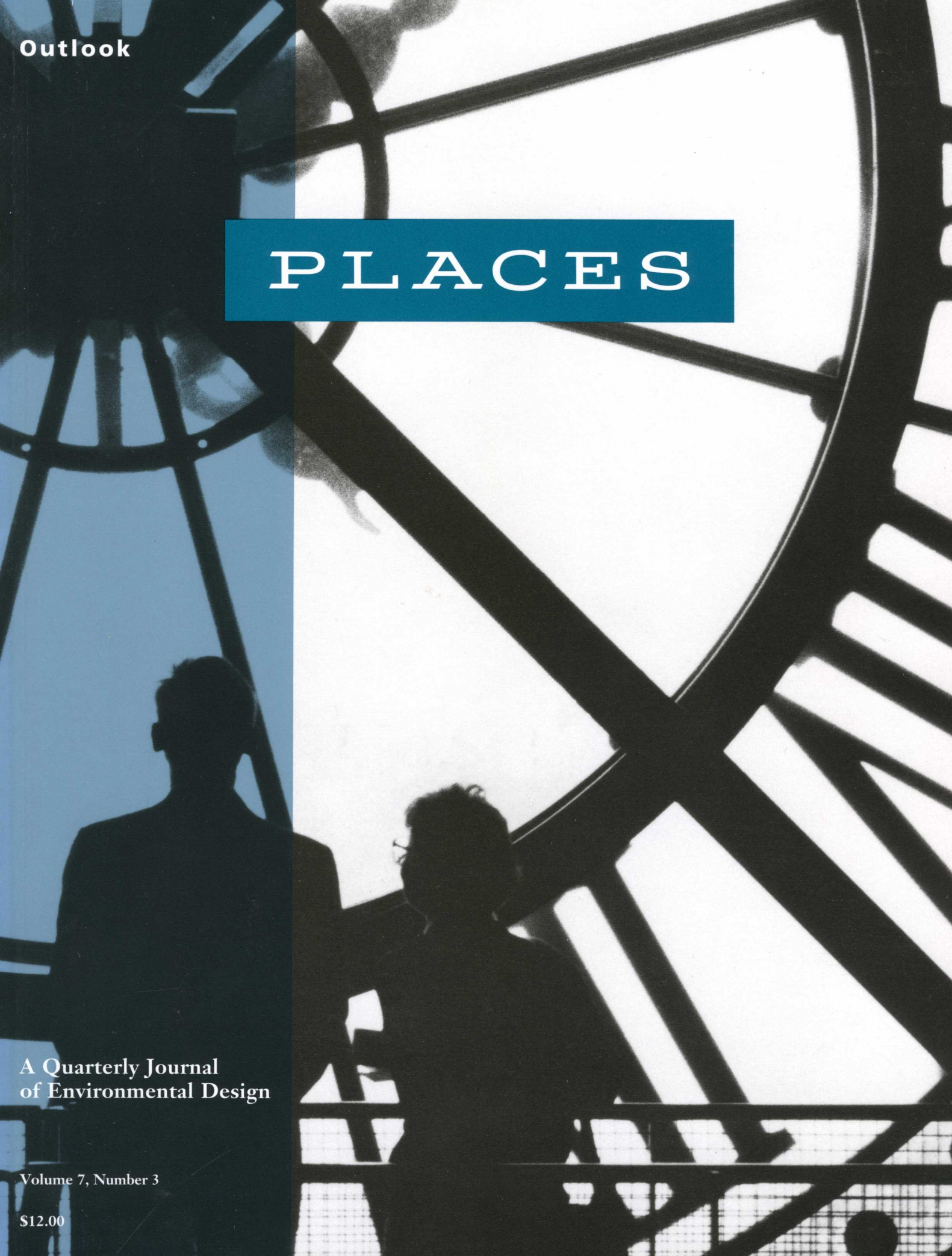
Outlook

PLACES



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Putting Walden Woods Back on the Map

Howard Mansfield

As political theater, the fight to save Walden Woods had it all. It was a fascinating mix of real estate deals, literary homage, celebrities and literati, and even this era's hallmark of charity: a benefit rock concert, which mercifully was not called Henry David Aid.

There have been other fights to save Walden, but this one was different: It changed our conception of Walden as a landscape. All the other conservation efforts had been about protecting Walden Pond; this was about the Walden Woods, and the debate concerned not whether the Woods ought to be developed or preserved, but whether the Woods was a place in its own right.

The Town of Concord had approved the construction of a 150,000-square-foot office park just 700 yards northeast of the Pond. In the 1940s and '50s the site had been quarried for gravel; now it was marked by some stunted trees and a few piles of trash. Thoreau would have known this place as Brister's Hill.

Concord also had approved the construction of 139 condominiums on 25 acres that abutted conservation land on the other side of the Pond. In Thoreau's time, this area was known as Bear Garden Hill, a wooded knoll where he picked huckleberries and took moonlight walks. "My thoughts expand and flourish most on this barren hill," he wrote. "I seem to be nearer the origin of things."

The quickly formed Thoreau Country Conservation Alliance protested that these buildings would be an assault on Walden Woods, the woods through which Thoreau walked. *Walden* and Thoreau's journals are full of references to places in the Woods, the Alliance said; the well-known Walden Pond is but one feature in this landscape.

The powers that be in Concord responded: You just made up Walden Woods (they referred to it as "the alleged Walden Woods") as a way to stop an office building and housing. The chairman of the zoning board of appeals said he did not doubt Thoreau had walked in the moonlight on Bear Garden Hill, but "the fact is Thoreau was a walker; he walked everywhere in this town... . He may have walked through my back yard for all I know." And in a state hearing, the town's attorney claimed that Thoreau made only one or two references to the Woods in all of his journals.

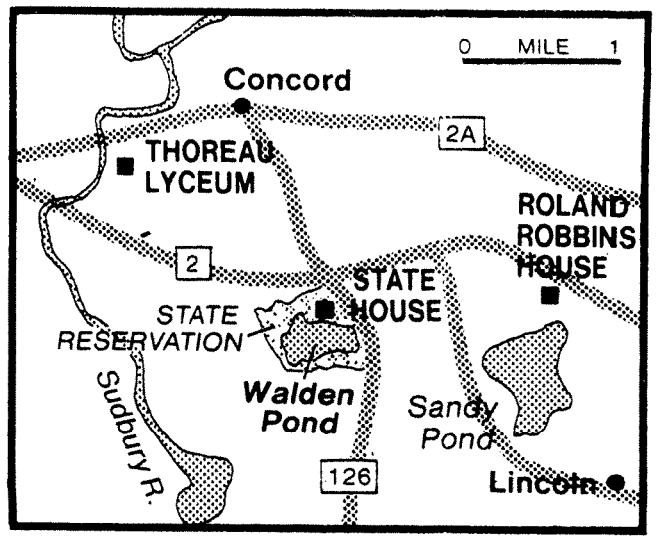
The Alliance countered by gathering hundreds of literary and historical citations showing "Walden Woods" was a common term in Concord until the first decades of this century, when it passed out of usage and fell off almost everyone's mental map. It noted that one of the most celebrated passages in *Walden* begins, "I went to the *woods* because I wished to live deliberately..." (italics added). And it reprinted a map, drawn in 1906, that shows 2,680 acres crowded with the names of hills, bogs and ridges. Nearly every rill and fold of the earth is recorded, and at its heart is Walden Woods.

