

Shifting Sands on the 20th Century Main Street: Urban Visions of Race, Ethnicity and Class for Lincoln Road, Miami Beach, Florida

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Lincoln Road, one of the most dynamic urban pedestrian boulevards in the United States, stands as the major east/west passage from ocean to bay across Miami Beach, Florida, and as one of the premier twentieth-century tourist destinations. It also embodies, however, the conflicting needs of a city defined by destination tourism (bolstered by innovations in transportation technology) and by pre-industrial notions of community based upon exclusivity and pedestrianism. The history and design of the Road resonates with many ideological and economic conflicts at the heart of Miami Beach and other cities today.

Ironically, Lincoln Road, a pedestrian thoroughfare for the past forty years, had a long romance with the automobile. This may be witnessed in the early conception of the Road laid out in 1914 by the wealthy Indianapolis entrepreneur and racing car enthusiast Carl Fisher (1874-1939). Fisher's plans included his house, his office, a school, a church and a hotel for wealthy guests as they considered the purchase of parcels of land for sale. From its inception, the Road has reflected many of Fisher's exclusionistic and idiosyncratic notions on race and ethnicity, while its shops attempted to cater to a class of wealthy, global travelers destined to sustain the city's growth. Fisher's visions can be traced through several of his projects for Lincoln Road. Conflicts between the commercial offerings on the Road and those of major hotels occurred in the '50s. Elderly Jewish and working-class Cuban immigrants established a new community order in the '60s. The establishment of artist studios and antique stores in the '70s foreshadowed the relocation of gay culture to the Road in the '80s, and led to the appropriation and commodification of "diversity" as a Mall "theme" in the '90s.

This essay examines the urban designs and visions of Carl Fisher at the beginning of the century, Morris Lapidus in mid-century, J. Frederic Blitstein in the 1970's and finally Thompson and Wood in the 1990's. Each plan reflects the hopes and promises of urban design in the moment of its creation. These plans include, however, struggles between visions of the Road as an urban Main Street and a tourist destination - struggles that while nearly a century old on Miami Beach, have recently become critical to many urban centers as they strive to find economic viability. Although Lincoln Road has often been excluded from histories of Main Streets, or even of pedestrian malls, the Road provides an important case study for understanding the past and future of cities worldwide based upon global tourism and fantasies of place.¹

Carl Fisher arrived in Miami Beach at the end of 1912 with a short but vigorous history of ambitious visions. All of these included and focused on Fisher's first passion in life, the potential of automotive transportation. Fisher started out as an amateur racecar driver and expressed his interest in improving nocturnal automotive speed through the purchase in 1904 of the patent for the Prest-O-Lite compressed gas headlight. Later in 1909 Fisher chartered the

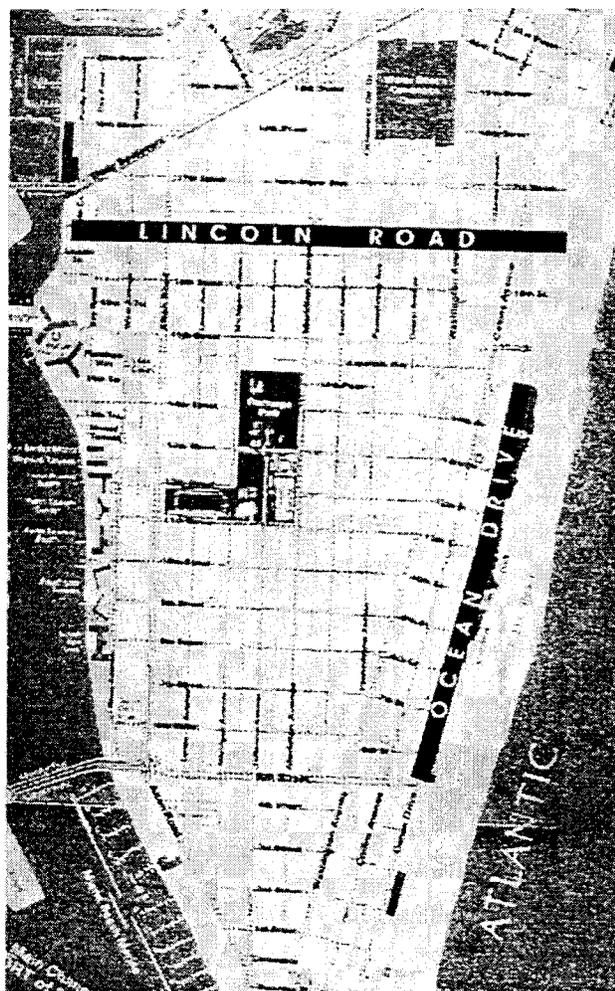


Fig. 1. Map of Miami Beach, ca. 1950.

