to participate in the historic day. Others objected to the spectacle and advanced their Romney signs to more visible locations in their yards before going inside. From the upstairs window of her Sunset Avenue home, artist Catherine Venable chose to just watch and enjoy the vibrant scene. She and many Carillon residents, who fought for race equality at this place, stopped to take in the moment when the country’s first black President stood a few hundred yards away.

One of them was Libby Soffee who finds parallels in her personal development and the social and cultural growth of the nation. “The way things were happening in this country when I was at a formative age.... who I am [now], has been influenced in great part by what was going on in the country at the time. And in *this* community. I don’t think I would change a thing. I know I wouldn’t change living in the neighborhood.... I just can’t see myself anywhere else.”¹⁸²



Fig. 56 *President Barack Obama waves at the crowd during a campaign rally in Byrd Park, October 25, 2012. Courtesy Richmond Times-Dispatch.*

Presidents, Carillon Civic Association

1968 – 71	Frank Gilbert
1971 – 73	Robert (“Bob”) Lovelace III
1973 – 75	Harold M. Marsh Sr.
1975 – 77	O. Randolph (“Randy”) Rollins
1977 – 78	Mary Jane [Hyland] Walsh
1978 – 79	T. Michael Smith
1979 – 81	O. Randolph (“Randy”) Rollins
1981 – 83	Walt Smiley
1983 – 85	Robert (“Bob”) Lovelace III
1985 – 86	Dianne and Dennis LaMountain
1986 – 87	Collie Burton
1987 – 89	Robert (“Bob”) Lovelace III
1989 – 90	Fran and Larry Framme
1990 – 91	Alice Fascitelli
1991 – 93	Glenn Van Tuyle
1993 – 96	Milton Lewis
1996 – 97	Audrey Burton
1997 – 99	Mac Damron
1999 – 2003	Midge Liggan
2003 – 09	Eugene (“Butch”) Walter
2009 – 10	John Hundley IV
2011, partial	Debbie Flippen
2011 – 12	Camille Harris
2012, partial	Jeffrey Fisher
2013	James (“Jim”) Beck, interim

Endnotes

¹ Mary Ellen Connell, interview, 23 August 2013.

² Louis H. Manarin and Clifford Dowdey, *The History of Henrico County* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1984), 2, 46, 97, 112-13; Marie Tyler McGraw, *At the Falls, Richmond, Virginia, & Its People* (Chapel Hill & London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 10-14, 25-26, 49-53; Virginius Dabney, *Richmond, The Story of A City* (Charlottesville & London: University of Virginia Press, 1990), 6-11.

³ In the map of the prize lots of the Byrd Lottery, these were nos. 753 and 752 touching the James River, and above them no. 761. Lot no. 751, initially awarded to the coalition, abutted the east boundary of no. 752. I thank Richard Manson, who generously shared this and other invaluable information. A dedicated researcher, he is currently undertaking a thorough study of the history of property ownership in Richmond.

⁴ Shields is the original spelling used by Robinson's son-in-law, changed to the more conventional Shields when later adapted by the City of Richmond in naming the street and lake. The Robinson-Shields family cemetery remains in Byrd Park near the Round House; its first interment dates to 1823. When descendants sold the land to the city for the expansion of the park, Poplar Vale mansion—which stood just east of today's intersection of Westover Road and Brandon Lane—was used as the Park Superintendent's house. The structure was razed in the 1920s. See Edward L. Ryan, "Poplar Vale," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 48 (July 1940): 202-06; Harry Kollatz Jr., "Who Lived and Died Upon this Land," *Richmond Magazine* (June 2006).

⁵ McGraw, 67.

⁶ James J. Kirkwood, *Waterway to the West* (Philadelphia: Eastern Park & Monument Association in cooperation with Blue Ridge Parkway, National Park Service, U.S. Dept. of the Interior, 1963), 2-11. Foushee did not reside on the property, but he did establish a mill there in 1819. The stone ruins are still visible today on the North Bank Trail of the James River Park System, just south of Maymont Park. W.E. Trout III, et al., *Falls of the James Atlas*, (Richmond: Virginia Canals & Navigations Society, 1997), 20, 25.

⁷ Historic American Engineering Record, HAER VA,44-RICH,100C- (sheet 1 of 3) - James River & Kanawha Canal, Three Mile Locks, Pump House Drive, Richmond, Independent City, VA , June 1970, <http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/va0895.sheet.00001a>.

⁸ Three-Mile Locks include two locks. The James River and Kanawha Canal reached its final point just past Lynchburg in Buchanan, Virginia. Kirkwood, 12-19; Stephen J. Hoffman, *Race, Class & Power in the Building of Richmond, 1870-1920* (Jefferson, N.C. & London: McFarland & Co., Inc. 2004), 18-20; *Touring Richmond's Canal*, brochure (Richmond: Richmond Chapter, Virginia Canals and Navigation Society), 1985.

⁹ Reviews of Henrico County deed books reveal a story too lengthy to relate here beyond quick summation: Susannah Lee, owner 1825-34; Samuel Shepherd (aka Shapard, Sheppard), owner 1834-39; and Robert Carter Page and Caroline N. Pollard, joint owners 1839-48. Page and Pollard divided the large tract between them into two parts, one above the other, with a boundary line that falls along today's Garrett Street. In 1849, Page sold the northern property to P.M. Tabb Jr. Between 1847 and 1859, Pollard's southern parcel was sold then subdivided among various owners—William Mountjoy, Henry Exall in narrow parcels hugging the James River and Kanawha Canal; and above them, in varied subdivisions, William W. Gregory, James Craig, Francis V. Sutton Jr., Melchoir Pravé, Hiram B. Dickinson, Larken Glazebrook, and Thomas Ritchie Jr. In 1859, 93.75 of those acres were bundled together by Mortimer Young and sold to Bolling Haxall. The dividing line between Tabb and Haxall properties—in succession called Lee Street, Granite Street, and (after the mid-1950s) Garrett Street—followed a wagon road that ended at the McCloy Quarry.

¹⁰ *Daily Dispatch*, 21 April 1884. The Tabb (Blandon) house and outbuildings are represented on a map drawn by surveyor Peter S. Michie in 1865 and published in 1867. U.S. Army Corps of Engineers Map of Richmond, made under the direction of Maj. Nathaniel Micheler and Capt. Peter S. Michie (National Archives, Record Group 77, Map G 204, #55 & 57). A later deed book plat indicates that it stood on today's Rueger Park property, just north of Grant Street and approximately midway between the intersections with Walpole and Huxley Streets. Henrico County Deed book 123, p. 62 (November 19, 1887).

¹¹ Jack Trammell, *The Richmond Slave Trade: The Economic Backbone of the Old Dominion* (Charleston and London: History Press, 2012), 95. Detailed transactions between P.M. Tabb & Son and planter Warner T. Taliaferro of "Belle Ville" Gloucester Co., provide an interesting case study, 1828-1859, Taliaferro Family Papers, Virginia Historical Society. To read more about the practice of slave hiring, see Gregg D. Kimball, *American City, Southern Place: A Cultural History of Antebellum Richmond* (Athens & London: University of Georgia Press, 2000), 26-30.