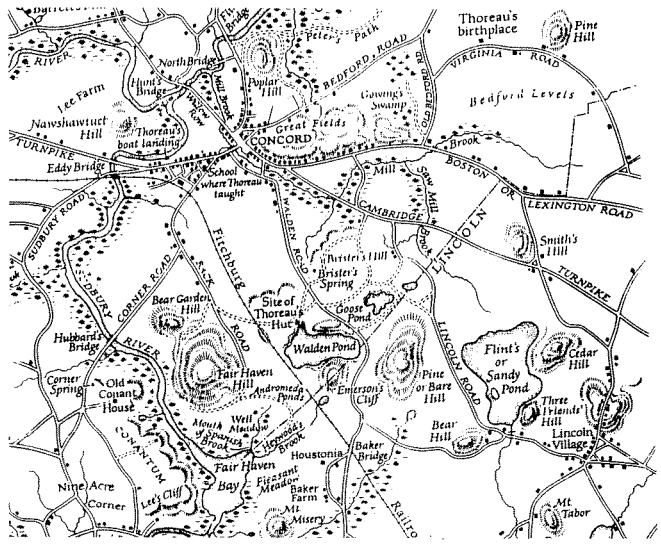
Supporters of the development proposals had their map, too, a typical product of our day. It showed Route 2 — its size considerably exaggerated — and a hole for the Pond in flat Cartesian simplicity. The scale had changed: The modern map covered more square mileage, yet was emptier.

Indeed, maps made during the last 50 years have not mentioned Walden Woods, just the Pond, always the Pond. Visitors and pilgrims go to the Pond and cabin site, not the Woods. Neither a state brochure nor one promoting Concord's history mentions the Woods.

Using celebrity and the law, the Walden Woods forces are winning the day. Through their efforts, the National Trust for Historic Preservation declared Walden one of the 11 most endangered historic sites in America. Walden Woods forces purchased the 25 acres that were to become the condo project and are negotiating to buy the office park site. This is still far from a happy ending — they have to raise more than $3 million to pay for the condo site, and the developer of the office park is holding out for $7.4 million, more than twice the amount he paid a few years ago.

But most of all, they changed the map, returning to us an awareness of Brister's Hill, Bear Garden Hill, the Boiling Spring, Hubbard's Close, Orchis Swamp, the Andromeda Ponds — an entire world of places Thoreau illuminated in his travels of just a few thousand acres.





Maps confer a legitimacy on our perception of the landscape. Both maps depict the Concord area and both are at the same scale. The top map appeared in the *New York Times* last year; the bottom map was published in 1906.

Worlds for Habitation:

Architecture and the Moving Image

It is the fourth scene of *Citizen Kane*, in which the image on the screen moves up and over a building and comes to rest, momentarily, on a skylight. The camera begins to zoom in on the image until it dissolves to reveal the scene taking place under the glass. There, a woman is slumped over a table as a reporter sits down to interview her, apparently against her wishes.

It is a startling sequence. The viewer, unaccustomed to penetrating a room in quite this manner, is acutely aware of the violation of this woman by both the reporter's prying inquiry and the viewer's own voyeuristic position. Not only is a character being interrogated, but so is the architecture in which she sits. In the transformation of a skylight into a panopticon, Orson Welles has made available a unique spatial experience. At this moment the boundary separating two distinct media, architecture and film, is blurred.

While such drama does not always characterize the relationship between architecture and film, there is a tradition of connection that was the subject of "Architecture and the Moving Image," a conference held at The Catholic University of America, Department of Architecture and Planning, last fall. The event featured films and papers that explored how the study of film could shed light on the making of architecture, and vice versa.

The conference was inspired by the simple fact that both filmmakers and architects propose worlds for habitation. Filmmakers design the events that occur in that habitat; architects imagine how people will experience and act in spaces they design. Having such an imagination is important to architects if they are to overcome the abstraction of drawings and fully understand the spaces they are creating. This is why architects should have an interest in critically viewing films.

Cinema, because of its immediacy, tends to be a compelling form of storytelling or narration. It is capable of eliciting emotional responses more visceral than those elicited by other art forms, certainly architecture. Film's impact on a viewer is further strengthened by the almost hyperawareness of reality — characterized by attention to the most minute details of human habitation — that successful filmmakers bring to their craft. Were architects to have this level of awareness, they could make a more intimate analysis of the human experience of habitation.

Conference speakers focused primarily on three themes: the documentation of architecture, or how it is represented in film; the idea of narrative, or the story line in film and its equivalent in architecture; and the concept of structure in both media.

The most obvious connection between architecture and film is represented in the first theme, either in the form of documentaries about architecture, or in the use of architecture as a setting for cinematic action. Films can be an excellent vehicle for representing architecture because the layering of images in a rhythmic, sequential manner allows a closer simulation of the way people experience architecture than do still photographs.

The risk is that such simulations will focus simply on the gestalt of the image, providing the best possible representation of shapes and colors without providing any underlying narrative or story. Such films are likely to be quite dull. Narration should not only evoke a visual experience, but also construct a critical analysis of it. There are a number of ways to do this, as Daniel

Doz pointed out: composing a setting, moving people through a setting, and implying settings that are beyond the frame. Ultimately, as Charles Guggenheim suggested, the most important aspect of any cinematic documentation involving architecture may be the ability it gives viewers to imagine the way they would experience the built form.

The link between making architecture and making film extends to the consideration of narrative, or storyline. In architecture, the narrative may take many forms. Lily Chi suggested that an architectural program may serve as the equivalent of or at least contribute to the making of a plot. Another form of architectural narration entails the composition of spatial sequences and individual rooms that, in turn, suggests relationships among individuals or between people and the landscape, the city, or the cosmos.

George Johnston offered the concept of frame as a cinematic analog to the room. The design of the former, referred to as *mise en scène* (literally, "putting in the scene") involves the relationship of characters to cameras and the constituent elements of the set. This relationship is a dynamic controlled by the director in an analogous manner to the control an architect often attempts to exert on the design of a space.

James Sanders documented this in a spatial analysis of the sets used for interior scenes in *The Heiress* and *Life with Father*. The human interaction between public and private space, a narrative of architectural significance, was reflected in the point of view with which the camera (and, therefore, a person watching the film) observed family life. Architectural narrative may not be as well defined as its cinematic counterpart, but it may exist, nonetheless, at the level of experience imagined by architects and revealed in film.

The concept of structure was another overlap between architecture and film highlighted at the conference. The issue of montage, which means putting together or editing, was of primary interest. George Dodds noted that Russian film theorist Lev Kuleshov developed the concept of montage as the creation of "parallel and simultaneous actions that would be gathered in one place" in a film. Sergei Eisenstein, Kuleshov's student, elaborated the concept to mean the building up of images in such a way that segmented images would relate to each other — so that A and B would combine to produce another meaning, C.

Architectural analogies are numerous and could include, as David Bell suggested, movement between places (what Le Corbusier referred to as *promenade architecturale)*, in which a series of spaces or scenes are revealed over time by movement along a path. Another analog might exist in the concept of the *parti*, the organizing structure of a building, usually expressed in a sketch that delineates relationships among the various parts of the design.

