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INTRODUCTION

“I wouldn’t go there at night,” “That’s a sketchy area,” and “That’s the bad part of town” are all common responses to many places in American cities. Different spaces evoke different emotions for people. Fear and discomfort are common responses to stereotypically “bad” areas. Different cities have different dynamics and within each city the demographics change. Appearance, upkeep and the design of a place are critical to how people will respond to it. Deteriorating areas within cities have declined over time for many different reasons. By investigating a specific case study a better understanding of these areas can be gained.

This thesis is a case study of a declining transportation corridor and edge area in a city. Edge areas are boundaries of cities or neighborhoods that contrast with the center of the city. Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk write: “neighborhood edges may vary in character. They can be natural, such as a forest or man-made, such as infrastructure.”¹ Princess Anne Street is a man-made edge area because it is also a transportation corridor. “Corridor” or “path” are the two terms used to define how people move through cities. Kevin Lynch defines paths as being “the channels along which the observer customarily, occasionally, or potentially moves. They may

be streets, walkways, transit lines, canals, railroads.”

Princess Anne Street in Fredericksburg, Virginia embodies many characteristics of both an edge area and a transportation corridor. The specific region being examined in this thesis is the one-mile long strip development from the intersection at Fauquier Street and Princess Anne to the end of the road at Route 1 (Jefferson Davis Highway). This strip development follows the same patterns of many others in the United States. These edges and transportation corridors all developed out of the era of the car. Auto-centric areas such Princess Anne Street developed in a similar manner with the focus on food, shelter, and fuel. Every amenity was designed to be accessible to the automobile. However, as the suburbs have expanded and interstate highways have bypassed smaller transportation corridors, these transportation edges have declined and left only memories of the great automobile age.

Like many regions in American cities, Princess Anne Street in the city of Fredericksburg has faced significant urban decline over the past 50 years. The phenomenon of edge areas and their decline is not unique. This study creates a methodology of how to study such places using theories of urban design, cultural resource surveys, and historical background and analysis. Princess Anne Street has evolved in such a way that the town of Fredericksburg tends to ignore the cultural and historical significance that this city sector outside of the Historic District has to offer. This edge area does have cultural and historical significance that contributes to the history of Fredericksburg and the overall historical themes of the automobile age. However, it does not fit into the more popular categories of colonial or Civil War history and is often looked at as insignificant. The district was once a thriving and successful place where people lived and worked, today much of the street is deserted and empty. The conversion from a walk-able street to an auto-dependant subsection of downtown is one such way in which the area has fundamentally changed.

Edge areas and transportation corridors are not uncommon in the United States, however they are often poorly designed. New Urbanists and Smart Growth scholars have presented new ideas for how to improve these passageways. Some solutions include the use of infill, green-space, and mixed-use development. As edges and transportation corridors decline in America they be-

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come havens for drugs and crime, creating more danger on the streets. Motels in particular tend to attract crime, drugs, and prostitution. The Center for Problem Oriented Policing published a guide in 2005 for how to manage disorder at budget motels. “Drug sales, prostitution, loud parties, and other activities can often be undertaken at motels with less risk than at private residences. Motel guests have little motivation to report drug dealing and prostitution because they have no long-term stake in the motel.”

The disorder that cheap motels attract creates problems for the entire neighborhood. Recognizing the problems in these areas is important, but equally important is recognizing the historical significance and importance of these streets. In many cases, modern and commercial architecture tends to be grouped together as insignificant. Carole Moore writes about this phenomenon in her article “Running on Empty,” “Today hundreds of older gas stations have fallen into disrepair, especially after interstates render old highways obsolete.” However, the presence of Carl’s, the custard stand located at 2200 Princess Anne Street, on the National Register of Historic Places proves the importance of some of these structures.

This thesis will include different sections, broken up according to their thematic relevance. First, a methodology will be covered discussing the boundaries of the study area (and cultural resource survey), the process used to compile research, and justifications for the cultural resource survey. A current assessment of the area will then be addressed, followed by a general history of the street. More specific histories are covered based on the significant buildings and historical trends to which Princess Anne Street contributes. The following histories are covered: industrial history, fast food history, motel history, and transportation history. Next is an urban design analysis of the area using literature from urban design scholars. The last major component of the paper is the conclusion that provides recommendations and solutions for the future. The end of this document includes an appendix containing a glossary of urban design terms.

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6 Sabrina Carson, Marc Wagner, and Jean McRae, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, June 30, 2005. Carl’s.
METHODOLOGY

This honors thesis was prepared in the 2008-2009 school year by University of Mary Washington Historic Preservation student Lindsay McClelland. The work undertaken is a critique of Princess Anne Street in Fredericksburg, Virginia using urban design methodology, theory and comparative analysis.

A cultural resource survey was completed in November of 2008, surveying a total of 91 properties on Princess Anne Street. The boundaries of the study are based on several factors: topography, zoning and age. The boundaries of the survey were limited to Princess Anne Street, beginning at the intersection of Princess Anne and Fauquier Streets (the Southern boundary) and continuing to Route 1 (the Northern boundary). The Eastern and Western boundaries extend to the end of the properties that face Princess Anne Street. The one exception to the Eastern boundary is the inclusion of the factories and power pants on Caroline Street (between Herndon and Ford Streets). The decision to include these buildings in the survey was based on their influence on the street itself and the overall history of the area. These boundaries are logical because of the changes that occur at the Fauquier Street and Princess Anne Street intersection. While the historic district continues until the intersection between Herndon Street and Princess Anne Street, it is more distinguishable at Fauquier Street. The buildings on Princess Anne Street change in character at the Fauquier intersection. They become newer, smaller, and more commercial. The topographical boundary is also clear at the Fauquier intersection because of the steep slope that ends at Fauquier. After
the Fauquier intersection Princess Anne Street becomes sparse in landscaping and the condition of the street, sidewalk, and buildings goes from excellent to fair and poor. The Route 1 boundary is logical because Princess Anne Street does not continue on its other side.

The Secretary of the Interior’s Guidelines were used for the identification and evaluation of cultural resources. The guidelines distinguish between two different types of survey. Both intensive and reconnaissance surveys require background documentary research as well as fieldwork. The type of survey used for this thesis was an intensive survey. The field survey involved included physical observation and photo documentation of all properties in the survey area. Documentation of form, materials, style, and other notable features were recorded.

Using a form based off the State of California Department of Transportation’s Condition Assessment Form for Character Defining Features Field Survey Form and a form developed by Dr. Andrea Livi Smith for the Historic Preservation 405 class at the University of Mary Washington, a new form was created specifically for this survey (see appendix I). The survey was created, modified several times, and tested on several buildings in the survey area before actually using it for the complete survey. Particular focus of the survey was on type, use, and condition of the properties. The survey form includes sections for the type and number of buildings or structures on a property, the architectural style, date of construction, size, materials, evidence of alterations or additions, condition of building, setbacks and relation to the neighborhood. Particular attention was paid to the way each building contributed to the streetscape and its condition. The form was then taken out into the field along with a camera. The survey was undertaken on foot, starting at the Fauquier Street intersection and continuing down the street. The west side of the street was surveyed first and the east side was surveyed on the way back.

Archival research included architectural styles, owner history, property types, historical context, area development, and construction dates. Sources that contributed to this research included: *A Field Guide to American Houses* by Virginia and Lee McAlester, *The Motel in America* by John A. Jakle, Keith A. Sculle, and Jefferson S. Rodgers, *Fast Food: Roadside Restaurants in the Automobile Age* by John A. Jakle and Keith A. Sculle, Fredericksburg Library Historic Postcard Collection, National Register of Historic Places Nomination for Carl’s, the City of Fredericksburg tax records, Fredericksburg Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, Fredericksburg Business Directories, Virginia Mass Appraisal Network, and the Fredericksburg Circuit Court Clerk’s Office. To establish architectural styles the McAlester, Jakle, Sculle, and Rodgers books were used to generalize and simplify commercial and residential styles present in the study area. Owner history and property dates were determined using a fusion of tax records, deeds, and wills.

Comparative analysis was completed through a synthesis of urban design theory and current case studies. Sources used for the literature review and general knowledge of urban design theory include *Looking at Cities* by Allan Jacobs, *The Image of the City* by Kevin Lynch, *The Drive in

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7 State of California Department of Transportation, Division of Environmental Analysis, Cultural and Community Studies Office. Condition Assessment Form for Character Defining Features Field Survey Form.
Culture of Contemporary America by Kenneth Jackson\textsuperscript{10}, and Broken Windows by James Wilson and George Kelling\textsuperscript{11}. Specific case studies include Roy’s Motel and Café on Route 66 described by Mike Anton in “Destiny in the Desert”, the De Anza and El Vado motels in Albuquerque (on Route 66) described by Carrie Seidman in the Albuquerque Tribune article, “Albuquerque Landmarks Along Route 66 face Slow Process to Preservation,” and various historic gas stations described in the National Trust’s article “Running on Empty,” by Carole Moore\textsuperscript{12}.

