2014

To Destroy or to Preserve: Urban Renewal and the Legal Foundation of Historic District Zoning

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To Destroy or to Preserve: Urban Renewal and the Legal Foundation of Historic District Zoning
A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Urban and Regional Planning at Virginia Commonwealth University.

By

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Acknowledgments

The author wishes to extend his sincerest thanks to Dr. I-Shian (Ivan) Suen, Mr. Philip Carter Strother, Professor Aubrey Fountain, and Professor Kimberly Chen for their time, insights, and support throughout the completion of this Thesis. The author also offers heartfelt gratitude to his family and to Natalie for their encouragement during the completion of another chapter in his formal education.
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Abstract

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By: Andrew Eugene Tarne, J.D., B.A.

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Virginia Commonwealth University, 2014.

Major Director: Dr. I-Shian Suen, Chair, Urban and Regional Studies

Historic preservation and urban renewal are often thought to be polar opposites. Where one seeks to preserve, the other generally seeks to destroy in order to rebuild. While the programs appear on the surface to be in opposition, this Thesis seeks to demonstrate that there is a fundamental connection between the underlying legal principles of historic zoning and urban renewal. To that end, the jurisprudence involving historic zoning and aesthetic regulations before and after the seminal urban renewal case of Berman v. Parker has been collected and analyzed.

This analysis revealed that courts were hesitant to support aesthetic, and by extension would have been unlikely to support historic zoning, prior to the Supreme Court’s validation of urban renewal programs in Berman. For example, in 1949 the Supreme Court of Massachusetts stated that specifically stated that a zoning regulation cannot be enacted solely to preserve the beauty of a community. In Berman, however, the United States Supreme Court justified urban renewal on the basis that governments should be able to condemn and regulate property for the creation of a more attractive community.

An analysis of the jurisprudence following Berman indicated that courts were more likely to uphold aesthetic or historic zoning ordinances. For example, in a 1955 opinion, the Supreme
Court of Massachusetts cited *Berman* and stated that, because construction of aesthetically or historically incompatible structures could destroy the historic character of a town, historic zoning ordinances fell within the scope of the police power. In short, the cases identified by this Thesis ultimately indicated that *Berman* had an impact on the acceptance of aesthetic and historic zoning. Therefore, they suggest that the programs of historic zoning and urban renewal, while seemingly in opposition, share fundamental legal roots.
Vita

Andrew Eugene Tarne was born in May 1988. In 2006, he graduated from Osbourn High School in the City of Manassas, Virginia. In May 2010, he received a Bachelor of Arts in Classics, with a Minor in Architecture, from the University of Virginia. Thereafter, in May 2013, Andrew received a Juris Doctor from the University of Richmond, T.C. Williams School of Law, where he served as the Managing Editor for Volume 47 of the University of Richmond Law Review. In October 2013, Andrew was licensed to practice law in the Commonwealth of Virginia.

Having been raised and educated in one of the original Thirteen States and the site of the first permanent English colony in the New World, Andrew strongly believes in the value that history adds to contemporary life and culture. Considering himself an amateur architect, he is particularly fond of historic sites and structures throughout Virginia, from the grand Neo-Classical and Federal homes of famous statesmen to the vernacular Victorians and American Foursquares inhabited by ordinary citizens who helped to build the Commonwealth and the nation.
I. INTRODUCTION

In 1978, the Supreme Court of the United States, in a divided decision, generally recognized the validity of historic preservation ordinances in the landmark case *Penn Central Transportation Co. v. City of New York.* Since 1978, the historic preservation movement in the United States has continued to grow. Currently, a number of laws, regulations, and policies at the federal, state, and local levels affect millions of properties across the nation.

Government managed historic preservation began with the admirable intention of preserving “the historical and cultural foundations of the Nation . . . as a living part of our community life and development in order to give a sense of orientation to the American people.” With a growing number of laws and designated historic districts, however, some property owners and residents have grown concerned that historic preservation efforts may harm both their individual interests and their larger communities. Indeed, many of those affected by historic preservation laws have reason to be concerned. Within urban environments nationwide, a multitude of neighborhoods have been designated as historic by government at all levels. Many residents of these neighborhoods still have very real memories of an earlier government program that sought to create better neighborhoods and cities, urban renewal. Residents fear that historic

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1 438 U.S. 104 (1978). The primary challenge to the New York City Landmark Ordinance was that, as applied to Plaintiff’s property, it constituted a takings requiring just compensation. In reaching the conclusion that the ordinance did not amount to a takings, the majority generally recognized the validity of historic zoning and landmark designation. *See infra* notes 283-91 and accompanying text.


preservation laws will lead to the same pain of displacement felt by communities affected by Twentieth Century urban renewal programs.\(^5\) Indeed, some scholars have even noted that government managed historic preservation ultimately has its roots in mid-century urban renewal.\(^6\) Others take a different, though not inherently contradictory, approach, arguing that historic preservation, as a movement, grew from the opposition to mid-century interventionist, demolition based urban renewal tactics.\(^7\)

This Thesis will expand on current scholarship regarding the links between historic preservation and urban renewal. It will begin by exploring the roots of mid-century urban renewal programs and of historic preservation programs. The focus will then turn to a direct analysis of the fundamental legal similarities of urban renewal and historic preservation as developed in case law. Specifically, this Thesis will compare historic preservation and aesthetic regulation cases prior to the United States Supreme Court’s seminal Urban Renewal decision in *Berman v. Parker* to historic preservation cases following that decision. This approach will be used to help determine the effect that the *Berman* decision had on the legal status of historic preservation laws. This Thesis hopes to contribute to the existing scholarship by outlining in

\(^5\) See, e.g., Carol M. Rose, *Preservation and Community: New Directions in the Law of Historic Preservation*, 33 STAN. L. REV. 473, 513-14 (1981) (“Low-income interest associations such as the National Urban Coalition fear that rehabilitation in historic districts, leading to steep rent increases, will force low-income tenants to leave their old neighborhoods, without even the benefit of the Uniform Relocation Act payments that once assisted those displaced by urban renewal projects . . . .”).


\(^7\) See, e.g., U.S. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS, SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON HISTORIC PRESERVATION, *WITH HERITAGE SO RICH* (1966).
detail the field of historic preservation jurisprudence before and after Berman. Such an outline will aid in determining whether the legal foundations of urban renewal and historic preservation are inextricably linked. Finally, this Thesis briefly suggests alternatives to traditional historic preservation zoning that could deliver similar preservationist results while protecting residents and property owners from the potential downsides of zoning based approaches.

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As used in this Thesis, the term “urban renewal” refers specifically to the renewal programs of the mid twentieth century characterized by the condemnation and demolition of properties later redeveloped through public-private partnerships. See infra notes 14-26 and accompanying text. Such programs were upheld by the United States Supreme Court in Berman v. Parker, 348 U.S. 26 (1954). This Thesis is mostly concerned with the legal relationship between historic preservation and urban renewal at the local level. That is, the primary topic discussed is the concept of the police power and general welfare as used to justify both local urban renewal programs and local historic zoning ordinances.
II. BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Urban renewal and historic preservation programs are frequently considered to be polar opposites. One seeks to raze and rebuild while the other seeks to preserve. The traditional narrative holds that preservation movements gained traction and support as a result of “heavy-handed” urban renewal programs. While the historic preservation movement may have gained much ground following the implementation, and often failure, of mid-century urban renewal efforts, the traditional narrative for most parts fails to recognize the overlapping legal similarities between the programs and the fact that private historic preservation efforts began in the United States decades before the implementation of the urban renewal programs.

Direct comparative analyses between the two programs, are few; however, work has been undertaken to demonstrate that the traditional narrative cannot explain the whole story. For example, Professor Ryberg has argued that historic preservation was but one tool used by planners undertaking urban renewal. Her research has showed that planners in Philadelphia were faced with market constraints and so had to carefully choose when to tear down and when

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9 “Traditional histories on mid-Twentieth Century urban renewal paint a relatively black-and-white picture. One of the most powerful and entrenched narratives about the era is that demolition prevailed over preservation. Emanating out of this belief, many scholars and practitioners argue that the modern preservation profession developed in direct response to the destructive policies and practices of midcentury city planning.” Ryberg, supra note 6, at 193.

10 Eugenie Ladner Birch & Douglas Roby, The Planner and the Preservationist: An Uneasy Alliance, 50 J. AM. PLAN. ASSOC. 194, 199 (1984). Birch and Roby do note that there were successful collaborations between urban renewal and preservation, for example in Philadelphia, but that they “remained a minor part of the total project costs of the Philadelphia [renewal] program.” Id. at 198.

11 See Ryberg, supra note 6.
to preserve.\textsuperscript{12} Although their preservation of structures was not based on a sense of historic value, they consciously used historic preservation as a tool for urban renewal.\textsuperscript{13}

Still, the history of both urban renewal and historic zoning is complicated and worth developing before this Thesis proceeds with an analysis of the legal similarities between the two regimes. This review will focus on the history behind each program, the legislative origins of the programs, the goals for the programs, and both positive and negative criticism of the programs. Such a review will help to frame the discussion in Chapter Six of jurisprudence relating to each program.

\textbf{A. Urban Renewal}

Broadly stated, urban renewal is a systematic program of redeveloping an urban system that has fallen into decay.\textsuperscript{14} Typically, the program is undertaken as a partnership between public agencies and the private sector.\textsuperscript{15} While urban renewal programs had existed in various forms as early as the late Nineteenth Century, the seminal programs in the United States were undertaken during the mid-Twentieth Century.\textsuperscript{16} These urban renewal programs were based in large part on trust in the proficiency of professional planners and government officials.\textsuperscript{17} The “physical amelioration” of the urban environment was viewed as the solution to various ills that had

\textsuperscript{12} See id. at 194.
\textsuperscript{13} Id.
\textsuperscript{16} See id. at 27-29.
\textsuperscript{17} Id. at 28 (“There was a general confidence in government, particularly in its ability to stimulate a weak economy through investment and public works.”).
befallen America’s major urban centers. As Altshuler and Luberoff note, urban leaders believed that only “radical surgery” would stem the “death spiral” of their cities. This radical surgery took the form of government sponsored redevelopment plans. Plans were proposed and adopted by city officials in a centralized, rational style of planning.

i. Brief History

In the United States, Urban Renewal arose in the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century as a tool to combat a perceived deterioration in the urban environment. Urban renewal continues to this day in various forms, notably through economic development programs. The specific term “urban renewal,” however, most usually invokes the large scale, government sponsored “slum clearance” programs undertaken during the middle of the Twentieth Century. In this form, Urban Renewal was undertaken by local governments which received funding from the federal government.

The tool used by local governments to accomplish urban renewal was that of eminent domain. The procedure was relatively straightforward. A locality would simply condemn areas that it deemed blighted and then would either develop the land itself or transfer the land to a

\[18\] *Id.*


\[20\] See Sutton, supra note 15, at 27; see also **MICHAEL P. BROOKS, PLANNING THEORY FOR PRACTITIONERS** 81-95 (AICP 2003) (discussing the nature of the centralized rationality planning paradigm).

\[21\] See Lavine, supra note 14 (discussing the City Beautiful movement in Washington D.C.); see also Sutton, supra note 15, at 23-25 (discussing attention paid to the deterioration of the built environment during the early twentieth century).

\[22\] See Lavine, supra note 14 (discussing the connection between urban renewal and the justification for economic development in *Kelo v. City of New London*, 545 U.S. 469 (2005)).

\[23\] See Jon C. Teaford, **Urban Renewal and Its Aftermath**, 11 **HOUSING POL’Y DEBATE** 443, 444-45 (2000); see also Sutton, supra note 15, at 23.
private party for development. Historically, the application of eminent domain had been limited to scenarios in which the government condemned property and then put it to a public use, such as a government building or a park. The use of eminent domain for urban renewal, however, raised the problem that the land condemned was not actually being physically used by the government.

ii. Goals and Expectations

The Urban Renewal programs undertaken in the mid twentieth century under federal tutelage did not necessarily set out to damage the physical and sociological fabric of America’s cities through the destruction of the traditional built environment and the displacement of residents. Rather, the urban renewal programs seemed to have been undertaken with the support of cities and their disadvantaged residents in mind. For example, the Federal Housing Act of

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24 Sutton, supra note 15, at 25 (“Government would play a central role by using eminent domain to assembly the land and provide ancillary infrastructure improvements . . . . The land would then be turned over to private developers for rebuilding.”). See, e.g., District of Columbia Redevelopment Act of 1945, 60 Stat. 760 (1946) (Washington D.C.‘s urban renewal program).

25 See, e.g., Kelo v. City of New London, 545 U.S.469, 521 (2005) (Thomas, J., dissenting) (discussing how the original meaning of the Public Use Clause was that government could take property only when it actually uses that property or gives the public a right to use it).

26 See ALTSHULER & LUBEROFF, supra note 19, at 14-15 (noting how using eminent domain to this end a few years earlier would have “doubtless” been found unconstitutional). A full analysis of the history behind the doctrine of “public use” and “public purpose” is beyond the scope of this Thesis. However, the analysis contained herein regarding the scope of the police power and the general welfare is closely related to the evolution of the understanding of public use.

27 See Teaford, supra note 23, at 444 (discussing how a diverse coalition backed Title I of the Housing Act of 1949, especially social welfare leaders and advocates of low and moderate income housing who believed urban renewal would “better the living conditions of the poor”).
1949, which made available federal funds for local renewal projects, provided that there be “a feasible method for the temporary relocation of families displaced from the project area.”\textsuperscript{28}

Urban renewal programs were undertaken with the objective of restoring cities that had fallen into decay.\textsuperscript{29} Moreover, the programs were often undertaken with the express purpose of assisting impoverished city residents living in, what were deemed, unsanitary conditions.\textsuperscript{30} For example, dwellings on Vinegar Hill in Charlottesville, Virginia, largely were light wooden structures that lacked indoor plumbing and other modern sanitary features.\textsuperscript{31} By clearing away these older “blighted” units, urban renewal would “increase the stock of decent, affordable dwelling in the central cities.”\textsuperscript{32} In short, advocates hoped that through urban renewal and “[w]ith the aid of Uncle Sam, cities [would be] cleansed of their ugly past and reclothed in the latest modern attire.”\textsuperscript{33}

\textbf{iii. Positive Outcomes and Support}

Admittedly, urban renewal programs did generate some positive outcomes, albeit through mechanisms harmful to many. For example, urban renewal did spur the removal of property that,

\footnotesize

\textsuperscript{29} See Sutton, \textit{supra} note 15, at 23-29; ALTSHULER \& LUBEROFF, \textit{supra} note 19, at 14.
\textsuperscript{30} See Quintin Johnstone, \textit{Federal Urban Renewal Program}, 25 U. CHI. L. REV. 301, 301-06 (1958) (discussing how blight harms cities and residents alike, and arguing that decent low income housing can combat blight); Lavine, \textit{supra} note 14 (discussing the use of federal funding and of renewal programs to clear slums and construct public housing); Teaford, \textit{supra} note 23, at 444 (discussing how urban renewal was seen as a method to better the living conditions of the poor).
\textsuperscript{31} See JAMES ROBERT SAUNDERS \& RENAE NADINE SHACKLEFORD, \textit{URBAN RENEWAL AND THE END OF BLACK CULTURE IN CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA} 3 (2005) (noting the condition of Vinegar Hill prior to urban renewal).
\textsuperscript{32} Teaford, \textit{supra} note 23, at 444.
\textsuperscript{33} \textit{Id.} at 443.
by many accounts, was actually subpar.\textsuperscript{34} Under the belief that blight bred blight, cities cleared “substandard” housing in order to provide the opportunity for the emergence of a more modern, healthy urban environment for city residents.\textsuperscript{35}

Teaford notes several successful developments that resulted from urban renewal. Following renewal, Baltimore’s Charles Center employed five thousand more individuals and tax receipts quadrupled, as compared to before renewal.\textsuperscript{36} The Lincoln Center project in New York helped to transform the Upper West Side of Manhattan into a thriving neighborhood.\textsuperscript{37} Philadelphia’s Society Hill project resulted in a unique combination of new structures and rehabilitation of existing historic houses.\textsuperscript{38} As such, property tax receipts for the city increased from $454,000 annually to $2.47 million annually.\textsuperscript{39} Similarly, Chicago’s Hyde Park-Kenwood project utilized a combination of destruction and rehabilitation to preserve the health of the University of Chicago area.\textsuperscript{40} Despite the general success of these projects, Teaford notes that they were often accompanied by the downsides of displacement and removal of minority and low income residents.\textsuperscript{41}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{34} See Johnstone, supra note 30, at 301-05 (discussing blight).
\textsuperscript{35} See id. at 301-06 (arguing that the construction of low-income housing “tends to prevent blight”); see also Teaford, supra note 23, at 443-45.
\textsuperscript{36} Teaford, supra note 23, at 451.
\textsuperscript{37} Id. at 451-52.
\textsuperscript{38} Id. at 452.
\textsuperscript{39} Id.
\textsuperscript{40} Id. at 452-53.
\textsuperscript{41} Id. at 451-54.
\end{flushright}
iv. Negative Outcomes and Criticisms

The radical surgery of urban renewal usually took the form of blight clearing through the exercise of eminent domain. In the process, large numbers of individuals were displaced as city governments condemned privately owned property and transferred it to either city redevelopment authorities or private developers. As Lavine notes, “[t]he social impacts of urban renewal were huge, as lower class and often minority families were moved out of center cities to make room for uses that would generate higher tax revenues.” Moreover, the effect of Urban Renewal on minorities was often so pronounced that the programs were dubbed “negro removal.” For example, Saunders and Shackleford note how the urban renewal project undertaken by Charlottesville, Virginia to modernize Vinegar Hill destroyed a vibrant minority community. The program caused the displacement of hundreds of individuals and the disruption of an existing, thriving business community. Moreover, although demolition had been completed by 1965, renewal efforts were still incomplete nearly twenty years later.

In 1954, the Supreme Court of the United States directly addressed urban renewal programs utilizing eminent domain and declared them legal in Berman v. Parker. As professor Pritchett has noted, “[t]he Supreme Court’s decision in Berman affected a dramatic expansion in the government’s powers of eminent domain and provided judicial legitimation for urban

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42 See, e.g., Sutton, supra note 15, at 25
43 See id. at 30 (noting that, between 1956 and 1972, 3.8 million residents were displaced by urban renewal and urban freeway construction); Teaford, supra note 23, at 445-51 (discussing the displacement caused by urban renewal programs).
44 See Lavine, supra note 14.
45 See Sutton, supra note 15, at 30 (discussing the focus and effects of urban renewal and urban freeway construction on black neighborhoods).
46 See SAUNDERS & SHACKLEFORD, supra note 31, at 1-6.
47 Id. at 3-4.
48 Id. at 3-5 (“As late as 1982 seven acres of the Hill remained vacant.”).
renewal efforts.” The Court’s approval of urban renewal increasingly allowed local governments to widely exercise eminent domain to condemn and transfer private property “in the name of housing, commercial, or industrial development.” Therefore, in addition to displacement, the practice and affirmation of urban renewal had the effect of eroding the protections of private property rights.

In short, the lasting legacy of urban renewal, despite any successes, is largely one of failure. Jacobs and Paulsen note that some “see this period as one in which planners destroyed vibrant urban communities, facilitated suburban sprawl, and caused protests, freeway revolts, racial animosity, and an anti-planning backlash that persists to today.” Indeed, the failures of urban renewal actively continue to this day in the form of new economic development urban renewal programs. For example, in the year 2000, the City of New London, Connecticut, undertook an economic development program utilizing eminent domain to condemn a large section of waterfront property and transfer it to a private developer. However, as of February 2014, that property has remained largely vacant and undeveloped.