Indianapolis Motor Speedway and founded the five-hundred-mile race called the "Indy-500" in 1911.²

In the first months of 1912, Fisher, along with his friends Jim Allison and Frank H. Wheeler, planned a new town for the workers in the Prest-O-Lite company to be located west of Indianapolis. Appropriately named Speedway, Indiana, the town was not to "have a damned horse in the streets," and its planners emphasized their dedication to the car with such street names as Ford, Buick and

Cadillac. The town deeds also stipulated that black people not be allowed to rent or own property, or own or operate a business.³ Later in 1912 Fisher sold his shares in the headlight company to Union Carbide for \$9 million and started several new projects.⁴ These included the creation of an east-west route across the United States, known as the “Main Street across America,” or as the Lincoln Highway, and the Dixie Highway, which was to lead tourists from the Midwest on a scenic drive to Miami Beach.⁵

Carl Fisher purchased two hundred acres of land on Miami Beach from John Collins on January 21, 1913, and shortly thereafter he acquired an additional one hundred and fifty acres from his neighbor to the south, J. N. Lummus.⁶ Fisher’s first developments occurred along the Ocean, at Lincoln Road’s eastern end. Vast stretches of golf courses, polo fields and tennis courts were created north of the Road while the recently dredged Biscayne Bay’s calm waters, ideal for speed boat racing, were to the west. Lincoln Road afforded the primary means of cross-island access for those visitors who wished to have the bathing opportunities of the ocean and the sailing potential of the bay.

Fisher called upon his friend John Oliver LaGorce, an influential member of the editorial staff at *National Geographic*, to spearhead his first efforts to advertise what was then called “Alton Beach.” In 1918, LaGorce produced a promotional brochure entitled *A Little Journey to Altonia: The Lure of a Clockless Land Where Summer Basks in the Lap of Winter*.⁷ After pages of photographs, LaGorce included effusive descriptions of a “matchless polo field; wonderful tennis courts; superb golf links; the finest motor-boat race-course on the Atlantic seaboard,” all of which were linked by Lincoln Road. LaGorce emphasized the development’s denizens as “of discerning taste and sound resources” and invited visits from he who was “a regular American of the approved type, who loves out-of-door sports in a land of blue sky and golden sunset, overrunning with all the creature comforts to fall back on when hospitality is to be offered or accepted.”⁸

LaGorce’s strong reference to “regular” Americans was intended to distinguish Fisher’s development on Miami Beach from those to the north and south by race, class and, to some extent, ethnicity. The Collins and Pancoast developments to the north of Fisher’s development, for example, employed and housed many of the 35 black residents registered in Miami Beach in 1920.⁹ And the Lummus Company’s development to the south catered primarily to the white middle- and working-classes. By 1921, for example, this development was home to all of the estimated 25 Jewish residents on Miami Beach, most of whom were recent immigrants from Eastern Europe.¹⁰ Fisher’s anti-Semitism was clearly class-based and although he was known to “refer to [Jewish] people in ethnic terms that were very uncomplimentary,”¹¹ he also believed that “there are some Hebrews who are a very high class of people.”¹² As was noted by C.D.B. Bryan in *National Geographic’s* 1997 volume commemorating the magazine’s one-hundredth anniversary, John Oliver LaGorce, however, had unmitigated prejudices. Bryan noted that “it was only through reading his [LaGorce’s] correspondence and memos that one becomes aware that, unless they kept their place, JOL did not like women, blacks, or Jews—though not necessarily in that order.”¹³

Fisher, however, was eager to make his development and its “Main Street,” Lincoln Road, a vibrant community with “the very best class of wealthy patrons.”¹⁴ Already by 1916, Fisher had constructed his own residence, The Shadows, on the ocean end of Lincoln Road and built the Lincoln Hotel replete with large, luxurious apartments for visitors. A need soon arose for shops, offices, theaters and services, which Fisher conveniently located on Lincoln Road where he had built his own real estate office near the island’s center on the corner of Jefferson Avenue.