CURRENT ASSESSMENT OF PRINCESS ANNE STREET

Currently the 91 properties in the survey area are a mixture of commercial and residential. 60 properties (66%) are commercial, 18 (20%) are single-family residential, eight (9%) are multi-family residential, three (3%) vacant lots, and one (1%) church. The residential properties have the widest range in appearance and maintenance. Some are in excellent condition, while two properties are condemned. This range in appearance and condition proves that the neighborhood is declining. The residences in excellent condition are the distinct minority. The sidewalk is also not traveled frequently; it is rare to see pedestrians. There is a reasonable amount of automobile traffic, but few cars park on the street. The street is extremely sparse. Very few trees and little landscaping is present—although streetlights and power lines are. The dominating feature of this area is concrete. The large setbacks, empty parking lots, and wide street have created this phenomenon. The street is one-way until the intersection at Herndon Street. This intersection also marks the end of the historic district.

The survey experience gave a wider perspective on the current condition of the corridor in addition to the differences between the northern and southern ends of Princess Anne Street. The southern end of the road, outside of the survey area, has a much different atmosphere. The southern end of Princess Anne Street has no setbacks from the road, buildings are much closer together, more landscaping and trees, and overall has more walkability. The southern end of the road, is more historic because it is the center of the original downtown. Within the survey area, the walkability disappears. The sidewalks are cracked and during the entire duration of the survey only five other people were seen. The business owners in the area were also very suspicious when they saw a student with a camera taking photographs of their property and writing notes.
One guest at the Relax Inn even remarked, “Are you trying to shut this place down? You should, it’s a dump!” The people around the corridor portion of Princess Anne Street are distinctly different demographically than those in the historic district. Census records show that the demographics in the northern sector of the street are lower-income, primarily African-American residents. This is clear just by walking around the street. The historic district is catered more to tourists, college students, and higher-income people who can afford the expensive restaurants and enjoy the leisure of shopping and browsing antique stores. Northern Princess Anne Street is focused more on lower-income people, the bars, motels, and auto-shops are all run-down and their clientele are the people who live in that area.

There is a wide range of commercial uses on Princess Anne Street. Including twelve auto-service businesses, eleven eateries, ten retail services, ten properties providing other services, four medical service buildings, three office buildings, three barbers, three gas sta-

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13 Guest at the Relax Inn.

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tions, and two motels. Princess Anne Street currently holds 11% of Fredericksburg’s 1.5 million square feet of office space. The condition of most of the commercial buildings on the street ranges from good to fair. None are condemned or abandoned, but many are outdated. A number of buildings could use a paint job or new signs. Buildings such as 1504, Bane’s Barber Shop could use a new sign. The current sign is rusting and the lettering is no longer visible. Another commercial building in need of some repair is 2508, The Grigsby Company. The sign above the building has an extensive amount of peeling paint and rust that it too is almost unreadable. This building is one of the dominating properties on the street due to its size. If it was to be repaired it could help change the street as a whole. In contrast to Bane’s Barber Shop, The Grigsby Company, and several auto-shops that could use repair, the eateries and attorney offices are all in very good condition. The attorney’s offices (listed in other services on the chart) in particular are in excellent condition. Located at 1400 Princess Anne Street is Kilgore and Smith Attorney’s at Law, a business located in an older residential property. The landscaping or front lawn that was previously there has been paved to allow for a deeper setback and a parking lot. The building itself is in excellent condition and blends in with the residential neighborhood. 1418 is the law office of Sonya B. Costanzo Attorney at law. This building is in excellent condition due to the Economic Development Authority’s Jumpstart grant program for the improvement of Princess Anne Street. $4,000 was granted for facade improvements to 1418 Princess Anne Street. Another example of a property in excellent condition is 1511, a single-family residence. It is well kept, landscaped, and freshly painted. The property next to it, at 1513 is unfortunately in the condemned category. The foundation of the building has rotted away entirely, windows are broken, the porch is falling apart, and all the paint is peeling. These two properties provide examples of the two extremes in property condition found on the street.

In addition to the physical condition of the properties there are many issues of safety that have become relevant in recent years. In January of 2005 a fight outside of the Central Station nightclub, located at 1917 Princess Anne Street, resulted in the shooting of a 29-year-old woman, Wanda Boxley, by police officers. The Washington Post article also recounts another shooting the same year, “The incident occurred on the same block as an Aug. 16 shooting involving Fredericksburg police. In that case, police making a traffic stop shot and killed Robert Trouth, 29, of Essex County after he struggled with two officers and took one officer’s weapon, authorities said.” In addition to the shootings that occurred in 2005 the crime logs for Princess Anne Street are primarily concentrated in the 2000 block. A log from January 2007 lists three calls for vandalism and one hit-and-run. The crime present on the street shows that there is a lack of control. Southern Princess Anne has very little crime because it is monitored more closely and better maintained.

Princess Anne Street was a thriving district in the 1920s-1950s. With new, fashionable architecture, the Northern end of the street was a typical American transportation corridor. Motels, hotels, gas stations, diners, and other fast food restaurants were gaining popularity in America. This is reflected on Princess Anne Street, making the street a corridor between the old and the new. Today the street links the commercialism of the Route 1 Bypass to the quaint historic town. The division between the commercial strip malls and the historic 19th century town is extremely distinct because of the street’s defining features. Topography, block size, landscaping, and architecture all make the division between the 19th century road and the 20th century additions to the street extremely clear. The extension of Princess Anne Street and the features built on it were

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18 Ibid.

products of the “drive-in culture” of America that Kenneth Jackson critiques. Southern

Princess Anne Street is pedestrian friendly due to the block sizes, proximity of buildings, and generally pleasant atmosphere. However, as soon as you cross past the intersection between Princess Anne Street and Fauquier Street (the study area’s southern boundary), the entire atmosphere changes. This district is catered to the automobile. Long blocks, sidewalks in poor condition, lack of landscaping, and buildings with large setbacks for parking make the dependence on the car evident. Today this street is more desolate than it would have been in the 1950s because of the interstate highway and the developments closer to I-95. Decentralization and suburban sprawl have caused malls and shopping centers to relocate, leaving places like Princess Anne Street to fend for themselves. The mid-20th century was different, the businesses on Princess Anne Street experienced considerable success due to the traffic brought in by the popularity of automobiles. People came to Fredericksburg on road trips and stayed on Princess Anne Street—either at the luxurious Stratford Hotel (previously known as the Princess Anne Hotel) or one of the many motels located on the street. Princess Anne Street was the ideal location for the traveler. Food, fuel, and lodging, they had it all.

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HISTORY OF PRINCESS ANNE STREET

The growth of Princess Anne Street always has followed the development patterns of Fredericksburg. Princess Anne Street is part of the original plats of the city of Fredericksburg. This is clear by looking at this plat from 1806 by Bartholomew Fuller. Princess Anne Street extended from Dixon to Pitt Streets and was at the center of the city. The road has continued to extend further north as the boundaries of the city grew. The early construction that took place on Princess Anne Street at the turn of the century is almost entirely located at the southern end of the study area (1300-1600 blocks), closer to the historic town. This is logical because of how the street and the city limits extended over time. In 1919 the city boundary was at the canal (just past Factory Street). In 1927, the city limit line was extended farther, intersecting Princess Anne Street just past the canal (near Charles Street). In 1947 the city limit line went even further, at Amaret Street, just one street before the northern border of the study area. The area of Princess Anne Street being studied in this thesis is different from the historic town for the simple

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reason that it was built much later. Before the Route 1 Bypass existed, Princess Anne Street did not extend past the boundary of the study area (Fauquier Street). In fact, many of the older buildings on the southern boundary of the study area were once plantations and larger properties that extended down to the river. These plantations were understood as being on the outskirts of town and surrounded by smaller properties housing African-American slaves and servants (evident through Fredericksburg Business Directories)\(^{23}\). Initial development on the northern end of the street was by slaves from neighboring plantations, including slave quarters of the Fitzhugh family, who owned property at 1107 Princess Anne Street and Chatham across the river. The black and white photograph was taken of these slave quarters in 1927 by Frances Benjamin Johnston.\(^{24}\)

When the Route 1 Bypass was constructed in the 1920s (clear because the road appears in the 1927 Sanborn map but not in the 1919 map) Princess Anne Street was extended to give faster access into the town. By understanding the patterns of construction, both of the properties and the road itself, the differences in the southern and northern sides of Princess Anne Street can be understood. The construction of the northern end of Princess Anne Street follows the patterns of many cities in America. Developing the edges of a city along a transportation corridor is logical, both physically and economically. Businesses can have more success when there is a constant flow of customers. The diners and motels built on the street were unique to the town at the time. They also were able to capitalize on the visitors traveling through Fredericksburg. Motels on Princess Anne Street, like the Colonial Motel and Payne’s Motel were built to compete with the Howard Johnson’s along similar corridors in America. Additionally, because the street was a major transportation corridor, gas stations and eateries were two other major types of commercial architecture. The street gave travelers what they needed—food, fuel, and a place to rest. The road continued to extend further north as the boundaries of the city grew. Princess Anne Street’s history is tied to the growth of industry and transportation in Fredericksburg. The following histories will go into depth about specific properties that relate to overarching themes in American history.