51 Id. at 48.
53 Id.
B. Historic Preservation

This Thesis is primarily concerned with historic preservation through municipally enacted historic zoning ordinances. These ordinances are enacted by local governments and serve to preserve the historic character of a neighborhood by prohibiting demolition, construction, repair, or alteration without approval from the city government.56

i. Brief History

Historic preservation, generally, can be roughly divided into three schools of thought: “Monumentalism, Aestheticism, and Revitalization.”57 In the United States, Monumentalism focuses primarily on the protection and preservation of sites that are deemed important to the history and fabric of the early Republic and its heroes, especially the Founding Fathers.58 Monumentalism has at its core a desire to promote the importance of historical principles in the abstract. Historically, Monumentalism was usually undertaken by private organizations.59

Aestheticism focuses on the preservation of physical objects and places.60 In other words, Aestheticism regarded the physical form of structures, whether monumental or vernacular, as important in and of itself. Aestheticism, therefore, differs from Monumentalism in that Monumentalism can be ambivalent as to the preservation of an actual historic structure.61 Moreover, Aestheticism relied more on government involvement than Monumentalism. As

56 See, e.g., CITY OF RICHMOND, VA., CODE OF ORDINANCES Ch. 114, § 114-930 to -930.9 (2014) (regulations for the City of Richmond’s Old and Historic Districts).
58 Id.
59 Id. at 259 (noting that the “first successful large-scale preservation battle” was waged by the Mount Vernon Ladies Association).
60 Id. at 260.
61 See id. at 259.
Schneider notes, Aestheticism became increasingly popular in the early twentieth century and led to the designation of local historic districts by municipal governments.\(^6^2\)

Revitalization grew out of the foundations of Aestheticism. Where Aestheticism focused on the aesthetics of individual structures or neighborhoods as a public good worthy of preservation and protection, Revitalization saw the larger urban system as a good that needed protection.\(^6^3\) In large part, revitalization efforts focused on the good created by a traditional city system of mixed use districts and varied physical and social fabrics.\(^6^4\) Rypkema takes a similar approach and argues that preserving and revitalizing older structures serves a public good by providing affordable housing and more-walkable environments.\(^6^5\) Revitalization, therefore, represents a shift in historic preservation. Rather than focusing strictly on the historic character of a structure or site, Revitalization, at least in part, focuses on planning for an urban system’s future based on methods that worked in the past.\(^6^6\) In this way, revitalization efforts can be viewed as a tool of urban renewal programs.\(^6^7\) Indeed, professor Ryberg has argued that mid-Twentieth Century urban renewal programs selectively utilized preservation and Revitalization as a means to achieve successful renewal with limited resources.\(^6^8\)

Professor Byrne has argued a similar position by noting that historic preservation efforts “frustrate central control of decisionmaking and megaprojects and shield smaller-scaled, diffused

\(^{62}\) Id. at 261.
\(^{63}\) See id. at 261, 266-67.
\(^{64}\) Id. at 261.
\(^{65}\) Donovan D. Rypkema, Historic Preservation and Affordable Housing: The Missed Connection (2002).
\(^{66}\) See Schneider, supra note 57, at 260-61.
\(^{67}\) Id.
\(^{68}\) See Ryberg, supra note 6, at 193-97.
redevelopment [; thus] elevating community and authenticity. Again, the uses of preservation law seem to have moved away from strictly preserving the built environment towards the broader goal of “mak[ing] the modern city hospitable for contemporary life.”

ii. Goals and Expectations

Succinctly stated, the broad objective of historic preservation is to preserve the built environments in order to secure the cultural history of the nation. The benefits of historic preservation are often described in intangible terms such as the enhancement of “quality of life for people” and the preservation “of cultural meaning and identity.” In other words, historic preservation serves as a link to the past, in order to provide a cultural base for the future. Moreover, historic zoning in particular, as a tool of historic preservation, is seen as a way for governments to provide tangible benefits to a community through maintained or increased property values as well as municipal income generated through tourism. Professor Byrne has noted that “[l]ocalities market themselves to developers and visitors by touting their historic

70 Id. at 687.
73 Gregory S. Alexander, The Social Obligation of Norm in American Property Law, 94 CORNELL L. REV. 745, 796 (2009) (arguing that the benefits of historic structures are essential to cultural meaning and identity, and therefore that private owners should be prevented from tearing down historic structures); see also Byrne, supra note 69, at 676-77 (discussing Alexander’s argument) (“The cultural heritage conveyed by a community’s historic buildings is a public good, the value of which is not fully internalized in private property rights.”).
75 See, e.g., Howell, supra note 4, at 550 (discussing the link between the preservation of historic buildings, economic revitalization, and tourism).
resources. But most importantly, local historic preservation laws regulate the demolition and alteration of numerous designated historic buildings and sites within many of the most dynamic urban real estate markets [across the country].”

iii. Positive Outcomes and Support

The most obvious positive effect of historic preservation through zoning is that it serves to preserve historic structures and environments, many of which are aesthetically pleasing. While this outcome is tangible and subjective, it is generally considered positive. The preservation of such districts and structures has been recognized as having benefit to the community at large, helping to ground citizens in a sense of time and place. Moreover, these historic districts are often more human scaled than modern developments. Therefore, their preservation helps to preserve a walkable urban environment.

Additionally, Rypkema has noted many economic benefits to historic preservation generally. Leaving aside displacement concerns, the designation of properties as historic generally helps to maintain or raise property values, seemingly because historic districts are


76 See Byrne, supra note 69, at 665-66.
77 See, e.g., Daphna Lewinsohn-Zamir, The “Conservation Game”: The Possibility of Voluntary Cooperation in Preserving Buildings of Cultural Importance, 20 HARV. J.L. & PUB. POL’Y 733, 734 (1997) (“The various benefits attributed to the physical, built environment include the cultivation of community solidarity and stability, the advancement of individuals’ orientation and identity, and the encouragement of aesthetic excellence as well as enjoyment.”).
78 See id.
79 See Rypkema, supra note 65, at 13 (comparing historic neighborhoods to new urban forms and concluding that existing historic neighborhoods are preferable even to new urbanism, because historic neighborhoods are “real urbanism”).
80 See id. at 7-8 (discussing the proximity of historic housing to schools, jobs, and public transit).
desirable areas to live. Moreover, Rypkema has noted that rehabilitation can often be more cost-effective than new construction. The cost effectiveness of rehabilitation can be compounded by the availability of tax abatement or tax credits generally available to historic rehabilitation projects. Moreover, it has been argued that rehabilitation and reuse are the “greenest” form of construction.

iv. Negative Outcomes and Criticisms

Perhaps the greatest criticism of historic zoning is that it results in gentrification and displacement. Gentrification, in and of itself, may not be negative, however, it is closely linked with displacement, which generally is considered negative. Displacement is considered to occur when individuals involuntarily relocate due to rising rents, taxes, cost of ownership, or even forced government action. Historic zoning has also seen general resistance from neighborhood associations. Residents fear that historic preservation laws will lead to the same

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81 See Donovan D. Rypkema, The (Economic Value) of National Register Listing, 25 CULTURAL RESOURCE MGMT. 6 (2002); see also Howell, supra note 4, at 551.
82 See Rypkema, supra note 65, at 10.
83 See id. at 10-12, 15-16.
85 See, e.g., J. Peter Byrne, Two Cheers for Gentrification, 46 HOW. L.J. 405, 405 (2003) (noting that historic preservation laws are often blamed for setting gentrification in motion, but ultimately arguing that that perception is flawed).
86 See generally id. at 410-15 (“The federal government has taken the view that displacement from gentrification has never been a serious problem. Advocates for the poor, on the other hand, have long argued that displacement occurs on a large scale and have called for government action to protect low-income residents.”).
87 See id. at 412 (discussing the causes of displacement within the gentrification context); supra notes 43-47 and accompanying text (discussing displacement caused by urban renewal).
88 See Phelps, supra note 3, at 113 (“Preservationists are increasingly aware of a growing reluctance in many communities against the formation of new local historic districts (LHDs) or other forms of local regulatory preservation restrictions.”).
pain of displacement felt by communities affected by Twentieth Century urban renewal programs.\(^{89}\)

Another concern regarding historic zoning is that it is fundamentally based on subjective considerations. The determination of the cultural, historic, or aesthetic value of a structure or district is something over which reasonable people may disagree, and therefore it is difficult to apply standards governing the administration of historic zoning.\(^{90}\)

Historic zoning laws can also be considered to adversely affect certain First Amendment rights.\(^{91}\) It has been suggested that historic zoning ordinances could abridge First Amendment rights by prohibiting landowners from erecting signs or commissioning art on the exterior of their buildings.\(^{92}\)

\(^{89}\) See Rose, supra note 5 at 513-14.


\(^{92}\) Id.
Finally, historic zoning has been noted to lead to “pre-emptive demolition.” Pre-emptive demolition occurs when a building owner discovers that a city is considering historical designation for a building, and then preemptively takes measures to ensure that designation does not occur.  

These measures can range from alterations to remove historic features from the structure to demolition.

C. Comparisons

Scholars have noted similarities between urban renewal and historic zoning. As Lavine notes, the Berman decision had far reaching effects in that it established an important precedent that would eventually be used to legitimize historic preservation laws. Similarly, Allison and Peters have noted that “[t]he Berman decision paved the way for historic preservation regulation.” In Berman, the Court used language of aesthetic value to validate urban renewal programs. Fourteen years later, in Penn Central Transportation Co. v. City of New York, the Court again used the language of aesthetics in generally recognizing the validity of historic preservation laws. Furthermore, Clark has noted that the origins of historic zoning laws in New


94 See Pogrebin, supra note 93 (“The owner . . . rushes to obtain a demolition or stripping permit from the city’s Department of Buildings so that notable qualities can be removed, rendering the structure unworthy of [historic] protection.”); Lamster, supra note 93 (discussing the demolition of a modernist house before preservationists could succeed in defending it).

95 Lavine, supra note 14.


York can be found in earlier renewal legislation and the Supreme Court’s analysis in *Berman).*\(^9^9\)

This Thesis will build on this earlier work by directly comparing case law prior to and following

*Berman* to determine the effect that the case had on historic zoning regulations.

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III. METHODOLOGY

The fundamental tool of urban renewal is eminent domain. That power was used by localities and their agents to condemn properties deemed blighted, demolish them, and then develop them or transfer them to a private party for development. While eminent domain had been exercised prior to the advent of urban renewal, the Supreme Court specifically endorsed the use of eminent domain for urban renewal purposes in the landmark 1954 case, *Berman v. Parker*.100 Later, in *Penn Central Transportation Co. v. City of New York*, the Supreme Court upheld historic landmark designation and found that it did not constitute a taking, because it was a valid exercise of a locality’s police power.101 In reaching its decision, the Court also recognized the validity of historic zoning regulations in general.102

The *Berman* and *Penn Central* cases seem quite different as one upholds the ability of a locality to condemn, take, and demolish private property in order to make way for new development, while the other upholds the ability of a locality to effectively mandate the preservation a privately owned piece of property. Both cases, however, broadly deal with the power of local governments to regulate in furtherance of the “general welfare.” An expansive view of what constitutes the general welfare can therefore be used to legally justify either

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101 *Penn Central Transp. Co. v. City of New York*, 438 U.S. 104 (1978). As discussed below in Chapter Five, the procedural history of *Penn Central* is more complicated. The New York Court of Appeals determined that that case was not about general zoning districts, but rather about the designation of individual structures as landmarks – a point conceded by the plaintiffs. Nonetheless, the majority of the United States Supreme Court, in upholding the designation and finding that no taking had occurred, generally found that landmark designation was similar to historic districting and joined the two concepts. *See infra* notes 283-91 and accompanying text.
102 438 U.S. at 129.
government sponsored destruction or preservation, even if against the wishes of individual property owners.

Does such an expansive definition suggest that historic zoning and urban renewal are built on essentially the same legal principle? This Thesis seeks to answer that question by identifying, collecting, and analyzing case law from both before and after *Berman v. Parker*. By engaging in this analysis of case law, this Thesis seeks to explore the legal similarities between the programs in order to contribute to existing and future scholarship that seeks to compare the programs. Moreover, a comparison between the legal justifications for the programs will hopefully demonstrate that justifying police power action with an expansive understanding of the general welfare and the police power can lead to undesirable outcomes, even if such an expansive understanding is based on the laudable intentions of reviving an urban center or preserving historic structures. While there is still ongoing debate over the benefits, costs, and lasting effects of historic zoning, a potential similarity between the underlying legal basis for historic zoning and urban renewal should show that the exercise of the police power for the general welfare may be too dangerous to grant to a city council or planning commission. Even if an expansive reading of the general welfare can be used for the laudable intention of preserving the built cultural heritage of cities, states, and the nation, that same power could quickly be used instead to destroy those properties.

The method used to answer the question posed by this Thesis is primarily doctrinal. Doctrinal research is that “which provides a systematic exposition of the rules governing a particular legal category, analyses the relationship between rules, explains areas of difficulty and,
perhaps, predicts future developments.” Moreover, doctrinal research is based on the “black-letter” of the law, and thus synthesizes, compares, and clarifies particular topics bases on an analysis of both authoritative legal texts, such as statutes and case law, in addition to secondary sources, such as scholarly commentary. Doctrinal research finds a strong corollary in the qualitative research methodology of the social sciences. Legal rules and regimes are not necessarily made up of quantifiable data, but rather on a set of norms that is both fixed and constantly evolving. Theoretical research seeks to create a “more complete understanding of the conceptual bases of legal principles.” Comparative and historical research describes contrasting legal regimes and contextualizes them within a selected era using social sciences, in this case, Urban and Regional Planning.

To undertake this analysis, it was first necessary to identify cases across the United States that dealt with the issue of historic zoning. These cases were then compared with Berman v. Parker and analyzed against that case. If the same justification was used in historic zoning cases as Berman v. Parker, then inferentially it can be concluded that both historic zoning and urban renewal are based on the same legal foundation. These authoritative sources are analyzed and synthesized using both the doctrinal and theoretical methods to offer a more complete understanding of the development of both historic zoning and urban renewal legal regimes.

105 Id. at 107-08.
106 Id.
107 Id.
108 See Minow, supra note 103.
Cases were identified by searching the WestlawNext database. A search was made of all state and federal cases prior to November 22, 1954, the date of the Berman decision. The query was to find all cases that contained the word “zon***” and any of the following terms: “historic district” “historic preservation” “landmark ordinance.” This search was used to find any case that dealt with any sort of government sponsored historic preservation zoning program. The word zon***, using universal figures, was searched as is so as to allow for the return of any case that may mention, for example, “historic district zoning” but not “historic zones,” or “historic zone” but not “historic zoning.” The general term “historic” was not used in the search query because it would generate too many irrelevant results owing to the common nature of the term.\textsuperscript{109}

The first search, as described above, generated no results. For purposes of this Thesis, however, it is necessary to determine the state of historic zoning prior to \textit{Berman} in order to determine if \textit{Berman} and urban renewal were fundamentally legally related to historic zoning. Therefore, analogous ordinances in existence, and challenged in the courts, before \textit{Berman} had to be identified. Zoning ordinances had become common practice prior to \textit{Berman}, and zoning on the basis of aesthetics was an issue frequently addressed by the courts as they developed the concept of the general welfare.

Historic zoning has been considered a form of aesthetic zoning; and, therefore, aesthetic zoning provides an analogous form of ordinance prior to \textit{Berman} that can be compared to historic zoning following \textit{Berman}.\textsuperscript{110} Aesthetic zoning is essentially a zoning practice that bases

\textsuperscript{109} The exact syntax of the search was: advanced: (“historic preservation” “historic district” “landmark ordinance”) & zon*** & DA (bef 11-22-1954).

\textsuperscript{110} See, \textit{e.g.}, Estate of Neuberger v. Middletown, 521 A.2d 1336, 1340 (N.J. App. 1987) (citing \textbf{MCQUILLAN, MUNICIPAL CORPORATIONS} §25.31 (3d ed. 1986)) (“Historic preservation has been classified as an aspect of aesthetics in zoning.”); \textit{see also} Julie Van Camp, Aesthetics
regulations solely on the outward aesthetic appearance of a structure. Because historic zoning has been considered a form of aesthetic zoning, the term “aesthetic” was added to the query for cases prior to November 22, 1954.\textsuperscript{111} This search one hundred and sixty-seven results from the high courts of thirty-eight states.

Next, essentially the same search was conducted for cases after November 22, 1954 but before June 26, 1978, the date of the \textit{Penn Central} decision. The requirement that results include the search term “historic” was also added to the query, to ensure that results were limited to those that actually dealt with historic ordinances.\textsuperscript{112} This refinement allowed for a more precise analysis of the effects of \textit{Berman} on historic zoning jurisprudence. If the additional term were not added, the search would have returned many results that did not deal with historic zoning, for example those that dealt only with aesthetic zoning issues related to the First Amendment. This search was undertaken with the latter date restriction in order to identify cases that upheld the validity of historic zoning ordinances prior to the \textit{Penn Central} case. It was necessary to identify these cases separately in order to determine whether the doctrines justifying urban renewal in \textit{Berman} had been used to justify historic zoning, even before the Supreme Court generally

\textsuperscript{111} The exact syntax of the search was: advanced: (“historic preservation” “historic district” “landmark ordinance” “aesthetic”) & zon*** & DA (bef 11-22-1954).

\textsuperscript{112} The exact syntax of the search was: advanced: (“historic preservation” “historic district” “landmark ordinance” “aesthetic”) & zon*** & historic & DA (aft 11-22-1954 & bef 6-26-1978).
addressed historic zoning in *Penn Central*.\(^{113}\) This search generated forty-nine total results from the high courts of twenty-three states.

Following these searches, the results of cases before and after the *Berman* decision were compared. First, the results were compared to identify state high court decisions that were represented in both groups of cases. This was done for the purpose of identifying states that may or may not have changed their jurisprudence specifically because of the United States Supreme Court’s holding in *Berman*. It was important to identify states that may have issued decisions regarding aesthetic and historic zoning both before and after *Berman* in order to determine whether *Berman*, and thus the legal justification for urban renewal, impacted the legal justification for historic zoning. This comparison revealed that the high courts of nineteen states rendered decisions on the issues identified both prior to and following the *Berman* decision.\(^{114}\) This comparison reduced the case lists to ninety-seven cases prior to *Berman* and forty-five cases following *Berman*.\(^{115}\) Next, a doctrinal analysis of these cases was undertaken to develop an overview of the conception of the general welfare and the police power as related to aesthetic and historic zoning in these nineteen states before and after the *Berman* decision.

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\(^{113}\) As discussed below, historic zoning, *per se*, was not a direct issue in *Penn Central*. At issue was a landmark ordinance that provided for the designation of discrete structures as landmarks. Nonetheless, in upholding the landmark ordinance as a valid exercise of the regulatory power, and one that does not necessitate compensation, the Supreme Court generally recognized the constitutionality of historic zoning pursuant to a comprehensive plan. See *Penn Central Transp. Co. v. New York*, 438 U.S. 104, 129-33 (1978); *see also infra* notes 283-91 and accompanying text.

\(^{114}\) The states were Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Virginia, and Washington.

\(^{115}\) Full lists of these cases are included below in Appendices A and B.
A summary of these cases is contained below in Chapters Four and Five, and an analysis follows in Chapter Six. The summaries and analyses are undertaken with the ultimate goal of determining if *Berman*, which laid out the legal justification for urban renewal, marked a definitive change in the concept of the general welfare and the police power, thereby allowing historic zoning to proceed.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ A discussion on the scope or propriety of using judicial review to determine what does or does not constitute the general welfare and outer bounds of the police power is beyond scope of this Thesis. Rather, this Thesis seeks simply to analyze how the understanding of the police power and the concept of the general welfare, as developed in case law, underlies a fundamental legal similarity between urban renewal and historic preservation.
IV. JURISPRUDENCE PRIOR TO BERMAN

The initial search for cases decided prior to *Berman* that involved the validity of historic zoning returned no results. The lack of results cannot be read to suggest that no historic ordinances existed prior to the *Berman* decision; however, it can be read to suggest that any such ordinances were not widely challenged. Moreover, it is possible that the search was under inclusive as such ordinances could have been identified by other titles early in the Twentieth Century. Nonetheless, to compare the judicial interpretation of historic zoning before and after *Berman*’s urban renewal decision, cases prior to *Berman* that dealt with issues analogous to historic zoning needed to be identified. To this end, the search term “aesthetic” was added to the search query. “Aesthetic” was chosen because zoning for aesthetic considerations has been analogized to zoning for historic preservation. A search for cases including the term “aesthetic” prior to *Berman* returned ninety-seven cases from the high courts of the nineteen states that also rendered opinions on these zoning issues following *Berman*. Therefore, summaries of the concept of aesthetic zoning and the general welfare in these nineteen states, prior to the *Berman* decision, are contained below.

Overall, an analysis of these cases revealed that the high courts of most of the nineteen states identified refused to recognize aesthetics, alone, as a legitimate exercise of the police power for the general welfare. In other words, the courts would not uphold any ordinance or law that appeared to restrict the use of private property on solely aesthetic grounds. In so doing, the courts repeatedly stated that the only legitimate use of the police power was to regulate property so as to protect public health, safety, morality, or welfare. Importantly, the concept of “welfare”
was, comparatively, narrowly defined so as not to include aesthetics alone.\textsuperscript{117} Many of these courts, however, did recognize that the aesthetics and beauty of the community was a matter of public interest and could be tangentially related to the exercise of the police power.\textsuperscript{118} In other words, these courts refused to declare invalid an ordinance that regulated property in the interest of public health or safety, but also had the effect of creating, in the eyes of the city government or justices, a more aesthetically pleasing environment. A more detailed discussion of the relevant aspects of these cases and the implications for the states identified follows below. A brief summary of \textit{Berman v. Parker} is also included below as it is used as the before and after point of reference for jurisprudence discussed in this Thesis.

\textbf{A. State Summaries}

\textbf{Arkansas}

In \textit{Herring v. Stannus}, the Supreme Court of Arkansas determined that the city council did not abuse its discretion by issuing a special permit for a filling station in a zone that prohibited such establishments.\textsuperscript{119} While the court did not explicitly reach the issue of aesthetics in its holding, however, it did "conced[e] - without deciding – [that the] police power may not be used for purely aesthetic purposes."\textsuperscript{120}

\textbf{California}

\textsuperscript{117} \textit{See, e.g.}, Barney & Casey Co. v. Town of Milton, 87 N.E.2d 9, 16 (Mass.1949) (noting that an ordinance may not be upheld on aesthetic grounds alone).

\textsuperscript{118} \textit{See, e.g.}, City of St. Louis v. Friedman, 216 S.W.2d 475, 478 (Mo.1948) (noting that where an ordinance may be upheld on other police power grounds, aesthetic considerations are entitled to some weight).

\textsuperscript{119} \textit{Herring v. Stannus}, 275 S.W. 321, 325 (Ark. 1924).

\textsuperscript{120} \textit{Id.} at 324.
Two California zoning cases prior to *Berman* specifically state that zoning ordinances that bear no substantial relationship to the public health, safety, morality, or welfare will be struck down as invalid. The Supreme Court of California stated as much in *Feraut v. City of Sacramento*, a case in which a general zoning scheme was upheld despite some spot zoning of businesses.\(^{121}\) While the court did not reach the issue of “aesthetics alone” zoning, it nonetheless maintained that zoning ordinances must be based on the foundation of protecting public health, safety, morality, or welfare.\(^{122}\) Again in *Beverly Oil v. City of Los Angeles*, the Supreme Court of California held that zoning must be related to public health, safety, or welfare.\(^{123}\) In that case, the court upheld a prohibition on certain expansions of an oil drilling operation by noting that oil drilling was specifically declared by law to be detrimental to public health, safety, and welfare.\(^{124}\) In short, the court did not uphold the ordinance on the basis of aesthetic sense, but rather on a tangible threat to the general welfare, as described in the code.