Writing in his essay "Montage and Architecture," Eisenstein himself reflects on the overlap between architecture and film. "The Greeks have left us the most perfect example of shot design, change of shot and shot length...," he writes. "It is hard to imagine a montage sequence for an architectural ensemble more subtly composed, shot by shot, than the one that our legs create by walking among the buildings of the Acropolis." The Acropolis, he concludes, has "an equal right to be called the perfect example of one of the most ancient films."

— Neal Payton

BOSTON'S SOUTHWEST CORRIDOR: From Urban Battleground to Paths of Peace

The most confounding thing about pedestrian corridor projects is that we should have to establish them at all.

There was a time in America when footpaths ran through towns and farms in partial disregard of property ownership, very much like the English and Scottish common law footpaths. Our footpaths are derived from a second parentage as well: the Indian trails of common access that American colonists adopted as their own.

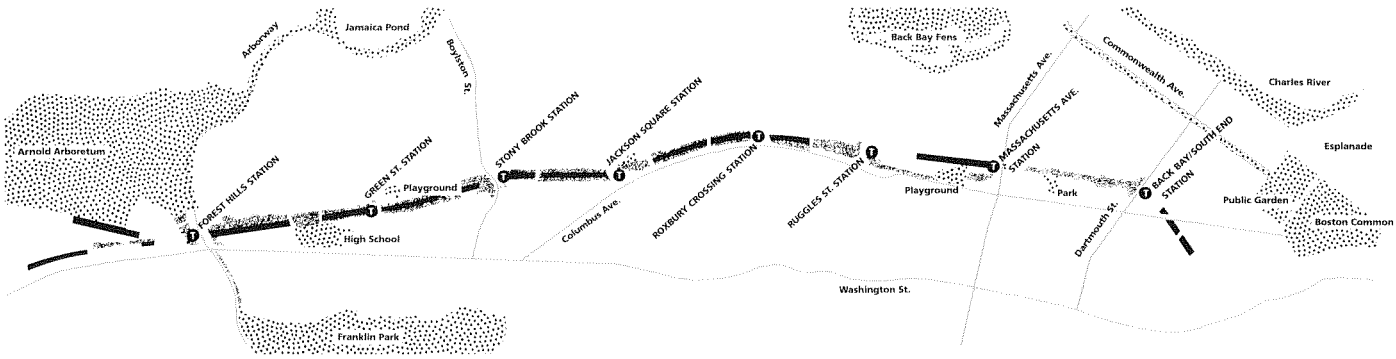
The common footpaths and trails would, by custom, remain accessible to the public so long as they were trod at least once every year. It was recognized, in our past, that public rights of access and private rights to privacy were not irreconcilable.

But that was eons ago. With the consolidation and fencing of property under real estate law and the industrialization of American cities, idiosyncratic common ways were extinguished, except for the few remnants that were preserved under public title. Then, too, there was the lack of foresight, chiefly in the nineteenth century, in not reserving path corridors within or along public corridor land as it was sold or granted to the railroads or retained and developed as highways.

The demise of the common law footpath was very much present in my mind as I began work on Boston's Southwest Corridor Project park master plan in the spring of 1977. The decade earlier I had traveled to England to study river corridors and footpaths and to learn how people and cities were served by them. The Southwest Corridor represented industrial blight and an overwhelming lack of access. Down its middle ran the old Penn Central railroad — which ran atop a grim, soot-covered, granite-faced embankment for its greater length and along down-at-the-heel industrial sprawl and menacing wastelands. Ever since its emergence more than a century ago, this corridor had divided communities and sealed them off from access to the city's center. Could anything be done to redeem it?



Boston residents are making Southwest Corridor Park a part of their city.
Photo © Ben E. Watkins.



Ten years earlier, I had prepared a rehabilitation plan for Frederick Law Olmsted's Emerald Necklace and the parkland of the Charles River Basin.[1] In the course of research I had learned how urban and highway development of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries had extinguished many a well-trodden trail or path.

How might a path stretching the length of the Corridor, more than four miles, be physically formed? Would continuity throughout its length be important for access between Boston's center and outlying neighborhoods? Were there ways to keep social friction low, both among path users and between users and abutting private and institutional properties?

There were other critical questions, some of which would determine the very fate and viability of the park, but neither questions nor answers can be adequately appreciated without an understanding of the broader physical, social and political context of the project and its precedents.

The Southwest Corridor of 1976, reaching from Boston's Back Bay to Forest Hills, a stretch of more than four miles, was the legacy of some of the worst single-purpose transportation thinking of the century. The Corridor had been identified in the 1950s and '60s as the ideal alignment for completion of Interstate 95, locally to have been designated as the Southwest Expressway. It was an element of the proposed Boston urban expressway system, crowned by the infamous "Inner Belt," which would have devastated the city's inner neighborhoods and appreciably degraded its environment.

Construction of the expressways and the bridges, tunnels and ramps associated with them would have decimated the historic parks of Boston, Brookline and Cambridge. Sixty acres of Charles River Basin and Emerald Necklace park lands would have been eradicated, out of a total of slightly more than 600 acres extant in 1967.

While the expressway program was still alive, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts had taken more than 100 acres of homes and other properties in Roxbury and Jamaica Plain, widening its holdings along the Penn Central railroad right-of-way — the spine of the Corridor — to accommodate the expressway and its interchanges. The raw wounds of the takings and growing awareness of the impending social, economic and environmental impacts of neighborhood displacement and other adversities led to protest. Coming on the heels of the Blue Hills Avenue riots, in which dozens of businesses had been burned to the ground in an outburst of African-American frustration and

How the Community Shaped Southwest Corridor Park

The community-based coalition that helped stop the construction of the Southwest Expressway did not dissipate once the highway project was dropped in the late 1970s. Its members reorganized to form the Southwest Corridor Coalition, a non-profit advocacy group that was actively involved in the pre-design and planning phases of the Park and transit corridor and helped select project consultants. The Coalition's main thrust was to ensure maximum economic development opportunities for neighborhood residents during the design and construction phase of the Project.

Community members were involved in all aspects of the Park and transit corridor design, from the vertical alignment of the tracks and bridges to the flooring tiles and lighting fixtures in stations. The MBTA organized community residents into a corridor-wide Working Committee during the earliest stages of planning and design of the project, when overall goals, objectives and uses were considered and urban design guidelines that applied to the entire corridor were created. From the outset, community consensus dictated there should be public uses for land that was not needed for the subway line and stations. The Park was one way of achieving this goal.

As the project progressed to smaller scale design and planning issues, the forum for community participation and the forums for discussing and resolving issues shifted correspondingly. The Working Committee spawned three task forces that participated in the design of smaller sections of the Park. The sections were organized to correspond with the geographical boundaries of the major communities along the Corridor, the South End, Roxbury and Jamaica Plain. Anyone who lived, worked or owned property in any of these neighborhoods could participate.