INDUSTRIAL HISTORY OF PRINCESS ANNE STREET

Princess Anne Street and the surrounding area were stimulated by the industry in Fredericksburg. Fredericksburg is a city built on the fall line of the Rappahannock River. This location on the river allowed for the city to harness water power and use that power to create energy. Fredericksburg was a significant mill town in the 19th and 20th centuries. “The river provided valuable water power as well as an important transportation link for receiving raw materials and shipping finished products. Prior to the Civil War, most of the city’s mills were owned and operated by local investors.” By the 20th century, electricity became more common and the use of mills in Fredericksburg declined because they no longer relied on the river as a power source. The old mills that were constructed in the 20th century still exist, a block away from the study area.

The mills and plants located in this area include Myers and Brulle’s Germania Flour Mill, the wheel pit of the city’s hydro DC plant, the wheel pit of Washington Woolen Mills, the Plant of Spotsylvania Electric Co. (later Vepco and Embrey Power Plant), and some remains of the C.W. Wilder and Co. Silk Mill. These sites are shown on the map above, numbers seven through eleven respectively. Myers and Brulle, two immigrants from Germany and Prussia, ran the Germania mill in the 1850s. The mill burned down in 1876, and was rebuilt the same year using brick materials as protection from future fires. The mill continued to operate until the beginning of the 20th century. The Washington Woolen Mills began operation in 1860. Like the

26 Ibid.
Germainia mill, it also burned down in 1876, being quickly rebuilt. “By 1884, it was one of the city’s leading industries, employing 30 or more people and producing about 120,000 pounds of wool per year.”27 The company continued its success until 1910 when the mill burned down leaving approximately 300 people unemployed. The Spotsylvania Electric Company’s power plant was built around 1910. The plant used water power from the dam and the canal to provide cheap electric power for the city of Fredericksburg. In 1960 the plant ceased operation because the low levels of the Rappahannock River proved inadequate for powering the plant.28

The C.W. Wilder and Company Silk Mill, part of the Klotz Company, was built in 1890. The factory employed 200 girls and women who twisted raw silk into thread and then spun it into fabric. This mill was originally powered by water and steam, but in 1919 when the river went dry, the mill became 100 percent run by electricity. In 1934, the mill was destroyed by a fire which put 90 people out of work.29

The location of these plants and mills in respect to Princess Anne Street proves the importance of industry to the Princess Anne Street corridor. The last electric plant was closed down in the 1960s because small-scale power was no

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27 Ibid.
28 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
longer a realistic goal. Unfortunately these abandoned mills and factories contribute to the crime and deterioration that occurs in the area because they become sanctuaries for the homeless and drug dealers in the city. Broken windows, rust, and overall deterioration are all present in these abandoned mills. The mills and factories have many broken windows and have physically begun to crumble. The mills and electrical plants created jobs for the people of Fredericksburg.\textsuperscript{30}

Coca-Cola was also a major industry present on Princess Anne Street. The company occupied 2011 Princess Anne Street from 1936 to 1999. In 1999 the company relocated to Stafford County due to expansion and growth. A 1999 Washington Post article discusses the motivation in the relocation, “Coca-Cola will vacate its current location on Princess Anne Street in Fredericksburg, where the regional sales and distribution office has operated since 1936. Kate Whiting, a company spokeswoman, said Friday that the company has expanded well beyond its available space at the Fredericksburg office and that it needs a larger building. She said the Stafford location will allow not only more space but also the ability to build vertically.”\textsuperscript{31} The relocation of the Coca-Cola Bottling Company brought economic development to Stafford County, at the expense of Princess Anne Street’s prosperity. Top Notch Custom Cycles and Tattoos is the current occupant of 2011 Princess Anne Street. The motorcycle and tattoo shop opened in 2004.\textsuperscript{32} More recent industrial history includes the Dowling Sign Company and the Reddy-Ice Company. Both industries provide services for the entire city of Fredericksburg.

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{30} Fredericksburg Area Tourism Department, “Walk Through History…Mill Sites and Water Power,” Walking and Driving Tours.
\texttt{http://www.historypoint.org/columns2.asp?column_id=493&column_type=tour}
\textsuperscript{31} Josh White, “For Coca-Cola, Stafford it is; Center Moving to Country,” Washington Post, January 31, 1999.
\texttt{http://www.lexisnexis.com:80/us/inacademic/returnTo.do?returnToKey=20\_T6171603075}
\texttt{http://fredericksburg.com/News/Web/2004/072004/071904spot.}
\end{flushright}
FAST FOOD HISTORY

The eateries and restaurants on Princess Anne Street are another important feature that defines the character of the street. Food is necessary for survival, and any American could tell you that food is central to our society. Different people like different types of food or prefer a different style of dining atmosphere. Regardless of race, gender, and socio-economic status, food means something to everyone. When eating in a restaurant, many factors complete the experience. The concept of fast food and quick service restaurants is something that has evolved through the use of the automobile and the desire for convenience.

Fast food chains litter the American landscape. Avoiding a McDonalds, Wendy’s, or Taco Bell can prove to be extremely difficult, especially on the road. This fact is another reason why Princess Anne Street is fascinating. Princess Anne Street does have fast food and quick service eateries, however only two are chain restaurants. In fact, even these two chain restaurants are lesser known than the larger brand names. Hardee’s and Captain D’s are the only two national chains on the street, but they are not the only fast food restaurants.

Both Hardee’s and Captain D’s are smaller corporations than McDonald’s or Burger King. There are only five Hardee’s in Fredericksburg (one of which is at the Princess Anne location) versus twelve McDonald’s within the city limits33. There is only one Captain D’s in Fredericksburg34. The limited options prove that Princess Anne Street is no longer a highly traveled road. McDonald’s are placed based

on visibility and convenience, a marketing strategy that has proved successful. The smaller chains of Hardee’s and Captain D’s rely on the business from regular customers who are familiar with the food and seek it out. This business strategy is similar to the independently owned quick-service restaurants that are also present on the street. Both Captain D’s and Hardee’s are the only restaurants on the street with drive-throughs and are extremely characteristic of modern fast-food restaurants. Both chains were established in the 1960s and have grown since then. The two restaurants came to Princess Anne Street around the same time, the Captain D’s was established at that location in 1979 and the Hardee’s two years later in 1981.35

In addition to the two chain fast food restaurants there are also several diners present on Princess Anne Street. The 2400 Diner (located at 2400 Princess Anne Street), Anne’s Grill, Captain Sid’s and Dinty Moore’s are all independently owned restaurants with quick-service diner atmospheres. Diners originated in the 1870s out of lunch carts and wagons.36 The term has been applied to small restaurants and highway cafes across America. Diners have also become significant because of their distinct style. Architectural style is specifically distinct at Captain Sid’s and the 2400 Diner. Captain Sid’s is unique because of its red, saw-tooth roof and large windows. The 2400 Diner is significant because of its distinct signage. The sign is vintage and has neon words that say “2400 Diner Let’s Eat” and an arrow pointing inside. Neon signs such as this one are associated with the majority of mid-century roadside architecture in America.37

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37 Ibid.
History of Ice Cream Places and Carl’s

Carl’s is the most recognizable destination on Princess Anne Street, located at 2200 Princess Anne Street, on the corner of Hunter Street. The building is on the National Register of Historic Places and the business is known for its delicious soft-serve ice cream. Ice cream is a segment of fast food that grew in popularity in America from 1920-1950. Jakle and Sculle mention the historical context behind the increase in popularity during this time period. “The coming of Prohibition accounted for much of the increase as soda fountains thrived in the 1920s, in part as an alternative to the nation’s closed saloons.”38 Ice cream stores evolved out of dairy stores in creameries. These stores grew to contain soda fountains and many eventually began to expand as chains. Breyers Ice Cream provides an excellent example. William Breyers opened his first dairy store in 1866 and continued to expand. “In 1951, Breyers was the world’s largest producer of ice cream with stores and packaged ice cream available in supermarkets across eight northeastern states and the District of Columbia.”39 Although major brands have been successful, large chains have not dominated the ice cream business like the rest of the fast food industry. “The vast majority of the soft-serve ice cream stores were independently owned and operated. Outdoor walk-

ups were relatively cheap to build and equip.” In the 1940s and 1950s, ice cream and dairy companies expanded, using different architectural formats. One such style was the roadside stand and drive-in. The majority of roadside stands used programmatic architecture to attract attention from the road. Jakle and Sculle give an example, “The Mowrer’s Ice Cream Company of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, established stands housed in giant ice cream ‘cups,’ each built to look like a giant 28-ounce Lily Tulip cup, a standard ice cream container of the 1930s.” Carl’s on Princess Anne Street is a roadside stand that uses programmatic signage to attract business.