**Connecticut**

Several Connecticut cases tangentially discussed the issue of aesthetics in dicta. In *Town of Windsor v. Whitney*, the Supreme Court of Connecticut upheld a zoning ordinance that established building lines and setback requirements.\(^{125}\) The court, however, did not uphold the

\(^{121}\) *Feraut v. City of Sacramento*, 269 P. 537, 541 (Cal. 1928).

\(^{122}\) *Id.* ("It is only when it is palpable that the measure in controversy has no real or substantial relation to the public health, safety, morals, or general welfare that it will be nullified by the courts.") (internal quotation marks omitted) (quoting *Miller v. Bd. of Pub. Works*, 234 P. 385 (Cal. 1925)).

\(^{123}\) *Beverly Oil Co. v. City of Los Angeles*, 254 P.2d 865, 869 (Cal. 1953) (en banc).

\(^{124}\) *Id.*

\(^{125}\) *Town of Windsor v. Whitney*, 111 A. 354, 355-57 (Conn.1920)
ordinance on aesthetic grounds. The court did, however, discuss the changing conception of aesthetic considerations. See id. at 357.

The court specifically noted that the building lines tended to “preserve the public health, add to the public safety from fire, and enhance the public welfare by bettering living conditions and increasing general prosperity of the neighborhood.” Rather than deciding the issue on aesthetic grounds, the court held that the ordinances served traditional police power functions related to protecting public health and safety.

In *Gionfriddo v. Town of Windsor* and *Murphy v. Town of Westport*, the court reached largely similar conclusions. In *Gionfriddo*, the court declared an ordinance prohibiting the display of vehicles for sale to be unconstitutional, stating that aesthetics alone is not enough to justify the prohibition and that such a prohibition did not relate to property value, public health, safety, or welfare. In *Murphy*, the court remanded the case for lack of facts, but in so doing, noted that, even with a shifting conception of aesthetics and the police power, aesthetics alone could not be used to justify the use of the police power.

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126 *Id.* The court did, however, discuss the changing conception of aesthetic considerations. See *id.* at 357.
127 *Id.* at 357 (“They regulate the air space, light, and ventilation of rooms.... Regulations of this character, if reasonable, do not constitute a taking of property.”).
128 *Id.*
129 *Gionfriddo v. Town of Windsor*, 81 A.2d 266, 268 (Conn. 1951).
130 *Murphy, Inc. v. Town of Westport*, 40 A.2d 177, 179-81, 183 (Conn. 1944).
Kansas

In *Ware v. City of Wichita*, the Supreme Court of Kansas upheld a zoning ordinance that provided for the separation of land uses.\(^{131}\) In upholding the ordinance, the court discussed aesthetic regulations, but did not base its holding on aesthetic considerations alone.\(^{132}\) While the court noted that the police power was broad, it ultimately upheld the ordinance on the basis that it provided for the public health, safety, and welfare.\(^{133}\)

Louisiana

Prior to *Berman*, the Supreme Court of Louisiana largely seemed to pass on the issue of aesthetic alone zoning regulations. In *New Orleans v. Southern Auto Wreckers*, the court held that an ordinance requiring a certain type of fence around junkyards was invalid.\(^{134}\) While the court passed on the aesthetics argument raised at trial, it ultimately struck the ordinance because the particular fence mandated was not necessary for public safety.\(^{135}\) The court determined that as long as a property use did “not offend public morals or jeopardize the health and safety of the public,” it was a legitimate use.\(^{136}\)

\(^{131}\) *Ware v. City of Wichita*, 214 P. 99, 102 (Kan. 1923).

\(^{132}\) *Id.* (discussing the argument that aesthetic considerations “be recognized as sufficient in themselves”).

\(^{133}\) *Id.* at 101-02 (“It cannot be denied, however, that there is good ground for the view that a reasonable zoning ordinance has some pertinent relation to the health, safety, morals, and general welfare of the community.”).

\(^{134}\) *City of New Orleans v. S. Auto Wreckers*, 192 So. 523, 527 (La. 1939).

\(^{135}\) *Id.* (“This discussion and the decisions cited which touch [aesthetic reasons] have no application here, for the reason that this ordinance is a safety measure.”).

\(^{136}\) *Id.*
Similarly, in *State ex rel Civello v. City of New Orleans*, the court upheld an ordinance which prohibited business uses in residential districts. The court found that, in passing the ordinances, the locality reasonably had public health and safety considerations in mind. The court did not explicitly state that aesthetic considerations alone either could or could not serve as a justification for the police power. It did, however, note that, while prior precedent suggested aesthetic considerations alone were not sufficient, the general welfare likely encompassed aesthetics.

Thereafter, in *New Orleans v. Levy*, the court considered the validity of a historic district ordinance. The court upheld the ordinance on constitutional grounds, because the Louisiana Constitution had recently been amended to allow for the creation of historic districts. The court held that the ordinance was valid pursuant to the Louisiana Constitution, asserting that it properly preserved both the sentimental and commercial values of New Orleans. The court thus seemed to recognize the ordinance’s validity, in part, because it promoted tourism, and therefore, the commercial value of the city. Nonetheless, the court did note in passing that “[p]erhaps esthetic considerations alone would not warrant an imposition of the several restrictions contained in the Vieux Carre Commission Ordinance.”

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137 *State ex rel Civello v. City of New Orleans*, 97 So. 440, 445 (La. 1923).
138 *See Id.* at 443-44.
139 *See id.* at 444.
140 *City of New Orleans v. Levy*, 64 So.2d 798 (La. 1953).
141 *Id.* at 799, 802-03.
142 *Id.* at 802.
143 *Id.* at 801-03.
144 *Id.* at 803.
Maryland

In Maryland Advertising Co. v. Mayor of Baltimore, the Court of Appeals of Maryland Court held that the city improperly denied the Plaintiff a permit to construct a billboard on a vacant lot on which billboards were not prohibited.\(^\text{145}\) The court did not reach the issue of aesthetic regulations for procedural reasons.\(^\text{146}\) However, the court did state that the city’s action was invalid because it was arbitrary and bore no relation to public health, safety, morals, or welfare.\(^\text{147}\)

In Byrne v. Maryland Realty Co., the Maryland Court of Appeals held that an ordinance prohibiting the erection of new dwellings unless they were constructed as separate buildings was unconstitutional.\(^\text{148}\) The court stated that “[t]he act does not relate to the police power, and its enforcement would deprive the appellee of property rights guaranteed by the Constitution, which cannot be invaded for purely aesthetic purposes under the guise of the police power.”\(^\text{149}\) The court reached the same conclusion in Goldman v. Crowther, holding that ordinances which bore no relation to public health, safety, morals, or welfare, were void.\(^\text{150}\) The court noted that because the ordinances “rest[ed] solely upon aesthetic grounds,” they were invalid.\(^\text{151}\)

\(^{145}\) Maryland Advertising Co. v. Mayor of Baltimore, 86 A.2d 169, 173-74 (Md.1952).
\(^{146}\) Id. ("the decision in the instant case was not based on esthetic grounds").
\(^{147}\) Id. (quoting Nectow v. City of Cambridge, 277 U.S. 183 (1928)) (internal quotation marks omitted) ("[S]uch restriction cannot be imposed if it does not bear a substantial relation to the public health, safety, morals, or general welfare. The action here, bearing no such relation, was arbitrary and invalid and should be reversed.").
\(^{148}\) Byrne v. Maryland Realty Co., 98 A. 547, 549 (Md.1916).
\(^{149}\) Id.
\(^{150}\) Goldman v. Crowther, 128 A. 50, 60 (Md.1925).
\(^{151}\) Id.
Massachusetts

Prior to the Berman decision, the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts routinely held that aesthetic considerations alone were not enough to warrant the exercise of the police power. In 122 Main Street v. City of Brockton, the Massachusetts court held that an ordinance establishing minimum building heights was invalid because it was unrelated to public health and safety. Particularly, the court found that the ordinance was seemingly based on aesthetic considerations — that structures less than two stories would harm the aesthetic nature of the street. However, the court explicitly rejected this rationale as a basis for the use of the police power.

Again in Barney and Casey v. Milton, the court held that an ordinance zoning the plaintiff landowner’s property as residential was invalid as applied to that particular property. This case is of particular importance because the high court reversed the decision of the trial judge, specifically because the trial judge upheld the ordinance based on aesthetic considerations alone. The Massachusetts court held that aesthetics alone was not a valid justification for using the police power to abridge property rights.

Michigan

In a series of cases from 1943 through 1951, the Supreme Court of Michigan held that ordinances establishing minimum lot sizes or building sizes were invalid exercises of local

152 122 Main St. Corp. v. City of Brockton, 84 N.E.2d 13, 16 (Mass.1949).
153 Id. at 15-16.
154 Id.
156 Id. at 14-15.
157 Id. at 14-16.
power.\textsuperscript{158} Specifically, the court noted that these ordinances were based more on aesthetic considerations than concerns for the public’s health, safety, or welfare.\textsuperscript{159} The court noted that neither aesthetic considerations alone nor the desire to protect property values alone was a valid use of the police power.\textsuperscript{160} Rather, the government action had to bear some relation to public health, safety, or welfare.\textsuperscript{161}

**Missouri**

In City of St. Louis v. Friedman, the Supreme Court of Missouri upheld the validity of an ordinance that prohibited the operation of junk yards in an industrial zone.\textsuperscript{162} The court did, however, note that the decision was not based on aesthetic considerations alone, because aesthetics alone could not justify the use of the police power.\textsuperscript{163} The court, in other words, found the ordinance to be valid because it touched on traditionally recognized police power action. While the court did not explicitly state what justification was used, the language suggests that the court found the ordinance to be a valid exercise of the police power to protect public safety.\textsuperscript{164}

\textsuperscript{158} Senefsky v. Lawler, 12 N.W.2d 387 (Mich.1943); Frischkorn Constr. Co. v. Lambert, 24 N.W.2d 209 (Mich.1946); Elizabeth Lake Estates v. Waterford Twp., 26 N.W.2d 788 (Mich. 1947); Hitchman v. Oakland Twp., 45 N.W.2d 306 (Mich.1951). These cases are of particular interest as the ordinances at issue could be considered as forms of exclusionary zoning. That is, by requiring a minimum building size throughout the town, lower income individuals may be unable to afford to live in the town. As these cases indicate, prior to Berman, these zoning schemes were likely invalid. Cf. S. Burlington Cnty. N.A.A.C.P. v. Twn. Of Mount Laurel, 456 A.2d 390, 470-71 & n.62 (N.J. 1983) (five acre lot minimums not necessarily in violation of low income housing obligation; however, such minimums will serve as evidence of facial invalidity for exclusionary zoning).

\textsuperscript{159} 12 N.W.2d at 390-91; 24 N.W.2d at 212-13; 26 N.W.2d at 792; 45 N.W.2d at 310-11.
\textsuperscript{160} 12 N.W.2d at 390-91; 24 N.W.2d at 212-13; 26 N.W.2d at 792; 45 N.W.2d at 310-11.
\textsuperscript{161} 12 N.W.2d at 390-91; 24 N.W.2d at 212-13; 26 N.W.2d at 792; 45 N.W.2d at 310-11.
\textsuperscript{162} City of St. Louis v. Friedman, 216 S.W.2d 475, 478 (Mo.1948).
\textsuperscript{163} Id. (“Esthetic values alone are not a sufficient basis for classification, but are entitled to some weight where other reasons for the exercise of the power are present.”).
\textsuperscript{164} See id.
New Hampshire

In Sundeen v. Rogers, the Supreme Court of New Hampshire upheld that validity of a zoning ordinance that established certain set back requirements for auxiliary buildings in residential districts. The landowner challenging the ordinance argued that it was grounded solely in aesthetic considerations. The court, however, rejected this argument and, citing general zoning jurisprudence, found that the setback requirements were in the interest of public health and safety. The court noted that, while aesthetics alone may not be enough to justify the use of the police power, aesthetics could be considered in conjunction with the protection of the public, health, safety, morals, or welfare. In short, the court upheld the ordinance on the basis of public health and safety, not on aesthetics alone.

New York

In Dowsey v. Village of Kensington, the Court of Appeals of New York held that an ordinance prohibiting businesses in a residential zone was invalid. The zone in question was located near the entrance to the village, and the ordinance was apparently adopted to ensure that the village frontage would remain aesthetically pleasing. The court was unable to find a justification for the ordinance in the protection of the public health, safety, or welfare. Noting

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166 See id. at 144.
167 See id. at 145 (noting that the setbacks decrease the risk of fire and increase traffic safety).
168 See id.
170 Id.
171 See id.
that the ordinance was justified with purely aesthetic reasons, the court found that ordinance was an invalid use of the police power.172

**North Carolina**

In *Appeal of Parker*, the Supreme Court of North Carolina upheld the validity of an ordinance that prohibited the erection of a wall along the street line.173 The court did not uphold the ordinance on aesthetic grounds.174 Rather, the court upheld the ordinance on the basis that it protected public safety.175 The court noted that safe streets required open and unobstructed views over crossing and intersections.176 Therefore, the police power could be used to protect public safety by prohibiting the erection of walls along the street line that would create visual obstructions. In short, the court upheld the ordinance on public safety grounds; however, it did note that it would not be inappropriate to give some weight to aesthetic considerations as the ordinance could be upheld on other grounds.177

**Pennsylvania**

Prior to the decision in *Berman*, Pennsylvania courts strongly found that property owners could not be deprived of the right to use their property freely for purely aesthetic reasons. In *Appeal of Medinger*, the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania declared an ordinance establishing minimum lot sizes to be unconstitutional.178 The court stated in strong language that "neither

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172 Id.
173 Appeal of Parker, 197 S.E. 706, 710 (N.C. 1938).
174 See id. at 710-11.
175 Id. at 710.
176 Id.
177 Id. at 711 (“while aesthetic considerations are by no means controlling, it is not inappropriate to give some weight to them”).
aesthetic reasons nor the conservation of property values or the stabilization of economic values in a township are, singly or combined, sufficient to promote the health or the morals or the safety or the general welfare of the township or its inhabitants or property owners.\textsuperscript{179}

Similarly, in \textit{Appeal of Lord}, the court found that a zoning board acted improperly when it denied a permit for a landowner to erect a radio tower in a residential district.\textsuperscript{180} The court stated that a city cannot use zoning to deprive an owner of the right to use his property because the zoning board believes that what he plans to erect is not artistic or aesthetically pleasing.\textsuperscript{181} Further, in \textit{Petition of Standard Investment Corp.}, the court found that it was invalid to deny a permit to construct a filling station in a business district for purely aesthetic reasons.\textsuperscript{182} The court determined that the ordinance did not relate to the proper scope of the police power to protect public health, safety, or welfare.\textsuperscript{183} Specifically, the court held that to be valid, ordinances “must not be from an arbitrary desire to resist the natural operation of economic laws or for purely aesthetic considerations.”\textsuperscript{184}

\textbf{Rhode Island}

In \textit{City of Providence v. Stephens}, the Supreme Court of Rhode Island found that apartment homes could be excluded from a residential district on the grounds that the exclusion

\textsuperscript{179} Id. at 122. The court further noted that “[t]his ordinance flies in the face of our birthright of Liberty and our American Way of Life, and is interdicted by the Constitution.” \textit{Id.} at 123.

\textsuperscript{180} Appeal of Lord, 81 A.2d 533, 537-38 (Pa.1951).

\textsuperscript{181} \textit{Id.} at 536

\textsuperscript{182} Petition of Standard Investments Corp., 19 A.2d 167, 168 (Pa.1941).

\textsuperscript{183} Id.

\textsuperscript{184} \textit{Id.} (quoting Appeal of White, 134 A. 409, 412 (Pa. 1926) (“[Regulation of private property] must not be from an arbitrary desire to resist the natural operation of economic laws or for purely aesthetic considerations.”)).
would promote public health and safety by lessening the risk of fire and congestion.\textsuperscript{185} The court did, however specifically state that it was not upholding the ordinance on aesthetic grounds, noting that “private advantage or purely aesthetic considerations do not supply sufficient basis for the exercise of the police power.”\textsuperscript{186} Similarly, in \textit{Sundlun v. Zoning Board of Review}, the court held that a zoning board acted improperly in denying a permit to erect a filling station in a residential district, because the record did not indicate that the station presented a threat to public health or safety.\textsuperscript{187} In that case, the court overturned the decision of the zoning board, because the board denied the permit solely on aesthetic grounds.\textsuperscript{188} The court reiterated that aesthetic considerations alone cannot justify the use of the police power.\textsuperscript{189}

\textbf{Vermont}

In the case of \textit{Vermont Salvage Corp. v. Village of St. Johnsbury}, the Supreme Court of Vermont was confronted with a challenge to a law that declared junkyards to be nuisances.\textsuperscript{190} While the court discussed general developments in the field of zoning and nuisance law, it would not recognize aesthetic considerations alone to be proper bases for the exercise of the police power.\textsuperscript{191} Specifically, the court found that a junk yard could not be declared a nuisance by the

\textsuperscript{186} \textit{Id.} at 617.
\textsuperscript{188} \textit{Id.}
\textsuperscript{189} \textit{Id.} at 455.
\textsuperscript{190} \textit{Vermont Salvage Corp. v. Vill. of St. Johnsbury}, 34 A.2d 188 (Vt. 1943).
\textsuperscript{191} \textit{Id.} at 192-97.
legislature for purely aesthetic reasons.\textsuperscript{192} Similarly, the court noted that zoning ordinances could not be used to prohibit the operation of junk yards for solely aesthetic reasons.\textsuperscript{193}

**Virginia**

The Supreme Court of Virginia decisions displayed a strongly deferential stance towards determinations of lawmakers; however, the court still struck down ordinances that could not be justified by traditional understandings of the police power. In *West Brothers Brick Company v. City of Alexandria*, the court upheld the validity of an ordinance that prohibited further expansion of a brick plant in a residential district.\textsuperscript{194} The court showed strong deference to the determinations of the legislature, city council, and planner in finding that the ordinance was related to public health, safety, and welfare.\textsuperscript{195} Nonetheless, the court did state that aesthetic considerations alone could not justify police power activity.\textsuperscript{196}

In *City of Alexandria v. Texas Co.*, the court addressed the validity of an ordinance prohibiting the erection of floodlights on a filling station.\textsuperscript{197} The court did not explicitly address aesthetic considerations; however, the court held that ordinance was invalid. The court found that the ordinance did not affect public health, safety, morals, or welfare, and therefore was not a

\textsuperscript{192} *Id.* at 197 (“It is well settled that the mere fact that a thing is unsightly and thus offends the aesthetic sense furnishes no valid ground for a declaration by the legislature that it is a nuisance.”).

\textsuperscript{193} See *id.* (“Apparently the same rule applies in this respect as to the power of a municipality to regulate for this reason [aesthetics] alone.”).

\textsuperscript{194} *West Bros. Brick Co. v. City of Alexandria*, 192 S.E. 881, 890 (Va.1937).

\textsuperscript{195} See *id.* at 889-90.

\textsuperscript{196} *Id.* at 885.

\textsuperscript{197} *City of Alexandria v. Texas Co.*, 1 S.E.2d 296, 297 (Va.1939).
proper exercise of the police power.\textsuperscript{198} In short, the court recognized that ordinances unrelated to the traditional scope of the police power were invalid.