¹² Henry Box Brown, *Narrative of the Life of Henry Box Brown, Written by Himself* (Manchester, England: Lee & Glynn, 1851), 34.

¹³ Slave Schedule, City of Richmond, County of Henrico, 1850; Slave Schedule, City of Richmond, County of Henrico, 1860; *Daily Dispatch* (April 21, 1884).

¹⁴ The Haxall Mills, founded by Bolling's father in 1809, became one of the nation's largest at mid-19th century and shipped huge amounts of flour to South America. Kimball, 115-16; Dabney, 62-63.

¹⁵ Haxall was also a major shareholder in the Richmond & Petersburg Railroad and the Old Dominion Iron and Nail Works. See his obituary, "Death's Doings Yesterday," *Richmond Dispatch*, 27 June 1885, 1; Bolling Walker Haxall, Account Book, 1851-1883, entry Aug 24, 1859, Virginia Historical Society, Mss1 H3203 c145.

¹⁶ Since 1900, the Bolling Haxall House has been owned and maintained by The Woman's Club of Richmond, Virginia.

¹⁷ Haxall, Account Book, entries Feb. 28, 1868; Jan. 18, 1885, Virginia Historical Society, Mss1 H3203 c145; U.S. Army Corps of Engineers Map of Richmond, 1867, made under the direction of Maj. Nathaniel Micheler and Capt. Peter S. Michie (National Archives, Record Group 77, Map G 204, #55 & 57). Later plat drawings for property sales in 1888 suggest that a house, barn, and outbuilding remained in the Bute Lane vicinity. Henrico County Deed books 123, pp. 204 and 125B, p. 173.

¹⁸ U.S. Army Corps of Engineers Map of Richmond, 1867.

¹⁹ Tabb was a private in the 3rd Regiment, Virginia Light Artillery. Haxall served as a private, Co. F, 1st Reserves Infantry.

²⁰ McGraw, 159-65; Hoffman, 4-5, 9. For a thorough history of the evacuation fire, see Nelson Lankford, *Richmond Burning: The Last Days of the Confederate Capital* (New York: Penguin Books, 2003).

²¹ "Effects of Rebel Taxation," *Nashville Daily Union*, 21 May 1863; *Daily Dispatch*, 2 January 1865, 3. Dozens of runaway notices stating the missing persons were "hired of P.M. Tabb" appear in the *Daily Dispatch*, 1861-1865. Several suggest that the runaway is heading to Union Army lines, including ads posted Aug. 7, 25, 27-28, 1862. The ad for Delaware and Ben, who fled Confederate fortifications at Bacon's Quarter Branch, appears March 7, 12, 13, 30 and April 2, 1863, and the notice about the escape from the Midlothian mine on Aug. 16, 19-20, 1864.

²² *Daily Dispatch*, 2 January 1865, 3.

²³ *Confederate Applications for Presidential Pardons, 1865-1867* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com. Original data: Case Files of Applications From Former Confederates for Presidential Pardons ("Amnesty Papers") 1865-1867; (National Archives Microfilm Publication M1003, 73 rolls); Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780's-1917, Record Group 94; National Archives, Washington, D.C.; Elizabeth Cheek, "Bolling Haxall House," Nomination Essay, National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form, 1971; Hoffman, 4-5, 9; "Death's Doings Yesterday," *Richmond Dispatch*, June 27, 1885, 1.

²⁴ U.S. IRS Tax Assessment List, State of Virginia, District 1, Sept. 1865; 1870 United States Federal Census, Tuckahoe District, Henrico County, Virginia; 1880 United States Federal Census, Louisville, Jefferson County, Kentucky. Levies by the county and the city of Richmond prompted suits and countersuits involving Tabb and his wife's family, the Shapards (a.k.a. Shepard), as well as his son Charles, who sued his siblings. The latter was successfully appealed at the state Supreme Court of Appeals January 25, 1900. "Tabb and Others v. Commonwealth," *Virginia Law Register* 5 (March 1900): 740-48.

²⁵ T. Tyler Potterfield, *Nonesuch Place: A History of the Richmond landscape* (Charleston & London: History Press: 2009), 106-110. The reservoir remained open air until 1970, when a new state regulation required the covering of all treated water supplies.

²⁶ *Daily Dispatch*, June 8, 1884.

²⁷ The land on which the reservoir was built was purchased during the war by Silas Omohundro, one of the most notorious of Richmond's antebellum slave traders. The city purchased it from his estate in 1874, ten years after his death. Trammel, 94; Maurie D. McInnis, *Slaves Waiting for Sale: Abolitionist Art and the American Slave Trade* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 96-98; Henrico County Deed book 93, 260-61. South of that was a 30-acre tract owned earlier by Francis V. Sutton Jr. (whose house stood approximately where the Carillon was later built). Between 1873-75, its next owner, William H. Gwathmey, subdivided and sold it in 18 one-acre lots and one 9-acre lot (with dwelling)—creating a speculative development named Glen Ellen. Henrico County Deed book, 85, 28.

²⁸ Potterfield, 110-14; Tyler Potterfield, correspondence with the author, 9 March 2013; W.E. Cutshaw, *Trees of the City, 1904: Report of the City Engineer* (O.E. Flanhart: Richmond, Va., 1904). Today, in the acreage between the reservoir and the Carillon, some of the older trees appear to be in rows—a reminder of the site's earlier days as the municipal nursery.

²⁹ The car shed was opposite the present-day intersection of Blanton Avenue and Condie Streets. After a 1902 fire destroyed the shed and pavilion (then used to store paint), the tracks were removed to facilitate park expansion. By this time, and after several mergers, the various streetcar and railway companies consolidated into the Virginia Passenger & Power Co. Carlton Norris McKenney, *Rails in Richmond* (Glendale, Calif.: Interurban Press, 1986), 27-28, 114.

³⁰ Potterfield, 113-14; McKenney, 114; Bernard J. Henley, "Idlewood Park, A Family Playground," *Richmond Literature & History Magazine* 1 (Winter 1978): 45-46; Christopher Silver, *Twentieth-Century Richmond: Planning, Politics, and Race* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1984), 20, 27, 38, 45.

³¹ McKenney, 114.

³² Notices for events appear with regularity in the *Richmond Dispatch* and *Richmond Times*, 1890-1902. "Mr. Rueger Secures Blandon Park Early Next Year," *Richmond Dispatch*, 5 August 1902; "Mr. Rueger to Build," *Richmond Times*, 5 August 1902. Rueger assumed running his German-immigrant father's modest tavern in the 1880s. By 1912, he had developed it into the grand, eleven-story Hotel Rueger, just opposite the state capitol (now Commonwealth Park Suites). An avid sportsman, Rueger raised prize horses and was a founding member of the Deep Run Hunt Club. He died at "Idle Hour" in 1936.