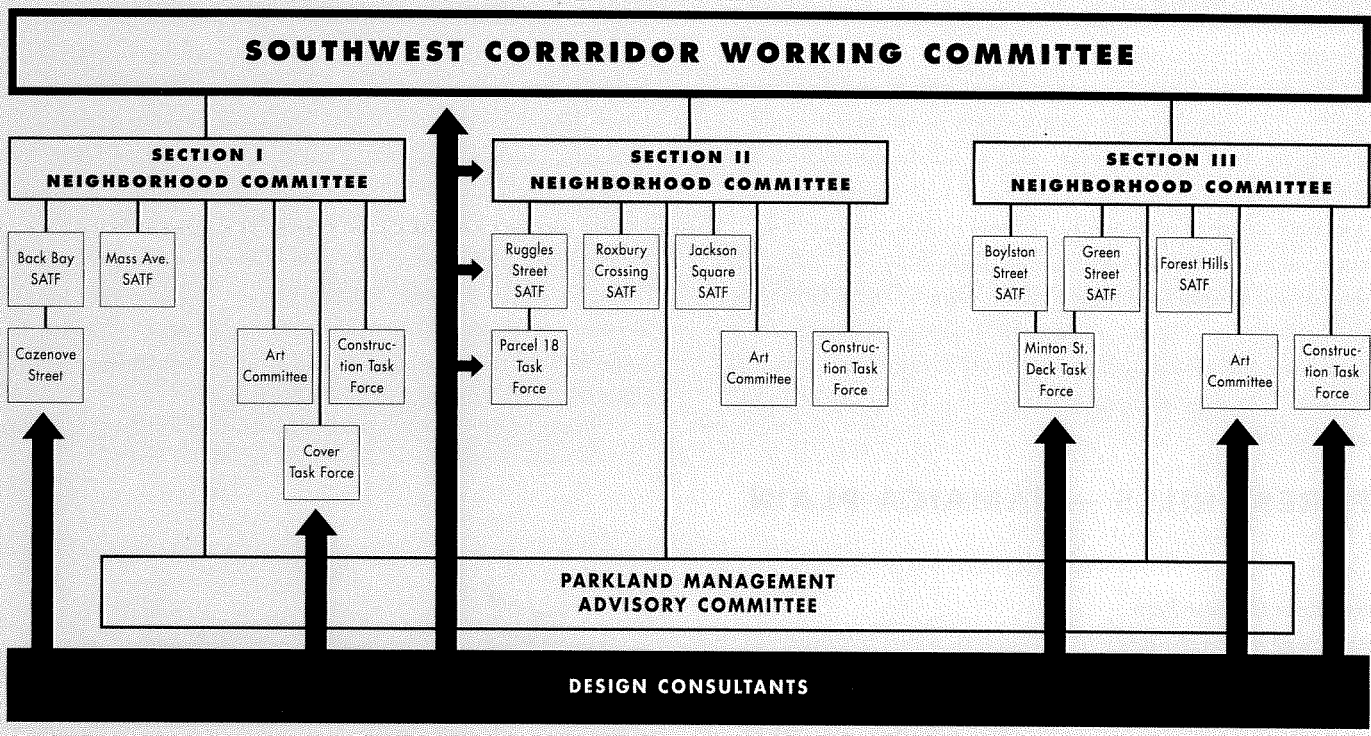
Out of these groups grew another level of community review — eight very localized Station Area Task Forces, one for each new station planned along the Orange Line's route. Anyone within a quarter mile of a new transit station could join the appropriate Station Area Task Force.

Another Corridor-wide organization, the Parkland Management Advisory Committee (PMAC) addressed the Park's development, maintenance and management. It was and remains the forum for community involvement in all matters regarding the Park. Although

• I helped evaluate the T's design proposals, disseminate information in my neighborhood, encourage meeting participation and advocate for a particular position at project meetings. • When the project budget was threatened I worked with others to gain political support to retain the original design.

— Edwina Cloherty, Southwest Corridor resident

The committee structure that channeled community participation. Graphic adapted from MBTA.



local task forces were involved substantively in the Park's early conceptualization and programming, subsequent design, construction and management became PMAC's province.

Other specialized groups arose as different topics warranted closer attention. The Art Advisory Committee, for example, selected artwork for the transit stations and parkland. The Minton Street Deck Committee, formed from the Green Street and Boylston Street Station Area Task Forces, was convened to program the uses for a parkland deck cover located between those two stations. The Parcel 18+ Task Force concentrated on issues of future mixed-use land development near Ruggles Station.

Notwithstanding the breadth and complexity of the participation process, design issues were identified and addressed according to the project schedule and, typically, once resolved, issues were not reopened for discussion.

The community's influence was particularly evident with the design of the Park because, unlike with other components of the project, everyone was familiar with parks and recreational areas and needed very little technical information to express opinions. Park design was of vital interest to most community participants, and it held their interest longer than matters of station design, perhaps because they perceived the Park as a more significant part of their neighborhoods than the stations.

— Harry Ellenzweig, Jacqueline Hall

The Park runs more than four miles along what was once an expressway right-of-way, connecting several Boston neighborhoods with downtown. Photo courtesy MBTA.

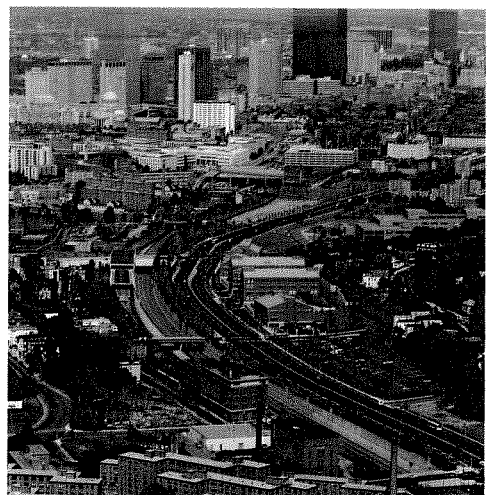




Photo courtesy Mason and Frey.

Continuity of Place and Time

The system of double paths — one for pedestrians, one for bicyclists — and the trees that line them are two of the elements that provide visual and functional continuity along the length of Southwest Corridor Park.

Another element that gives the Park a sense of cohesiveness is the use of granite block in curbs, retaining walls and seating. Before the Corridor was cleared for construction, trains ran for part of its length along a rampart that was faced with granite block, locally quarried and similar to that used in buildings throughout the city. The granite was

anger, the land takings of the Southwest Expressway project furthered mistrust of and antagonism to government in the city's African-American community.

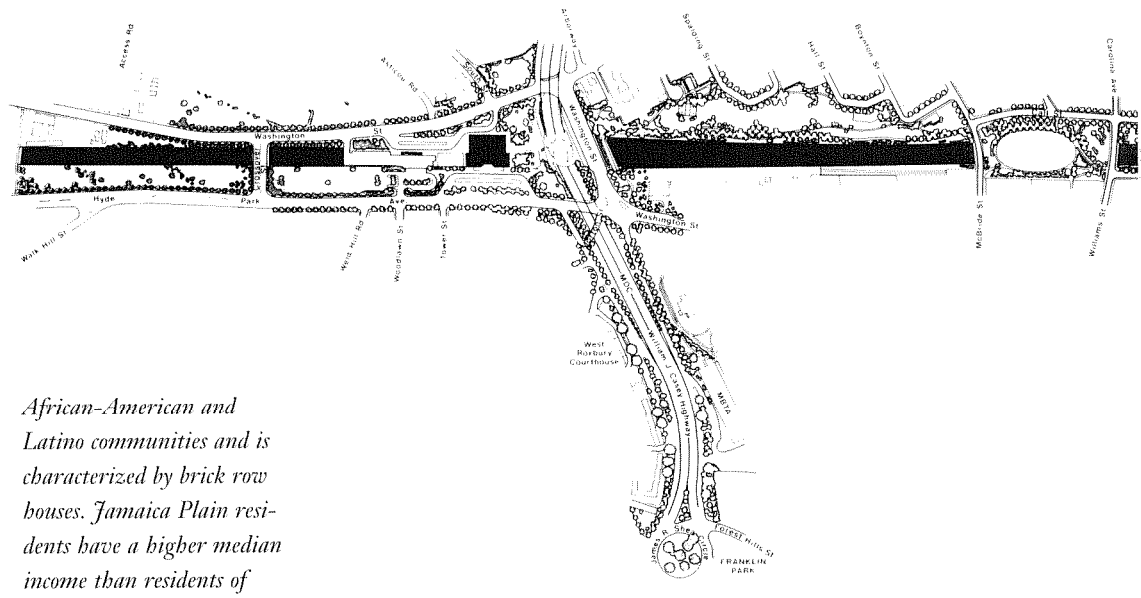
Whites, Latinos and others in the neighborhoods adjoining the Corridor were also evicted from their homes and businesses during the land-clearing years. Bit by bit the protests of the African-American community coalesced with the protests and concerns of other community, professional, business and civic interests in the Boston region, principally under the banner of the Greater Boston Committee on the Transportation Crisis, the chief grass roots warrior against the highway bulldozer. They were ultimately joined by Boston's City Hall and several state legislators.[2] The expressway program was finally abandoned in the early 1970s.