Carl’s was nominated to the National Register of Historic Places under criteria A and C in June of 2005. Properties nominated under criterion A are “associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history,” and criterion C “embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.” The building itself is classified in the Modern movement category under moderne and modernistic, “Demonstrating aspects of the Modernist movement where a building’s exterior is a three-dimensional composition between indoor and

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40 Ibid, 191.
41 Ibid, 182.
42 Sabrina Carison, Marc Wagner, and Jean McRae, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, June 30, 2005. Carl’s.
43 Ibid.

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outdoor, the roof projects in a ‘marquee’ design created a sheltered walk-up sales area over the concrete patio.”44 Perhaps the most recognizable aspect of this building is the neon white and blue sign that reads “Carl’s Crème Shakes Sundaes” and is accompanied by an ice cream cone. This exaggerated signage helped the business compete with the surrounding ones. In 1947 five other frozen custard stores opened in Fredericksburg, and three years later a Dairy Queen opened further down Princess Anne Street.45 Carl’s was first opened in 1947 by Carl Sponseller; the business was first called Carl’s Frozen Custard. The present building was built by Ashton Skinner in 195346.

Carl’s has also gained recognition and acclaim from sources outside the National Register. The business is a destination for people all over the Washington DC area. It is rare to drive past Carl’s and not see a line. Although it is always busy, the line moves quickly. The efficiency of the workers, simplicity of the menu, and limited amount of seating discourages people to loiter and allows for more customers to be served in a shorter amount of time. The ice cream stand has been featured in many Washington Post articles. One such article remarks, “Carl’s ability to serve as many as 1,300 people a day at what is essentially a roadside stand is a reflection of its focus on simplicity and efficiency.”47 A 2005 article in the Boston Globe discusses another aspect of Carl’s successful business model, “Sponseller started closing from the Sunday before Thanksgiving until the Friday before Presidents’ Day weekend in order to go hunting. These days, the time off is just a great time to do some ‘serious catch-up,’ said Romano Settle, who co-owns the business with a brother and sister.”48 This time that Carl’s is closed is during the slow season, therefore saving them operating costs. It also creates an increased demand for the ice cream when it opens back up in February.

44 Ibid.
45 Ibid.
46 Ibid.
MOTEL HISTORY

Princess Anne Street represents an era of architectural history that has been forgotten. The automobile era brought new roadside and commercial architecture as well as changes in street geography. Princess Anne Street is an example of both aspects of 20th century change. The evolution of the motel occurred across America and specifically on Princess Anne Street. A motel, as defined by Jakle, Sculle, and Rogers, is “a contraction of motor and hotel, with motor hotel the implied full form. Thereafter, the word motel became a generic descriptor labeling a wide variety of highway-oriented accommodations.”\(^{49}\) This term was first used in 1926 as the name of Arthur Heineman’s Milestone Mo-tel in San Louis Obispo, California. Since this time the term has widely been used in roadside establishments across America, including the Payne’s Motel and Colonial Motel on Princess Anne Street that opened in 1944 and 1949 respectively.

As the American highway became a primary route of travel, people demanded better lodging and accommodation options. Larger hotels were not appropriate for the highway traveler because of their locations in congested downtown areas with very little parking. Cheaper, more convenient motor lodges became the solution. The transition from hotels to motels is apparent on Princess Anne Street. Large hotels, like the Stratford Hotel, previously the Princess Anne Hotel, were built in the 1920s (1929 for the Stratford hotel specifically).\(^{50}\) The hotel, located


\(^{50}\) Virginia Tax Assessments. Vamanet.com
at 904 Princess Anne Street was a major destination for travelers going from Washington to Richmond. The 91-room hotel closed in 1976 after many years of operation as an inn and upscale hotel. The hotel also provided employment for many African Americans in the area. A photo taken in 1948 shows the primarily African American dining staff of the hotel.  

Upscale accommodations such as the Princess Anne/Stratford Hotel placed large emphasis on the public amenities and facilities. Dining rooms and upscale coffee shops were common. Even large lobbies and foyers, as seen in the postcard of the lobby of the Stratford, were ideal for business transactions, nightly entertainment, and social gatherings. As Jakle, Sculle, and Rogers write, “Hotels were intended to stand as landmarks symbolic of economic and social vigor. The amenities they provided signified decorum and civility.” As the Great Depression hit the country, hotels suffered greatly. In addition to the economic hardships, the rise of motels also contributed to the struggles that hotels faced.

Auto camps, tourist homes, cabin camps, and cottage courts were the predecessors to the modern motel. As opposed to the hotel, each form of early motel focused on private space. Most emphasized the car, often having carports and cabins. Most motels, like the Payne’s Motel and the Colonial Motel, were organized around outdoor courtyards. Both motels on Princess Anne Street follow the U-shaped formation that became popular in the 1940s and 1950s. This formation allows for easy access to your car, with entrances to the room on the outside, and parking in the interior of the U. Both motels are representative of the era they were built. The two motels are significant because of their style. Many early motels, typically independently owned, were built with unusual architectural style. The idea of these motels was to emulate something exotic or different. For example, many motels have names like “The Mermaid Inn,” or “The Starfish,” to bring feelings of summer and the beach, even if they are located on the highway in Arizona. Other “exotic” ideals have often included the use of Tepees and other Native American stereotypes, specifically along Route 66 and other roads in the Southwestern United States. The Payne’s Motel (now the Relax Inn) is in the art moderne style and resembles a castle while the Colonial Motel attempts to bring a connection with historic Fredericksburg. The Colonial Motel has aspects of a typical colonial revival home, with the columns and brick on the façade. The signage, name and style of the building are important when studying motels of this era. Newer motels tend to be chains with names that have lost originality in their signs and the building styles. Examples of major motel chains in America include Best Westerns, Motel 6, and Econo Lodges.

The growth of motels skyrocketed from the 1940s to the 1960s. Unlike the hotel, motels benefited from the decentralization of America. Many motels took on short life spans and were rarely renovated and repaired. Jakle, Sculle, and Rodgers write, “Buildings deteriorated until a

52 Ibid, 25.
change in ownership brought renovation, often embracing the latest fads and fashions in construction and styling. Architectural integrity in motel buildings was short-lived."53 Unfortunately this is also true on Princess Anne Street. The deterioration of both motels is clear through chipping paint, outdated features and obvious lack of renovation.

Deterioration is also clear through high levels of crime that occur at budget motels such as the Relax Inn and Colonial Motel. The Center for Problem Oriented Policing writes that, “Problem motels are frequently hot spots for both nuisance activity and more serious incidents, such as robbery and sexual assault. In addition, problem motels inhibit nearby economic redevelopment and reduce the number of safe, clean lodging units available for tourists and travelers.”54 The motels on Princess Anne Street, like many other mid-century motels, have fallen into these patterns. The crime that occurs in the motels expands into the local area. For example, the fights and shootings at the Central Station Nightclub in 2005 were directly across the street from the Relax Inn. These motels were not originally magnets for crime. In the 1930s-1950s they were destinations for travelers across the country. Safe lodging was provided by these independently owned motels that offered a more personalized and unique experience than larger chains do today. Michael Wallis, a Route 66 historian interviewed in a Tulsa World article said, “You can still find motels on Route 66 where people care if you have enough

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53 Ibid, 47.
blankets and covers and pillows.”55 Most mom-and-pop hotels in the United States fit the description that Wallis describes. However, as chains and larger companies grew in popularity and the Interstate Highways bypassed Route 1, Route 66, and the other smaller American highways, these motels lost business. “The interstate highways built in the 1950s and 1960s favored the chains by essentially rerouting motorists away from the older, independent establishments, many of which were located along aging roads that ran parallel to—but were difficult to access from—the new interstates.”56 This became difficult for smaller motels to attract business. In order to avoid bankruptcy, many motels began accepting business from lower-end markets. In many cases motels have even turned into low-income housing. They also lower their prices to increase the capacity, but unfortunately it also increases the crime. “Because budget motels offer low rates, accept cash, and often have a relatively unrestricted environment, local residents with illicit or antisocial intentions find them particularly attractive.”57 Low rates are not the only contributing factor to the decline of independent motels. Another factor is the drive-up parking that was originally intended to make motels more auto-friendly. This setup of motels, just like the Relax Inn and Colonial motel are laid out, allows direct and unmonitored access to rooms.

57 Ibid.
TRANSPORTATION HISTORY

Transportation is an important theme on Princess Anne Street—both in its past and its present. Today the street is dominated by car-related commercial businesses. Twelve auto-repair or body shops and three gas stations are currently in business on the street. Auto-related business outnumbers all other businesses on the street. Historically, transportation has been present on Princess Anne Street. The canal is one type of transportation that is evident on Princess Anne Street. The canal intercepts the street by the intersection between Princess Anne and Factory Streets. Fredericksburg was founded on the fall line of the Rappahannock River, therefore transportation has always been a priority. In 1829, construction on the Rappahannock Canal began, with hopes to connect Fredericksburg to the rest of the Eastern United States. The canal was the first major technological advancement in transportation. Water transportation in the 19th and previous centuries was the most common and easiest way to travel. The advent of the canal was designed to extend the waterways in America. Spiro Kostof discusses the so called “boom” of canals in America. “By the 1820s canals were beginning to supplement and extend the great river highways. The canal boom began in New England around 1800...Canals often followed a river or a sizable stream, to take advantage of the easy gradient and the

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ready supply of water which could be fed into their channels by setting up dams at critical points.”