Soon additional rooms were required and Fisher constructed the two-hundred-room Flamingo Hotel at the bay end of 15th Street, just south of Lincoln Road. Opened on December 31, 1921, the Flamingo

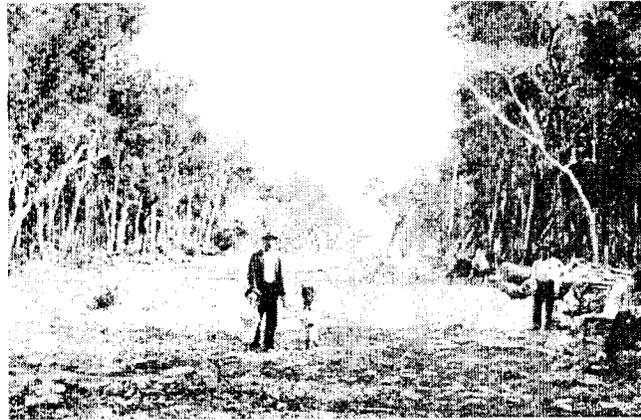


Fig. 2. Cutting the mangroves on Miami Beach to create Lincoln Road. 1914.

moved much of the city’s social life off Lincoln Road and initiated a competition between the Road and Miami Beach hotels that would come to a head in the 1950’s.

Although Fisher seemed to be dedicated to the establishment of retail and small businesses on Lincoln Road, he included in his vision space for the first school on Miami Beach and the city’s first religious institution, The Miami Beach Congregational Church.¹⁵ Fisher considered the Church to be one of his “big improvements” to the development in 1920, and was very disappointed in the community’s lack of support for the project.¹⁶ Confirming his concern was the Rev. Luman H. Royce, head of the Congregational Church Building Society, who lamented in a letter to Fisher, “I have raised ten times as much money in poor communities made up of wage earners.”¹⁷

Shortly after the opening of the Congregational Church, Fisher moved the polo grounds several miles to the north, pushed the golf course off the north side of the Road, and lured such national retail chains as Saks Fifth Avenue and Bonwit Teller. By 1924 Lincoln Road boasted an immense collection of automobile showrooms that included Cadillac, Chrysler, Ford, Packard and Lincoln. The Road also offered three theaters, three hotels, antique shops and salons. Fisher’s Mediterranean-style architecture referred, like his promotional literature, to popular middle- and upper-class European resorts, such as Biarritz in Spain and to Palm Beach. This style was also proving a great success in Coral Gables, just 10 miles away on the Miami mainland. As the residential component of Lincoln Road became less important, Fisher transformed his own house into the Beach and Tennis Club. By 1925, only two estates remained as reminders of Lincoln Road’s beginnings as a quiet residential thoroughfare.

With the stock market crash of October 1929, Carl Fisher soon lost many of his holdings around the country, including those on Miami Beach. He sold much of his property on Lincoln Road and finally declared personal bankruptcy in 1934.¹⁸ Fisher, however, maintained a strong presence in the community and his ideas for Lincoln Road’s continuing distinction of exclusivity were retained in the new Miami Beach zoning ordinance of 1930. By restricting the Road to retail, restaurants, offices and luxury services, the rezoning effectively highlighted the commercial component of the Road and set out a blueprint for what would be called “The Fifth Avenue of the South.”¹⁹

During the 1930’s, with Federal assistance, new causeways, highways and airways linking Miami Beach to the rest of the world were constructed. The influx of vast numbers of middle-class tourists somewhat undermined Fisher’s ideal of social exclusivity. By the end of the decade, as reported in the WPA Guide to Florida, however, stores on Lincoln Road consisted of “international chains for the most part” that were still open only during the season.²⁰

Tellingly, Fisher's conception of Lincoln Road as an urban threshold between poorer and wealthier neighborhoods was also noted in the Federal Writer's Project. "North of the Road the residential sections and beaches are highly restricted."²¹ This notion of entering the restricted "Main Street" of paradise, reputed for its wealth and glamour drew tourists to the area in record numbers between 1930 and 1950.