³³ "Property Transfers," *Richmond Dispatch*, 1 March 1888. The spelling of Condie Street is a slight modification.

"Assignment of Mr. Harvey," *Richmond Dispatch*, 18 April 1896.

³⁴ *Richmond Dispatch*, 14 April 1892; “Auction Sale of an Attractive West End Residence,” *Times-Dispatch*, 17 June 1906; “Edmund Christian Minor,” *Virginia State Bar Association Proceedings* 17 (1904), 61-63.

³⁵ “Notice,” *Richmond Dispatch*, 11 April 1888; “Cent a Quart More,” *Richmond Dispatch*, 27 October 1901, 1; “To Our Customers and Friends,” *Times Dispatch*, 29 April 1910, 8. Extant structures appear on plat drawings for sales by T.L. Blanton to J.C. Smith, 28 December 1887, Henrico Co. Deed book 122, p. 28; T.L. Blanton to James B. Elam, 16 March 1888, Henrico Co. Deed book 123, pp. 202-203; and T.L. Blanton to Charles Euker, 30 October 1888, Henrico Co. Deed book 125B, p. 173.

³⁶ Smith’s daughter Harriet (“Hattie”) married Frank Wells and lived in Dorchester, Mass.; her sister Minnie married Melville Courtney and resided at her father’s “Montezuma” estate on Mechanicsville Turnpike.

³⁷ “Death of Dr. Hugh Hagan,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 23 March 1898, 8.

³⁸ Henrico County Deed book 125B, pp. 170-73; “Miss Euker Weds Mr. Smith,” *Richmond Dispatch*, 18 November 1897; “Col. Charles Euker Dies Suddenly,” *Times Dispatch*, 24 September 1907, 9. Marburg was subsequently purchased by a series of individuals including tobacco magnate Tazewell Carrington (in residence 1923-36) and Benjamin and Anne Dennis (1936-65), who, according to their granddaughter Debbie, planted the property’s commanding boxwoods. J. Watts and Elizabeth Vermillion called Marburg home after 1965. The property has been sold recently to a developer and faces demolition.

³⁹ Jeff Hawkins, *Richmond Railroads*, (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia, 2010), 36, 62, 92, 121; “The Work to Go On,” *Richmond Dispatch*, 21 February 1890, 1; Trout, et al., *Falls of the James Atlas*, 21.

⁴⁰ “Property Transfers,” *Times Dispatch*, 13 June 1903; *Directory of Richmond and Manchester, Va.*, (Richmond: J.L. Hill Printing Co., 1899), 142, 555; *Directory of Richmond, Va., 1951*, (Richmond: J.L. Hill Printing Co., 1951), 480. Thanks to Sharon Hill for sharing the story about the relocation of the house at 822 Walpole from the 700 Blanton Ave. site—information given to her by Meredith Brown, who lived in the Walpole house in the 1940s-50s. And I am grateful to Richard Manson for confirming Brown’s ownership history of the house.

⁴¹ Herbert Brown resided at 700 Blanton until his death in 1942; shortly afterwards his extensive properties sold and the greenhouses were demolished. Mann & Brown Co. remained active under new management for another decade. In 1950 Brown’s heirs sold the Blanton Avenue residence to the American Legion Post. It was purchased by the City of Richmond in 1957 and was subsequently the site of various schools (including the Park School for mentally challenged students and the Park Program for pregnant girls), teacher training centers, and an annex for John B. Cary Elementary School. Since 1991, Blanton House has served as administrative offices for Richmond Department of Parks, Recreation and Community Facilities. See <http://web.richmond.k12.va.us/AboutRPS/RPSHistory/AE/BlantonHouse.aspx>.

⁴² “Grayson Lewis Nickel Jr.,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 2 March 2005.

⁴³ This included the annexation of the City of Manchester across the James in 1910. Dabney, 279; Silver, *Twentieth-Century Richmond*, 27. One of the obelisk markers stands at the property line between 3016 and 3020 Rugby Road and three remain in the vicinity of 1508, 1527, and 1529 Sunset Lane. I thank Chad Young, Richard Manson, and Clint Peters for bringing these to my attention.

⁴⁴ McKenney, 33, 41, 47, 138; Donald McNeill, interview, 16 March 2013; U. S. Census Records, 1940.

⁴⁵ During renovations at 1410 Pump House Drive, former owners Mary and Alex Slaughter discovered a board inscribed with the date 1907. Mary Slaughter, telephone interview, 10 March 2011. “Claims Damage of Bell Company,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 6 July 1911, 9; “Bell Company Wins,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 9 July 1911, 12.

⁴⁶ Prohibition against the manufacture and consumption of alcoholic beverages was enacted in Virginia in 1916, four years before the national mandate. Congress repealed all prohibition in December 1933. In recent years, octogenarian Martha Anne Neilsen visited with Stacey Farinholt at 1410 Pump House Drive and recalled having come there to Dr. Anderson’s house for a children’s tea party in the 1930s and being told its name, Swan Tavern. Anne McCracken, telephone interview, 23 February 2013. Former resident, Mary Slaughter, also heard of the house’s reputation as a private pub from her mother, telephone interview, 10 March 2011. Other neighbors have similar tales of tavern visits, but at times identify the site as 3020 Rugby Road (Marburg)—unlikely as that house was the country retreat of tobacco magnate T.M. Carrington during those years. Elizabeth Vermillion, interview, 19 February 2010; Pat Lovelace, interview 21 June 2010; Richard Towell, interview, 14 May 2010.

⁴⁷ Brockenbrough’s father, of the same name, was a Confederate colonel who distinguished himself in several battles, including Antietam and Chancellorsville.

⁴⁸ Pat Lovelace, interview, 23 August 2010. The story about moving the old house was told by Kenny Brockenbrough to Mrs. Lovelace, who was a teaching assistant at Old House Play School in the 1970s.

⁴⁹ U.S. Census, 1920; Clara Kenny Brockenbrough Papers, 1916-1936, Library of Virginia, no. 45117; Pat Lovelace, interview, 23 August 2010. The last family member residing at Doolough Lodge was John Brockenbrough’s daughter, Eleanor S. Brockenbrough, who was a regent at the Museum of the Confederacy. Today that organization’s library is named in her honor. She died in 1985.

⁵⁰ “Sectional Map of that Portion of Henrico Co, Va. Adjacent to the City of Richmond,” T. Crawford Redd & Bro., 1901. F232 H5 1901:2 oversize, Virginia Historical Society.

⁵¹ Gregory was president of Roger Gregory Realty Corp., Bryan Park Realty Corp., and Parkway Realty Corp. The 1926 city directory lists him at 3213 Bute Lane (likely today's 3113) and as owner of 2908 Rugby Road the following year. *Richmond City Directory 1926* (Richmond: Hill Directory Co., 1926), 665.