**Maine, New Mexico, and Washington**

As identified by the search, no cases decided prior to *Berman* by the high courts of Maine, New Mexico, or Washington were relevant to the question posed by this Thesis.\textsuperscript{199}

**B. *Berman v. Parker***

In *Berman v. Parker*, appellants sought to enjoin the condemnation of their property which was located within a Washington D.C. redevelopment zone.\textsuperscript{200} In seeking an injunction, appellants challenged the constitutionality of the District of Columbia Redevelopment Act of 1945, Washington D.C.’s urban renewal legislation.\textsuperscript{201} The Redevelopment Act provided for the condemnation and transfer of private property for the “the redevelopment of blighted territory in the District of Columbia and the prevention, reduction, or elimination of blighting factors or causes of blight.”\textsuperscript{202} Further, the Act declared that “the acquisition and the assembly of real property and the leasing or sale thereof for redevelopment pursuant to a project area redevelopment plan . . . is hereby declared to be a public use.”\textsuperscript{203} Following the acquisition and assembly of land, the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency was permitted to sell or

\textsuperscript{198} *Id.* at 298-99.
\textsuperscript{199} Although there may have been no cases from these states that were relevant to the question posed by this Thesis, these cases are still included below in Appendix A with a brief description suggesting their irrelevance to this Thesis.
\textsuperscript{201} *Id.* at 28.
\textsuperscript{202} 60 Stat. 760 § 5 (1946).
\textsuperscript{203} *Id.* § 2.
lease the land to private developers who would develop the land in accordance with a general plan adopted by the National Capital Planning Commission.\textsuperscript{204}

Appellants’ property, used as a department store, was located within a zone deemed blighted and marked for redevelopment under the Act.\textsuperscript{205} Appellants’ property was condemned pursuant to the Act, but appellants challenged the action, arguing that their property was not blighted and therefore could not be taken.\textsuperscript{206} Moreover, the appellants further argued, as summarized by the Court, that “[t]o take for the purpose of ridding the area of slums is one thing; it is quite another, . . . to take a man’s property merely to develop a better balanced, more attractive community.”\textsuperscript{207}

The lower court was sympathetic to this argument, stating that “[o]ne man’s land cannot be seized by the Government and sold to another man merely in order that the purchaser may build upon it a better house or a house which better meets the Government’s idea of what is appropriate or well-designed.”\textsuperscript{208} Nonetheless, the lower court upheld the constitutionality of the Redevelopment Act by finding that the Land Agency could only condemn property for slum clearance, because slums were “injurious to the public health, safety, morals and welfare.”\textsuperscript{209} The lower court, therefore, essentially upheld the constitutionality of the Act on more traditional public health, safety, and welfare grounds.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{204} Id. § 6.
\item \textsuperscript{205} 348 U.S. at 30-31.
\item \textsuperscript{206} Id. at 31.
\item \textsuperscript{207} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{208} Id.
\item \textsuperscript{209} Schneider v. District of Columbia, 117 F. Supp. 705, 724 (D.D.C. 1953); 348 U.S. at 31.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
The lower court remained wary of the proposition that eminent domain could be used for purposes beyond the protection of public health, safety, morals or welfare.\textsuperscript{210} In modifying the lower court’s decision, however, the Supreme Court of the United States went further.\textsuperscript{211} The Supreme Court ultimately determined that even non-blighted property within a development zone could be taken, because such a taking was necessary to achieve the Redevelopment Act’s larger purpose of slum and blight clearance.\textsuperscript{212} The Court opined that if an individual owner “were permitted to resist these redevelopment programs on the ground that his particular property was not being used against the public interest, integrated plans for redevelopment would suffer greatly.”\textsuperscript{213}

In upholding the constitutionality of the Redevelopment Act, the Supreme Court professed deference to the legislature and stated that “when the legislature has spoken, the public interest has been declared in terms well-nigh conclusive.”\textsuperscript{214} Although noting that it is “fruitless” to define the scope of the police power, the Court essentially held that a legislature is capable of defining the extent of the police power.\textsuperscript{215} Seemingly because Congress had declared the acquisition and assembly of private property to be a public use, condemnation and subsequent transfer to redevelopment companies was a valid exercise of eminent domain in service to the police power, and was not in violation of the Fifth Amendment. As the Court stated, if “the object is within the authority of Congress, the right to realize it through the exercise of eminent domain is clear. For the power of eminent domain is merely the means to the end.”\textsuperscript{216}

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{210} Id. at 716-19.
\bibitem{211} Id. at 35-36.
\bibitem{212} Id.
\bibitem{213} Id. at 35.
\bibitem{214} Id. at 32.
\bibitem{215} Id.
\bibitem{216} Id. at 33.
\end{thebibliography}
In determining that the Redevelopment Act was indeed instituted for the public interest, the Court discussed the scope of the police power and the concept of the public welfare. It noted that the preservation of public safety, health, morality, peace, quiet, law and order were more conspicuous examples of the police power.\textsuperscript{217} However, the Court stated that these applications did not delimit the police power.\textsuperscript{218} Asserting that disreputable housing conditions were an ugly sore that robbed a community of its charm, the court found that

\begin{quote}
[t]he concept of the public welfare is broad and inclusive. . . . The Values it represents are spiritual as well as physical, aesthetic as well as monetary. It is within the power of the legislature to determine that the community should be beautiful as well as healthy, spacious as well as clean, well-balanced as well as carefully patrolled. . . . If [Congress] decide[s] that the Nation’s Capital should be beautiful as well as sanitary, there is nothing in the Fifth Amendment that stands in the way.\textsuperscript{219}
\end{quote}

Where the District Court had upheld the constitutionality of the Act on traditional police power grounds, the Supreme Court went further and declared that the police power, and therefore eminent domain, could essentially be used to beautify a community.\textsuperscript{220} In its discussion, this Thesis seeks to explore whether this holding in \textit{Berman} served as the basis for upholding historic zoning ordinances. If so, historic zoning, though seemingly opposed to urban renewal, would share fundamental legal ties to urban renewal legislation.

\textsuperscript{217} Id. at 32.
\textsuperscript{218} Id.
\textsuperscript{219} Id. at 33.
\textsuperscript{220} See id.
V. JURISPRUDENCE FOLLOWING BERMAN

Forty-five state high court decisions were identified by conducting the search for cases following Berman but prior to Penn Central. These cases span across nineteen states that also were identified in the search of cases prior to Berman. Therefore, summaries of the concept of historic zoning, aesthetic zoning, and the general welfare in these nineteen states, following the Berman decision, are contained below. While reaching mixed conclusions, many of these cases show that state high courts were more likely to uphold historic zoning by using the broad concept of the general welfare and police power derived from the Berman decision. The Court of Appeals of Maryland held that regulation could not be used to create aesthetically pleasing results, but could be used to preserve aesthetically pleasing or historic sites; the Supreme Court of Connecticut passed on ruling directly on historic zoning, though noted that it likely was a valid aspect of the general welfare; the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania noted that aesthetics alone could not serve as the sole basis for zoning, but nonetheless embraced a broad definition of general welfare as proposed in Berman; and, the high courts of New Hampshire, New Mexico, and Massachusetts embraced Berman’s broad scope of the general welfare and upheld historic zoning ordinances.

221 See supra Chapter III.
222 See infra notes 232-34 and accompanying text.
223 See infra notes 227-31 and accompanying text.
224 See infra notes 263-74 and accompanying text.
225 See infra notes 249-52, 253-58, 235-48 and accompanying text.
A brief summary of *Penn Central Transportation Co. v. City of New York* is also included below as the United States Supreme Court’s decision in that case is generally considered of great importance to historic preservation.\(^{226}\)

### A. State Summaries

#### Connecticut

In *Figarsky v. Historic District Commission*, the Supreme Court of Connecticut reviewed the decision of the local historic commission to deny a certificate of appropriateness for demolishing a structure within a historic zone.\(^{227}\) The court ultimately held that the historic commission properly denied the certificate and upheld the validity of the ordinance at issue.\(^{228}\) In so doing, the court cited the *Berman* decision and the Massachusetts Supreme Court and found that public welfare includes the preservation of historic areas.\(^{229}\) Although the court chose to pass on whether aesthetics alone is enough to justify the use of the police power, it noted that the concept of public welfare is very “broad and inclusive.”\(^{230}\) Further, it did not explicitly state that historic zoning served to protect public health or safety. While passing on the issue of aesthetics

\(^{226}\) See, e.g., DANIEL R. MANDELKER, LAND USE LAW § 11.33 (5th ed. 2003) (“Since *Penn Central*, which upheld the New York City landmarks preservation law, the courts have accepted the aesthetic and other regulatory purposes served by historic landmark preservation.”).  
\(^{227}\) *Id.* at 171-72.  
\(^{228}\) *Id.* at 169-70 (citing Berman v. Parker, 348 U.S. 26, 33 (1954)) (citing Op. of the Justices, 128 N.E.2d 557 (Mass. 1955)) (“[T]he preservation of historic areas in a static form serves the amorphous concept of the ‘public welfare.’”)  
\(^{229}\) *Id.* at 170-71 (quoting 348 U.S. at 33). In quoting *Berman’s* language regarding aesthetics, the court seemed to recognize that historic zoning necessarily involved aesthetic considerations. *Id.* at 170. While the court noted that aesthetics alone may not be enough, it did not invalidate the regulations at issue, because they were neither vague nor undefined. *Id.* Moreover, the court “indicated that aesthetic considerations may have a definite relation to the public welfare.” *Id.* at 171 (citations omitted).
alone, it nonetheless seemed to base its decision almost entirely on an expansive understanding of “public welfare” that includes historic and aesthetic considerations.  

**Maryland**

The search returned no cases decided by the Court of Appeals of Maryland that directly addressed historic zoning. However, some cases addressing billboard regulations were identified. In these cases, the Maryland court struck down local ordinances that prohibited the erection of billboards or painted signs. While a full analysis of the aesthetic implications of the ordinances was not necessary for the court to reach its holdings, it nonetheless stated that aesthetics alone could not justify the use of the police power to restrict the erection of billboards or painted signs. However, in *Mayor of Baltimore v. Mano Schwartz, Inc.*, the court recognized that aesthetic considerations did play a proper role when used for preservation. The court stated that “the police power may rightly be exercised to preserve an area which is generally regarded by the public to be pleasing to the eye or historically or architecturally significant.”

**Massachusetts**

Following *Berman*, the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts issued opinions that directly covered aesthetic and historic zoning regulations. In *John Donnelly & Sons, Inc. v. Outdoor Advertising Board*, the court upheld the locality’s decision to deny plaintiff’s permit for

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231 See id. at 169-71.
233 See 299 A.2d at 832 (noting that aesthetic goals may only serve an additional purpose if health, morals, or safety are already being served); 271 A.2d at 146-48.
234 299 A.2d at 835.
off-premises outdoor advertising signs. The court noted that it is not possible to fix firm limits to the police power, and explicitly concluded “that aesthetics alone may justify the exercise of the police power; that within the broad concept of ‘general welfare,’ cities and towns may enact reasonable bill-board regulations designed to preserve and improve their physical environment.” In reaching this conclusion, the court cited language in Berman for the proposition “that the general welfare embraces aesthetic considerations.” Moreover the court noted that “[a]lthough Berman involved the use of eminent domain, this expansive view of the general welfare is applicable to the zoning power.” The Massachusetts court thus adopted Berman’s entanglement of the police power and eminent domain, effectively recognizing that if a government has authority to act under one power it also has authority to act under the other. Furthermore the court noted that the increased weight given to aesthetic considerations was related to historic zoning.

The Massachusetts court also directly addressed the constitutionality of historic zoning in two separate opinions which answered questions posed by the Massachusetts Senate. In both

236 Id. at 717.
237 Id. at 717 (citing Berman v. Parker, 348 U.S. 26, 33 (1954)).
238 Id.
239 Id. at 718 (citing Op. of the Justices to the Senate, 128 N.E.2d 557 (Mass. 1955)) (“In expressing the opinion that the proposed legislation establishing historic districts in the town of Nantucket was constitutional, the court noted the growing tendency to give more weight to aesthetic considerations.”).
240 Op. of the Justices to the Senate, 128 N.E.2d 563 (Mass. 1955) (recognizing the validity of the Beacon Hill historic act); 128 N.E.2d 557 (recognizing the validity of the Nantucket historic act). In these two opinions, the court did not actually uphold the validity of the historic zoning law as applied in a case brought by a plaintiff. The court did, however, generally uphold the validity of such laws in answering questions posed by the Massachusetts Senate.
instances, the court suggested that historic district zoning was constitutional.\textsuperscript{241} The court extensively discussed aesthetic zoning and its relationship to historic zoning.\textsuperscript{242} The court specifically discussed earlier decisions that held that aesthetic considerations alone could not justify the exercise of the police power, because the police power and zoning must relate directly to public health and safety and less directly to public morals.\textsuperscript{243} The court even noted that the proposed historic zoning act could “hardly be said in any ordinary sense to relate to the public safety, health, or morals.”\textsuperscript{244}

However, the court went on to discuss how earlier decisions restricting zoning to situations that addressed public health, safety, or morals were decided prior to the “general acceptance” of extensive zoning restrictions.\textsuperscript{245} Directly citing \textit{Berman}, the Massachusetts court stated that “[t]here is reason to think that more weight might now be given to aesthetic considerations than was given to them [in the early twentieth century].”\textsuperscript{246} The court then went on to note how the construction of “incongruous structures” could destroy the historic character of the town.\textsuperscript{247} Ultimately, based on an expanding conception of the police power and the public welfare, as embraced in \textit{Berman}, the Supreme Court of Massachusetts concluded that the historic district zoning act would be constitutional.\textsuperscript{248}

\textsuperscript{241} 128 N.E.2d at 567 (Beacon Hill); 128 N.E.2d at 562 (Nantucket). The opinion discussing the Beacon Hill district used the same analysis as the opinion discussing the Nantucket district, and referred to the Nantucket opinion without reiterating it. 128 N.E.2d at 567. Therefore, footnotes 221 through 227 will cite to the Nantucket opinion only.
\textsuperscript{242} 128 N.E.2d at 561-61.
\textsuperscript{243} \textit{Id.} at 561.
\textsuperscript{244} \textit{Id.}
\textsuperscript{245} \textit{Id.}
\textsuperscript{246} \textit{Id.} (citing \textit{Berman v. Parker}, 348 U.S. 26, 33 (1954)).
\textsuperscript{247} \textit{Id.} at 562.
\textsuperscript{248} \textit{Id.}
New Hampshire

Following Berman, the Supreme Court of New Hampshire explicitly held that historic zoning was within the scope of the police power. In reaching this conclusion, the court analogized historic zoning to aesthetic regulations. The court cited the Massachusetts Supreme Court’s Opinion of the Justices to the Senate for the proposition that aesthetic and historic zoning was within the scope of the police power. It is important to note that the New Hampshire court cited the Opinion of the Justices, because that opinion in turn directly cited to Berman for justification to find historic zoning valid.

New Mexico

In Santa Fe v. Gamble-Skogmo, Inc., the Supreme Court of New Mexico upheld the conviction of a landowner for violating an ordinance that required only certain windows be used for structures in a historic district. In upholding the conviction, the court generally upheld the validity of the ordinance. The court declined to discuss whether aesthetics alone could be the basis for zoning, but did mention that, under the precedent set in Berman, this was an accelerating trend. Nonetheless, in upholding the ordinance, the court did discuss the importance of aesthetics to historic neighborhoods and the importance of historic neighborhoods

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249 Town of Deering ex rel Bittenbender v. Tibbetts, 202 A.2d 232, 234 (N.H. 1964) (“That such a purpose is a generally recognized basis for the exercise of the police power is now too well established to be open to question.”) (citation omitted).

250 See id. at 234-35.

251 Id. at 236 (citing Op. of the Justices to the Senate, 128 N.E.2d 557, 562 (Mass. 1955)).

252 See supra notes 220-28 and accompanying text.


254 Id. at 18.

255 See id. at 17-18 (citing Berman v. Parker, 348 U.S. 26, 33 (1954)).
The court determined, therefore, that historic zoning was a valid exercise of the police power, in part at least because it helped provide for tourism revenue. Further, New Mexico Supreme Court discussed the Massachusetts Supreme Court’s Opinion of the Justices in reaching the conclusion that historic zoning was a valid exercise of the police power.

New York

In Lutheran Church v. New York, the Court of Appeals of New York adjudicated a case in which the plaintiff landowner challenged the designation of its property as a historic landmark. The court’s ultimate holding was that the designation could not be upheld as a non-confiscatory use of the police power, because the owner was essentially denied all economically viable use of his property under the requirement that the property not be demolished. In reaching this holding, it was unnecessary for the court to address the issue of aesthetic or historic zoning.

The dissent, however, sought to uphold the landmark designation and noted that landmark laws, while leaning heavily on economic justifications – for example, that they promote tourism or protect property values – serve the primary purpose of protecting aesthetic and historic properties. In this discussion, the dissent suggested that perhaps it was time that aesthetics was seen as a valid justification of the police power in and of itself, because “historic

\[\text{footnotes}\]

256 Id. at 15.
257 Id. at 18 (“New Mexico is particularly dependent upon its scenic beauty to attract the host of visitors, the income from whose visits is a vital factor in our economy.”).
258 Id. at 17-18 (citing Op. of the Justices to the Senate, 128 N.E.2d 557 (Mass. 1955)); see supra notes 220-28 and accompanying text.
260 Id. at 312.
261 Id. at 313 & n.4 (Jasen, J., dissenting).
preservation promotes aesthetic values by adding to the variety, the beauty and the quality of life.”

**Pennsylvania**

In *Best v. Zoning Board of Adjustment*, the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania upheld the validity of an ordinance establishing a single family residential zone as applied to a structure with twenty two bedrooms and seven baths. In upholding the ordinance, the court extensively quoted from *Berman* for the proposition that the concept of the general welfare is broad and that it encompasses aesthetics. The court also quoted from the Massachusetts Supreme Court’s *Opinion of the Justices to the Senate* for the proposition that historic zoning as well fell within the scope of the general welfare and the police power. The court further stated that if the legislature can compel the sale of a property to create a more attractive community, it can certainly regulate property to create a more attractive community. Ultimately, the court determined that

> not only is the preservation of the attractive characteristics of a community a proper element of the general welfare, but also the preservation of property values is a legitimate consideration since “[A]nything that tends to destroy property values of the inhabitants of the [community] necessarily adversely affects the prosperity, and therefore the general welfare, of the entire [community].”

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262 *Id.*
263 *Id.* at 608, 613 (Pa. 1958).
264 *Id.* at 612-13 (citing *Berman v. Parker*, 348 U.S. 26, 31-33 (1954)).
265 *Id.* at 611-12 (quoting Op. of the Justices to the Senate, 128 N.E.2d 557, 561 (Mass. 1955)).
266 *Id.* at 612.
267 *Id.* at 612-13 (quoting *State ex rel Saveland Park Holding Corp. v. Wieland*, 69 N.W.2d 217, 222 (Wis. 1955)).
In *National Land and Investment Co. v. Kohn*, the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania declared invalid an ordinance that established minimum lot sizes.\(^{268}\) The locality defending the ordinance argued that it was necessary to preserve the historic and aesthetically pleasing, rural environment in the locality.\(^{269}\) The court found, however, that the ordinance was not in the interests of the general welfare because it essentially served to protect the interests of landowners already residing on larger lots within the locality.\(^{270}\) The police power, therefore, could not be used because the ordinance did not relate to public health, safety, or welfare.\(^{271}\) In reaching this holding, the court explicitly noted in a footnote that “zoning may not be sustained *solely* on the basis of aesthetic considerations.”\(^{272}\)

In *Shapp v. National Gettysburg Battlefield Tower, Inc.*, the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania found that a state constitutional provision making the state a protector in trust of aesthetic and historic sites in the state was not self-executing, but required further legislation in order to prohibit development near historic sites.\(^{273}\) While the case does not involve a challenge to the validity of an ordinance, it is nonetheless important to report because the court specifically

\(^{269}\) *Id.* at 611.
\(^{270}\) *See id.* at 612.
\(^{271}\) *See id.* at 606-13. The court, however, discussed how the holding did “not mean that individual action is foreclosed.” *Id.* at 612. The court noted that an individual was still free to “singly or with his neighbors, purchase sufficient neighboring land to protect and preserve by restrictions in deeds or by covenants inter se, the privacy, a minimum acreage, the quiet peaceful atmosphere and the tone and character of the community which existed when he or they moved there.” *Id.* at 612-13 (internal quotation marks omitted) (citation omitted).
\(^{272}\) *Id.* at 610 n.9.
stated that through the new constitutional provision, “the Commonwealth has been given power to act in areas of purely aesthetic or historic concern.”

**Virginia**

In *Board of Supervisors v. Rowe*, the Supreme Court of Virginia addressed an ordinance that established architectural design review regulations.\[275\] The case is relevant to this Thesis to the extent that the court ultimately found that a locality could not use the police power for solely aesthetic purposes.\[276\] The court’s decision, however, was based largely on the fact that the ordinances were outside of the scope of the pertinent enabling legislation.\[277\] The court specifically noted that the Code of Virginia permitted the creation of historic districts and design guidelines under certain circumstances.\[278\] The ordinance at issue was invalid because it failed to conform to the guidelines of that legislation.\[279\]

**Washington**

In *Department of Ecology v. Pacesetter Construction Co., Inc.*, the Supreme Court of Washington found that the police power could be used to protect aesthetics when it also served to protect against economic loss.\[280\] The court, therefore, passed on deciding whether the police

\[274\] *Id.* at 592.
\[276\] *Id.* at 213.
\[277\] *Id.*
\[278\] *Id.*
\[279\] *See id.*
power could be invoked for aesthetic considerations alone.\textsuperscript{281} This case was of little relevance to this Thesis as it involved environmental legislation rather than historic zoning.

\textbf{Arkansas, California, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Michigan, Missouri, North Carolina, Rhode Island, and Vermont}

As identified by the search, no cases decided after \textit{Berman} by the high courts of Arkansas, California, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Michigan, Missouri, North Carolina, Rhode Island, or Vermont were relevant to the question posed by this Thesis.\textsuperscript{282}

\textbf{B. \textit{Penn Central Transportation Co. v. City of New York}}

Finally, in addition to state courts that addressed the issue of historic zoning, the Supreme Court of the United States addressed the issue on June 26, 1978, in the case of \textit{Penn Central Transportation Co. v. City of New York}.\textsuperscript{283} While \textit{Penn Central} is famous for its applications to inverse condemnation and takings analyses, it also served to generally recognize the validity of historic district zoning ordinances and landmark ordinances.\textsuperscript{284} Before reaching its holding on

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\textsuperscript{281} See id. at 201.
\textsuperscript{282} Although there may have been no cases from these states that were relevant to the question posed by this Thesis, these cases are still included below in Appendix B with a brief description suggesting their irrelevance to this Thesis.
\textsuperscript{284} It is useful to note that the lower court had determined that this case was not about general historic district zoning, but rather about the designation of individual structures as landmarks. See id. at 138 & n.2 (Rehnquist, J., dissenting). The majority, however, in upholding the designation and finding that no taking had occurred, generally found that landmark designation was similar to historic districting and essentially linked the two concepts. The majority, for example, noted that the landmark designation had been applied to all the structures in New York’s thirty one historic districts in addition to four hundred other individual landmarks. See 438 U.S. 104, 134. The majority equated the burdens on these properties to those felt by properties under zoning regulations. \textit{Id.} at 133-34. While the appellants did not challenge the landmark ordinance on the grounds that it was an improper use of zoning, the majority discussed the landmark ordinance within the context of general zoning regulations stating that while the Landmark Ordinance “has a more severe impact on some landowners than on others . . .