Nowhere is this more evident than in *Life* magazine's 1941 spread celebrating what would be the peak of Lincoln Road's financial success. *Life's* correspondent wrote:

But the people who really appreciate Lincoln Road are middle-class Americans who are enchanted by this evidence of high life and a glittering dream world full of playboys and expensive demimondaines. Mostly they look on but they also buy because a vacation is not really a vacation unless booty is carried back home.²²

The author then described the activities along the Road in terms of both time and class:

By day...rich ladies step sedately out of limousines and sporty ladies hop out of bright roadsters...But by night Lincoln Road changes. Then the plain people come to window-shop, and the street becomes very much like an old-world corso with its evening promenades.²³

Aspects of Lincoln Road's early role as "Main Street" still resonate in this description. If by 1941, Lincoln Road had evolved into a world-class shopping street, compared by the *Life* author to Rue de la Paix, Bond Street and Fifth Avenue, then it had become even more of a civic space for viewing other members of the community of shoppers, something of a twentieth-century Piazza Navona, Ramblas, or Champs d'Elysee.

By the mid-1950's, new zoning along the beaches permitted developers to design large hotels, such as the San Souci and the Fontainebleau along the ocean to the north of Lincoln Road as miniature cities, complete with clothing stores, jewelry shops and restaurants. Akin to oceanside, residential shopping malls, these structures offered tourists exclusive pedestrian environments free from those individuals who could not afford the price of a room. As business on the Road began to slide, property owners turned to architect and retail designer Morris Lapidus for help. Lapidus had much experience creating these environments starting with the San Souci in 1949, and including the Fontainebleau in 1954 and the Eden Roc in 1955. In a populist version of Fisher's vision, Lapidus stated: "I don't care if it's Baroque or Brooklyn, just get me glamour and make sure it screams luxury."²⁴ City officials quickly took notice and in 1958 Morris Lipp, the Miami Beach City Manager, described Lapidus as "a pioneer and an apostle of the glamorized shopping center as the modern version of the ancient market place."²⁵ Lapidus was retained that year by the newly formed public/private interest that now owned the Mall, The Lincoln Road Property Owners Association, to perform his economic magic on the Road. In private hands for the first time since the incorporation of Miami Beach in 1915, the new Lincoln Road would challenge notions of both the public Main Street and the private shopping mall.

In 1959, Lapidus used a set of twenty-one boards and a large model to explain his vision of Lincoln Road as a pedestrian shopping mall replete with lush tropical foliage and a fantastic array of futuristic fountains and follies. Central to Lapidus's argument for the elimination of automobiles from the Road was his statement that "A Parked Car NEVER Bought a Thing." Lapidus was convinced that existing parking along Lincoln Road was being unnecessarily taken by shopkeepers, with the dangerous and unpleasant result that the shoppers and visitors essential to the Road's economic success had to park far away and dodge traffic to get to their shopping destinations.

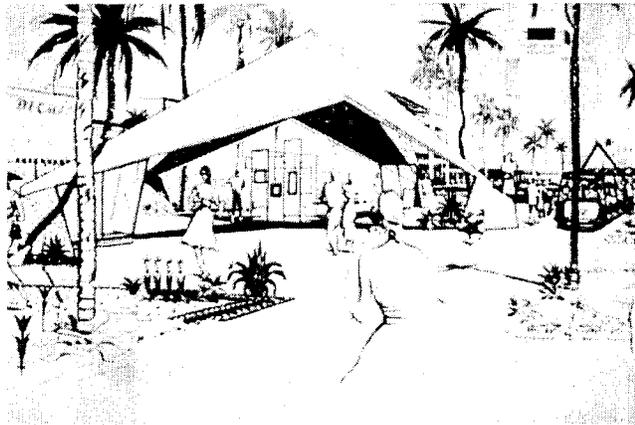


Fig. 3. Morris Lapidus. Lincoln Road Mall. Perspective. 1959.



Fig. 4. Morris Lapidus. Proposal board for Lincoln Road Mall. 1959.

Another objective of Lapidus's Lincoln Road design was to create "one of the most unusual pedestrian thoroughfares in the world, something worth seeing by everyone."²⁶ Ironically, his architectural follies, outdoor exhibits and plantings were to introduce visitors to an image of future technology, just as it forced them to leave behind the premier symbol of technological achievement, the automobile. The pedestrianization of Lincoln Road into what would be known as Lincoln Road Mall eliminated once and for all "the rich ladies" in limousines and the roadsters that Carl Fisher had sought. A second irony may be seen in the fact that one of the first exhibitions on the pedestrian Lincoln Road in 1962, touted as "a million dollar exhibit dramatizing America's commercial progress" was curated by the Henry Ford Museum and featured the history of the automobile.²⁷ While the car conveyed a large number of visitors to Lincoln Road, it was no longer a primary feature of life in the mall.