⁵² "A Guide to the Richmond (Va.), Bureau of Permits and Inspections, Building permit architectural blueprints and specifications, 1907-1949," Accession Number 30150, 30745, 38536, the Library of Virginia.

⁵³ Clara K. Brockenbrough to Kenny Brockenbrough, 15 December 1924, Brockenbrough Papers, Box 5, Folder 3.

⁵⁴ *Historic Virginia* (Charlottesville: Roy Wheeler Realty Co., 1948), 114; Harry Kollatz Jr., "Blue Shingles, from riverfront estate to prime real estate," *Richmond Magazine* (March 2004): 96-97; Mildred Taylor, interview, 23 January 2013.

⁵⁵ Kollatz, "Blue Shingles"; Chuck Woody, "Vandals Turn River Manse into Rubble-Strewn Wreck," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 29 July 1967, B-1. The history and challenges of the site since 1967 are detailed in David Pennock, *Blue Shingles: An Analysis and Plan*, master degree planning project for Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Virginia Commonwealth University, Spring 2003, copy in CCA Archives.

⁵⁶ Jan Forst, interview, 6 February 2013; Clint Peters, interview, 3 December 2010.

⁵⁷ John Kneebone, "It Must Be a Hoax: Protest, Cultural Pride, and Richmond's Columbus Statue," *Virginia Cavalcade* (Autumn 1992): 84-95.

⁵⁸ Acts of Assembly, 1924, Commonwealth of Virginia, 588.

⁵⁹ Charles E. Brownell, et al., *The Making of Virginia Architecture* (Richmond: University of Virginia Press, 1992), 358-59, 380-81; Senator Morgan R. Mills, *Report of the War Memorial Commission*, Senate document No. 10 (Richmond: Commonwealth of Virginia, Superintendent of Public Printing, 1928).

⁶⁰ In clearing the site for construction of the Carillon, the city razed the so-called Sutton House, a Tuscan-style dwelling built in the 1850s (photograph in collection of the Valentine Richmond History Center), which also served as the city nurseryman's residence into the early 20th century. Despite its name, the house likely pre-dated ownership by Francis Sutton, who purchased the property in 1859. I thank Tyler Potterfield, who is currently developing a history of Byrd Park, for sharing this information with me.

Among the fortunate contractors to help build the Carillon during the Depression was O.T. Graham, whose Ready Mixed Concrete Co. poured the footings. His son Buddy, a Condie Street resident, shared a period image of the process with the CCA Archives.

⁶¹ A. Judson Evans, "15,000 Bow to War Dead at Dedication of Memorial," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 16 October 1932, 1, 8; "V. M. I. Helps Dedicate a War Memorial," *Bomb* yearbook (Lexington: Virginia Military Academy, 1933).

⁶² Evans, 1, 8; Virginia War Memorial Commission, "Dedication Program" (Richmond, 1932), CCA Archives. In 1970, during a repair campaign, 34 bells were removed and recast into 21, resulting in the present total of 53. Live Carillon concerts on patriotic holidays continue to this day.

⁶³ Donald McNeill, interview, 16 March 2013; Potterfield, 118.

⁶⁴ Potterfield, 117-20; "Design Made For Memorial," *Richmond News Leader*, 17 January 1940, 5.

⁶⁵ "Big Building Program Predicted," *Richmond News Leader*, 7 September 1935, 10.

⁶⁶ Donald McNeill, interview, 16 March 2013; Pat Lovelace, interview, 21 June 2010.

⁶⁷ Donald McNeill, interview, 16 March 2013.

⁶⁸ Donald McNeill, interview, 16 March 2013; "Army Planes Collide Here, Pilot Killed," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 2 September 1945, 1, 14; "Pilot is Killed as Army Planes Collide Here," *Richmond News Leader*, 1 September 1945, 1, 2; Harry Kollatz Jr., "The Goat or Why is Harry on TeeVee," "Blue Raccoon" blog, 30 March 2008, http://harrykollatz.blogspot.com/2008_03_01_archive.html; Harry Kollatz Jr., "The Windsor Farms Jet Crash Revisited," *Richmond Magazine* blog, December 22, 2008, <http://www.richmondmagazine.com/blogs.php?blogID=dc5f47b7643b29e6ab4da0c7b50ea931>.

⁶⁹ "The Home of 1942," sales brochure published by realtor Ralph H. Dudley for Colonial Homes, Inc., Richmond, Va., 1942. Collection of Larry and Jenny Brown.

⁷⁰ McGraw, 282; Edward Humes, *Over Here: How the G.I. Bill Transformed the American Dream* (Harcourt: 2006), 36-37.

⁷¹ The city opened Shields Lake for white swimmers in 1919. During the 1930s one end was deepened for diving and a concrete floor was poured. In that decade, 200,000 people visited annually. With concerns over health issues and desegregation, the city closed it in 1955. Harry Kollatz Jr., "Not Always So Swimmingly," *Richmond Magazine*, August 2007: 34. For more about the history of the Richmond Nativity Pageant and Carillon neighborhood participation, see Paige Quilter's chapter in *A Very Virginia Christmas*, Wilford Kale, ed. (Parke Press, 2012). In 1994 Unity of Richmond purchased the building at 800 Blanton.

⁷² Pat Lovelace, interview, 23 August 2010; Bernice Walter, interview, 29 June 2010; Richard Towell, interview, 14 May 2010; Clint Peters, interview, 3 December 2010. A history of the school penned by an unknown school associate after 1978 notes, "Old House Play School employed the philosophy that discipline is a necessary part of a child's education. A child is secure if he knows his boundaries, but will always challenge them, which is a good and healthy attitude." "Old House Play School," collection of Pat Lovelace. Copy in CCA Archives.

⁷³ "Richmond" poster by artist Bern Hill, published 1950 by the Chesapeake & Ohio Railroad, collection of the Library of Virginia; "The Home of 1942."

⁷⁴ “William Byrd Parkway Conditions and Restrictions,” addendum to owner’s policy, Lawyers Title Insurance Corp. for Herman J. Duke, 3108 Sunset Drive, Richmond, Va., 15 December 1943. In 1948, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Shelley v. Kraemer* that courts could not enforce racial covenants on real estate. Nevertheless, the covenants remained affixed to many titles, mostly uncontested in private transactions.

⁷⁵ McGraw, 284-88; Benjamin Campbell, *Richmond’s Unhealed History* (Richmond: Brandylane Publishers, 2012), 160-67.

⁷⁶ McGraw, 281-82; Christopher Silver and John V. Moeser, *The Separate City: Communities in the urban South, 1940-1968* (University Press of Kentucky, 1995), 24, 126, 134-51; Christopher Silver, *Twentieth-Century Richmond: Planning, Politics, and Race* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1984), 71, 90, 110-19, 159-228.