\end{flushright}
the takings issue, the Court cited *Berman* and noted that “States and cities may enact land-use restrictions or controls to enhance the quality of life by preserving the character and desirable aesthetic features of a city.” 285 The Court also recognized that the landmark ordinance was a valid exercise of the police power, similar to historic zoning, because it “embodie[d] a comprehensive plan to preserve structures of historic or aesthetic interest wherever they might be found in the city.” 286

The Court also generally recognized the validity of historic zoning, noting that appellants’ arguments would not stand if New York had encumbered the property with historic district legislation. 287 In making this recognition, the Supreme Court approvingly cited *Maher v. City of New Orleans*, a Fifth Circuit case that generally found that *Berman* could be used to justify historic zoning as within the scope of the police power. 288

Finally, the majority in *Penn Central* did not find that the landmark ordinance’s requirement to keep property in good repair went beyond the permissible scope of regulatory activity. 289 However, such a requirement, as Justice Rehnquist noted in his dissent burdened

. . [s]imilarly, zoning laws often affect some property owners more severely than others but have not been held to be invalid on that account.” *Id.* 285


286 *Id.* at 132.

287 *Id.* at 131 (citing *Maher v. New Orleans*, 516 F.2d 1051 (5th Cir. 1975)) (“Appellants, moreover, also do not dispute that a showing of diminution in property value would not establish a taking if the restriction had been imposed as a result of historic-district legislation.”).

288 *Id.*; see 516 F.2d at 1060, 1063-64, 1067 (“Proper state purposes may encompass not only the goal of abating undesirable conditions, but of fostering ends the community deems worthy.”) (“Although it primarily concerned a taking, *Berman v. Parker* supplies an apt analogy to the present situation.”) (“The Vieux Carre Ordinance was enacted to pursue the legitimate state goal of preserving the “tout ensemble” of the historic French Quarter.”).

289 *See* 438 U.S. at 137-38.
appellants with “an affirmative duty, backed by criminal fines and penalties.”

Extending the majority’s rationale Justice Rehnquist opined that where the government desires to preserve private land for public use, “it need not condemn the property but need merely order that it be preserved in its present form and be kept ‘in good repair.’”

290 Id. at 140 (Rehnquist, J., dissenting).
291 Id. at 146 n. 9 (Rehnquist, J., dissenting).
VI. DISCUSSION

Two of the most important tools in a local government’s toolkit are the police power and eminent domain. These tools are theoretically distinct from each other; however, court decisions since the beginning of the twentieth century have lessened the barrier between the two powers. In 1954, the United States Supreme Court rendered a decision in Berman v. Parker that conflated the outer bounds of the police power as those of eminent domain. In that case, the Court essentially determined that a locality may exercise the power of eminent domain for any purpose that it could regulate with the police power. Effectively, the Court expanded and reinterpreted the Fifth Amendment’s requirement that eminent domain only be exercised for “public use.”

Rather, in upholding Urban Renewal activity that involved eminent domain, the Court began to expand the concept of public use so as to be coterminous with the police power. Within the context of eminent domain however, this expansion presents a problem because, as many courts have noted, the police power should not necessarily have set limitations.

293 See id. (“Once the object is within the authority of Congress, the rights to realize it through the exercise of eminent domain is clear. For the power of eminent domain is merely the means to the end.”).
294 U.S. CONST. amend. V (“nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation”).
295 Id. at 32-33; see supra notes 199-201; see also Lavine, supra note 14 (quoting D. Benjamin Barros, Nothing “Errant” About it: The Berman and Midkiff Conference Notes and How the Supreme Court got to Kelo With its Eyes Wide Open, in PRIVATE PROPERTY, COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT, AND EMINENT DOMAIN 57, 64 & N.38, 66 (Robin Paul Malloy, ed. 2008)) (“[T]he Court’s focus was to ‘link the permissible scope of eminent domain [to] the broad scope of the police power.’ Applying the ‘virtually limitless scope of the police power’ to the power of eminent domain was consistent with the Court’s gradual acceptance of a broad interpretation of the Public Use Clause.”).
296 See, e.g., 348 U.S. at 32 (“An attempt to define [the Police Power’s] reach or trace its outer limits is fruitless, for each case must turn on its own facts.”); Gorieb v. Fox, 134 S.E. 914, 916 (Va.1926) (“The extent of this power is difficult to define, but it is elastic and expands
Traditionally, the police power was seen as the power of a government body to pass laws that provide for the public health, safety, morals, and welfare. Courts were hesitant to declare hard limits to the police power, recognizing that changing times and conditions may require a more or less expansive understanding of the power. Nonetheless, for the first half of the Twentieth Century, the police power was understood to have the effective limitation that it must only be exercised for the public health, safety, morals, or welfare; courts were hesitant to expand that limitation, abridging private property rights in the process. While discussing the police power in the *Berman* decision, however, the United States Supreme Court stated that

the concept of the public welfare is broad and inclusive. . . . The Values it represents are spiritual as well as physical, aesthetic as well as monetary. It is within the power of the legislature to determine that the community should be beautiful as well as healthy, spacious as well as clean, well-balanced as well as carefully patrolled.\(^{297}\)

The question that this discussion seeks to answer is: Did the Supreme Court’s decision in *Berman* lead to the validation of historic zoning ordinances where before they may not have been valid? In short, are the legal justifications for urban renewal espoused by the Supreme Court in *Berman* fundamentally related to the legal justifications for historic zoning?

\(^{297}\) Id. at 33.
C. Overview prior to Berman

The initial search for cases relating to historic zoning ordinances prior to Berman did not return any results. The lack of results could be due to several factors, or any combination of them. For example, it is possible that historic zoning ordinances were not in widespread use in the years prior to the Berman decision. Alternatively, ordinances could have been in use, but may not have been widely challenged. Regardless, the lack of results required that analogous cases prior to Berman be identified so as to compare the effects that Berman had on the concept of the general welfare and historic zoning in particular. For this reason, cases dealing with aesthetic zoning prior to Berman were identified and analyzed. Aesthetic zoning cases were chosen because historic zoning has generally been recognized as a form of aesthetic regulation.\(^{298}\) As outlined above in Chapter Four, fifteen of the nineteen states identified through the search parameters would not recognize zoning on the basis of aesthetic considerations alone.\(^{299}\) One state, however, demonstrated a conflicted view of aesthetic and historic zoning, suggesting that where such regulations also served to promote economic health, they would be valid. The results generated for the three other states were largely irrelevant to the question being posed by this Thesis.\(^{300}\)

The cases from the sixteen relevant states revealed a general consensus that aesthetic considerations alone could not serve as the justification for a zoning ordinance.\(^{301}\) Some courts went further stating that aesthetics could never serve as a justification for zoning ordinances.

\(^{298}\) See supra note 110 and accompanying text.
\(^{299}\) As discussed above, the nineteen states included for analysis and discussion were chosen because they were represented in the search results for cases both prior to and following Berman. See supra Chapter III.
\(^{300}\) See supra note 199 and accompanying text; see also infra Appendix A.
\(^{301}\) But see infra notes 319-24 (discussing the decisions of the Louisiana Supreme Court prior to Berman).
Other courts suggested ordinances properly grounded in health, safety, or welfare justifications would not be declared invalid simply because they also touched on aesthetic concerns. Similarly, some courts held that it was proper to consider aesthetic implications, but only if the ordinance could independently be upheld on other grounds. Cases from Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Louisiana provided particularly interesting insights into the state of aesthetic zoning prior to *Berman*.

The Supreme Court of Massachusetts, for example, specifically overturned the opinion of the trial judge in *Barney and Casey v. Milton*, because that judge upheld a zoning ordinance on the basis of aesthetic considerations. The trial judge had determined that if a district located near the entrance to the town were zoned as commercial, the commercial buildings “may well give one approaching the town a wrong impression of the residential character of the town.” The Supreme Court, however, noted that such an aesthetic consideration could not be used as the basis of a zoning ordinance. In a statement that is very relevant to the application of historic zoning later, the Massachusetts Supreme Court further noted that “[r]egard for the preservation of the natural beauty of a neighborhood makes the enactment of a zoning regulation desirable but does not itself give vitality to the regulation.”

The Court of Appeals of New York made a similar finding in *Dowsey v. Village of Kensington*. In that case, the city had adopted a zoning ordinance that zoned nearly the entire

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303 *Id.* at 14.
304 *Id.* at 14-15
305 *Id.* at 15.
city exclusively as a single family detached residential zone. The court found that this ordinance was adopted with the apparent intention “of providing a beautiful and dignified village frontage on the public thoroughfare.” While noting that such considerations “need not be disregarded in the formulation of regulations to promote the public welfare,” the court nonetheless held that even the widest extension of the police power could not be used to justify an ordinance with purely aesthetic considerations. Thus, the high courts of both New York and Massachusetts specifically held that the police power cannot be used to embrace ordinances that have the sole purpose of providing a more beautiful village frontage.

Similarly, 122 Main Street v. Brockton dealt with issues that are quite analogous to historic zoning. In interpreting the contemporary zoning enabling act, the Massachusetts Supreme Court approvingly quoted earlier cases for the proposition that the police power cannot be exercised for purely aesthetic reasons. In this specific case, the court determined that a minimum height ordinance was invalid under the enabling act and prior aesthetic jurisprudence. In reaching its holding, the court specifically rejected the city’s argument that the ordinance was necessary “to ensure a reasonable permanency to the character of the districts in conformity with its initial establishment.” In rejecting that argument, the court stated that “[i]t is not within the scope of the [enabling] act to enact zoning regulations for the purpose of

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307 See id.
308 Id.
309 Id. at 430-31.
310 122 Main St. Corp. v. City of Brockton, 84 N.E.2d 13, 16 (Mass.1949).
311 Id. at 15-16.
312 Id. at 16.
313 Id. at 15.
assisting a municipality to retain or assume a general appearance deemed to be ideal, or to inflate its taxable revenue.”

Further, the court noted that

where legislation seeks to force land to remain vacant unless the owner will erect a structure of at least two stories . . . or will not permit him to remodel an existing structure except under the same conditions, the general benefit to the community must be something more tangible and less nebulous than any supposed advantages which the city has been able to bring forward in this case.

The Pennsylvania Supreme Court similarly found that an ordinance establishing minimum lot sizes was unconstitutional as an invalid use of the police power. In Appeal of Medinger, the court strongly declared that neither aesthetic considerations nor the protection of property values nor the protection of the local economy had any relation to promoting the health, safety, morals, or general welfare of a community.

In short, the court denounced the proposition that the police power could be used to deny a property owner rights in his property for purely aesthetic considerations. Moreover, neither aesthetics nor the conservation of economic or property value fell within the scope of the general welfare. Again in two further cases, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court held that an owner could not be deprived by zoning of the right to either erect a radio tower or construct a filling station, simply because those uses offended the aesthetic sensibilities of others.

The major exception to this general rule comes from a 1953 Louisiana Case in which the Louisiana Supreme Court upheld what was essentially a historic zoning ordinance that preserved

\[\text{\small \textsuperscript{314} Id. at 16.} \]
\[\text{\small \textsuperscript{315} Id.} \]
\[\text{\small \textsuperscript{316} Appeal of Medinger, 104 A.2d 118, 122-23 (Pa.1954).} \]
\[\text{\small \textsuperscript{317} See id.} \]
\[\text{\small \textsuperscript{318} Appeal of Lord, 81 A.2d 533, 537-38 (Pa.1951); Petition of Standard Investments Corp., 19 A.2d 167, 168 (Pa.1941).} \]
the appearance of the Vieux Carre district of New Orleans.\textsuperscript{319} The court upheld the ordinance because the Constitution of Louisiana had been amended to specifically provide for its creation.\textsuperscript{320} However, the court also noted that the ordinance would tend to promote tourism, and therefore, the commercial value of the city.\textsuperscript{321} Nonetheless, the court did note in passing that “[p]erhaps esthetic considerations alone would not warrant an imposition of the several restrictions contained in the Vieux Carre Commission Ordinance.”\textsuperscript{322} The Louisiana court, therefore, was unique in generally recognizing that such ordinances were within the scope of the police power, prior to \textit{Berman}. In recognizing the validity, however, the court did note that the Louisiana Constitution and the ordinance “recite that preservation is for the public welfare.”\textsuperscript{323} While, therefore, this decision came down prior to \textit{Berman}, it nonetheless did use the same justification for historic zoning as \textit{Berman} did for urban renewal; that is, a broader definition of public welfare.\textsuperscript{324}

Nonetheless, despite Louisiana’s position, these highlighted cases together demonstrate a general rule that prior to the United States Supreme Court’s decision in \textit{Berman}, aesthetic considerations alone could not be used as the basis for zoning ordinances.\textsuperscript{325} Moreover, the cases have interesting parallels to historic zoning, which strongly indicate that historic zoning would

\textsuperscript{319} City of New Orleans v. Levy, 64 So.2d 798 (La. 1953).
\textsuperscript{320} \textit{Id.} at 799.
\textsuperscript{321} \textit{Id.} at 801-03.
\textsuperscript{322} \textit{Id.} at 803.
\textsuperscript{323} \textit{Id.}
\textsuperscript{324} See supra notes 200-20 and accompanying text (discussing \textit{Berman v. Parker}).
\textsuperscript{325} This rule is deemed general on the basis of the states represented in this Thesis’ discussion and table of cases. Although Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania are highlighted here, the high courts of twelve other states mentioned above reached similar conclusions, as outlined in Chapter Four. The major exception was the Louisiana Supreme Court. It stated that aesthetics alone could not justify the use of the police power, but it did uphold what was essentially a historic zoning ordinance, because it promoted tourism.
have generally been suspect prior to *Berman*. The ordinances at issue in these cases seemed to have the objective of preserving the existing physical environment of the city and prohibiting any land uses that were deemed in opposition to the apparent existing beauty of the cities. The ordinances sought to preserve the appearance of city centers by prohibiting single story structures, to ensure aesthetically pleasing village frontages, to preserve the character of the town as initially existed, or to maintain the general residential character of certain districts. The courts consistently noted that these objectives could not be accomplished through the use of the police power. While the courts noted that these aesthetic considerations could be auxiliary to the primary purpose of the ordinances, they could not serve as the basis.

Considering that many of the invalidated ordinances sought to preserve the existing aesthetic fabric of their jurisdiction, it is likely that courts would have similarly rejected ordinances that were based on preserving historic structures or districts for aesthetic reasons. Moreover, the language used by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court suggests that even had such aesthetic ordinances also served to preserve property values, they would have still been invalid. This further point indicates an early reluctance to extend the police power or the concept of the general welfare so as to include economic considerations. Recognizing a more limited scope for the police power, the court consistently held that regulations must bear some relationship to the public health, safety, or welfare to be valid. Aesthetic considerations did not fall into this rubric.

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326 Again, this conclusion is made on the basis of cases herein identified. Circumstances obviously would vary by state, especially depending on specific enabling legislation. *Cf. infra* notes 319-24 and accompanying text (discussing the state of the law in Louisiana prior to *Berman*). Nonetheless the conclusions drawn here do indicate a general reluctance on the part of courts to extend the police power so as to include aesthetic considerations (and presumably had the issue arisen, historic zoning) alone.
Similarly, it is quite likely that most courts would have held that historic zoning also did not fall into this rubric, as existed prior to *Berman*.

**D. Overview following *Berman***

As outlined above in Chapter Five, the search for cases relating to historic zoning ordinances following *Berman* but prior to *Penn Central* returned forty five cases from the high courts of nineteen states that also returned results prior to *Berman*.

Nine of the nineteen state high courts identified issued opinions directly applicable to the question posed by this Thesis; the results generated for the ten other states were largely irrelevant to the question.

Connecticut recognized a generally broad view of the general welfare and police power, but would not extend it to solely aesthetic considerations. Virginia invalidated design review restrictions, stating that the police power cannot be used for aesthetics alone. Washington found that in an environmental context, the police power could be used to protect aesthetics when it also protected against economic loss. New York did not rule directly on the validity of aesthetic or historic zoning regulations, but had a strong dissent that suggested it was time to adopt an aesthetics alone rule. Pennsylvania recognized the validity of historic zoning per the state constitution, and cited *Berman* for the proposition that the concept of the general welfare encompasses aesthetics, but nonetheless would not recognize that aesthetics alone could justify

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327 *See supra* Chapter V.
328 *See supra* note 282 and accompanying text; *see also infra* Appendix B.
329 *See supra* notes 227-31 and accompanying text.
330 *See supra* notes 275-79. This case did not, however, involve a challenge to a historic district ordinance, which the court did recognize was specifically provided for by statute. *See Bd. of Supervisors v. Rowe*, 216 S.E.2d 199, 213 (Va. 1975).
331 *See supra* notes 280-81. As with the Virginia case, the Washington case did not involve a challenge to a historic district ordinance. *See Dep’t of Ecology v. Pacesetter Constr. Co., Inc.*, 571 P.2d 196 (Wash. 1977) (en banc).
332 *See supra* notes 259-62 and accompanying text.

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use of the police power. Maryland held that regulation could not be used to create aesthetically pleasing results, but could be used to preserve aesthetically pleasing or historic sites. Massachusetts, New Mexico, and New Hampshire found historic and aesthetic zoning to be valid exercises of the police power per language in *Berman*. Together, these cases identified reveal a mixed reaction to and use of the Supreme Court’s decision in *Berman*, as relates to historic zoning.

The New York case *Lutheran Church v. New York* is somewhat irrelevant to the discussion in this Thesis, because the direct issue was a takings challenge to landmark designation. Therefore, the majority did not need to rule on the general validity of historic zoning to reach its conclusion that a takings had occurred. The case is highlighted here, however, because two dissenters expressed the sentiment that “perhaps it is time that aesthetics took its place as a zoning and Independently cognizable under the police power.” The dissent further noted how such a recognition would “be but a moderate analogical extension” of existing precedent.

In *Mayor of Baltimore v. Mano Swartz, Inc.* and *City of Baltimore v. Center Parking*, the Court of Appeals of Maryland generally discussed the validity of aesthetic-based regulations when striking down two separate ordinances relating to the prohibition of billboards and painted

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333 See supra notes 263-74 and accompanying text.
334 See supra notes 232-34 and accompanying text.
335 See supra notes 235-48, 253-58, 249-52 and accompanying text.
337 See *id.* at 306-12.
338 *Id.* at 314 n.4 (Jasen, J., dissenting).
339 *Id.* (citations omitted).
In *Center Parking*, the earlier case, the court found that the near total prohibition of painted signs, but not billboards, was an arbitrary use of the police power. This decision, however, did not require the court to rule directly on the issue of ordinances based solely on aesthetics.

Three years later in *Mano Swartz*, however, the Court of Appeals of Maryland held that where an ordinance has “as its sole purpose the achievement of an aesthetically pleasing result,” it is not within the permissible scope of the police power. The court found that a sign ordinance which established guidelines and empowered a sign commission to enact rules and regulations to ensure the attractiveness of signs was invalid, because it only sought to achieve an aesthetically pleasing result. As with earlier cases, the court noted that aesthetic goals may be considered only when the ordinance primarily served other ends traditionally associated with the police power, such as health, safety, morals, and welfare.

While the court was strict with its aesthetic only zoning language, it went on to discuss the preservation and protection of aesthetically pleasing areas, such as historic districts, even though seemingly unnecessary to the holding. The court seemed to distinguish between the ordinance at issue which sought to establish controls for future signage and other ordinances

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341 271 A.2d at 146-48.
342 See 271 A.2d at 147 n. 2 (“Our decision here does not require us to reach the question whether aesthetic considerations alone are sufficient justification for the regulation of outdoor advertising . . .”).
343 299 A.2d at 832.
344 Id. at 831-33.
345 Id. at 832.
346 Id. at 832-35.
which sought to preserve historic or aesthetically significant areas.\footnote{Id. at 835 (“Because the purpose of the Ordinance was not the preservation or protection of something which was aesthetically pleasing, but rather was intended to achieve by regulation an aesthetically pleasing result, with no thought of enhancing the public welfare, we shall not disturb the result reached below [which invalidated the ordinance].”).} Indeed, the court specifically stated that “the police power may rightly be exercised to preserve an area which is generally regarded by the public to be pleasing to the eye or historically or architecturally significant.”\footnote{Id.}

In \textit{Figarsky v. Historic District Commission}, the Connecticut Supreme Court would not directly hold that aesthetics alone could justify the use of the police power.\footnote{See \textit{Figarsky v. Historic Dist. Comm’n.}, 138 A.2d 163, 170-71 (Conn. 1976).} Nonetheless, the court upheld the validity of a historic district ordinance and affirmed the denial of a certificate to demolition a structure within a historic district.\footnote{Id. at 171-72.} After quoting from \textit{Berman}, the court determined that “the preservation of an area or cluster of buildings with exceptional historical and architectural significance may serve the public welfare.”\footnote{Id. at 169-70 (quoting \textit{Berman v. Parker}, 348 U.S. 26, 33 (1954)).} The court also seemed to recognize that historic zoning involved aesthetic considerations. Plaintiffs had argued that the ordinance was improperly “vague aesthetic legislation;” however, the court noted that the historic ordinance’s aesthetic considerations were not in fact vague, because the ordinance laid out specific factors to be considered for the issuance of a certificate of appropriateness.\footnote{Id. at 170.} The court then went on to note that the full extent of the relationship between the police power and aesthetics was not yet a settled question.\footnote{Id. at 170-71.} Despite its apparent hesitation to recognize the validity of ordinances on aesthetic grounds alone, the court nonetheless upheld the validity of a
historic ordinance, at least in part, due to language in *Berman* stating that the public welfare encompasses aesthetics and that the legislature has the power to determine that a community should be beautiful.\textsuperscript{354}

The Pennsylvania Supreme Court reached similar conclusions, as to aesthetic zoning, in the cases it decided. In 1965, when invalidating an ordinance establishing minimum lot sizes, the court specifically stated that zoning may not be sustained with solely aesthetic justifications.\textsuperscript{355} However, in a 1958 case, the court held that the designation of a structure with twenty two rooms and seven baths as single family residential was not an invalid exercise of the police power, because the legislature possessed the power to regulate to create an attractive community.\textsuperscript{356}

In reaching this holding, the court noted that historic zoning had elsewhere been upheld under a broad concept of the general welfare.\textsuperscript{357} It extended that broad concept of the general welfare to the present case, finding that “the preservation of the attractive characteristics of a community [is] a proper element of the general welfare.”\textsuperscript{358} In extending the scope of the general welfare and the police power, the court approvingly quoted *Berman* and went on to state that “[i]f the legislature has the power to compel a property owner to submit to a forced sale for the purposes of creating an attractive community, it has the power to regulate his property for such

\textsuperscript{354} *Id.* at 169-70 (quoting 348 U.S. at 33).
\textsuperscript{355} Nat’l Land & Inv. Co. v. Kohn, 215 A.2d 597, [] n.29 (Pa. 1965). Later, in *Shapp v. National Gettysburg Battlefield Tower, Inc.*, the court did note that the Pennsylvania Constitution had been amended to provide that the people have a right to the “historic and esthetic values of the environment.” 311 A.2d 588, 591 (Pa. 1973) (quoting Penn. Const. Art. 1, § 27). That provision allowed “aesthetic or historic considerations, by themselves, . . . [to be] considered sufficient to constitute a basis for the . . . exercise of [the] police power.” *Id.* at 592.
\textsuperscript{356} Best v. Zoning Bd. of Adjustment, 141 A.2d 606 (Pa. 1958.)
\textsuperscript{357} *Id.* at 611-612 (citing Op. of the Justices, 128 N.E.2d 557,561 (Mass. 1957).
\textsuperscript{358} *Id.* at 612. Moreover, the court noted that “the preservation of property values is a legitimate consideration.” *Id.*
objectives.” With that statement, the court seemed to hold that aesthetic zoning was a proper exercise of the police power. By extension, it would seem that under this language, historic zoning was also proper given that it serves to preserve attractive characteristics of the community. The court ultimately noted that as it was “unable to say that requiring the appellant to use her property in conformance with the provisions of the zoning ordinance would not serve to preserve the attractive characteristics of the community and the property values therein. Therefore, the attack upon . . . the ordinance . . . must fail.”