Although private, Lincoln Road was still linked closely to Miami Beach and became the destination of choice for the growing population of lower-middle class Jewish retirees of Eastern European descent who were able to move comfortably into the small rooms constructed to the south of Lincoln Road in what is now called the "Art Deco Historic District." Lapidus's new pedestrian mall provided a central civic gathering place without the dangers of a busy street filled with traffic for many of these retirees. Shopkeepers, however, complained that elderly residents were just sitting and watching others, and not, themselves, shopping. The issue came to a head in 1964, with the storeowners insisting that the small number of Lapidus follies on which one could sit be covered with "safety devices, or what some people call spikes."²⁸ The class conflicts were exceedingly evident during the first years of Lincoln Road's experi-

ment with pedestrianism. Store owners complained that “old retired folks will clutter up the center mall areas, sit around, eat their lunches, read newspapers, cheapen the area.” When outlining the problems, one shopkeeper summed it up by saying: “parking, old folks and no washroom facilities. Why the other day I saw a woman take her little boy to a corner of the mall...and in full view of everybody, too. Can you picture the impression tourists would get?”²⁹ Although the Road saw a small increase in tourism immediately following its reopening as a pedestrian mall, sales rapidly dropped as property owners spent little money advertising and could rarely agree on a plan of action.³⁰

Lapidus’s idea to pedestrianize Lincoln Road served to open a debate between its civic and commercial purposes. In rendering it one of the first permanent pedestrian malls in the country, Lapidus’s plan brought Lincoln Road to the center of a national discussion of what Victor Gruen would call in 1960, *Shopping Towns USA*.³¹ Gruen’s Burdick Street Mall in Kalamazoo, Michigan, had opened only a few months before Lincoln Road. Lapidus was primarily an architect of hotels and retail stores. He focused on the importance of the architectural spectacle in the creation of an urban mall. Gruen, however, was heavily influenced by the idea of the pedestrian urban core to come out of the 1952 CIAM 8 Congress held at Hoddesdon, England. He considered the advantages of both the commercial and civic activities in these new pedestrian malls.³² In his epilogue to *Shopping Towns USA*, entitled “The Future of Shopping Centers,” he stated: “The shopping center which can do more than fulfill practical shopping needs, the one that will afford an opportunity for cultural, social, civic and recreational activities will reap the greatest benefits.”³³ Gruen’s optimism in the connection between the mall and the amenities of “Main Street” was seriously challenged in Miami Beach and elsewhere when stores that were once thriving on an automotive “Main Street” lacked the economic strength to support the demands of a new pedestrian mall.

Although spikes were never installed on its follies, Lincoln Road’s potential as a civic space was also never seriously investigated. Property owners continued to view the Mall as a tourist destination and shopping center, ignoring other possibilities. Along with the shopkeepers and city officials, Lapidus was partially to blame. Lapidus’s primary interest lay in the fantasy of the space, in his architectural follies, or “meaningless doodles” as he would later call them.³⁴ Neither he nor the city, it seems, understood the need for the Mall to have a community component. Gruen, remarked in 1964 that Kalamazoo and Miami Beach were the only two cities in the United States with pedestrian Malls “in full operation.” He added dismissively, however, that “Miami Beach is a resort community and therefore atypical, so that its success or failure as a mall experiment could not be regarded as conclusive.”³⁵

The Cuban immigrants to South Florida in the early 1960’s joined a growing community of elderly Jewish retirees in South Miami Beach and on Lincoln Road Mall, one of the few places they could gather and stroll. Sales were down and by the spring of 1972 the prospect of the July Democratic National Convention in Miami Beach loomed large on the horizon. The world would soon focus on the city and Lincoln Road, its premier shopping street. There were also other pressures. Disney World opened in October 1971 to national and international acclaim, with a formula that drew millions of tourists to Orlando, a four-hour drive from Miami Beach. Storeowners began to question how “Main Street” Miami Beach could learn from Disney.