Once the expressway serpent had been slain, mass transportation advocates and Boston planners began fashioning a new, and progressive, program for the Corridor. Led by Frederick P. Salvucci, the city's transit-supportive transportation planner and later Massachusetts Secretary of Transportation under Michael Dukakis, the new program, entitled the Southwest Corridor Project, sought transit and rail improvements, combined with improvements to existing arterial and local streets. *No new arterials or expressway elements were to be developed under the program.* This fact received special emphasis as the message went out to Boston's citizens that government would again attempt to improve area transportation, but this time it would work in the interests of the community, not against them.

FOREST HILLS — JAMAICA PLAIN

Southwest Corridor Park starts with a flourish. Just where this brand-new open space converges with Frederick Law Olmsted's century-old Emerald Necklace, just where commuter, Amtrak, subway and bus lines meet in a spaghetti bowl of tracks, ramps and roads, the clock tower of Forest Hills Station puts things in perspective. This is neither an outpost, a way station, nor the end of the line.

The Park heads north and east from here through Jamaica Plain, an Irish, working-class district of one- and two-family wood-frame homes. The northern section of Jamaica Plain, near Roxbury, is home to sizable African-American and Latino communities and is characterized by brick row houses. Jamaica Plain residents have a higher median income than residents of other communities along the Corridor.



Two of the concerns of Jamaica Plain residents were to make as many connections across the open cut right-of-way as possible, and to provide open, green areas that

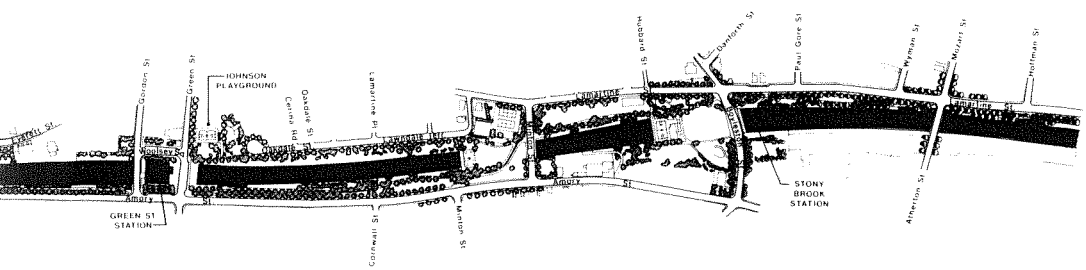


saved when the rampart was taken down and reused throughout the Park. The granite also gives the Park the appearance that it is aged, solid and important. The granite conveys a sense of continuity with the land and continuity with Boston's history that concrete abutments and walls, visible in some places, do not.

Yet, the adversarial history of the Southwest Corridor would test the intent and performance of the Commonwealth, its Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority (MBTA) and their consultants at each stage of SWCP plan review.[3] Elated with their victory over the expressway, Boston's activist communities were not about to slide into complacency with the commonwealth's alternative program, no matter how replete it was with urban mass transportation, parkland and joint development potential. Roxbury, Mission Hill, Jamaica Plain and the South End played a wait-and-see position at MBTA-sponsored Neighborhood Task Force meetings until the SWCP, in its benign form, began to come together.

Each of the diverse neighborhood interests within the affected area of the city was represented on the Southwest Corridor Coalition, the overall advocacy group that had in part succeeded the Greater Boston Committee on the Transportation Crisis. The Coalition served as the principal watchdog over the SWCP ("would the Governor sneak a highway element back into the picture?"), but it was also a strong positive influence in its support of a cohesive and continuous park system. The eight station area task forces, convened to discuss the design of the subway stations and the areas surrounding them, were more concerned with local access, safety and recreation issues than with Corridor-wide or citywide issues.

Needless to say, the ill-fated Southwest Expressway had had no provision for footpaths and bikeways, let alone parks and playgrounds, community gardens, or joint commercial development. But the SWCP would. This much had been determined by the



could support a variety of activities. Consequently, nine streets and four broad decks bridge the tracks. One of the decks, an elliptical green, adjoins a high school. Elsewhere, a "town green," also serves as a front yard for the Stony Brook Station.

Another neighborhood concern (as elsewhere along the Corridor) was for safety. Spaces programmed for specific activities, such as playgrounds and tennis courts, were situated so they could be observed from adjacent streets and homes.

This stretch of the Park is wonderfully aloof from its regional pretensions. One cannot drive along it easily (no single street parallels its entire length), or reach it very easily from major arterials — although it is well connected to neighborhood streets. Except for where there are decks, the Park is not much wider than a house or a yard, so its scale does not overwhelm its surroundings. After walking a short distance into the Park, one feels as if one is in nothing more than a small, pleasant neighborhood park.

Nevertheless, one is connected with and oriented to the central city. One can look down the railroad corridor from almost any point and see the Prudential tower, which sits near the northeast end of the Park not far from downtown. One can reach downtown by hopping a subway, walking, or biking along the Park, or heading back to Forest Hills and meandering along Olmsted's past the Arnold Arboretum, past Jamaica Pond, and along the Fens and the Charles River.

Yet it is the clock tower, perhaps the most visible single landscape element in the Park, that is the more apt landmark. The tower proclaims that many competing visions — old and new, transit and open space, regional and neighborhood — have somehow been resolved in this many-faceted Park.
— Todd Bressi, Aileen Rosen



Near Forest Hills, benches provide a vantage from which one can see the railroad corridor, the neighborhood on the other side and downtown landmarks. Photo courtesy Mason and Frey.

"peace talks" between Salvucci's transportation planners and the SCC.When the professional work began on the park master plan in 1977, this basic understanding, supported by a 1975 feasibility study, served as the intended program.

Yet it remained to be seen: Was there really a chance to see a strong and satisfying park emerge, one that could provide individual and neighborhood satisfaction and also command the respect and attention of the public agencies and legislative bodies arm-bent into adopting this new, "other side of the tracks," ragtag, bean pole of a linear park?

At the start of planning in 1977, there was only the trackside wasteland and desolate standing uses of the Corridor and no certainty as to which public agency would adopt the future greenway. And there were those who doubted that the way would be very green at all. One of our first challenges, then, was to see if we could find an approach to Corridor planning that could create a *genius loci* for the four-mile reach where none, or a fairly grimy one, had previously existed.