Finally, the courts of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and New Mexico all followed the rationale presented in Berman in upholding the validity of historic zoning laws. In John Donnelly & Sons, Inc., the Massachusetts Supreme Court upheld the locality’s decision to deny plaintiff’s permit for off-premises outdoor advertising signs and explicitly concluded “that aesthetics alone may justify the exercise of the police power; that within the broad concept of ‘general welfare,’ cities and towns may enact reasonable bill-board regulations designed to preserve and improve their physical environment.” The court also directly cited language in Berman for the proposition “that the general welfare embraces aesthetic considerations.” Further, the court found that while Berman discussed the general welfare with reference to eminent domain, the same view could be applied to zoning. In making this determination, the Massachusetts court also cited to an Opinion of the Justices to the Senate, noting that it had previously recognized the tendency to give more weight to aesthetic considerations when it had generally determined

359 Id. at 612.
360 Id. at 613.
362 Id. (citing Berman v. Parker, 348 U.S. 26, 33 (1954)).
363 Id.
historic zoning to be constitutional.\textsuperscript{364} The court thus seemingly recognized a congruous relationship among eminent domain, the police power, aesthetic zoning, and historic zoning.

Moreover, the Massachusetts Supreme Court directly recognized the constitutionality of historic zoning in answering questions posed by the Massachusetts Senate.\textsuperscript{365} In concluding that historic zoning was within the proper scope of the police power, the court first noted that historic zoning did not relate to public health, safety, or morality.\textsuperscript{366} Nonetheless, the court continued by stating that aesthetics could be given a stronger consideration in light of \textit{Berman}.\textsuperscript{367} The court applied the language of \textit{Berman} and reasoned that because “incongruous structures” could destroy the historic character of the town, the police power could be exercised to regulate for the preservation of the historic character.\textsuperscript{368} In short, the broad concept of the police power and general welfare adopted in \textit{Berman} seemed to strongly influence the Massachusetts Supreme Court that historic zoning was valid.

Likewise, in \textit{Santa Fe v. Gamble-Skogmo, Inc.}, the New Mexico Supreme Court held that an ordinance requiring a certain window size to be used for structures within a historic district was a valid exercise of the police power.\textsuperscript{369} The court discussed the two \textit{Opinions of the Justices to the Senate}, issued by the Massachusetts Supreme Court and ultimately held that “the Santa Fe historical zoning ordinance [was] within the term ‘general welfare.’”\textsuperscript{370} Interestingly, the court

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\textsuperscript{364} \textit{Id.} at 718 (citing Op. of the Justices, 128 N.E.2d 557 (Mass. 1955)).
\textsuperscript{365} \textit{See} Op. of the Justices to the Senate, 128 N.E.2d 563 (Mass. 1955) (Beacon Hill historic act); 128 N.E.2d at 557 (Nantucket historic act).
\textsuperscript{366} 128 N.E.2d 557, 561 (“The proposed act can hardly be said in any ordinary sense to relate to the public safety, health, or morals.”).
\textsuperscript{367} \textit{Id.}
\textsuperscript{368} \textit{Id.} at 561-62.
\textsuperscript{370} \textit{Id.} at 16-17.
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seemed to distinguish historic zoning from purely aesthetic zoning and thus found it unnecessary to determine whether aesthetic considerations alone could justify the exercise of the police power, as suggested by Berman.\footnote{See id. at 17-18.} The court did, however, recognize the importance of aesthetic considerations to historic zoning and suggested that, because the historic ordinance in question had comprehensive architectural control requirements, the ordinance was not arbitrary or unreasonable.\footnote{Id. at 17 (“[Defendants] ignore the fact that the window pane requirement is only one of very many details of the historical architectural style . . . which the ordinance seeks to protect and preserve.”)} Therefore, while it attempted to distinguish historic and aesthetic zoning, the court nonetheless discussed the strong relationship between the two and ultimately upheld the historic ordinance in general accordance with the opinions issued by the Massachusetts Supreme Court, which in turn relied largely on Berman in upholding the constitutionality of historic zoning ordinances.\footnote{See supra notes 240-48 and accompanying text.}

Similarly, the New Hampshire Supreme Court upheld the validity of a local regulation that, in order to maintain the atmosphere of the town, prohibited the erection of structures within a quarter mile of the Town Common without prior approval from the town board.\footnote{Deering ex rel. Bittenbender v. Tibbetts, 202 A.2d 232, 233 (N.H. 1964).} The regulation in question, therefore, was very analogous to standard historic zoning practices that generally require a certificate of appropriateness prior to the construction, alteration, or demolition of structures within certain districts.\footnote{See, e.g., \textsc{City of Richmond, Va.}, \textsc{Code of Ordinances} Ch. 114, § 114-930 to -930.9 (2014) (regulations for the City of Richmond’s Old and Historic Districts).} In upholding the regulations, the New Hampshire Supreme Court recognized that the purpose of “preserving the value of the historic buildings about the common” was a valid basis for the exercise of the police power and “too well
established to be open to question.\textsuperscript{376} The court was hesitant to sustain the regulation solely upon aesthetic considerations; however it did recognizing that the preservation of the attractiveness of a community fell within the general welfare.\textsuperscript{377} It further noted that the regulation was not invalid because it was motivated in part by aesthetic and historic preservation considerations.\textsuperscript{378} Ultimately, the court upheld the ordinance, approvingly cited from the Massachusetts Supreme Court’s \textit{Opinion of the Justices to the Senate}, and noted that the town would not be able to maintain its atmosphere if “incongruous” structures were permitted near the Town Common.\textsuperscript{379} Again, by following the rationale laid out in \textit{Opinion of the Justices to the Senate}, the court essentially followed the rationale established in \textit{Berman}. In short, a common nexus among cases upholding historic or aesthetic zoning regulations is that they relied on the broad concept of the general welfare and police power as laid out in \textit{Berman}.

\textbf{E. Comparison}

Following \textit{Berman} but prior to \textit{Penn Central}, the high courts of Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire all began to change their opinion on aesthetic zoning (and by extension historic zoning) following \textit{Berman}. Furthermore, the New Mexico Supreme Court, which did not rule on aesthetic zoning prior to \textit{Berman},\textsuperscript{380} upheld a historic zoning ordinance based on the \textit{Berman} rationale. While it is perhaps improper to lay the

\textsuperscript{376} \textit{Id.} at 234.
\textsuperscript{377} \textit{Id.} at 234-35 (“The beauty of a residential neighborhood is for the comfort and happiness of the residents and it tends to sustain the value of property in the neighborhood. It is a matter of general welfare like other conditions that add to the attractiveness of a community and the value of residences there located.”) (“In the case before us it is unnecessary to rely solely upon aesthetic considerations to sustain the exercise of the power invoked. We think it reasonably plain that more than aesthetics is involved.”).
\textsuperscript{378} \textit{Id.}
\textsuperscript{379} \textit{Id.} at 236 (citing Op. of the Justices, 128 N.E.2d 557, 562 (Mass. 1955)).
\textsuperscript{380} At least in the cases identified by the search conducted herein. \textit{See supra} Chapter III.
validation of historic zoning solely at the feet of Berman, the cases discussed herein clearly show that Berman had a strong effect on both aesthetic and historic zoning.

The jurisprudence prior to Berman indicates that until roughly the midcentury, there was a strong consensus that the police power could not be used for aesthetic purposes, and by extension likely could not be used for solely historic zoning purposes. The only major exception was found in Louisiana. There, the state high court upheld what was essentially a historic zoning ordinance prior to Berman, noting that it tended to promote tourism in addition to protecting the attractiveness of the community. Nonetheless, the court seemed hesitant to declare that aesthetic considerations alone could justify the use of the police power.

Following Berman, however, courts began to routinely uphold aesthetic and historic zoning regulations. In so doing, they usually cited Berman’s determination that public welfare is a broad concept, that public welfare includes aesthetic values, and that the police power can be used “to determine that the community should be beautiful as well as healthy.” As noted above, the courts of at least five states even went so far as to shift away from precedent prior to Berman and to generally adopt a broad definition of the general welfare that was inclusive of aesthetics and historic preservation. Even the United States Supreme Court adopted Berman’s language in generally recognizing the validity of historic zoning and landmark ordinances in Penn Central. Therein, the Court cited Berman and noted that “States and cities may enact land-use restrictions or controls to enhance the quality of life by preserving the character and

381 See supra notes 321-26 and accompanying text.
382 See id.
desirable aesthetic features of a city.” The Court then recognized that the New York landmark ordinance was a valid exercise of the police power, similar to historic zoning, because it “embodie[d] a comprehensive plan to preserve structures of historic or aesthetic interest wherever they might be found in the city.” Therefore, it is safe to conclude that Berman did work to provide a justification for aesthetic and historic zoning.

Although urban renewal programs had been in place for several years prior to Berman, it was the United States Supreme Court’s decision in that case that placed the ultimate stamp of legal approval on urban renewal programs. Through its holding, the Court determined that the use of eminent domain to condemn both blighted property and unblighted property that was situated within a redevelopment zone was a valid use of eminent domain. In so doing, however, the Court intertwined the limitations of eminent domain with those of the police power. The Court further determined that the police power was broad and could be used to provide for an aesthetically pleasing, beautiful community. Thereafter, courts adopted that language in upholding aesthetic and historic zoning statutes. The broad scope of the general welfare and the police power was used to uphold both urban renewal programs and historic zoning ordinances. Therefore, it would seem that there are indeed fundamental legal similarities between the two programs.

385 Id. (citing 348 U.S. at 33).
386 Id. at 132.
387 348 U.S. at 35-36.
388 See id. at 32-33.
389 Id.
F. Further Implications

The jurisprudential comparison between urban renewal, through *Berman*, and historic zoning has raised further interesting implications for local regulations and planning strategies beyond historic zoning and urban renewal. A major implication of historic zoning, and aesthetic zoning in general, is the tension between such regulations and the free speech provisions of the First Amendment to the United States Constitution.\(^3\) Both zoning strategies, by nature, restrict property owners from freely altering the exterior of their properties. For example, under such regulations, an owner may be unable to commission artwork for the side of the regulated building without first obtaining a certificate of appropriateness from the local zoning board. Likewise, if a property owner wishes to express himself through erecting a structure with a certain architectural style or altering his existing structure to a new style, he may likewise be required to first seek a certificate of appropriateness. If the artwork or architectural style proposed by the landowner is deemed incompatible with the historic nature of the district, his First Amendment speech rights could be infringed.\(^3\)

A further implication of this jurisprudential research is the potential for comparison among urban renewal tactics, historic zoning, aesthetic zoning, and other zoning regulations that move beyond the scope of simple Euclidean zoning. Traditional Euclidean style zoning first arose, theoretically, to combat nuisances before they began by separating, for example, industrial

\(^3\) U.S. *CONST.* amend. I (Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech”).

\(^3\) For a discussion of the potential for conflict between historic district ordinances and the First Amendment, *see* Binetti, *supra* note 91. Further research and literature review is necessary to identify First Amendment challenges to historic or aesthetic zoning; however, it is important to note that an expanding scope of the police power will necessarily cause tension with explicitly protected rights as jurisdictions seek to expand their regulatory sphere.
from residential land uses.\textsuperscript{392} However, zoning for aesthetics and historic districts pushed zoning beyond the traditional nuisance prevention model. The analysis comparing historic zoning and aesthetic zoning to urban renewal can thus provide insights into other zoning methods that go beyond Euclidean zoning. The strongest comparison to draw is probably to form based zoning.

Form based zoning is a zoning strategy that seeks to regulate the physical environment beyond simply separating land uses.\textsuperscript{393} Form based zoning goes further by regulating heights, setbacks, facades, and outdoor spaces for the sake of creating an aesthetically pleasing physical environment, in addition to one that is generally pedestrian friendly and human-scaled. Especially given the influence of new urbanism and popularity of planning for walkable, human-scaled environments, it is important to determine how exactly the police power is being justified to advance these goals.

Form based zoning is necessarily related to aesthetic zoning, and tangentially related to historic zoning, for example where it may be used to help recapture the historic “feel” of a given urban area. As with historic zoning, form based zoning has the laudable objective of creating a visually pleasing and pragmatic, human centered urban environment. However, to the extent that form based zoning is based on an expansive understanding of the police power, it is legally related to the unpopular urban renewal programs of the Twentieth Century.

Finally, the expanding conception of the general welfare and the police power raises the threat that eminent domain could be used to condemn and transfer property in order to develop

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\textsuperscript{392} See Vill. of Euclid v. Ambler Realty Co., 272 U.S. 365, 387-88 (1926) (noting that the law of nuisances can inform the proper extent of regulatory activity) (noting that the exclusion of industrial uses from residential zones can tend to prevent the creation of nuisances).

\textsuperscript{393} See generally Patricia E. Salkin, Squaring the Circle on Sprawl: What More Can We Do? Progress Toward Sustainable Land Use in the States, 16 WIDENER L.J. 787, 833-34 (2007) (discussing the regulations and objectives of form based codes).
\end{flushleft}
aesthetically pleasing, historically authentic, or walkable environments. This concern arises from the United States Supreme Court’s determination in *Berman* that the scope of eminent domain and the police power are essentially coterminous. As courts shift to an expansive definition of the general welfare and an expansive understanding of the police power, it is possible that the use of eminent domain could follow suit. If this is the case, cities will essentially relive urban renewal programs, the difference being that now they would seek to create more traditional urban environments rather than modern environments. Whatever the environment sought, however, the use of eminent domain to achieve those objectives will necessarily result in displacement of city residents who live in the development zones.\(^{394}\)

Moreover if, as the *Berman* court stated, eminent domain is merely a means to an end and is permissible essentially whenever police power action is permissible, the Fifth Amendment to the United States Constitution would effectively be dead letter. If the police power should continue to expand in scope to encompass more subjective regulations, such as form based regulations, it is only logical to deduce that the use of eminent domain could also be expanded to facilitate the creation of certain urban forms. Or, expanding on Justice Rehnquist’s concern in *Penn Central*,\(^{395}\) legislatures could merely require the repair or renovation of structures in conformance with certain urban design codes. In such an instance, results could possibly prove even worse than those generated by urban renewal programs. Such requirements could cause displacement, because, to avoid possible penalties, lower income homeowners in historic or urban design districts would be forced to relocate if they were unable to keep a property in good

\(^{394}\) Indeed, the United States Supreme Court addressed an analogous situation in *Kelo v. City of New London*, 545 U.S. 469 (2005). There, the Court found that eminent domain could be used to condemn and transfer land to a private developer in order to generate revenue, revitalize the downtown, and “make the City more attractive.” See *id.* at 474-75.

\(^{395}\) See *supra* notes 289-91 and accompanying text.
repair or in compliance with form based codes. In such a situation, based on the majority holding in *Penn Central*, these dislocated individuals would possibly not even receive the compensation that they would have received had they been dislocated by an urban renewal project.

Divorced from the limitations of an earlier understanding of the police power and a pre-*Berman* eminent domain jurisprudence, the law making bodies of state or local governments could effectively exercise near total control over private property within their jurisdictions. Such an outcome would likely create results even more detrimental than those of mid-Twentieth Century urban renewal, especially given that regulating for aesthetics alone is inherently subjective and much less concrete than even regulating for the abatement of blight as was the case with urban renewal legislation.

It is not impossible to imagine a return to such earlier jurisprudence in states that subsequently expanded the scope of the police power in accordance with *Berman*. Still, such a return could possibly encounter problems if these states had constitutional or statutory provisions specifically declaring that aesthetic or historic zoning fell within the scope of the police power. In such an instance, deferential courts would likely be unable to return to a pre-*Berman* scope of the police power without evidence of a conflicting constitutional or statutory provision.

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396 A comprehensive analysis of provisions declaring that historic or aesthetic zoning falls within the proper exercise of the police power is beyond the scope of this Thesis; however, a survey of those provisions could prove useful to further research in determining whether a return to pre-*Berman* jurisprudence is possible.
VII. POTENTIAL ALTERNATIVES TO HISTORIC ZONING

While historic zoning may seem relatively benign and have admirable objectives, this research has indicated that historic zoning has strong underlying legal ties to the relatively unpopular urban renewal programs of the Twentieth Century. A locality can choose to protect its historic sites or to condemn and redevelop districts; whatever the choice, however, the underlying authority to do so derives from an expansive scope of the police power. It is important to recognize that such an expansive scope may be used to either preserve or destroy, and that either option may result in negative consequences such as displacement in addition to any positive outcomes. Given that an expansive police power may be used with laudable intentions but result in negative outcomes, it may be wise to return to an earlier, more limited understanding of the power so as to avoid the potential for revival of urban renewal or further erosion of an owner’s security in his property.397

If courts returned to an earlier, limited understanding of the police power, however, could historic structures and districts still be preserved? As many have noted, the preservation of historic structures does provide benefit to the community, but is it possible to capture that benefit without resorting to regulations that restrict owners in the use of their property and raise the specter of urban renewal? A few alternatives that could achieve the benefits of historic zoning without the negative threats are discussed below.398

397 As noted above in Chapter Six, such a return may necessitate amendments to existing statutory or constitutional provisions, depending on the jurisdiction in question. See supra note 396 and accompanying text.

398 These suggestions are meant only to highlight possible alternatives. Further research and literature review is required to determine whether these options have been extensively undertaken, and if so, if they have been successful.
A. Private Preservation

Perhaps the simplest alternative to historic zoning is to encourage the voluntary preservation of historic sites by private organizations. Indeed, there is precedent for this strategy. Prior to the advent of historic zoning, private groups formed to protect the nation’s vulnerable historic sites. The earliest, and perhaps most famous, example is the Mount Vernon Ladies Association’s preservation of Mount Vernon. After both the Virginia and federal governments declined to, this wholly private organization purchased Mount Vernon in order to repair it and preserve it for posterity.\textsuperscript{399} Moreover, in the mid-Twentieth Century, the Association purchased lands adjacent to Mount Vernon in order to preserve in perpetuity the views from the plantation.\textsuperscript{400} A comprehensive private restoration and preservation effort was also undertaken in Williamsburg, Virginia by the Rockefeller Family and continuing with the non-profit Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.\textsuperscript{401} The private actors obtained title to historic sites in and around Williamsburg in order to restore and preserve a district that had fallen into disrepair.\textsuperscript{402} The entire site now operates as a living history museum open to the public.\textsuperscript{403}

A criticism of solely relying on grand private preservation efforts undertaken by philanthropic organizations could be that such efforts only represent the Monumentalism style of

\textsuperscript{400} See Pamela Cunningham, Phoebe Apperson Hearst, and Frances Payne Bolton, \textit{supra} note 399.
\textsuperscript{401} See Phelps, \textit{supra} note 3, at 118-19; see also The History of Colonial Williamsburg, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, http://www.history.org/Foundation/cwhistory.cfm (last visited Apr. 28, 2014).
\textsuperscript{402} See \textit{The History of Colonial Williamsburg}, supra note 401.
\textsuperscript{403} See \textit{id}. 

historic preservation. That is, only sites of great cultural or historic value are preserved, and the protection of general vernacular structures in old and historic districts is not ensured. Such a criticism would raise questions as to the nature and extent of historic preservation in general. This concern, however, could largely be mitigated by recognizing that private preservation need not rely solely on the large scale efforts by philanthropic organizations. Private preservation can also occur spontaneously by property owners who seek to preserve the character of their structures or neighborhoods, either individually or collectively. Such strategies are discussed below.