However, in 1837 the Richmond, Fredericksburg, and Potomac Railroad (RF&P) opened. The railroad became a more convenient, cheaper, and more widely used mode of transportation. Because of the increased use of the railroad, the canal declared bankruptcy and closed in 1853. Canals became physical features in the landscape and geography of a place. The canal and the canal walking and bike path (a 1.8 mile stretch) are still a major feature on Princess Anne Street. The only green space located on the street is near the canal. Unfortunately, because of the condition of the rest of the street, instead of using the canal, green space, and path for recreation they have become havens for crime. If an area is left unused, with garbage piling up, it will continue to be abandoned just like a home or a car would. Eventually those places become the dangerous, avoidable locations in a city.

The presence of auto-shops and gas stations depict the priorities of people on the street. Falls Run Auto Care, Little Tire Company, Goodyear Tires, Homeland Motors Inc., and Pitts Automotive Care are all examples of the auto services available on the street. This dependence on the automobile is also shown through the specific layout of the street. Parking lots and large setbacks in front of the buildings prove that the car is a priority. There are significantly less cars parked on the street in the study area than further up into the historic district due to the

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parking lots available. Within the historic district there are no setbacks from the road, therefore street parking is the only available option. Traditional older main streets were smaller, made for horses, carriages, and pedestrians. Modern streets are wider to accommodate for the car. Kostof notices this change in America’s “Main Streets” and writes that, “Today, in the era of the automobile, that breadth has served Main Street well, for it provides plenty of parking and there is no need to widen it.”60

Route 1 was the first federal highway. “When it was completed in 1938, it ran for 2,500 miles from Fort Kent, Maine, to Key West, Florida, and linked fourteen states.”61 Route 1 was a stretch of highway that connected people, businesses and different lifestyles. Mom-and-pop motels and eateries thrived because of the constant traffic flow. Kostof writes that, “Route 1 is truly piecemeal, incorporating the Main Streets of small towns and stretches of downtown streets as it passes through main cities.”62 Princess Anne Street was one of those transportation corridors along Route 1 that linked different people and places. However, when I-95 was built in 1964, major changes began.63 I-95 was built as part of Eisenhower’s Interstate Highway Act of 1956. The 41,000-mile system was paid for almost entirely by the federal government. Eisenhower’s reasoning for this new super-highway system was based on the following: current highways were unsafe,

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61 Ibid, 194.
62 Ibid, 194.

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the presence of traffic jams and congestion, poor roads created higher costs for transportation, and modern highways were necessary for military reasons if there was ever a military attack.64 The new highway decentralized the town of Fredericksburg creating new commercial centers closer to I-95. This phenomenon was national, as Kenneth Jackson writes “Interstate system helped continue the downward spiral of public transportation and virtually guaranteed that future urban growth would perpetuate a centerless sprawl.”65 A Free Lance-Star article recounts this monumental, yet destructive change. “Those mom-and-pop businesses catered to the hordes of motorists braving the hazardous, undivided lanes and countless crossroads of Route 1, then the primary North/South artery for the East Coast. But I-95—which was straighter, smoother and safer—changed everything.”66 The year 1964 changed everything in Fredericksburg, particularly on Princess Anne Street. The businesses that relied on the through-traffic lost hundreds of customers, and many were forced to shut down. Princess Anne Street is a prime example of this nationwide phenomenon. Kostof recounts, “All along Route 1 you can now see abandoned gas stations and stores, old billboards, rusting gas pumps.”67

65 Ibid.
URBAN DESIGN ANALYSIS

Urban design theories look at how different places have evolved and how effective the layout is for those who live and work there. This literature review examines the core of urban design theories, including works from Kenneth Jackson, Allan Jacobs, and Kevin Lynch. These works have assisted this thesis in several stages, including the process of surveying and comparison. The literature reviewed has given a thorough background on the development and design of cities and how to examine them. Understanding the development of cities as a whole in addition to smaller subsections of cities specifically assists in this thesis. It is important to understand the implications that the design of places like Princess Anne Street have on the overall landscape, property value and appeal. These theories assist in the comprehension of what different design concepts mean and how they adapt to their built environment. The design of a city or town is one of the most important features in its construction. The better an area is designed, the more functional it will be. While design is tangible and physical, the way that it is actually interpreted by people is often more important. The opinions and emotions of citizens are subjective and hard to measure. The way that people interpret a place is important for understanding why cities change and how to create new functional and successful areas.

A city must be a legible place for people to live, work, and play, meaning that people need to understand and be able to function efficiently. Kevin Lynch defines legibility, “By this we mean the ease with which its parts can be recognized and can be organized into a coherent pattern.” Cities that are successful are user-friendly and have developed to accommodate the needs of people who interact with them. Kevin Lynch, author of *The Image of the City*, discusses theories of legible places. People must understand the layout of the city or town that they live or work in. If the layout is ineffective, the city will eventually collapse into disrepair and become a place where people have no desire to live or work anymore. Few citizens of Fredericksburg think of Princess Anne Street as being a legible place. The street is not a legible place anymore because of the I-95 and the Route 1 Bypass that have made traveling on Princess Anne Street unnecessary. The street has fallen into disrepair because businesses are no longer successful. The success that some of the individual businesses have is through their regular customers—those who do have positive mental maps of the area. A mental map, as defined by Kevin Lynch is the way that individuals view the world that they are familiar with. Unfortunately the positive mental maps that people have are extremely limited to those specific businesses like Carl’s or the 2400 Diner. Northern Princess Anne Street is not user-friendly nor does it possess qualities that are desirable to the pedestrian.

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69 Ibid.
70 Ibid.
Being user-friendly, mixed-use, green, and walk-able are all theories that New Urbanists preach. Andrés Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk introduced these theories that are particularly relevant when trying to understand the layout of cities and how to improve them. Duany and Plater-Zyberk divide cities into different parts—neighborhoods, districts, and corridors. Cities and neighborhoods within them are laid out using certain elements. Neighborhoods are described as being ideal if they possess the components of a center and an edge. The center of a neighborhood is always necessary for public space such as buildings, shops, and parks. Edges are slightly more complicated because they differ depending on their context. They can either be natural or manmade. In villages, a manmade edge may be low-density residential. In towns and smaller cities edges are formed by an increase in growth between neighborhoods. “Green edges” that connect urban open space with rural areas are common in this context. Finally, in higher-density urban areas, edges are defined by the infrastructure such as rail-lines and traffic. There have been movements to transform unattractive urban edge areas into parkways or thoroughfares by increasing the visible landscaping.

The literature presented by the Congress for the New Urbanism provides guidelines and examples for how to understand and create cities. The terms and definitions that Duany and Plater-Zyberk introduce directly apply to Princess Anne Street. Although the region will never become a New Urbanist community, many of the ideas and concepts can be taken from the Congress of New Urbanism. These concepts promote walk-able, mixed-use communities and are against sprawl. Fredericksburg, Virginia has expanded primarily through sprawl. This sprawl has had a direct result on the development and decline of areas such as Princess Anne Street. With the expansion of sprawl and big box stores with accessibility to the interstate highway, Princess Anne Street could no longer offer the easy accessibility or desirable amenities that it once had. Principles of New Urbanism can be used to dissect the problems in a place affected (directly or indirectly) by sprawl and find better solutions.

In addition to the layout and construction of a city or town, the upkeep of the area is also critical. When a place is left in disrepair the quality of life in the area is also likely to drop. James Q. Wilson and George L. Kelling’s article, “Broken Windows,” introduces a theory on neighborhood transition and provides a model for community policing. The metaphor of a single broken window is used to show the repercussions that a neighborhood can face if it is not policed correctly. If police do not respond to a single broken window it becomes an invitation to break more windows, and commit more serious crimes. The authority of the police force is compromised and the neighborhood will begin to decline. Order must be maintained by police to gain respect and keep the integrity of the neighborhood. Wilson and Kelling evaluated case studies in New Jersey and Washington D.C. where foot-patrols were used to maintain order in the community. The process of urban decline is also evaluated in this article. In the first half of the 20th century, the mobility of city residents was limited. When neighborhoods declined they re-corrected

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72 Ibid.
73 Ibid.
themselves. Additionally, the police in earlier periods asserted their power through violence and with little to no consideration of the person’s rights. Today, when a neighborhood begins to decline, there is an exodus of people, leaving the area to continue its deterioration.