The Forest Hills Station clock tower marks the point at which these tracks connect with the Southwest Corridor transit line, and at which the Arnold Arboretum connects with Southwest Corridor Park. Photo © Ben E. Watkins.

Reviving a Forgotten Creek

To be more precise, actually, the southerly three-quarters of the Corridor had once possessed an interesting *genius*, a rugged and colorful one that could have contributed a valuable aesthetic to the Corridor had it persisted into the twentieth century or been allowed to resurface through the workings of Corridor reconstruction. This was the vale of Stony Brook, the small stream that wove its way between the glaciated hills of the area, through a bottomland originally rich in maples and oaks, to its debouchment into the Charles River estuary in the vicinity of what is today the Boston Fens.

This small, forested stream had overfilled its banks far too often for the comfort of the urban settlers of Jamaica Plain and the Back Bay. When, in the 1880s, Boston's engineers and Frederick Law Olmsted were charged with resolving the perennial flooding of Stony Brook and the Muddy River, it was the milder Muddy River that was selected as the armature of

Although Park planners were not able to revive a creek that is channeled beneath the railroad corridor, the Park does include several fountains. Photo courtesy Mason and Frey.

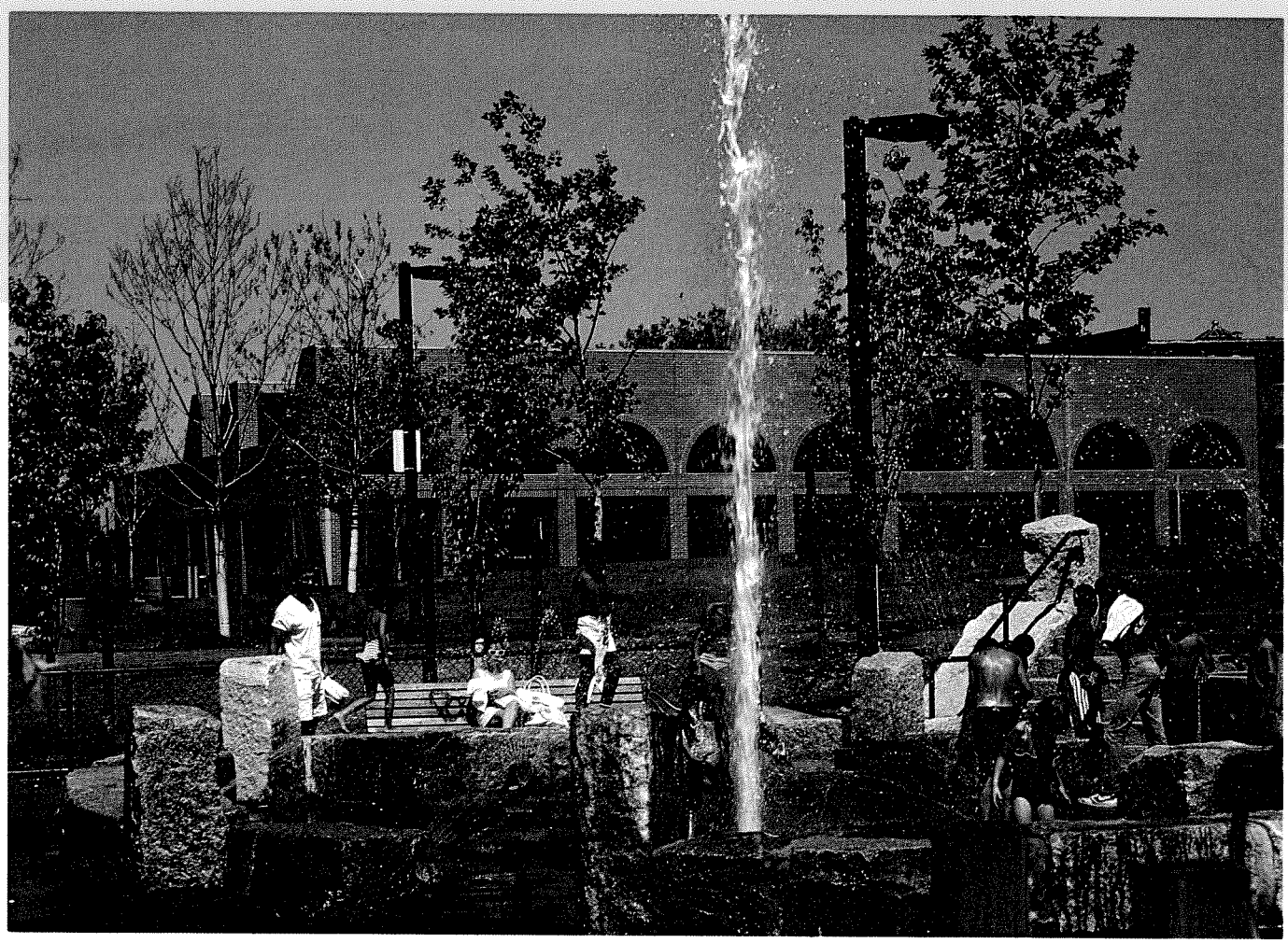
Lessons from Southwest Corridor Park: • *Sustain the effort: continuity of participants is necessary.* • *Establish a clearly defined fair and open process for desicion making. Then, FOLLOW IT AND LIVE WITH THE DECISIONS.* • *Expect everyone to abide by the process and decision.* • *Do your homework; get accurate information.* • *Build coalitions, which may mean compromise — which isn't always bad!* • *Hold your public officials accountable as well as yourselves.* • *Promote the commonwealth over local self-interest.* • *Maintain a sense of humor.* • *Take up knitting, not smoking.*

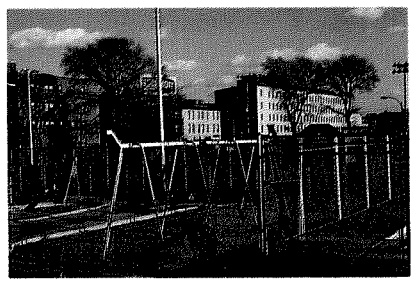
— Edwina Cloherty

Olmsted's ultimately famed Emerald Necklace and the more tumultuous Stony Brook which was incarcerated in the large buried conduit that now bears its name.

Could we propose the retrieval of the stream, a restoring of Stony Brook to the surface? How wonderful it would be to see its waters flow once again in the hollow of the valley that had for so long been merely rail corridor, sooty granite and brick walls of a transportation seam of the city and the back endings of disadvantaged neighborhoods. How almost poetic a form of equalization, providing Stony Brook's urban valley with some of the stream-and-park amenities which its sister stream, the Muddy River, had so happily conserved with the help of Olmsted and his Emerald Necklace transmutations.

We pencil-sketched and explored the possibilities. They were not easy. Although the open space destined for parkland was ample north of the Arborway (where expressway ramps were once planned), they narrowed again from Green Street northward to Mozart Street. Along that stretch the going was tough, with little land at all outside the trackway structure, in many cases barely a 10- to 20-foot-wide green strip on either side. In addition, all crossing streets were at grade. It would be a tough assignment to argue for the disinterment of a historically undisciplined stream if that would require its accommodation in a channel large enough to carry its 100-year flow, within a narrow band of land, and under new bridges. It quickly became apparent that restoring Stony Brook to a live state would be nearly impossible, technically and financially. We abandoned the attempt to find an answer.