In the spring of 1972, just months after the opening of Disney World, Dr. J. Frederic Blitstein, a young urban planner, proposed that Lincoln Road be reconfigured as an “International Marketplace.” He expressed his ideas to broad audiences at city hall, community organizations and on television. He stated in an April 1972 television interview:

The proposal was to transform the Lincoln Road Mall into a theme area utilizing a Latin theme or a gas light attraction to turn it into a major tourist attraction where people will come



Fig. 5. Men sitting on Lincoln Road during television interview about loiters. 1961.

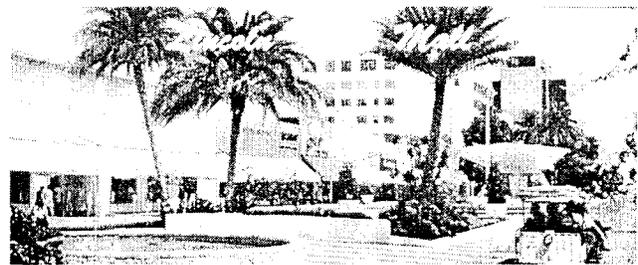


Fig. 6. Lincoln Road Mall postcard. ca. 1962.

to shop, sit at outdoor cafes, listen to band shows, strolling minstrels...in other words to get the excitement back to the Mall and the creative overall quality image which the Mall justifiably should have. It’s a very simple plan, the initial stages can be implemented as early as the convention, the beginning of July.³⁶

Eight months later, Blitstein outlined the first phase in a televised interview:

The first phase will be a Spanish/Mediterranean marketplace almost like a courtyard. There will be cobblestone sidewalks, there will be a permanent overhang in front of the buildings made of open Cyprus and Spanish barrel tile. All the neon signs will be down, the signs will be all hand carved wooden letters. The atmosphere will be a sidewalk café, Mediterranean type of atmosphere. The long-run view as my company sees it now is the possibility of air conditioning each individual block. There will be an immediate extension of the tramway to the convention complex, which will provide easier tourist access to the Mall. The potential of making Lincoln Road into a mini community with the European concept of having high-rises above the stores... So we’ll build in a marketplace to attract younger people — perhaps the younger people who have left Miami Beach; this is an incentive for them to come back.³⁷

Blitstein’s plan clearly reflected the desire to create a complete environment for visitors to Lincoln Road Mall. If Carl Fisher had envisioned rich, white Christians on Lincoln Road and Morris Lapidus had sought to attract middle-class Americans infatuated with luxury, then Blitstein focused on a young audience oriented toward themed shopping and entertainment. Blitstein hoped to distance Lincoln Road further from its urban Miami Beach context by air conditioning each block and providing a tram from the convention center just to the north. It should also be noted that his plan entailed the elimination of nearly all of Lapidus’s structures.

In his planning report, Blitstein argued for “a coordinated effort between City Council, property owners, city planners and developers [to be] instituted to capitalize on the uniqueness of the Mall.” He felt that Lincoln Road should act as an urban fulcrum, but like the others who redesigned the mall, Blitstein did not, however, provide any of the infrastructure required to support this. Even restrooms, a basic component of virtually every shopping mall, were absent from Blitstein’s vision. Yet the planner insisted that: “The Road must be the core of a South Beach master plan spinning off creative planning zones, architectural review, professional management of public open spaces, economic programs for air rights and ground leases.”³⁸

Blitstein’s suggestion that Lincoln Road become the center of a South Beach plan for the professional management of public spaces had disturbing overtones. The Mall was never actually a public space and Blitstein repeatedly reinforced this with implicit reliance on Disney-like themes for solutions to planning and tourism woes. This problem is certainly not unique either to Blitstein or Lincoln Road. Robert Venturi had already noted that “Disney World is nearer to what people really want than to anything architects have ever given them.”³⁹ And Paul Goldberger elaborated in an October 1972 *New York Times Magazine* article entitled “Mickey Mouse teaches the architects” that:

Disney World is not yet, by any stretch of the imagination, a real city - not only are there no politics, there are virtually no permanent residents. It does, of course, have an economic base, tourism, but this base operates under such unusual circumstances that Disney World cannot be called a real city economically either.⁴⁰

Lincoln Road as the center of a city, like many others in the world, has an economy based upon tourism. Unlike Main Street Disney World, however, Miami Beach and Lincoln Road have politics, permanent residents and conflicting visions of how this community of 100,000 inhabitants interacts in the public realm. While the beach along the ocean was for many years segregated not by wealth but by race, the streets of the city, its restaurants, bars and clubs were segregated along economic lines with Lincoln Road as the threshold between the “haves” and the “have-nots.” Only a very small part of Blitstein’s plan was implemented.