⁷⁷ “Expressway Routes Disclosed,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 23 October 1966, Section J; Dan Kalman, interview, 23 January 2010; Richard and Ann Twiggs, interview, 16 January 2013. The original plan for the Expressway came along Colorado Avenue, through Byrd Park south of the Carillon and just below Bute Lane to join the beltline ravine. “\$46,493,000 Expressway Plan Includes New Ninth Street Span . . .,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 25 March 1950, 1, 3.

⁷⁸ Silver, *Twentieth Century Richmond*, 287-88; Campbell, 158; Patricia S. Morris, *Promises Met: A Study in Organizational Evolution, Housing Opportunities Made Equal of Richmond Virginia*, unpublished paper, 2001, linked: www.phonehome.org.

⁷⁹ Wayne Farrar, “Carillon Park is Success Story for Integration,” *The Roanoke Times*, 16 July 1972, A-7.

⁸⁰ Dan Kalman, interview by author, 23 January 2010; Richard and Ann Twiggs, interview by author, 13 January 2013.

⁸¹ Morris, 13; Garrett Epps, “Carillon power: How a neighborhood beat blockbusting,” *Richmond Mercury*, 18 October 1972, 1, 8-9; Martha Rollins, interview, 17 May 2010.

⁸² Libby Soffee, interview, 29 January 2010.

⁸³ Frank Gilbert, correspondence, 1 December 2010; Bernice Walter, interview, 29 June 2010; Carol Towell, “As I Remember . . . 1965 – 1968,” *Carillon Civic Association Newsletter*, October-November, 1988, 3. Joining the Gilberts, Joneses, and Walters in the earliest organizational efforts were (in alphabetical order) Jim and Shirley Gillespie, Rev. Kenneth Foutz, Rev. and Mrs. William Gold, A.L. Hecht, James Jackson, Bob and Pat Lovelace, Harold and Peggy Marsh, Marjorie News, Carl Powers, Morris and Barbara Ridley, Rev. Lawrence Samuel, Christine Shelton, Mary Shumaker, Marie Sibley, Herndon Smith, Richard and Carol Towell, and Bob and Bernice Walter. They were soon joined in the following year by: Reginald and Elsie Brown, Candy Hecht, Isadore and Imogene Draper, Becky Evans, Jennie Howe, Dan and Wilmouth Kalman, Abbot and Rose Lambert, Randy and Martha Rollins, Libby Soffee, and John and Barbara Towell, CCA Archives.

⁸⁴ CCA Archives.

⁸⁵ Farrar, A-7; Bill Miller, “The Carillon Neighborhood, ‘Good Neighbors . . . in All Colors,’” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 24 April 1977, G-1, G-3; Epps, 1, 8.

⁸⁶ Tragically Marsh, who also served as a substitute judge, youth mentor, and civic and school leader, was killed in a drive-by shooting on Hull Street, July 23, 1997. The next year, he was posthumously named Richmonder of the Year. Richard Foster, “A Good Man Gone: Harold M. Marsh Sr.,” *Style Weekly*, 6 January 1998, 8-13; Frank Gilbert, written recollections, 10 December 2010; Carol Towell, “CCA Historian, Carol Towell, remembers,” *Carillon Civic Association Newsletter* (Fall 1997), 2.

⁸⁷ “Carillon Neighborhood: Biracial Unit Fights ‘Panic,’” *Richmond News Leader*, 13 November 1968, 14; Bob Lindsey, “Carillon Group Promotes Community,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 19 November 1968, B-1; “Carillon Group Forms Property Stabilizing Unit,” *Richmond News Leader*, 19 November 1968, 6. Jones quoted in “Group to Try to ‘Stabilize’ Carillon Area,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 13 November 1968, C-4.

⁸⁸ Audrey and Collie Burton, interview, 19 February 2010.

⁸⁹ Rutledge Dennis, interview, 27 March 2010.

⁹⁰ For a thorough discussion of this annexation, see John V. Moeser and Rutledge M. Dennis, *The Politics of Annexation: Oligarchic Power in a Southern City* (Cambridge, Mass: Schenkman, 1982). Remembrances of protestors from Pat Lovelace, interview, 21 June 2010.

⁹¹ Venable filed the original lawsuit on behalf of Curtis J. Holt Sr. Moeser and Dennis, 149-58; Stewart Jones, “City Take Over Fear Told,” *Richmond News Leader*, 21 September 1971, 1, 4.

⁹² Morris, 10; Pat Lovelace, interview, 21 June 2010; Libby Soffee, interview, 29 January 2010; Richard Towell, interview, 14 May 2010.

⁹³ “Nothing Mixed in U.S., Black Separatist Claims,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 16 November 1970, B-6; CCA Executive Committee minutes, 1 February 1973, CCA Archives; Sara Dabney Tisdale, “Sa’ad’s Return,” *Style Weekly*, 21 July 2010, 9-10.

⁹⁴ “Richmond Official Quits After Drug Charges,” *New York Times*, 19 September 1995; Michael Paul Williams, “5th District verdict: it’s sad, but it’s time,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 19 September 1995, B-1, B-5. On Richardson’s divergence with CCA on Kanawha Trace, see Monte Young and Tom Campbell, “Divided council appoints Craigie to housing agency,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 25 September 1984, B-8.

⁹⁵ Frank Gilbert, written recollections, 10 December 2010. The church officially changed its name to the First Unitarian Universalist Church of Richmond in 2004.

⁹⁶ CCA Archives; Martha Rollins, interview, 17 May 2010.

⁹⁷ "Article of Incorporation of Carillon Civic Association," filed with the Commonwealth of Virginia State Corporation Commission, 21 May 1970, copy in CCA Archives; "Apartments Zoning Rejected by Council," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 13 May 1968; Carolyn Welton, "Balanced Community Mirrored," *Richmond News Leader*, 1 May 1970, 13.

⁹⁸ Bob Brickhouse, "Relations Group is Out of Business," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 3 May 1970, D-1; Steve Row, "Carillon Area Keeps Unity Despite Varied Challenges," *Richmond News Leader*, 29 July 1971, 5; Charles Ford, "Carillon Community is 'First of its Kind,'" *Richmond Chronicle*, 30 July 1971, 1, 9; Robert L. Hill, "The Carillon Neighborhood Plan: Report from the Consultant to the Carillon Civic Association," January 1971, CCA Archives.

⁹⁹ Epps, 1-8; Miller, G-1, G-3; Ford, "Carillon Community is 'First of its Kind,'" 1, 9; Steve Row, "Carillon Area Keeps Unity Despite Varied Challenges," *Richmond News Leader* (29 July 1971), 5; Charles Ford, "The Carillon Neighborhood," *Richmond Magazine* (August 1975): 39-41.

¹⁰⁰ CCA Archives; Pat Lovelace, interview, 21 June 2010; Martha Rollins, interview, 17 May 2010. The National Neighbors 1974 report to the Ford Foundation notes that the film was not distributed to the public, but there was possible plan to use it as a "discussion tool." Document excerpt sent by Lucas Buresche, assistant archivist, Rockefeller Archive Center, 22 October 2012. To date, no copy of the film has been located locally or through the National Community Reinvestment Coalition (which subsequently absorbed National Neighbors and holds its archives) or the Rockefeller Archive Center (which maintains the archives of the Ford Foundation).