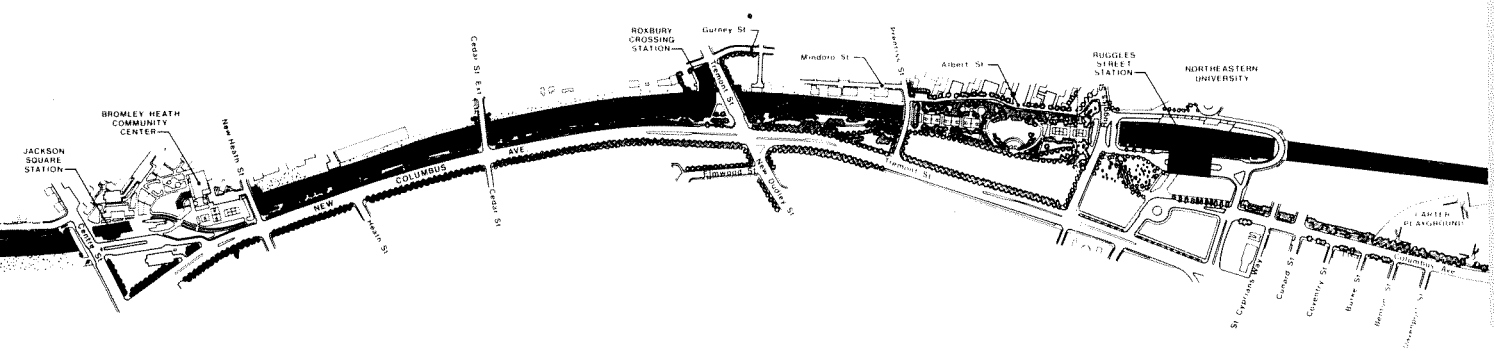




Building the Necklace's New Strand

We conceived of microsimulations of Stony Brook, modest reaches of running water that would flow along the trackway and across its parkland decks, with water that would be tapped from the conduit. The water would be there to please the eye and offer a whispered affirmation of quality, echoing the Muddy River and Stony Brook's own once proud and wild aesthetic. But we knew the concept was a long-shot bet, and when it was presented, it was rejected out of hand.

Out of the exercise, though, we learned a valuable lesson. If so little land were available for parkland development within the Corridor outside the trackway structure, some means would have to be found to reinforce the macro qualities of the greenway. Some major landscape feature would have to be planned and nurtured to allow the future Park's users and the public at large to visualize the Corridor as a major landscape arm of the city's overall open space framework. Without achieving this end, the Park could easily become a mere daisy chain of neighborhood playgrounds and green linkages, as fragile as a paper chain in the face

MISSION HILL — PARKER HILL — FORT HILL
ROXBURY — CENTER STREET — JAMAICA PLAIN



North of the Jackson Square Station, the Park passes through a hard-bitten district characterized by industrial and commercial activities east of the Corridor and residential areas, primarily public housing projects, to the west.

Roxbury residents, primarily African-Americans and Latinos, have lower incomes and higher rates of unemployment than people living in other communities along the Corridor. The four public housing developments are home to a large number of children and young adults.

Neighborhood residents (many of whom do not have private yards) were concerned with providing recreation space for their children, keeping the Park safe and making sure somebody was responsible for taking care of the Park once it was finished. They were especially concerned about the proximity of bicycle and pedestrian paths to neighborhood play and sitting areas — fearing conflict between passers-by and neighborhood Park users. The paths were moved away from play areas and housing.

There are two decks in this section. One is at Bromley-Heath, a public housing project near Jackson Square Station. Here, a community center, basketball courts and play areas are built next to the station and the housing. The deck at Mission Hill, cut off from the adjacent neighborhood by a grade separation, is covered with basketball courts, tennis courts and a small amphitheater (which as of yet is not used much).

Most striking is the barren land that adjoins so much of this section, which suffered the greatest demolition during the land-clearance program for the Southwest Expressway (more than 62 acres were cleared here). Although 500 new housing units were subsequently built, most of this land remains undeveloped.

The vacant lots seem incongruous next to the freshly planted Park and the busy streets and spaces of the housing projects. Yet the land is a sign of hope: Residents saw the Project as an opportunity for community revi-

The selection and arrangement of recreational facilities was a challenging task. People of all ages and interests live along the Park, and residents were concerned that special facilities might attract strangers from other parts of the city. Residents worked with landscape designers during evening and weekend charrettes to generate proposals, designs and siting suggestions for all types of activities: skateboard areas, street hockey areas, community gardens, wading pools and game tables.

This aspect of the Park's design was particularly important to Roxbury residents. Aware that recreation facilities in inner city parks are typically limited to basketball courts, they were adamant that young people be exposed to other forms of play. Consequently, tennis courts were included in all three sections of the Park.

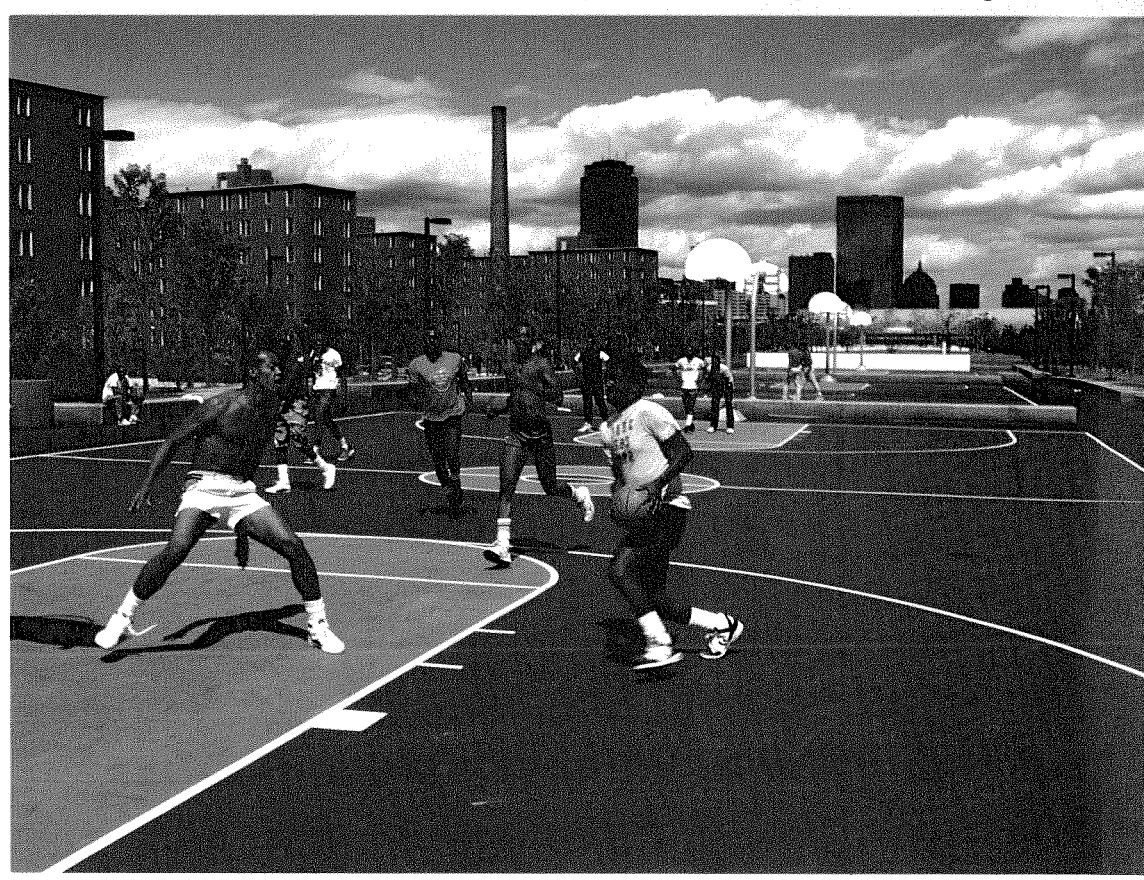
Active recreation areas were sited close to community centers and entrances to day care centers. Game tables, popular with adults, were positioned to allow easy surveillance of children's play areas. While basketball and tennis courts are equally accessible and visible to regional users and residents of adjacent public housing developments, their lighting is controlled by managers of the public housing.