Through the early 1990s the glitz and fashion of early Lincoln Road was replaced by communal artist studios, Cuban cafes, kosher restaurants, vintage shops and, later, gay establishments. In spite of the installation of surveillance equipment, a subaltern community of individuals not interested in middle-class fashion, social norms and gadgets inhabited south Miami Beach and the Road. Lincoln Road, once hailed as the “Fifth Avenue of the South,” a trendsetter for the entire world, was transformed from central destination to margin. And it was as a marginal thoroughfare that Lincoln Road became for the first time in its history the “Main Street” of Miami Beach.

By the early 1990s the character of Lincoln Road once again changed as south Miami Beach once again became a tourist destination. Gentrification and redevelopment occurred throughout the city and Lincoln Road was perceived as a potential commercial centerpiece. The designers Thompson and Wood were contracted to give the Road a facelift befitting its economic “destiny.” As many of the early urban mall experiments, including that at Burdick Street in Kalamazoo reverted to the automobile, Lincoln Road retained its pedestrian character. Preceding this 1995 renovation, Thompson and Wood stated that diversity would now be the chief attraction of Lincoln Road, capitalizing on the diversity that had become a hallmark of south Miami Beach. They wrote:

We will share our Road without cars with visitors, shoppers, dancers, artists, shopkeepers, developers, strangers, architects, media executives, models, snowbirds, bicycles, in-line skaters, electric trams, snowy egrets, crickets, pets on leashes, policemen on bikes, mail people in shorts, kids, weirdoes, flaneurs, and entrepreneurs.⁴¹

Immediately following the \$20 million renovation, Lincoln Road seemed cleaner, new and a bit more homogeneous, but it was apparent that chain stores were just around the corner. Their vision combined significant preservation of the Lapidus plan with hyper-tropical landscape elements, new follies and paving patterns. In a very sly way, the exclusivity of the Road’s earlier history is returning. While times are good, rents are high, and finding tenants for the stores and restaurants is relatively easy, the occasional homeless person being led from the Road by the security guards is passed off without comment. Citizens and visitors alike remain blithely unaware that what we are enjoying is not the public space of Main Street, but the private space of consumption; not the place for political demonstrations and public parades, but, like Disney, a space with an economic, not a social agenda. “Sharing,” moreover, must be contested as an activity bound to the twentieth-century Main Street. Instead, perhaps we should consider ourselves “complicit” with engines of economic viability still closely tied to questions of what a person can buy and what they look like buying it. It is no longer a question of who will decide when weirdos, flaneurs, architects and students will no longer be allowed on Main Street, it is a question of when.

NOTES

- ¹ Most notably see Richard Longstreth, *City Center to Regional Mall Architecture, the Automobile, and Retailing in Los Angeles, 1920-1950* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997).
- ² Howard Kleinberg, *Miami Beach: A History* (Miami, 1994), p. 35.
- ³ *Indiana: A Guide to the Hoosier State*, compiled by workers of the Writers’ Program of the Work Projects Administration in the State of Indiana (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941), p. 349. Cited in Kleinberg, *Miami Beach*, p. 38.
- ⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁵ Kleinberg, *Miami Beach*, p. 38.
- ⁶ “Fisher Buys 200 Acres Ocean Beach Which Means Development of Entire Peninsula North of Government Cut,” *Miami Metropolis*, January 23, 1913. Cited in Kleinberg, *Miami Beach*, pp. 32, 40.
- ⁷ John Oliver LaGorce, *A Little Journey to Altonia: The Lure of a Clockless Land Where Summer Basks in the Lap of Winter* (Miami and Indianapolis, 1918?), unpaginated.
- ⁸ LaGorce, *A Little Journey*.
- ⁹ Kleinberg, *Miami Beach*, p. 71. Kleinberg also points out that Fisher in 1919 actually built a small portion of a black “plantation” that was to include a schoolhouse, playground, movie theater and church on property to the north of Lincoln Road. This was clearly an attempt to keep black residents from using the segregated beaches. See Kleinberg, *Miami Beach*, p. 73.
- ¹⁰ The total population of Miami Beach in 1920 was approximately 650. See Kleinberg, *Miami Beach*, p. 74.
- ¹¹ Jesse Weiss, recorded interview by Ann Bishop, 1980.
- ¹² Letter from Carl Fisher to Eugene Stahl, October 10, 1921. Carl Fisher Archive. The Historical Association of Southern Florida.
- ¹³ C.D.B. Bryan, *National Geographic Society: 100 Years of Adventure and Discovery* (New York, 1987), pp. 299-300.
- ¹⁴ Letter from Carl Fisher to Frank J. McNamara, Aug. 2, 1921, Carl Fisher Archives, Historical Museum of South Florida.
- ¹⁵ Kleinberg, *Miami Beach*, p. 62.
- ¹⁶ Letter from Carl Fisher to Gentlemen, Dec. 17, 1919, Carl Fisher Archives, Historical Museum of South Florida.
- ¹⁷ Letter from Rev. Luman H. Royce to Carl Fisher, April 5, 1920, Carl Fisher Archives, Historical Museum of South Florida.
- ¹⁸ Kleinberg, *Miami Beach*, p. 126.
- ¹⁹ See “To Owners of Property in Miami Beach, Subject: Zoning” May 22, 1930 Carl Fisher Archives, Historical Museum of South Florida.
- ²⁰ *The WPA Guide to Florida: The Federal Writers’ Project of the Works Progress Administration for the State of Florida* (New York, 1939).