¹⁰¹ "Holton Praises Unit's Race Stand," *Richmond News Leader*, 21 September 1971, 17; "Holton Hails Efforts of Carillon Group," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 21 September 1971, B-1; Farrar, A-7.

¹⁰² Linwood Holton, *Opportunity Time: A Memoir by Governor Holton* (Charlottesville & London: University of Virginia Press, 2008), 125, 218.

¹⁰³ Frank Gilbert, "From the president," *Carillon Civic Association Newsletter*, April 1971.

¹⁰⁴ "Real Estate Sales in the Carillon, through 1976," report in CCA Archives; Rutledge Dennis, interview, 27 March 2010. Dennis, who still resides on Sunset, went on to become the founding director of VCU's Department of African American Studies and is presently a Professor of Sociology and Anthropology at George Mason University.

¹⁰⁵ Larry and Jeanne Cessna, interview, 17 March 2011; Dallas Long, "Militant Negro Finds Peace in Bahá'í Faith," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 17 July 1971.

¹⁰⁶ Martha Rollins, interview, 17 May 2010. Rollins adds, "Imogene and I are best friends. We both live partly in Richmond and partly in Martinsville. Imogene is now pivotal in Martinsville culture—in the arts and in writing the history of how our national brokenness played out in a small southern town." Martha Rollins, written recollections, 8 March 2013.

¹⁰⁷ Martha Rollins, interview, 17 May 2010; Libby Soffee, interview, 29 January 2010.

¹⁰⁸ Recollections shared by gathering of neighbors with the author, 7 January 2011.

¹⁰⁹ Rutledge Dennis, interview, 27 March 2010; Mary Stanton, interview, 15 January 2013.

¹¹⁰ W. T. Robinson, interview, 7 July 2010.

¹¹¹ "A Good Place to Live," housing ad under "Houses for Sale—Zone 2," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, see example, 15 March 1970, D-15; Epps, 8.

¹¹² Vera Ryan, interview, 9 August 2010.

¹¹³ Mary Jane Walsh, written recollections, 5 December, 2010; John & Sharon Moeser, interview, 6 August 2010.

¹¹⁴ Morris, 8, 14, 16, 28-29; John & Sharon Moeser, interview, 6 August 2010.

¹¹⁵ John Moeser, interview, 6 August, 2010. In 1982 Moeser and Dennis, who were one time Sunset Avenue neighbors (and, for a while, with Cabell Venable, the attorney who brought the Richmond annexation suit) co-authored *The Politics of Annexation: Oligarchic Power in a Southern City* (Cambridge, Mass: Schenkman, 1982), cited earlier. Today Moeser is Professor Emeritus of Urban Studies at Virginia Commonwealth University and Senior Fellow at the Bonner Center for Civic Engagement at the University of Richmond. He writes and lectures regularly about the demographic and geographic implications of poverty, race, and jurisdiction in Metropolitan Richmond.

¹¹⁶ CCA Archives; Mary Jane Walsh, written recollections, 16 May 2011; "Carillon Home Values Rise," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 26 May 1973, B-3; Pat Lovelace, interview, 21 June 2010.

¹¹⁷ Brochure, CCA Archives; Martha Rollins, interview, 14 March 2013; Carolyn Welton, "Balanced Community Mirrored," *Richmond News Leader*, 1 May 1970, 13. The exhibit featured the work of Lionel Stevenson of Pennsylvania.

¹¹⁸ CCA Archives; *The Carillon* (Richmond: Carillon Civic Association, 1976). Gillespie, who worked in the marketing department of A.H. Robins, also took the photographs.

¹¹⁹ Pat Lovelace, interview, 21 June 2010; Richard Towell, interview, 14 May 2010; Liz Kern, "Many Professional Craftsmen Expected for Carillon Show," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, A-7.

¹²⁰ Pat Lovelace, interview, 21 June 2010; Richard Towell, interview, 14 May 2010; Peter Humes, "Exhibitionists," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 28 April 2005, D-20 – 21, D-23.

¹²¹ James Gillespie, telephone interview, 10 January 2013; Dan Kalman, interview, 23 January 2011; Richard Towell, interview, 14 May 2010.

¹²² Pat Lovelace, interview, 21 June 2010; Richard Towell, interview, 14 May 2010.

¹²³ *Carillon Civic Association Newsletter*, July 1972, 4; CCA Archives.

¹²⁴ Humes, "Exhibitionists," D-20 – 21, D-23; CCA Archives; Dan Kalman, interview, 23 January 2011.