**B. Easements**

An easement is a non-possessory interest in land that grants certain rights to either use or prohibit certain uses of the land in question. Easements were a Common Law device that predated organized preservation movements; however, they are applicable to preservation purposes. While easements exist at Common Law, many states have adopted statutes that specifically permit the creation of a device known generally as a conservation easement, which can be used to preserve historic sites or open spaces. Such easements are generally freely transferable and serve to restrict or prohibit alterations to land in perpetuity. The terms of individual easements will vary; however, they generally entitle the easement holder to review of plans to repair or alter structures on the encumbered land. Moreover, the easements can usually bring tax benefits to the individual whose land is encumbered in the form of deductions, credits, or abatements.

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404 For a more complete discussion of easements in a historic preservation context, see Phelps, supra note 3, at 143-48.
The primary benefits to historic preservation through easements are that no coercion is involved and the easements generate tax benefits. Land owners are essentially free to negotiate for the extent of the easement; however, to obtain the tax benefits, the easement must meet certain requirements. In the historic preservation context, an easement could be applied only to the façade of a historic structure, prohibiting the owner from altering the façade, but allowing him to freely alter the interior.405

Easements, however, do present their own problems within the preservation context.406 First, the easements are usually perpetual. The easements, therefore, would bind future owners of the land who never negotiated for, or received direct benefit from, the easement. Second, the approval process for repairs or alterations could prove to be just as cumbersome under a conservation easement as under a traditional zoning device. This is especially true if the holder of the easement is either a government entity or a quasi-public entity, potentially bound by constitutional and statutory requirements. Third, easements are capable tools for ensuring the preservation of a discrete property; however, their use in protecting whole historic districts is limited and would involve higher transaction costs as each owner in a district would need to individually transfer an easement.

A full discussion of the consequences of and strategies regarding easements is beyond the scope of this Thesis. Nonetheless, it is possible to imagine revisions to conservation easement


statutes and tax law that could serve to ameliorate these problems. First, tax rules could be altered to allow non-perpetual or rolling term easements to receive tax benefits. Moreover, state codes could be amended to specifically allow the transfer of easements to wholly private, non-profit entities in an attempt to avoid the potential pit fall of de facto zoning presented by public or quasi-public ownership of easements.\footnote{407}

C. Voluntary Preservation Associations

Finally, the preservation of historic structures and neighborhoods could also be accomplished through the use of neighborhood homeowners associations.\footnote{408} Essentially, the owners of properties in a given neighborhood could freely choose to form a non-profit neighborhood association and agree to be bound by the restrictions, bylaws, and rulings of the association.\footnote{409}

The principle is similar to that of standard homeowners associations often found in neighborhoods constructed by a common developer. Within the context of historic preservation, however, the associations could form in existing neighborhoods and serve the sole function of

\footnote{407} This is a simplified discussion of possible revisions to easement laws. Further research and literature review would be helpful in elaborating on their potential or hazards.  
\footnote{408} Phelps has discussed a similar type of alternative to historic zoning, dubbed a “voluntary local historic district.” See Phelps, supra note 3, at 149-52.  
\footnote{409} This suggestion raises issues regarding covenants and perhaps closely-held corporate membership. It is important to note that there are a variety of requirements to the validity and enforcement of covenants as well as to closely-held corporate formation and membership. A full discussion of such requirements is beyond the scope of this Thesis. The home owners’ association suggestion is presented here in the abstract. In a future work, further analysis attempting to create a solid framework for the creation of such a body would be quite useful. Some questions to ask are: How is membership addressed? Are property owners free to opt-out of the association at a later time? Will restrictions on the property run with the land and bind future owners, or will the restrictions be removed when the property is sold? Could there be an arrangement wherein the association enacts bylaws that affect properties of members, but members only agree to adhere to those bylaws through a separate contract on a term basis?}
providing for the common preservation of the historical character and aesthetic of the neighborhood. The association would be formed by property owners within a given neighborhood, and would only bind those properties whose owners are association members. That is, all owners in a neighborhood would be free to either opt into or remain independent from the association’s bylaws. Precedent for such an association exists. For example, the Code of Texas specifically contemplates the creation of such associations, styled “historic neighborhood preservation associations.”

As with easements, the primary benefit to the voluntary preservation association alternative is that it enables individual property owners to freely choose whether or not to encumber their property with restrictions. Unlike easements, however, the creation of a neighborhood association responsible for historic preservation could help to enable the protection of whole neighborhoods rather than mere collections of discrete properties.

The voluntary preservation association alternative also has the virtue of truly facilitating local, grass roots decision-making. Within the traditional historic zoning framework, neighborhoods and properties can generally be designated as historic and encumbered by regulatory requirements or process without the express consent of affected property owners. The use of neighborhood associations, however, whose membership would be optional to each property owner within the neighborhood, empowers individual citizens to choose if the benefits of preserving historic character for their properties and their neighborhood outweigh the costs. Furthermore, when owners find the need to repair, rebuild, or otherwise alter their property, they

410 See 11 TEX. PROP. CODE ANN. § 208 (West 2013).
411 That is to say that affected residents do not typically have a ‘veto’ power over zoning ordinances enacted by a city council.
would not need to traverse the costly “red tape” of city hall. Rather, owners would engage directly with fellow neighborhood residents in seeking authority to act.

As historic preservation has laudable objectives and is fairly popular, at least in the abstract, there is no reason to think that property owners would summarily reject rules that maintained the historic character of their properties and neighborhood, especially if they had a strong and effective say in adoption and enforcement of the rules. Indeed, many home owners already agree to voluntarily accept restrictions on their property in the form of traditional homeowners associations. A voluntary preservation association could result in the protection of, or increase in, property values found with official historic designation, without an accompanying governmental regulatory framework.

Finally, the voluntary preservation association alternative could be combined with the use of conservation easements. In such a scenario, the association would not necessarily enact

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412 For example, in the City of Richmond, Virginia, “[a] certificate of appropriateness shall be required for all alterations to a building, structure, or site which is subject to a public view.” CITY OF RICHMOND, VA., CODE OF ORDINANCES Ch. 114, § 114-930.6(f) (2014). While the actual first time application for a COA does not require payment of a fee, the applicant is required to submit twelve physical copies of all required supporting documentation in addition to a digital copy. See City of Richmond Commission of Architectural Review, Application Submission Requirements, available at http://www.richmondgov.com/content/CommissionArchitecturalReview/forms/CAR_SubmissionRequirements.pdf. Required supporting documentation may include: site plans, sections, or elevations; a materials list; a colors list; and historic documentary evidence. See id. For a discussion on the negative effects of red tape on urbanism in general, see Andres Duany, The Pink Zone: Why Detroit is the New Brooklyn, CNN MONEY (Jan. 30, 2014, 10:09 PM), http://features.blogs.fortune.cnn.com/2014/01/30/the-pink-zone-why-detroit-is-the-new-brooklyn/.

413 It is not unreasonable to conclude that individual property owners and the neighborhood as a whole would have more complete information than city hall, and therefore better decision-making capabilities, when determining what should or should not be done in their neighborhood.

414 See supra note 81 and accompanying text.
restrictions to ensure the preservation of members’ historic properties. Rather, members could donate historic conservation easements on their property to the association. The primary benefit to enabling the neighborhood association to hold the easement is that the process for seeking permission to alter or repair a property would, theoretically, be simpler than if the easement were held by a public or quasi-public agency. Furthermore, as the neighborhood association would be the body approving the alterations or repairs, decision-making would be kept at the most local level, empowering residents in the process and ideally encouraging participation in the decision-making process.415

There are, however, potential downsides to the voluntary association alternative. First, there could be some initial difficulty in forming the association. Formation of a homeowners association is often undertaken at or around the time of the initial development of the neighborhood.416 Similarly, the ability of the association to provide for the preservation of the entire neighborhood could be thwarted by individual property owners who did not want to restrict their use of their property.417 The potential that some owners would not join the association, thus thwarting full comprehensive protection of the neighborhood, will always be a potential downside due to the voluntary nature of the association. However, direct economic

415 To ensure that the residents, through the neighborhood association, are always in fact the individuals making the determinations, the easements could be made non-transferrable to third parties.
416 For example, when selling properties to the initial residents, the developer includes covenants in the deeds that provide for membership in and adherence to bylaws of a homeowners association.
417 This problem could be considered as a “free rider problem.” That is, if most of the neighborhood agreed to restrictions that preserved the overall historic character, a single hold out property owner could receive any potential benefits, such as general community attractiveness or even property value protection, without paying for that benefit himself by similarly agreeing to encumber his own property. See Phelps, supra note 3, at 149 & n.214 (noting that voluntary historic districts could face the classic free-rider problem).
incentives could be tailored to help address this problem. A possible strategy to mitigate these downsides could be for local governments to provide a property tax abatement or for the state and federal governments to provide an income tax deduction or credit for owners who join the association and agree to be bound by the restrictions and bylaws. Such incentives could help to encourage neighborhood residents to in fact form and join a neighborhood preservation association.

A further potential downside to voluntary associations is the threat of existing members leaving the association, thereby presenting difficulties to enforcement of a common neighborhood preservation scheme. If an owner could simply leave the association when he desired to pursue an alteration or repair against the association’s common scheme, enforcement would be near impossible. This potential downside could, however, be addressed with traditional contractual obligations and remedies. Depending on the terms of the association’s articles of incorporation or bylaws, an injunction or other action for breach of contract could hypothetically be brought against the leaving member.

While the voluntary preservation association alternative has potential downsides and will not be able to fully recreate the effect of historic zoning regulations, any such downsides must be weighed against the beneficial aspects of deregulation and voluntary preservation. The encouragement of private, voluntary preservation allows citizens, both individually and collectively through neighborhood associations, to conduct their own evaluation of the costs and benefits of preservation. Allowing citizens the ability to make such determinations themselves has the virtue of empowering individuals and neighborhoods in addition to that of encouraging decision-making at the most local level.
Keeping this decision-making power local and decentralized among the many residents of a neighborhood, whether individually or through collective voting through a neighborhood association, will also likely facilitate adaptation to the change in neighborhood conditions over time. Neighborhoods are organic, and a change in conditions is inevitable as residents move in or out, demographics shift, attitudes change, local employment opportunities rise or fall, and the needs and desires of residents change.

Any wise preservation strategy should be prepared to address such a change in conditions. Similarly, strategies must recognize that preservation will ultimately be a multi-generational issue as the underlying land may remain static, but residents and their desired land uses will not. Providing for truly local decision-making empowers those most sensitive to the needs and changing conditions of their community to preserve or adapt historic structures as necessity demands, without first seeking approval from a centralized third-party that may lack such sensitivity. Ultimately, the voluntary preservation association alternative protects against the underlying threats of urban renewal that the legal justifications for historic zoning present. It also, however, encourages the preservation of historic structures while providing the added benefit of empowering neighborhood residents to determine for themselves when changing conditions necessitate alteration and adaptation.
VIII. CONCLUSION

This Thesis has attempted to demonstrate that there is a fundamental connection between the underlying legal principles of historic zoning and urban renewal. To that end, the jurisprudence involving historic zoning before and after the seminal urban renewal case of *Berman v. Parker* has been collected and analyzed. As the initial search used herein did not identify cases involving historic zoning prior to *Berman*, the search was expanded to include cases involving aesthetic zoning, which is closely related to historic zoning.  

An analysis of the jurisprudence indicated that prior to *Berman* courts were more likely to adopt a limited view of the police power and the concept of the general welfare. Specifically, the high courts of fourteen of the nineteen states identified would generally strike down ordinances that sought to regulate solely for aesthetic purposes. In so doing courts noted that the exercise of the police power must relate to public health, safety, morals, or welfare. The courts recognized the value of aesthetics, but would not find that aesthetics alone provided a justifiable grounding in health, safety, morals, or welfare. Given the close relationship between aesthetic zoning and historic zoning, it generally seems as though courts would have also been reluctant to recognize zoning for purely historic purposes prior to *Berman*. For example, in 1949 the Supreme Court of Massachusetts stated that “[r]egard for the preservation of the natural beauty of a neighborhood makes the enactment of a zoning regulation desirable but does not itself give vitality to the regulation.”  

In 1954, the Supreme Court of the United States issued an opinion in *Berman v. Parker*. In that case, the Court generally upheld the validity of comprehensive urban renewal programs,  

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418 See supra Chapter III; see also supra note 110 and accompanying text.  
the programs that were later recognized to have quite negative consequences.\textsuperscript{420} The Court upheld urban renewal programs by essentially determining that the power of eminent domain and the police power were coterminous. In making this determination, the Court also noted that the scope of the police power was very broad and that the concept of the public welfare encompassed aesthetics. Therefore, the Court stated that legislatures had the power to determine that their communities be beautiful as well as safe. With that language, the Court effectively expanded the scope of the police power.

Thereafter, an analysis of the jurisprudence following \textit{Berman} indicated that courts were more likely to uphold aesthetic or historic zoning ordinances. Specifically, the high courts of five states seemed to move away from their positions prior to \textit{Berman} and instead cited \textit{Berman} for the proposition that aesthetic and historic zoning were valid exercises of the police power. For example, in a 1955 opinion, the Supreme Court of Massachusetts cited \textit{Berman} and noted that “[t]here is reason to think that more weight might now be given to aesthetic considerations than was given to them [in the early twentieth century].”\textsuperscript{421} It then noted that, because construction of “incongruous structures” could destroy the historic character of the town, historic zoning ordinances fell within the scope of the police power.\textsuperscript{422}

The research undertaken pursuant to this Thesis focused on the inquiry as to the jurisprudential connection between urban renewal and historic zoning. It ultimately indicated that there is a connection between the two programs. The cases identified by the search in this Thesis ultimately indicated that \textit{Berman} had an impact on the acceptance of aesthetic and historic

\textsuperscript{420} \textit{See supra} Chapters II, IV.B.
\textsuperscript{421} Op. of the Justices to the Senate, 128 N.E.2d 557, 561 (Mass. 1955).
\textsuperscript{422} \textit{Id.} at 562.
zoning. Therefore, it seems as though historic zoning and urban renewal share fundamental legal roots. That is, both programs are based in an expansive understanding of the police power.

The identification, collection, and analysis of cases here, will hopefully serve future research by assisting in further analyzing the connections between not only historic zoning and urban renewal, but also among aesthetic zoning in general, form based zoning, the police power, eminent domain, and conflicts between zoning and the rights protected by the First Amendment.\textsuperscript{423}

Given that the legacy of urban renewal is largely negative, and that historic zoning can be shown to share a legal connection to urban renewal, this Thesis also broadly suggested several alternatives to traditional historic zoning practices. These alternatives focused on options that empowered individual residents and owners to personally make historic determinations for themselves and their neighborhoods.\textsuperscript{424} Under these alternative systems of preservation, the planner’s role becomes one of advocacy, support, and facilitation, rather than of centralized decision-making. Likewise, the land-use attorney’s role becomes one of crafting the legal protections sought by citizens and neighborhoods, without resorting to regulatory practices and legal theories that raise the negative threats of urban renewal. By reorienting historic preservation away from zoning practices based on the same legal principles that justified urban renewal and towards alternatives that encourage and enable both individual and collective grass roots decision-making, it could be possible to achieve the beneficial aspects of historic preservation without the threats inherent to urban renewal programs.

\textsuperscript{423} See supra Chapter VI.F.
\textsuperscript{424} See supra Chapter VII.
Appendix A

Table of Cases, decided prior to Berman v. Parker, for the nineteen states identified

Arkansas

Herring v. Stannus, 275 S.W. 321 (Ark. 1924) (“conceding - without deciding – [that the] police power may not be used for purely aesthetic purposes”).
Powell v. Taylor, 263 S.W.2d 906 (Ark. 1954) (holding that funeral homes may be barred from residential areas because the continuous suggestion of death destroys the comfort and repose of home ownership).

California

Feraut v. City of Sacramento, 269 P. 537 (Cal. 1928) (holding that zoning ordinances must be based on the foundation of protecting public health, safety, morality, or welfare).
City of Beverly Hills v. Brady, 215 P.2d 460 (Cal. 1950) (en banc) (holding that a physician did not violate a residential zoning ordinance by employing secretaries and publishing medical pamphlets in a residential zone).
Beverly Oil Co. v. City of Los Angeles, 254 P.2d 865 (Cal. 1953) (en banc) (upholding a prohibition on certain expansions of an oil drilling operation by noting that oil drilling was specifically declared by law to be detrimental to public health, safety, and welfare).

Connecticut

Town of Windsor v. Whitney, 111 A. 354 (Conn.1920) (upholding setback requirements on the basis of public health, safety, and welfare).
State v. Kievman, 165 A. 601 (Conn.1933) (licensing of junk yards) (“The situation presented does not require us to decide whether æsthetic considerations alone would be sufficient to warrant regulation or restriction.”).
Murphy, Inc. v. Town of Westport, 40 A.2d 177 (Conn. 1944) (noting that aesthetics alone cannot serve to justify the use of the police power).
Langbein v. Bd. of Zoning Appeals, 67 A.2d 5 (Conn. 1949) (certificate of occupancy to use property as a day school).
Gionfriddo v. Town of Windsor, 81 A.2d 266 (Conn. 1951) (finding that aesthetics alone cannot justify the prohibition on the display of vehicles for sale).
Kansas

Ware v. City of Wichita, 214 P. 99 (Kan. 1923) (upholding zoning ordinances providing for the separation of land uses, because such ordinances protect the health and safety of the public) (discussing the shifting nature of aesthetic regulations, but not holding that aesthetics alone can justify the use of the police power).

Heckman v. City of Independence, 274 P. 732 (Kan. 1929) (upholding zoning ordinance that prohibited service station in residential zone).

City of Wichita v. Schwertner, 286 P. 266 (Kan. 1930) (residential zoning of land previously held for use as a cemetery did not prohibit the land from being used for cemetery purposes in the future).

Asmann v. Masters, 98 P.2d 419 (Kan. 1940) (finding that a dance hall is not a nuisance per se, but that it can become one under certain circumstances).

Louisiana

State ex rel Civello v. City of New Orleans, 97 So. 440 (La. 1923) (upholding an ordinance that prohibited businesses in residential districts, because such ordinances affected public health and safety, in addition to aesthetics) (noting precedent that aesthetic considerations alone cannot justify use of the police power; however, discussing how the general welfare likely encompasses aesthetics).

State ex rel Giangrosso v. City of New Orleans, 106 So. 549 (La. 1925) (upholding ordinance separating land uses, because it promoted public health and safety).

State ex rel Palma v. City of New Orleans, 109 So. 916 (La. 1926) (upholding ordinance separating land uses, because it promoted public health and safety).

State ex rel Dema Realty Co. v. McDonald, 121 So. 613 (La. 1929) (upholding ordinance separating land uses, because it promoted public health and safety) (holding that the continued operation of a business in violation of a zoning ordinance constitutes a public nuisance).

City of New Orleans v. S. Auto Wreckers, 192 So. 523 (La. 1939) (a property use that does “not offend public morals or jeopardize the health and safety of the public” is legitimate).

City of New Orleans v. Levy, 64 So.2d 798 (La. 1953) (upholding a historic zoning ordinance under a broad scope of public welfare, because it preserved the character of the city, thus tending to promote tourism) (noting, however, that aesthetics alone could not likely justify the ordinance).
Maine

Inhabitants of York Harbor Village Corp. v. Libby, 140 A. 382 (Me. 1928) (upholding zoning ordinance that excluded private camping grounds, because such uses tend to affect public order and sanitation).

Maryland

Cochran v. Preston, 70 A. 113 (Md.1908) (upholding maximum height restrictions, because they tend to protect the public from the danger of fire) (but noting that the police power cannot be used to impair private property rights solely for aesthetic purposes).

Stubbs v. Scott, 95 A. 1060 (Md.1915) (city building inspector could not deny a building permit for a store simply because there were no other stores in the area) (recognizing that the police power cannot be used to merely improve the aesthetic appearance of a neighborhood).

Byrne v. Maryland Realty Co., 98 A. 547, 549 (Md.1916) (holding unconstitutional an ordinance prohibiting the erection of new dwelling houses unless they are constructed as separate buildings) (“The act does not relate to the police power, and its enforcement would deprive the appellee of property rights guaranteed by the Constitution, which cannot be invaded for purely aesthetic purposes under the guise of the police power.”).

Osborne v. Grauel, 110 A. 199 (Md.1920) (upholding the denial of a permit to construct a garage nearby to residences and recognizing that garages “increase the danger of fire”) (but noting that the police power cannot be used for solely aesthetic purposes).

Goldman v. Crowther, 128 A. 50 (Md.1925) (extensively documenting the contemporary state of zoning law) (holding that ordinances that bear no relation to public health, safety, morals, or welfare are void) (holding that aesthetic concerns alone cannot justify the exercise of the police power and the infringement of property rights).

R.B. Const. Co. v. Jackson, 137 A. 278 (Md.1927) (upholding zoning ordinances establishing setback requirements, because they tend to reduce the risk of fire and promote health).

Nw. Merchs. Terminal v. O’Rourke, 60 A.2d 774 (Md.1948) (private action by taxpayers to enforce zoning ordinance with regard to neighboring property) (“In order to impose restrictions some valid exercise of the police power must be proven. But such power is invoked for the protection of the property restricted and not to give protection to surrounding property.”) (citation omitted) (internal quotation marks omitted).

Maryland Advertising Co. v. Mayor of Baltimore, 86 A.2d 169 (Md.1952) (finding that a restriction on billboards was not related to public health, safety, morals, or welfare and, therefore, was arbitrary and invalid).
Massachusetts

Welch v. Swasey, 79 N.E. 745 (Mass. 1907) (finding restrictions on maximum building heights valid, because they promote public safety from fire) (but noting that such ordinances cannot be upheld “for a mere aesthetic object”).

In re Op. of the Justices, 127 N.E. 525 (Mass.1920) (opining that zoning on the basis of land use is a valid exercise of the police power to promote public health and safety) (but noting that aesthetic considerations alone cannot serve as the basis of the police power).