- ²¹ Ibid.
- ²² *Life*, (2/24/41).
- ²³ Ibid.
- ²⁴ Morris Lapidus, *An Architecture of Joy* (Miami, 1979), p. 164.
- ²⁵ Morris N. Lipp, "Lincoln Road Mall, Miami Beach," *Traffic Quarterly*, vol. xv, no. 3 (July 1961), p. 443.
- ²⁶ Lapidus quoted in *The Miami Herald*, (April 8, 1958).
- ²⁷ *The Miami Herald*, (December 12, 1962).
- ²⁸ Channel 4 Interview, Louis Wolfson II Media History Center Archive, 4962.012 Tape 2, Newsfilm Subject: Lincoln Road, no. 1, 5685-1.
- ²⁹ *The Miami Herald*, (November 27, 1960), p. 7-H.
- ³⁰ *The Miami Herald*, (August 7, 1974).
- ³¹ Victor Gruen and Larry Smith, *Shopping Towns USA: The Planning of Shopping Centers* (New York, 1960).
- ³² J. Tyrwhitt, J. L. Sert, E. N. Rogers, eds., *The Heart of the City: Towards the Humanisation of Urban Life* (New York, 1952).
- ³³ Gruen and Smith, *Shopping Towns USA*, 267. Lapidus's ideas of pedestrianism and shopping were parallel to many other architects and planners of his day. For example, his notion that "A Parked Car Never Bought A Thing" closely resembles Wolf Schneider's well-known judgement that "The parking place cannot supplant the market place." See Wolf Schneider, *Babylon is Everywhere: The City as Man's Fate*, translated by Ingeborg Sammet and John Oldenburg, (New York, Toronto, London, 1960), p. 372.
- ³⁴ Videotaped Interview, 8/8/95. Private Collection. It is also interesting to note that Lapidus designed his first public park between 1958-1960 in New York. See Morris Lapidus, *Too Much is Never Enough* (New York, 1996), p. 9.
- ³⁵ Victor Gruen, *The Heart of Our Cities: The Urban Crisis: Diagnosis and Cure* (New York, 1964), p. 331.
- ³⁶ J. Frederic Blitstein, Television Interview, April 5, 1972, Louis Wolfson II Media History Center Archive, 4962.012 Tape 2, Newsfilm Subject: Lincoln Road, no. 8, 5685-1.
- ³⁷ J. Fred Blitstein, Television Interview, December 12, 1973, Louis Wolfson II Media History Center Archive, 4962.012 Tape 2, Newsfilm Subject: Lincoln Road, no. 13, 6629-2.
- ³⁸ J. Fred Blitstein, *The International Marketplace for Lincoln Road Mall* (Miami unpublished, 1973). p. 1-2.
- ³⁹ Quote found in Paul Goldberger, "Mickey Mouse teaches the architects," *The New York Times Magazine* (October, 22 1972), p. 41.
- ⁴⁰ Goldberger, "Mickey Mouse" (October, 22 1972), p. 98.
- ⁴¹ Thompson and Wood, *Lincoln Road Master Plan Report* (unpublished, May 1994), p. 5.