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- ¹²⁵ *Carillon Civic Association Newsletter*, June 1975, p. 2; Pat Lovelace, interview, 21 June 2010; Richard Towell, interview, 14 May 2010.
- ¹²⁶ Dan Kalman, interview, 23 January 2011
- ¹²⁷ CCA Archives.
- ¹²⁸ CCA Archives; Pat Lovelace, telephone interview, 28 February, 2013.
- ¹²⁹ Holton, 101-105; Campbell, 167-68, 200-205; Robert A. Pratt, "A Promise Unfulfilled: School Desegregation in Richmond, Virginia, 1956-1986," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 99 (October 1991): 415-48.
- ¹³⁰ Robert Holland, "Citizens School Slated," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 23 February 1969, B-1, B-4.
- ¹³¹ Holland, B-1; Charles Cox, "Cary School to Become Gradeless in September," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 20 June 1969, B-1.
- ¹³² Libby Soffee, interview, 29 January 2010; Deedee Damschroder, interview, 9 February 2010; Rutledge Dennis, interview, 27 March 2010; Michael Paul Williams, "Closing John B. Cary would be tragic," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 17 February 2012.
- ¹³³ Libby Soffee, interview, 29 January 2010; Deedee Damschroder, interview, 9 February 2010; Rutledge Dennis, interview, 27 March 2010.
- ¹³⁴ Rutledge Dennis, interview, 27 March 2010.
- ¹³⁵ Rob Corcoran, *Trustbuilding: An Honest Conversation on Race, Reconciliation, and Responsibility* (Charlottesville & London: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 125-26. In 2012, RPS ethnic statistics documented a 90.5 percent non-white student population overall and an 87.5 percent non-white representation at Cary. See: <http://web.richmond.k12.va.us/AboutRPS/Statistics/Ethnic2012.aspx#top>.
- ¹³⁶ Zachary Reid, "K-6 idea at Cary, Fisher elementary schools put on hold," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 24 January 2013.
- ¹³⁷ Rutledge Dennis, interview, 27 March 2010; Martha Rollins, interview, 14 March 2013; Audrey and Collie Burton, interview, 19 February, 2010.
- ¹³⁸ W.T. Robinson, interview, 7 July 2010; Richard Towell, interview, 14 May, 2010. Towell may have underestimated the number of schools represented in the compact neighborhood. CCA executive committee minutes, March 1, 1973, note that children in neighborhood "are attending at least twenty different schools." CCA Archives.
- ¹³⁹ Pat Lovelace, interview, 21 June 2010.
- ¹⁴⁰ The site was established by Anne Soffee, proud Carillon kid and Rendale gang alumna. Correspondence, 7 February 2013.
- ¹⁴¹ T. Michael Smith, "Preserving the Carillon Neighborhood," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 10 December 1978.
- ¹⁴² CCA Archives.
- ¹⁴³ "City Acts on Site of Museum," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 11 February 1975; "Museum Site Opposed by Group," *Richmond News Leader*, 10 January 1975, 6; CCA Archives.
- ¹⁴⁴ David Pennock, "Blue Shingles: An Analysis and Plan," studio project, Master of Urban and Regional Planning Department, Virginia Commonwealth University, Spring 2002, 6-7; "Remarks of O. Randolph Rollins to Council of the City of Richmond concerning Blue Shingles Zoning Case," 8 January 1979, CCA Archives.
- ¹⁴⁵ Pennock, 7; Steve Row, "Fla. Developer Seeks Bids for Luxury Condominium," *Richmond News Leader*, 29 July 1981, 9; Mollie Rorrer, "Tract here has developers singing blues," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 24 July 1988, G-1, G-7.
- ¹⁴⁶ Sandra C. McKinnon, "Room with a View," *Virginia Business June* 1990): 23, 28; Pennock, 9-12.
- ¹⁴⁷ Mary Jane Walsh, written recollections, 28 November 2010.
- ¹⁴⁸ To bolster opposition, Audrey Burton also formed the non-profit Neighborhood Preservation Society, which funded legal counsel. CCA Archives. Harold Pearson, "City Stadium: Like clock, facility lacking Time," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 19 December 1976, F-5; Bill Miller, "City Stadium Parking Ills Are Feared," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 14 April, 1977, 1; Al Johnson, *Richmond News Leader*, "'Park-In' Planned Against Stadium Move," *Richmond News Leader*, 19 September 1977; "Stadium Expansion Backed" *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, Oct 15, 1977, section C; Mary Jane [Walsh] Hyland, "Letter to the Forum," "Stadium Are Residents Oppose Expansion," *Richmond News Leader*, 26 October, 1977; Ray Filegar, "Planners Vote 'No' on Stadium," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 22 August 1978, A-2, A-3.
- ¹⁴⁹ "To All Carillon Residents," letter from CCA president Randy Rollins, 28 August 1979, CCA Archives.
- ¹⁵⁰ Elizabeth Vermillion, interview, 19 February 2010; Mike Alix, "Woman Presses Fight to Restore Carillon," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 30 Aug. 1981, C-5.
- ¹⁵¹ Elizabeth Vermillion, interview, 19 February 2010; Alix, C-5; Elizabeth Vermillion, "Carillon is a Living Monument for Many," *Richmond News Leader*, 7 November 1981, 14.
- ¹⁵² Francis Church, "Veteran's Day marks rebirth of bell tower," *Richmond News Leader*, 3 November 1984, A-1, A-3.
- ¹⁵³ Papers of G. Mason Connell, Carillon Advisory Committee meeting records, 1990-98, CCA Archives.
- ¹⁵⁴ Jerry Lazarus, "Kanawha Trace project causing stir," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 5 August 1984, E-1, E-4; Monte Young and Tom Campbell, "Divided council appoints Craigie to housing agency," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 25 September 1984, B-8.
- ¹⁵⁵ Steve Row, "Designers' winning ways," *Richmond News Leader*, 20 October 1986, B-1, B-22; CCA Archives.
- ¹⁵⁶ Randolph Goode, "Developer files bankruptcy petition," *Richmond News Leader*, 6 April 1987; Michael Paul Williams, "Panel delays approval of Kanawha Trace Plan," *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 6 December 1988.