Ayer v. Cram, 136 N.E. 338 (Mass.1922) (upholding maximum height restrictions, because they could diminish the risk of fire) (but noting that use of the police power cannot be based on aesthetic considerations alone).

Gen. Outdoor Adver. Co. v. Dep’t of Pub. Works, 193 N.E. 799 (Mass.1935) (discussing constitutional provision allowing regulation of billboards along public ways) (holding that such regulations are valid, because they “promote safety of travel upon the highways”) (aesthetic considerations alone do not justify use of police power).

Town of Lexington v. Govenar, 3 N.E.2d 19 (Mass.1936) (prohibition of commercial signs in a residential zone) (noting that “doubtless esthetic considerations play a large part” in the prohibition of such advertisements; however, reaching the holding based on the separation of land uses and the promotion of public health, safety, and welfare).

Town of Burlington v. Dunn, 61 N.E.2d 243 (Mass.1945) (town by law restraining the removal of top soil) (noting that aesthetics may be considered in conjunction with other considerations).

122 Main St. Corp. v. City of Brockton, 84 N.E.2d 13 (Mass.1949) (“It is not within the scope of the act to enact zoning regulations for the purpose of assisting a municipality to retain or assume a general appearance deemed to be ideal, or to inflate its taxable revenue.”).

Circle Lounge & Grill v. Bd. of Appeal, 86 N.E.2d 920 (Mass.1949) (private action to prevent the issuance of a permit to construct a restaurant on nearby land).

Barney & Casey Co. v. Town of Milton, 87 N.E.2d 9 (Mass.1949) (“Regard for the preservation of the natural beauty of a neighborhood makes the enactment of a zoning regulation desirable but does not itself give vitality to the regulation.”).

Michigan

James S. Holden Co. v. Connor, 241 N.W. 915 (Mich. 1932) (upholding an ordinance establishing setbacks on public health and safety grounds) (but noting that aesthetic considerations alone cannot justify the police power).

Perry Mount Park Cemetery Ass’n v. Netzel, 264 N.W. 303 (Mich.1936) (private action to enjoin the operation of a salvage yard on unrestricted neighboring land) (“[M]ere esthetics is beyond the power of the court to regulate, especially in a case like this where both parties are in business for profit.”).
Wolverine Sign Works v. City of Bloomfield Hills, 271 N.W. 823 (Mich.1937) (holding that a prohibition of billboards that “did not at all interfere with any highway use or view” was invalid) (“Esthetics may be an incident but cannot be the moving factor.”).

Senefsky v. Lawler, 12 N.W.2d 788 (Mich.1943) (holding that minimum lot size requirements are invalid exercises of the police power and noting that aesthetics alone cannot serve as the basis of the police power).

1426 Woodward Ave. Corp. v. Wolff, 20 N.W.2d 217 (Mich.1945) (upholding the prohibition of signs overhanging public rights of way) (noting that cities may choose how to regulate, improve, and control its streets) (distinguishing invalid regulations pertaining to signs on private property).

Frischkorn Constr. Co. v. Lambert, 24 N.W.2d 209 (Mich.1946) (holding that minimum lot size requirements are invalid exercises of the police power and noting that aesthetics alone cannot serve as the basis of the police power).

Elizabeth Lake Estates v. Waterford Twp., 26 N.W.2d 788 (Mich. 1947) (holding that minimum lot size requirements are invalid exercises of the police power and noting that aesthetics alone cannot serve as the basis of the police power).

Hitchman v. Oakland Twp., 45 N.W.2d 306 (Mich.1951) (holding that minimum lot size requirements are invalid exercises of the police power and noting that aesthetics alone cannot serve as the basis of the police power).

Foster v. Genesee Cnty., 46 N.W.2d 426 (Mich.1951) (dismissing a complaint to enjoin the construction of an animal shelter under the theory that it could constitute a nuisance in the future).

**Missouri**

City of St. Louis v. Galt, 179 Mo. 8 (Mo. 1903) (upholding an ordinance requiring the removal of flowers considered to be “weeds,” because weeds tend to disrupt the public health).

City of St. Louis v. Dreisoeerner, 147 S.W. 998 (Mo.1910) (holding that an ordinance prohibiting the operation of manufacturing machinery within six hundred feet of a park was unconstitutional as a taking without compensation) (“[The police power] cannot sanction the confiscation of private property for aesthetic purposes.”).

In re Kansas City Ordinance No. 39946, 252 S.W. 404 (Mo.1923) (en banc) (upholding an ordinance that regulated the construction and setback of structures, but that provided compensation for the ensuing diminution in value) (generally analogizing the restrictions at issue to height restrictions that tend to protect public safety and comfort).

State ex rel Penrose Inv. Co. v. McKelvey, 256 S.W. 474 (Mo.1923) (en banc) (holding that zoning ordinances that bear no relation to public health, safety, or welfare are void and unconstitutional) (noting that the police power cannot be used for purely aesthetic purposes) (“[T]he necessity for the existence of civil government lies in the protection it affords to the rights of the individual.”).
City of St. Louis v. Evraiff, 256 S.W. 489 (Mo.1923) (en banc) (holding that zoning ordinances that bear no relation to public health, safety, or welfare are void and unconstitutional) (finding that the police power may not rest on aesthetic considerations alone).

State ex rel Oliver Cadillac Co. v. Christopher, 298 S.W. 720 (Mo.1927) (en banc) (upholding a zoning ordinance that segregated land uses, because it promoted public health and safety).

Blind v. Brockman, 12 S.W.2d 742 (Mo.1928) (upholding prohibition on soft drink stands for public safety reasons) (distinguishing cases that involve the use of the police power for purely aesthetic purposes).

City of St. Louis v. Friedman, 216 S.W.2d 475 (Mo.1948) (upholding an ordinance that prohibited junk yards in an industrial zone).

Leffen v. Hurlbut-Glover Mortuary, Inc., 257 S.W.2d 609 (Mo.1953) (private action to enjoin operation of funeral home in allegedly residential district) (remanded to determine whether district was in fact zoned as business or for funeral homes).

New Hampshire

Sundeen v. Rogers, 141 A. 142 (N.H. 1928) (noting that aesthetics alone cannot justify the use of the police power, but upholding a set back ordinance on the basis of public health and safety).

New Mexico

Town of Gallup v. Constant, 11 P.2d 962 (N.M. 1932) (affirming the grant of an injunction to restrain construction and compel removal of wooden structures within fire limits) (ordinance upheld on public safety grounds).

New York

Wulfsohn v. Burden, 150 N.E. 120 (N.Y. 1925) (upholding ordinances establishing setbacks and maximum heights on public health and safety grounds) (noting that aesthetics may be considered as auxiliary to more sufficient justifications for police power activity).

Eaton v. Sweeny, 177 N.E. 412 (N.Y. 1931) (the burdens of zoning “must be equally distributed”) (city cannot use zoning to beautify property adjacent to a park if such zoning renders property valueless).

Dowsey v. Vill. of Kensington, 177 N.E. 427 (N.Y. 1931) (declaring invalid an ordinance enacted with apparently the sole objective of beautifying the village frontage).

Perlmutter v. Greene, 182 N.E. 5 (N.Y. 1932) (upholding the administrative act of a state officer regarding the construction of a highway that blocked the view of certain billboards) (distinguishing laws that regulate billboards on private property).
Mid-State Adver. Corp. v. Bond, 8 N.E.2d 286 (N.Y. 1937) (noting that an ordinance prohibiting the construction of off-site advertising billboards anywhere within city limits was void) (the court did not decide this case on aesthetic grounds).

Baddour v. City of Long Beach, 18 N.E.2d 18 (N.Y. 1938) (upholding ordinance that divided land uses by prohibiting boarding house in single family residential zone) (noting that ordinances compelling obedience to restrictive covenants in deeds are valid, even if they involve incidental aesthetic considerations) (noting that aesthetic considerations are not “wholly without weight”).

**North Carolina**

Turner v. City of New Bern, 122 S.E. 469 (N.C. 1924) (holding that the police power can be used to prohibit the operation of certain businesses in certain districts) (noting that a locality cannot use the police power for purely aesthetic purposes without paying just compensation).

MacRae v. City of Fayetteville, 150 S.E. 810 (N.C. 1929) (“[A gasoline station] might be to some an ‘eyesore,’ but the law does not allow aesthetic taste to control private property, under the guide of police power.”).

Town of Wake Forest v. Medlin, 154 S.E. 29 (N.C. 1930) (finding that a filling station may be prohibited in residential zones, because of the “possibility of public injury”).

Appeal of Parker, 197 S.E. 706 (N.C. 1938) (upholding an ordinance prohibiting walls along the street line on the basis of public safety).

**Pennsylvania**

Appeal of White, 134 A. 409 (Pa. 1926) (holding that certain setback requirements were invalid, because they were unrelated to public safety, health, morals, or general welfare) (“[Regulation of private property] must not be from an arbitrary desire to resist the natural operation of economic laws or for purely aesthetic considerations.”).

Appeal of Ward, 137 A. 630 (Pa.1927) (upholding zoning ordinance providing for the separation of business and residential uses).

Appeal of Ligget, 139 A. 619 (Pa.1927) (upholding the exclusion of advertising signboards from residential districts) (but noting that zoning regulations cannot be justified by solely aesthetic considerations) (but noting that zoning may not be sustained on aesthetic considerations alone).

Appeal of Kerr, 144 A. 81 (Pa.1928) (upholding setback restrictions related to public health, safety, morals, or welfare).

Walnut & Quince Streets Corp. v. Mills, 154 A. 29 (Pa.1931) (finding that a city may use aesthetic considerations in municipal control over public property) (analogizing the municipal determination of what signs private parties may place on public property to the municipal choice of what trees to plant in public parks).
Walker v. Delaware Cnty. Trust Co., 171 A. 458 (Pa.1934) (denying an injunction to prohibit the operation of a gas station in a commercial zone, because the use does not constitute a nuisance).

Petition of Standard Investments Corp., 19 A.2d 167 (Pa.1941) (finding that to be valid ordinances must not be based arbitrarily on aesthetic considerations).

Overbrook Farms Club v. Zoning Bd. of Adjustment, 40 A.2d 423 (Pa.1945) (upholding the grant of a permit to operate a rabbi’s office and synagogue in a residential zone that also expressly allowed the operation of church and church offices).

Application of Devereux Foundation, 41 A.2d 744 (Pa.1945) (overturning a variance to operate a home for mentally deficient children in a residential zone, because petitioner did not provide enough evidence to support the grant of a variance).

Belovsky v. Redevelopment Auth., 54 A.2d 277 (Pa.1947) (upholding redevelopment law that allowed private parties to invest in public projects in redevelopment areas acquired by eminent domain) (noting in passing that “aesthetic objectives are not sufficient to justify the exercise of the power of eminent domain”).

Appeal of Crawford, 57 A.2d 862 (Pa.1948) (Board of Adjustment abused discretion by refusing to grant variance for setback requirements).

Katzman v. Anderson, 59 A.2d 85 (Pa.1948) (refusing to enforce a deed restriction that had become impractical due to changing conditions).

Appeal of Lord, 81 A.2d 533 (Pa.1951) (declaring that a zoning board may not deny a permit simply because it finds the intended use to be unaesthetic).

Appeal of Medinger, 104 A.2d 118 (Pa.1954) (declaring that aesthetic reasons alone cannot justify use of the police power and invalidating an ordinance establishing minimum lot sizes).

La Rue v. Weiser, 106 A.2d 447 (Pa.1954) (refusing to enforce a sixty-three year old deed restriction that had become impractical due to changed neighborhood conditions).


Rhode Island

City of Providence v. Stephens, 133 A. 614 (R.I. 1926) (finding that apartment homes may be excluded from a residential district on the grounds that the exclusion would promote public health and safety by lessening the risks of fire and congestion) (but noting that the police power cannot be based on purely aesthetic considerations).

Sundlun v. Zoning Bd. of Review, 145 A. 451 (R.I.1929) (finding that a city acted improperly in denying a permit to erect a filling station in a residential district, because the record did not indicate that the station was a threat to public health or safety) (noting that mere aesthetic objections to the station could not justify denial of the permit).


**Vermont**

Vermont Salvage Corp. v. Vill. of St. Johnsbury, 34 A.2d 188 (Vt. 1943) (finding that zoning ordinances could not be used to prohibit the operation of junk yards for purely aesthetic reasons).

**Virginia**

Eubank v. City of Richmond, 67 S.E. 376 (Va. 1910) (finding that setback requirements are not unconstitutional, because they serve “the interest of public health, public morals, and public safety”).

Gorieb v. Fox, 134 S.E. 914 (Va.1926) (noting the unsettled extent of the police power) (finding that ordinances separating land use and establishing setbacks are valid “if passed in the interest of the health, safety, comfort, or convenience of the public, or for the promotion of the public welfare, when not unreasonable”).

Martin v. City of Danville, 138 S.E. 629 (Va.1927) (upholding an ordinance regulating the location of filling stations) (displaying deference to legislative determinations and noting that because the ordinance was not “clearly arbitrary and unreasonable, having no substantial relation to the public health, safety, morals, or general welfare,” it was not unconstitutional).

West Bros. Brick Co. v. City of Alexandria, 192 S.E. 881 (Va.1937) (upholding a prohibition on brick plants in a residential district, but noting that aesthetic considerations alone cannot justify use of the police power).

City of Alexandria v. Texas Co., 1 S.E.2d 296 (Va.1939) (holding that ordinances must relate to public health, safety, morals, or welfare).

**Washington**

State ex rel Seattle Title Trust Co. v. Roberge, 256 P. 781 (Wash. 1927) (upholding single family residential districts that only allow construction of philanthropic homes for children or the elderly when two thirds of nearby property owners consent).

King Cnty. v. Lunn, 200 P.2d 981 (Wash. 1948) (injunction to prohibit individual form operating a restaurant out of his home in a residential district).
**Summary**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State High Court</th>
<th>Based on the cases identified, prior to <em>Berman</em>, could aesthetics alone serve as the justification for exercise of the police power?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connecticut</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>Probably not, however, economic considerations together with a preservation objective would likely have been valid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maine</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td>Michigan</td>
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<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rhode Island</td>
<td>No</td>
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<td>Vermont</td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>No</td>
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<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B

Table of Cases, decided after *Berman v. Parker* but before *Penn Central Transportation Co. v. City of New York*, for the nineteen states identified

**Arkansas**

Yarbrough v. Arkansas State Highway Comm’n, 539 S.W.2d 419 (Ark. 1976) (delegation of authority to State Highway Commission to enter into agreements with the United States Secretary of Transportation).

Quapaw Quarter Ass'n Inc. v. City of Little Rock Bd. of Zoning Adjustment, 546 S.W.2d 427 (Ark. 1977) (holding that a city ordinance could not be repealed or altered by a resolution).

**California**

Bozung v. Local Agency Formation Comm’n, 529 P.2d 1017 (Cal. 1975) (en banc) (application of the California Environmental Quality Act to the annexation of land to the locality).

Urban Renewal Agency v. California Coastal Zone Conservation Comm’n, 542 P.2d 645 (Cal. 1975) (en banc) (exemption of locality from the requirements of the Coastal Zone Conservation Act).

**Connecticut**


Figarsky v. Historic Dist. Comm’n, 368 A.2d 163 (Conn. 1976) (finding that “public welfare” includes the preservation of historic areas).

**Kansas**

Louisiana

Probst v. City of New Orleans, 337 So.2d 1081 (La. 1976) (suit to recover ad valorem taxes paid under protest due to contested assessments).

Maine


Maryland

Bd. of Cnty. Comm’rs v. Brown, 253 A.2d 883 (Md. 1969) (sufficiency of evidence needed to grant a special exception to a county zoning ordinance).


City of Baltimore v. Charles Center Parking, Inc., 271 A.2d 144 (Md.1970) (noting that aesthetics alone could not justify the use of the police power to restrict the erection of billboards or painted signs).

Mayor of Baltimore v. Mano Swartz, Inc., 299 A.2d 828 (Md.1973) (“[T]he police power may rightly be exercised to preserve an area which is generally regarded by the public to be pleasing to the eye or historically or architecturally significant.”).

Trainor v. Lipchin, 309 A.2d 471 (Md.1973) (finding that rezoning was not available for a petitioner who was not deprived of all reasonable use of his property as presently zoned).

Mayor of Annapolis v. Anne Arundel Cnty., 316 A.2d 807 (Md.1974) (city sought to enjoin county from demolishing county structure located in historic district).

Massachusetts

Op. of the Justices to the Senate, 128 N.E.2d 557 (Mass. 1955) (finding that the police power could be used to preserve historic districts).

Op. of the Justices to the Senate, 128 N.E.2d 563 (Mass. 1955) (finding that the police power could be used to preserve historic districts).


Gumley v. Bd. of Selectmen, 358 N.E.2d 1011 (Mass.1977) (discussing the considerations and procedures that a historic district commission must follow when issuing a certificate of appropriateness) (case does not involve a challenge to the historic zoning ordinance).


**Michigan**


Sabo v. Twp. of Monroe, 232 N.W.2d 584 (Mich. 1975) (finding that the construction of a mobile-home park on residentially zoned land was reasonable) (finding that otherwise valid zoning regulations are not invalid because they were enacted prior to the adoption of a master plan).

**Missouri**

City of Kansas City v. Kindle, 446 S.W.2d 807 (Mo. 1969) (upholding a zoning ordinance that served to preserve the character and distinction of a neighborhood, but that provided compensation for the ensuing diminution in value).

**New Hampshire**

Town of Deering *ex rel* Bittenbender v. Tibbetts, 202 A.2d 232 (N.H. 1964) (holding that historic zoning is within the scope of the police power).

**New Mexico**

City of Santa Fe v. Gamble-Skogmo, Inc., 389 P.2d 13 (N.M. 1964) (holding that historic zoning is within the scope of the police power).
**New York**

Lutheran Church in Am. v. City of New York, 316 N.E.2d 305 (N.Y. 1955) (finding that the denial of all economically viable use of a property constitutes a taking).


Charles v. Diamond, 360 N.E.2d 1295 (N.Y. 1977) (action against city and state officials to issue permits to develop sewer system and connections).


**North Carolina**

Allred v. City of Raleigh, 178 S.E.2d 432 (N.C. 1971) (holding that rezoning is not valid when it is based only on “special arrangements” with the owner of a particular parcel).

**Pennsylvania**

Best v. Zoning Bd. of Adjustment of City of Pittsburgh, 141 A.2d 606 (Pa. 1958) (noting that a community can regulate property to create a more attractive environment).


**Rhode Island**

Hayes v. Smith, 167 A.2d 546 (R.I. 1961) (finding that the zoning board of review was justified in reversing a decision of the historic district commission) (case does not involve a challenge to the historic zoning ordinance).

Op. to the House of Representatives, 208 A.2d 126 (R.I. 1965) (finding that a statute delegating authority to provide for historic zoning is likely constitutional). This opinion did not contain a discussion as to why the statute was constitutional, because the court determined that it did not have authority to issue an advisory opinion on this matter. See id.


Vermont

In re Barker Sargent Corp., 313 A.2d 669 (Vt. 1973) (finding that a sanitary landfill would not result in pollution in violation of environmental law).

Virginia

Bd. of Supervisors v. Rowe, 216 S.E.2d 199, 213 (Va. 1975) (invalidating certain architectural design review regulations) (finding that a locality cannot use the police power for solely aesthetic considerations) (recognizing that the Virginia Code did authorize certain localities to adopt historic districts under certain restrictions).

Virginia Historic Landmarks Comm’n v. Bd. of Supervisors, 230 S.E.2d 449 (Va. 1976) (finding that the State Historic Landmark Commission’s designation of a historic district for the Virginia Landmarks Register was not subject to judicial review).

Washington


Dep’t of Ecology v. Pacesetter Constr. Co., Inc., 571 P.2d 196 (Wash. 1977) (en banc) (finding, in an environmental law context, that the police power can be used to protect aesthetics when it also served to protect against economic loss).
## Summary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State High Court</th>
<th>Based on the cases identified, following <em>Berman</em>, could aesthetics or historic concerns alone serve as the justification for exercise of the police power?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connecticut</td>
<td>Passed on the issue of solely aesthetic regulations, but upheld the validity of a historic district ordinance and recognized a broad scope of the general welfare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kansas</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maine</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>Where regulations sought to create aesthetically pleasing results, rather than to preserve or protect something which is aesthetically pleasing, the regulations will be invalid.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michigan</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Hampshire</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Mexico</td>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>Passed on the issue of aesthetics, because the primary issue in the case was as applied confiscatory takings; however, the dissent discussed how it may be appropriate to adopt the position that aesthetics alone is enough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>Strongly mixed decisions recognizing the validity of aesthetic and historic zoning, but still holding that aesthetics alone cannot justify use of the police power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhode Island</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vermont</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>No, aesthetics alone are not enough; however, the court noted that design regulations would have been valid if they were in compliance with the Code of Virginia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>Aesthetics considerations will suffice if the ordinance also protects against economic loss</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Appendix C

Secondary Sources


MICHAEL P. BROOKS, PLANNING THEORY FOR PRACTITIONERS (AICP 2003).


J. Peter Byrne, Two Cheers for Gentrification, 46 HOW. L.J. 405 (2003).


Terry C. Hutchinson & Nigel Duncan, Defining and Describing What We Do: Doctrinal Legal Research, 17 DEAKIN L. REV. 83 (2012).


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Alec Torres, *Nine Years after Kelo, the Seized Land is Empty*, NATIONAL REVIEW (Feb. 5, 2014, 6:00 PM), http://www.nationalreview.com/article/370441/nine-years-after-kelo-seized-land-empty-alec-torres.


U.S. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS, SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON HISTORIC PRESERVATION, WITH HERITAGE SO RICH (1966).