The idea of broken windows is especially significant on Princess Anne Street. This study area consists of some “shady” areas that have been allowed to decline. The motels and bars on the street have a reputation for prostitution and drug deals. Police are rarely seen on foot-patrol and the area has a distinct sense of danger. It is easy to imagine a broken window being left for weeks, months, and even years. There are examples of “broken windows” in some of the residences on the street. Some houses have been left to deteriorate to the extent that they are condemned. The property values of the homes in on the Southern end of Princess Anne Street have declined as the condition has gone down. There are also a number of vacant commercial buildings including a gas station that recently went out of business. The vacant and condemned buildings on Princess Anne Street are the broken windows that Wilson and Kelling refer to. As business go bankrupt and residential buildings become condemned the effect will spiral. It is a slippery slope of declining prosperity and safety. The 2000 Census shows that this region a high number of people in low socio-economic situations in Fredericksburg. 15% of households with incomes below $10,000 live in or around the Princess Anne Street Area. The 2000 Census also shows that 80% of people in the area live in renter-occupied units. Therefore people are not homeowners and are less economically stable. This region of Fredericksburg is much less homogenous than the rest of the city. The process will continue unless serious attempts are made to remedy the situation.

There are instances when districts within cities were designed for specific purposes, but as time passed, the purpose of the area and

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75 Ibid.
76 2000 Census.

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the needs of the citizens changed. Princess Anne Street is one such area that has changed because of what social and cultural values have indicated. The street was once a thriving transportation corridor into downtown Fredericksburg, Virginia. However, with the passing of time the neighborhood's legibility has drastically declined. This thesis takes the urban design theories discussed and applies them to the Princess Anne Street region in Fredericksburg, Virginia. Like many American cities Fredericksburg has faced significant urban decline over the past 50 years. The phenomenon of edge areas and their decline is not unique. By understanding the theory and methodology of urban design scholars, Princess Anne Street can be examined in comparison to other edges and transportation corridors. Princess Anne Street has been directly affected by America’s drive-in culture. The most popular businesses on the street arose out of the automobile age that Kenneth Jackson refers to in “The Drive-in Culture of Contemporary America.” The movement of businesses from the downtown Fredericksburg area, including Princess Anne Street, out to interstate corridors is indicative of the decentralization that has affected America in such a negative way. The evolution of the motel and the gas station are also relevant examples of how this street has been changed by America’s values.

Princess Anne’s development and its deterioration can be evaluated in comparison to one of America’s most famous roadways. “The Mother Road,” as John Steinbeck called it in his 1939 novel, *The Grapes of Wrath*, described one of the first highways in the United States, Route 66. The highway ran 2,400 miles from Chicago to Los Angeles, crossing through 8 states in the process. Route 66 was built in 1926 with the intention of giving small town America the access to a national roadway. In the 60 years from the establishment of the road to its decommissioning it functioned as a symbol for hope during the Great Depression, a corridor for transporting military troops and equipment during World War II, and it facilitated in the evolution of several types of roadside architecture that would mimic the prototypes established on the “mother road.” Route 66 provides examples of the evolution of the three major types of commercial properties on Princess Anne Street: lodgings, auto-care, and fast food eateries. In addition to similarities in the evolution and demise of both roads, Route 66 also offers helpful resources about the challenges and successes in revitalizing the historic roadside architecture. The two roads have very obvious differences, primarily scale, but there are noticeable similarities that hold significance.

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One major point of significance that both roads subscribe to is James Wilson and George Kelling’s “broken window theory.” Both Route 66 and Southern Princess Anne Street become much less traveled, buildings have fallen into disrepair, and crime has become common activity. Motels in particular tend to become havens of crime and drugs. Although they have been left to decay, motels are valuable resources that deserve protection. The Route 66 Corridor Preservation Program, part of the National Park Service, is one such organization that has made the protection of motels a priority. There are 500 motels on Route 66, 333 of which have been documented. The Triangle Motel in Amarillo, Texas is a success story among a depressing number of deteriorating motels. The 1946 Motel was condemned and set for demolition, but saved by federal grants. In addition to private funds the motel will become a landmark once again. Also on Route 66, the De Anza Motor Lodge and El Vado Motel in Albuquerque, New Mexico have been saved. The two properties were saved independently and planning efforts continue for their reuse. The city of Albuquerque “named the El Vado a city landmark, imposing a one-year demolition delay last year so the motel’s owner couldn’t tear it down for condos.” The El Vado is an especially significant example because of plans to rehabilitate the entire area surrounding the historic motel. The non-profit Route 66 De Anza Association has plans to convert the De Anza Motor Lodge into a museum. Both properties have faced significant opposition due to a lack of funding. The buildings have been saved, but no further progress has been made. An article in the Albuquerque Tribune writes about the specific historic preservation related challenges that include: “the need to meet today’s more vigorous building codes; the additional expense of retaining or restoring archaic design elements; and determining whether the perceived market for the property’s eventual use will make it financially feasible.”

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80 Ibid.

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Another western example of motel preservation includes La Concha, in Las Vegas\textsuperscript{82}. The motel’s 350 rooms have already been demolished and the concrete and glass 1961 lobby was what remained. Fortunately the lobby has been persevered through donations, state and local grants. In fact the glamorous lobby has become the visitor center for the non-profit Neon Museum\textsuperscript{83}. Roadside architecture presents opportunities for create and adaptive reuse. It is possible to restore these buildings and create more successful businesses out of them.

Adaptive reuse is one of the best solutions for regions like Princess Anne Street. Carole Moore’s article \textit{Running on Empty} provides examples for preserving and reusing historic gas stations. These strategies should be used on Princess Anne Street. The BP gas station has been abandoned with empty pumps for over 6 months. The large signs listing gas prices are still there listing prices over \$3.40, bringing back memories of the high gas prices in the summer of 2008. There are also several residential buildings that have been condemned. This type of neglect of buildings only leads to more abandonment and deterioration.

Methods of reuse can also be applied to motels and fast-food eateries. The colorful signage and unique stylized buildings are worth saving because of their historical significance. These eateries, motels, and fueling stations represent an entire generation. Princess Anne Street, is one of the few places left in Fredericksburg, where “mom and pop,” independent businesses outnumber box stores and chains. Today brand-name recognition is important, but in the past the experience of a “mom and pop” motel or eatery was personal and welcoming. This experience is something that if brought back, could bring back the success of strips like Princess Anne. Unfortunately, motels such as the Payne’s motel have already been bought out by larger motel companies like the Relax Inn. While the architectural style has remained the same, the old sign has been lost.

and replaced with a newer one. Keeping these places independent is important, but if that fails, conversion may be necessary. Bigger chains hold monopolies over many businesses in America. It may become inevitable that the smaller restaurants, motels, and auto-shops will eventually be taken over. If this does occur, it is important to keep the character of the original properties, specifically signage and exterior architecture.

Preservation of historic signage, like the 2400 Diner’s “Let’s Eat” sign and Carl’s “Crème Shakes Sundaes” sign, is an important aspect of showing the historical importance of roadside architecture. Mid-century architecture often included unique neon signage on diners, motels, and gas stations. However, many consider the signs to be ugly or gaudy and thousands have been destroyed or allowed to deteriorate. In Portland, Oregon, a neon sign district is being planned along Interstate Avenue allowing for the protection of many historical signs. Interstate Avenue is a corridor that faced many of the problems that Prin-

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once-glamorous stretch became known for its boarded-up buildings and crack dealers.”85 This transportation corridor has been rezoned in addition to the overlay zone of a neon sign district. Interstate Avenue is currently being rezoned into a denser, mixed-use arterial route from Oregon to Canada. “Portland Development Commission says, the rezoning may even protect the area’s plethora of colorful neon signs, such as the one that once adorned the Crown Motel, which came down recently and was placed in storage when the motel was razed.”86 Although Interstate Avenue will be changing due to the new mixed-use ordinances, residents look to the possibilities of reusing the old motels as boutiques or stores.

Princess Anne Street is just one of many transportation corridors in the United States that has been bypassed by larger interstate highways. Route 66 and Interstate Avenue are two such examples. Princess Anne Street has valuable resources, just like Route 66 and Interstate Avenue, it just happens to be on a much smaller scale. By understanding the techniques and methods used to restore specific buildings and the overall corridor an effective plan can be created for Princess Anne Street. Princess Anne Street has the benefits of being in a historic town that already has overlay districts. However, the history valued in Fredericksburg is primarily 19th century and earlier. Cities and towns on the West Coast generally have newer histories and may have an easier time trying to save neon signs and programmatic architecture. Using urban design ideologies, historical context and comparative analysis Princess Anne Street is better understood as a transportation edge corridor.