- ¹⁵⁷ “Jeanne Cummings, “Planners take stock of policy,” *Richmond News Leader*, 4 January 1989, 17, 20.
- ¹⁵⁸ Larry Brown served as committee chair. Papers of Larry Brown, Chair, CCA Kanawha Trace Committee, CCA Archives; Virginia Churn, “Resurrection: New Kanawha Trace rising again between river, park,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 6 May 1990, H-1, H-5; “Fate of Kanawha Trace Again in Question,” *Carillon Civic Association Newsletter*, Fall 1991, 3; “Unified CCA Committee Wins Concessions from Developers,” *Carillon Civic Association Newsletter*, Spring 1989, 1-2.
- ¹⁵⁹ “New area along river offers upscale homes,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, (28 March 1999). Resolution of the so called “Rugby Road Gate” came through an advisory committee to Vice Mayor Rudy McCollum, represented by CCA members including former president Milton Lewis and then president Midge Liggan. *Carillon Civic Association Newsletter*, August 2000, 4.
- ¹⁶⁰ Virginia Churn, “Old house is seen as clubhouse site,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 6 May 1990, H-1, H5; Sibella Connor, “Richmond’s Royals,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 6 November 1994, G-1, G-4, G-5; Tom Campbell and Carrie Johnson, “Baron, Wife Get Minimum Terms,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 28 October 1998.
- ¹⁶¹ Frank Donnelly, “Crashing train cars sounded ‘like earthquake’ to residents,” *Richmond News Leader*, 1 May 1982, 1, 4; Pat Lovelace, interview, 2 March 2013.
- ¹⁶² *Carillon Civic Association Newsletter*, June/July 1983, 7; Robin Traywick, “Fannie Miller, Carillon group win,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 13 May 1983.
- ¹⁶³ “Church History,” handout produced by First Unitarian Universalist Church, 1000 Blanton Ave., Richmond, Va.; “First Unitarian: Historically, an active and involved neighbor,” *Carillon Civic Association Newsletter*, Fall 1996, 1; Becky Evans, telephone interview, 2 March 2013; CCA Archives; “Carillon group to dedicate garden,” *Richmond News Leader*, 21 May 1984, 30.
- ¹⁶⁴ Larry Cessna, interview, 17 March 2011; Susan and Rob Corcoran, interview, 9 February 2011; Audrey and Collie Burton, interview, 19 February 2010.
- ¹⁶⁵ Katherine Calos, “House Means Faith in Moral Re-Armament,” *Richmond News Leader*, 26 December 1980, 10; Rob Corcoran, *Trustbuilding: An Honest Conversation on Race, Reconciliation, and Responsibility* (Charlottesville & London: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 27. Today, the Corcorans still reside on Sunset Avenue, but at the other end of the street.
- ¹⁶⁶ Susan and Rob Corcoran, interview, 9 February 2011.
- ¹⁶⁷ Corcoran, *Trustbuilding*, 23-27, 32-34; Susan and Rob Corcoran, interview, 9 February 2011.
- ¹⁶⁸ Corcoran, *Trustbuilding*; Susan and Rob Corcoran, interview, 9 February 2011; Audrey and Collie Burton, interview, 19 February 2010. For more about Hope in the Cities, see www.hopeinthecities.org.
- ¹⁶⁹ Martha Rollins, interview, 17 May 2010; Martha Rollins, written recollections, 8 March 2013; Mary Tobey, “Mixing It Up In Carytown 7 Highland Park,” *Fifty Plus*, May 2004, 22-23; Carol Hazard, “Boaz & Ruth names interim CEO,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 2 February 2013. For more about Boaz & Ruth, see <http://boazandruth.com>.
- ¹⁷⁰ CCA Archives.
- ¹⁷¹ Along with the Reeves, the initial group also included Trina Boudreau, Alice Fasitelli, Jesse Frierson, Sue Kurzman, Dianne LaMountain, Sammye Newman, Tom Silvestri, Libby Soffee, Mary Jane Walsh, and Linwood Wingfield. “The L.A. Riots: An Impact on the Carillon Area,” *Carillon Civic Association Newsletter*, Summer 1992, 1, 3.
- ¹⁷² “Carillon Community Unity Forum Conducted,” *Carillon Civic Association Newsletter*, November/December 1992, 1, 3; Michael Paul Williams, “Neighborhood works to keep racial harmony,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 14 September 1992, B-1, B-7; “Race Relations Cluster Groups,” *Carillon Civic Association Newsletter*, Spring 1993, 4.
- ¹⁷³ Jan Forst, interview, 8 February 2013; Jan Forst, “CARE II Memories,” CCA Archives; “We Really Care” survey insert, *Carillon Civic Association Newsletter*, Summer 1995.
- ¹⁷⁴ Midge Liggan, “Message from CCA’s New President,” *Carillon Civic Association Newsletter*, July 1999, 1; Midge Liggan, “National Night Out!” *Carillon Civic Association Newsletter*, September 1999, 2.
- ¹⁷⁵ CCA Archives.
- ¹⁷⁶ “Map out a route for Garden Week,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 30 January 2005, G-3; Featured homes during Historic Garden Week: 2904 Rugby (Ed and Marsha Andrews); 3002 Rugby (Randy and Martha Rollins); gardens at 3004 Rugby – Gillette plan (Robert and Maureen Leipertz); 3008 Rugby (Wayne and Courtney Fuller); 1106 Sunset Ave. (Jeff and Susan Fisher); and 3005 Sunset Ave (Catherine Venable and Sharon Lehman). Much earlier, the Rollins home was featured along with homes outside the neighborhood during Historic Garden Week in April 28, 1988.
- ¹⁷⁷ Faye D. Cates, “No More Baseball Fields at Grant Street,” *Carillon Civic Association Newsletter*, August/September 2009.
- ¹⁷⁸ Michael Martz, “Firm hopes to get fun off the ground in Byrd Park,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 8 October, 2010, B-1, B-2; Debbie Flippen, “I am Going Ape at the Carillon,” *Carillon Civic Association Newsletter*, October/November 2010, 6.
- ¹⁷⁹ CCA Archives; “Update: City Stadium & Going Ape,” *Carillon Civic Association Newsletter*, January 2011, 5.
- ¹⁸⁰ Will Jones, “Developer eyes City Stadium,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 12 February 2010, B-1, B-8; Michael Paul Williams, “Mixed-use development would not fit character of city Stadium neighborhood,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 15 February 2011; Will Jones, “City Stadium plans at standstill,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 18 August, 2011.
- ¹⁸¹ Reed Williams, “Carillon hosts Obama today,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 25 October 2012, B-1, B-7; “Obama draws 15,000 to park,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, 25 October 2012, A-1, A-8.
- ¹⁸² Libby Soffee, interview, 29 January 2010.

Oral history interviews with author:

Burton, Collie and Audrey – 19 February 2010	Peters, Clint – 3 December 2010
Cessna, Larry and Jeanne – 17 March 2011	Robinson, W.T. – 7 July 2010
Cohen, Libbie – 13 January 2012	Rollins, Martha – 17 May 2010; 14 March 2013
Connell, Mary Ellen – 23 August 2010	Rollins, Sally – 15 January 2013
Corcoran, Rob and Susan – 9 February 2011	Ryan, Vera – 9 August 2010
Damschroder, Deedee – 9 February 2011	Soffee, Libby – 29 January 2010; 17 March 2013
Dennis, Rutledge – 27 March 2010	Stanton, Mary – 15 January 2013
Forst, Jan – 8 February 2013	Taylor, Millie – 23 January 2013
Kalman, Dan – 23 January 2011	Towell, Richard – 14 May 2010
Lovelace, Pat – 21 June 2010; 23 August 2010	Twiggs, Richard and Ann – 16 January 2013
McNeill, Don - 16 March 2013	Vermillion, Elizabeth – 19 February 2010
Moeser, John and Sharon – 6 August 2010	Walter, Bernice – 29 June 2010; 23 January 2013

Remembrance gathering, home of Martha and Randy Rollins, 7 January 2011:

Corcoran, Rob and Susan	Slaughter, Mary
Dennis, Rutledge	Soffee, Libby
Dowdy, Mel and Bonnie	Burruss, Thelma
Evans, Becky	Towell, Richard
Gumbs, Muriel	Van Tuyle, Patricia
Rollins, Randy and Martha	Walter, Butch
Ryan, Vera	

Written remembrances:

Hyatt, Mary Jane – 28 November, 30 November, and 30 December 2010
Frank Gilbert – 10 December 2010

Telephone interviews:

Dennis, Debbie – 21 February 2011	Gillespie, Jim – 10 January 2013
Evans, Becky – 2 March 2013	McCracken, Anne – 23 February 2013
Slaughter, Mary – 10 March 2011	

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Because CCA leaders understood that they were breaking new ground, they carefully compiled and preserved association documents, media clippings, newsletters, and photographs—an effort maintained over the decades. For their conscientious diligence in building a substantial archive, I thank the first CCA historian Bernice Walter and her long-serving successor, the late Carol Towell. In recent years, other residents have contributed additional papers and photos. To this material, I’ve added oral history recordings and written recollections gathered over the past three years from dozens of generous current and former neighbors, whose names are listed on the previous page. I am deeply grateful to them for their gifts of time, memories, and insights. Among them was CCA’s founding president, Frank Gilbert, who lent enthusiastic support and remembrances to this effort, but sadly died only a few weeks before the essay’s completion.

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About the author

Elizabeth L. O’Leary is a volunteer historian for the Carillon Civic Association. She has recently retired from the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts where she served as associate curator of American art. Beth earned a Ph.D. degree from The University of Virginia and is author of several publications, including *From Morning to Night: Domestic Service in Maymont House and the Gilded Age South* (2003) and is lead author of *American Art at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts* (2010), written with curatorial colleagues. She and her husband, John Martin, have resided in the Carillon neighborhood since 1995.



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