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CONCLUSION

Princess Anne Street needs drastic change and the City of Fredericksburg is attempting the challenge. As part of the Economic Development Authority’s new Jumpstart Program there are plans to improve the Princess Anne Street corridor discussed in this study. However, the city’s plans are vague and lack any real motivation for the residents and business owners to enact change in their neighborhood. The Economic Development Authority, part of the Fredericksburg City Council, claims they will “foster and stimulate the development of industry and trade in Fredericksburg. [And] increase commerce and promote the safety, health, welfare, convenience and prosperity of the citizens of Fredericksburg.”87 This new program, first introduced in 2005 and planned to take action in 2010, recognizes that downtown Fredericksburg needs redevelopment. The Jumpstart program “has been working with Annapolis-based consultant Basile, Baumann, Prost & Associates for more than a year to devise a plan for what Fredericksburg's future development should look like.”88 Basile, Boumann, Prost & Associates have helped recommend the redevelopment of 14 different corridors within Fredericksburg, including Princess Anne Street. Empty lots and abandoned buildings will be infilled and renovated to create mixed-use space. Downtown Fredericksburg attracts tourism due to the colonial and Civil War history in the area, but the economic development of the town has endless possibilities for success. The Jumpstart program has plans to initiate change by the year 2010. The main components of the program are market and economic analyses, design concepts and detailed action plans.89 By identifying development opportunities, creating visions for the future and guides for the implementation of plans, the city has the potential to change for the better. Unfortunately not much action has been seen and the project lacks focus specifically on historic preservation related issues.

Mixed-use developments, specifically on the Princess Anne Street corridor, hope to use smart growth ideology to “reduce commutes, combat sprawl, create a sense of place, foster social interaction, and pedestrian activity.”90 In addition to creating more economic development through jobs and retail, there are aims to develop through the creation of affordable housing. Affordable town homes and condos will help accommodate the regional growth that Fredericksburg continues to experience, about 11-17% by 2010.91 Affordable housing needs to be made a prior-

89 Ibid.
90 Ibid.
91 Ibid.
ity in this project. The area is one of the lowest income regions in the City of Fredericksburg, with a majority of renters. If the redevelopments gentrify the area these people will be forced out. Hopefully a mixture of incomes, rent-occupied and owned housing units can be created.

One of the biggest changes proposed is the creation of a new access road, Germania Street. This new street would begin at a roundabout on Fall Hill Avenue and continue east, intersecting Charles Street, Princess Anne Street, and Caroline Street giving access to Old Mill Park and the Rappahannock River. By providing better access to Princess Anne Street, a mixed-use development has the potential to be extremely successful. However, this plan does rely entirely on the success of new developments that will be infilled in addition to the new access road. This road will provide access to the Fall Hill area in addition to the Rappahannock River. The access road should open up the corridor by providing a new path. Germania Street, if successful should be able to transform Princess Anne Street from an unsuccessful edge to a thriving district. Bringing more traffic, both pedestrian and vehicular will assist in the economic development. A new path should also help define the boundaries and edges of this district.

Princess Anne Street was once a successful street and still contains many interesting resources. These resources are not considered in the new plans, perhaps due to their 20th century origins. The City of Fredericksburg relies heavily on the tourism brought in by the Civil War and colonial history of the town. Princess Anne Street has the potential to bring in a wider range of tourists by offering a different historical perspective. Carl’s already draws in a large number of people from the Washington D.C. area, evident through the number of newspaper articles writ-
ten about the ice cream place. Even the Boston Globe had an article published about Carl’s. By using this property as an anchor point to create a smart growth development, both historic and mixed-use resources can be utilized. Carl’s is a magnet for people and new developments should be infilled to take advantage of that fact. Mixed-use retail and commercial space should be infilled around Carl’s in addition to creating a more pedestrian friendly area.

The example of Interstate Avenue in Portland, Oregon, discussed in the urban design analysis, is desirable for Princess Anne Street in the future. The North Interstate Avenue Corridor Plan is very thorough and has already experienced success in creating a smart growth community while also preserving and celebrating the neon signage of the 20th century motels, gas stations and fast food restaurants. “It applies design review throughout the corridor in areas where larger transit-oriented buildings are allowed and provides special design guidelines for this future development. It also encourages the preservation of existing mid-20th century neon signs and the use of neon in new development.”

Portland relies heavily on the resources that already exist, the emphasis on their new transit oriented development is on rehabilitating older buildings, transforming them into mixed use and creating more pedestrian friendly streets with access to public transit. While Fredericksburg is not a large city and has no rail system there should be some focus on transportation. If Princess Anne Street is going to be transformed successfully into a smart growth development, transportation is key. The current Jumpstart plans focus on the issue of walkability and creating safer streets for pedestrians. This should be accomplished not only through better sidewalks and walkways but also through reducing crime, something the Jumpstart plan fails to mention.

Transportation is a key component to any mixed-use development. Princess Anne Street currently lacks a solid infrastructure for any transportation other than the automobile. Creating more successful walkways that will connect the street to the University of Mary Washington, the historic town and the more modern Route 1 bypass will make this street successful once again. Its location is central to the many different aspects of Fredericksburg, yet it is currently isolated from all of them. Redevelopment could give Princess Anne Street an opportunity to link the historic to the modern as it did in the 1950s. Fredericksburg also has access to the nation’s capital via two different train systems, Amtrak and the Virginia Railway Express (VRE). The access that Fredericksburg has to Washington DC is taken advantage of by many commuters. By emphasizing the

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environmental and economic benefits to taking the train to work, providing incentives and creating better access to the train this project can help reduce the overall congestion in the area. A smart growth development should include more access to different types of transportation, decreasing the reliance on the automobile. The Fredericksburg bus system, the FRED should have more stops on Princess Anne Street, with buses coming frequently, allowing for commuters to take the train to Washington DC without even driving to the train station. Utilizing the FRED is important if Princess Anne Street wants to change. FRED stops need to be frequent, but also pleasant. An addition of covered bus stops and street furniture, like benches, would assist in making public transportation more desirable.

Reducing crime is one of the first steps that should be taken to improve the Princess Anne Street corridor. Police patrolling is necessary in this area. Economic development will be impossible if shootings continue at the Central Station nightclub and if prostitution and drug deals continue at the Relax Inn. A mixed-use community should incorporate people of all income levels as well as a mixture of residential and commercial properties. However, if the crime continues the neighborhood will be unable to attract higher income residents or business owners. By increasing foot patrolling police and having several more patrol cars on duty the crime is likely to decline. The Center for Problem-Oriented Policing discusses how crime can be managed at motels. The use of police on the premises does help, but only in conjunction with other methods including the coordination of community members. If people feel that these places are creating problems in their community, which the Relax Inn and Colonial Motel are, then they are more likely to speak out. Other methods include creating regulations and restrictions for guests to control dangerous behavior. In order to reduce disruption and delinquency at motel locations, managers should not rent to anyone under the age of 21 or those who cannot present a valid form of identification. By creating these rules and restrictions the neighborhood will eventually become safer.94

Appearance is also another component to the safety and success of a neighborhood. The broken window theory is the perfect example. It indicates that if places are left in disrepair that disrepair will continue. Business owners and residents need to be encouraged and given the motivation to renovate their properties. The façade improvement in the Jumpstart plan does attempt to accomplish this. However it is the only step in changing the street that has been taken so far. By providing grants that allow property owners to enhance the appearance of their property, the overall appearance of the street should benefit. 1418, the law office of Sonya B. Costanzo is the perfect example of how the grant program has been successful. The building stands out from its surroundings because of the excellent condition. The problem with the façade improvement grant program is that owners need to take the initiative to apply for these grants. This may be considered a hassle by some business owners who do not think renovation is necessary. Sonya Costanzo’s law office is a small, previously residential, building. Due to its small size, its excellent condition and visually appealing qualities are largely lost among the rest of the street. For this program to be successful, an effort needs to be made on the larger, more prominent buildings on the street. The Jumpstart plan does include renderings that show landscaping and trees. This is a critical component to changing the design of the street. Trees and green space encourage pedestrians to walk because it is more enjoyable. Green space is something that will be included through the Jumpstart plan through pedestrian access to the river and the addition of trees and

plantings to create the appearance of a more serene boulevard. The canal path and redevelopments of the old mill district will also open up opportunities for a more pedestrian friendly area with at least one park.

The City of Fredericksburg does have plans to revamp the area but considerations must be made about the historic resources already present. The maintenance of historic signs and structures should be as important as economic development. The current Jumpstart plans include reusing historic warehouses and garages for mixed-use development while also creating infill and new mixed-use properties. The plans fail to mention the historic diners, motels, factories and even Carl’s which are all discussed in this study. Those structures represent an era of history that is often forgotten and will continue to be forgotten if they are developed over. The mill sites, Stratford (Princess Anne) hotel, Payne’s motel, Colonial Motel, 2400 Diner, Carl’s and others are all tied to diverse histories. The northern Princess Anne Street corridor tells a story about different people: African Americans, the working class, and people who were just on the road. If these resources are destroyed by redevelopments they will be lost forever.

The desire of suburban living is steeply declining in America, and unfortunately in Fredericksburg the majority of housing is suburban sprawl. By creating more options, including mixed-use and affordable housing in downtown areas, this problem can be dealt with. Fredericksburg has the right idea with their Jumpstart program, but it does not seem to go far enough. The plan is vague and lacks any legal consequences or incentives for change. Neither crime nor historic preservation are mentioned in the plan at all.

Northern Princess Anne Street has a rich history and a variety of different resources. These resources apply to many themes in American history, specifically transportation and industry. Urban design theories, as applied to Princess Anne Street, have shown that the area is not a legible place. There are broken windows that stay broken for days, months, and even years. A true district does not exist because boundaries are unclear. Green space and landscaping are nonexistent due to the large sea of concrete and parking lots. The neighborhood does not function the way it did prior to the I-95 interstate’s arrival in Fredericksburg in 1964. Northern Princess Anne Street is located in a part of Fredericksburg that has the potential to thrive, if it is given the chance to change. The City’s Jumpstart program attempts to create some change but so far has fallen short. The plan is a positive first step and has the right idea, however it is not enough. Examples such as Interstate Avenue, Route 66, and La Concha in Las Vegas have proven that to enact change in illegible transportation corridors change must be drastic. Change will come to Princess Anne Street eventually, but one must hope that change occurs in the right way. Gentrification and loss of historic resources are two major risks in redeveloping this specific area. These are risks that will not only destroy the history but also the character of this neighborhood.
# APPENDIX I

## Cultural Resource Survey Form

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<td>Date of Survey</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of Property/Business</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Address</td>
<td>Street</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Princess Anne</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type &amp; Number of Blgs &amp; Structures</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Type</td>
</tr>
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<td>Single Family detached</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Garage</td>
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<td>Industrial</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current Use of Primary Building</td>
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<td>Historic Use of Primary Building</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>side</td>
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<tr>
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<td>mansard</td>
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<td>low</td>
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<td>steep</td>
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<td>back</td>
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<td>sliding</td>
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<td>bay window___</td>
<td>ribbon___</td>
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<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>casement___</td>
<td>other___</td>
<td>Broken___</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Condition of Primary Building | Good___ | Fair___ | Poor___ | Condemned___ |

| Significance of Property to District | Contributing___ | Non-Contributing___ | Individually Significant___ |

| Visual relation to neighborhood | nw___ | ne___ | se___ | sw___ | mid blk___ |

| Incompatible___ | focal point/anchor___ | corner blk___ | compatible___ | vacant adjacent___ |

| Lot Size | sm.___ | med.___ | lg.___ |

| Setback from Street | distance___ | compatible___ | yes___ | no___ |

| Driveway(s) | materials: |

| Walkway materials: |

| Parking | front___ | rear___ | side___ |

<p>| Garage(s) | attached___ | detached___ | carport___ | main building___ |</p>
<table>
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<td>benches___</td>
<td>street lamps___</td>
<td>other___</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Landscaping</td>
<td>planters___</td>
<td>fences___</td>
<td>walls___</td>
<td>potted trees___</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gardens___</td>
<td>other___</td>
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<tr>
<td>ANY OTHER MAJOR POINTS OF SIGNIFICANCE:</td>
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APPENDIX II

Glossary of Terms

**Broken Window Theory:** A theory based on a 1982 article written in *The Atlantic* that states that disorder will continue in neighborhoods unless stopped. The analogy of broken windows is used to demonstrate this theory.

**District:** Areas of a city that can be differentiated by their individual identities.

**Dwight D. Eisenhower National System of Interstate and Defense Highways:** More commonly called the Interstate Highway System, is a network of limited-access highways in the United States. The entire system has a length of 46,837 miles making it the largest highway system and public works project in the world. Authorized by the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956.

**Edge:** A boundary of a city or neighborhood. Can be a fence, wall, building, or a natural boundary such as a forest or shoreline.

**Gentrification:** The change of an area from a lower-class area to more affluent region due to changes in demographics.

**Landmark:** attractions or markers in a city that are easily recognized.

**Legibility:** The way that people understand the layout of a place.

**Low-Income Housing (Social Housing or Projects):** Affordable housing that is owned and managed by the state or non-profit organizations. Often associated with high crime and drug rates and segregated from the rest of the city.

**Mental Map:** A person’s perception of the world. An individual’s map of the world they are familiar with.
**Motel:** A word derived from *motor* and *hotel.* A roadside lodging that provides rooms for travelers with direct access to an open parking lot.\(^\text{95}\)

**Neighborhood:** A community within a city, town, or suburb.

**Node:** A center of attraction. May be an area with intersections or a central point of the city.

**Path/Corridor:** The way in which people travel through cities and neighborhoods, such as sidewalks, streets, railroads and trails.

**Roadside Architecture:** Buildings and other structures related to roads, directly or indirectly. Including but not limited to: motels, restaurants, gas stations, signs, and shopping centers.

**Sprawl (Urban or Suburban):** The spreading of a city and its suburbs over a larger area of land, often rural areas or farmland. Sprawl is often recognized as being zoned as a single-use (single family residential), automobile dependant, and low-density land use.

**Strip Development:** A form of commercial land use that is developed along major transportation corridors. Often associated with large signs to attract business.

**Urban Design:** A field of study that concerns the way that cities and towns are arranged, appear, function, and how urban public space is used and developed.

**Zoning:** A system of land-use regulations. May be use-based and may regulate building height, lot coverage, or other restrictions.

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APPENDIX III

Timeline of Significant Dates

1608: Fredericksburg was first explored by Captain John Smith.96

1728: Fredericksburg became a town.97

1829: Construction on the Rappahannock Canal began.98

1837: RF&P Railroad opened, increasing mobility and bringing growth to Fredericksburg.99

1849: The construction of the Rappahannock Canal was completed.100

1853: The Rappahannock Canal declared bankruptcy and went out of business.101

97 Ibid.
101 Ibid.
1887: Electricity first available in Fredericksburg, provided by the Rappahannock Electric Light and Power Company.\textsuperscript{102}

1889: C.W. Wilder and Company Silk Mill was built, employed about 200 girls from ages 15 and up.\textsuperscript{103}

1900: The C.W. Wilder and Company Silk Mill was sold to the Klotz Throwing Company.\textsuperscript{104}

1910: Spotsylvania Electric Power Company Plant was built on Caroline Street providing electricity to Fredericksburg.\textsuperscript{105}

1919: The City of Fredericksburg’s Northern boundary was extended to the Rappahannock Canal (by Factory Street).\textsuperscript{106}

1926: Princess Anne Hotel (later Stratford Hotel and now General Washington Executive Center) was built.\textsuperscript{107}

1926: The term motel was used for the first time in San Louis Opispo, California, combining the words \textit{motor} and \textit{hotel}.\textsuperscript{108}

1927: The Fredericksburg City limit line was extended further down Princess Anne Street to the intersection at Charles Street.\textsuperscript{109}


\textsuperscript{103} Fredericksburg Area Tourism Department, “Walk Through History...Mill Sites and Water Power,” Walking and Driving Tours.

\textsuperscript{104} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{105} Ibid.


1927-1930: Princess Anne Street was extended to meet the Route 1 Bypass.\(^{110}\)

1934: A fire destroyed the C.W. Wilder and Company/Klotz Throwing Company Silk Mill. 90 people lost their jobs, and Fredericksburg lost its reputation as a silk throwing city.\(^{111}\)

1938: The completion of Route 1, 2,500 miles from Fort Kent, Maine, to Key West, Florida, and connecting fourteen states.\(^{112}\)

1944: Payne’s Motel (now the Relax Inn) was constructed.\(^{113}\)

1946: Route 1 Bypass (Jefferson Davis Highway) was constructed.\(^{114}\)

1947: Carl’s Custard Stand was opened in an abandoned gas station and restaurant (previously Stratford Service Station, Sam’s Lunch, and Mary’s Grill)\(^{115}\).

1947: Fredericksburg city limit was extended further North, down Princess Anne Street to the intersection at Amaret Street\(^{116}\).

1949: The Colonial Motel and 2400 Diner were constructed\(^{117}\).

1949: Federal Housing Act was passed, encouraging the growth of the suburbs and sprawl\(^{118}\).

1953: Carl’s was rebuilt in the Art Moderne style by Ashton Skinner\(^{119}\).

\(^{110}\) Ibid.


\(^{114}\) Ibid.

\(^{115}\) Sabrina Carison, Marc Wagner, and Jean McRae, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, June 30, 2005. Carl’s.


\(^{119}\) Sabrina Carison, Marc Wagner, and Jean McRae, National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, June 30, 2005. Carl’s.
1956: The Federal Aid Highway Act was passed and signed into law by Dwight D. Eisenhower.\textsuperscript{120}

1964: I-95 was constructed in Fredericksburg, bypassing Route 1 and Princess Anne Street.\textsuperscript{121}

1979: Captain D’s was constructed at the Princess Anne Street location.\textsuperscript{122}

1981: Hardee’s was constructed at the Princess Anne Street location.\textsuperscript{123}

\textsuperscript{123} Ibid.
APPENDIX IV

Construction Dates of Properties

Decades of Construction

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BIBLIOGRAPHY