of the winds of governmental operational and maintenance budgetary decisions and political changes of heart.

Two other landscape features could stand out as major elements. One was a path system, the other a border of shade trees (preferably with double or triple rows) along the paths. Both features could extend from one end of the Park to the other with few breaks. Together they could form a natural and human-use armature that could be appreciated both recreationally and aesthetically as a single environmental offering. People would "read" this armature as being a city-scaled park feature, rather than the weak chain of individual elements that we were seeking to avoid.

Another element needed strengthening: pedestrian links along streets leading from neighborhood interiors to the Park. Many of these streets, laid out at least a century ago, were narrow. Some were lined with trees. But few had sidewalks wider than six or seven feet. Few opportunities existed to expand any of these into a "visitor-friendly" environment. Would neighborhood children, families and elderly residents walk a quarter- or half-mile to the new Park? Would people ride their bikes down to the Corridor and then along it to downtown (or uptown) employment, to classes at nearby schools and universities, or to Copley Place? The immutability of the side streets stymied us. We placed our hope in the belief that the Park itself, if designed and built well enough, would attract people — that people would find a way to find their way.

How to design the system wasn't hard to decide. Instructive precedents for ample paths and strong sinews of shade trees abounded throughout America. But parks were no longer the



Left photos courtesy Mason and Frey.
Bottom photo © Ben E. Watkins.

talization and development, the vacant land as a resource for economic mobility.

Perhaps a new type of workplace will emerge here, one that is intimately connected with the Park waiting patiently next door and with the neighborhoods beyond. For now the Park feels unfinished, ready to accept the change the community wants, a reminder the Project included promises of better things to come.
— Todd Bressi, Aileen Rosen



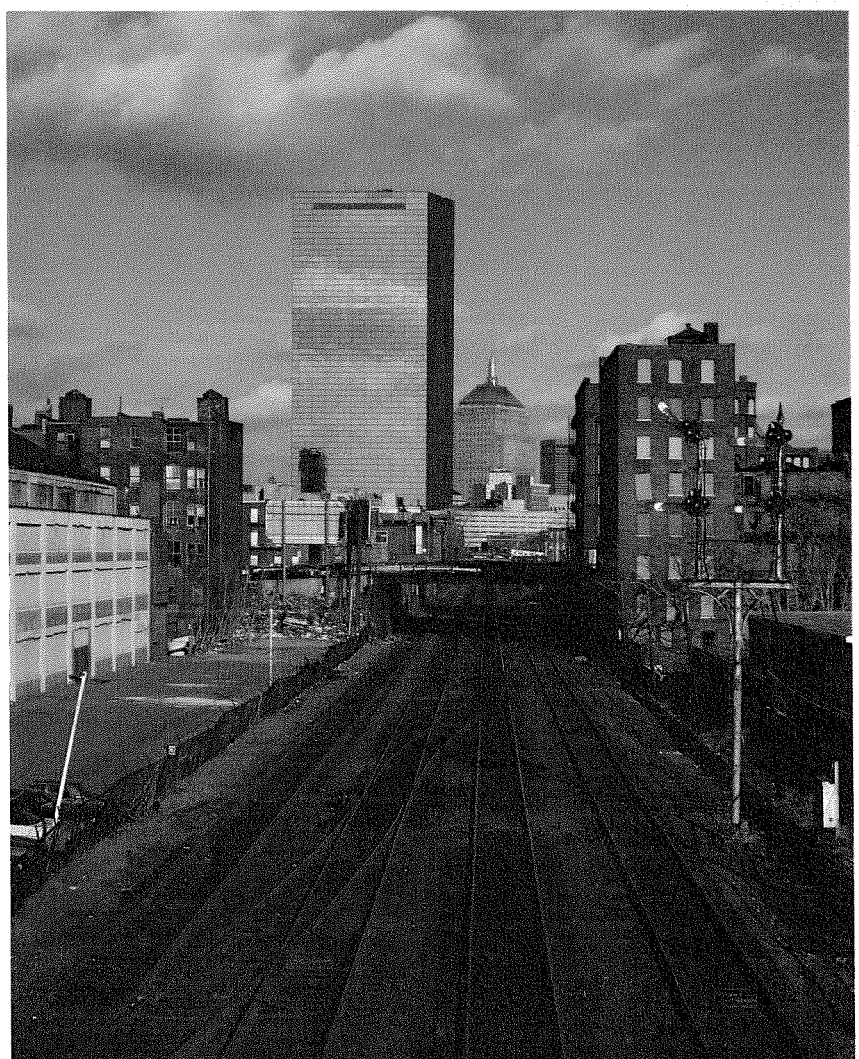
A street hockey court is transformed into a stage, while an amphitheater (marked by the ventilation stacks visible beyond the truck) is little used. Photo © Ben E. Watkins.

idyllic glades of yesteryear. Paths and park open space needed defensible design, to use Oscar Newman's term. Fast bicycles made conflict with slow baby carriages and older walkers almost inevitable on single-path systems; we were sure that a double-path system, with one path dedicated to cyclists and the other to pedestrians, would help minimize conflict and encourage more and better use.

But the more we pondered the desirability of a dual-path system, which had not been an explicit element of the initial SWCP program, the more we realized that few corridor-wide considerations had been in the forefront of the public debate that was helping to guide the planning process. The neighborhoods, which had been responsible in good measure for stopping the ill-advised expressway program, were focused primarily on neighborhood concerns: play area needs, safety and security, graffiti and vandalism. No one was stepping to the plate to bat for the community at large.

Each neighborhood, in fact, was suspicious of the others. Upscale St. Botolph's Street and the economically and racially mixed South End were at loggerheads. The blue- and white-collar people of Forest Hills and Mission Hill were skeptical of how worthwhile the continuous paths that would thread through their domain would be. The largely African-American communities of Roxbury and the two public housing projects of the Corridor were concerned with intrusions of miscreants from the outside.

The more we studied the larger picture, however, the more we realized what a boon the Park and its dual-path system would be to all the residents within the Corridor neighborhoods. People could ride their bikes to work, commuting to jobs anywhere along the Corridor. Simlilarly, the paths provided access to the numerous educational and public institutions of Back Bay. The paths would provide pleasurable, recreational access to the Common, the Public Gardens and the great expanse of the Charles River Basin — all reachable over short street distances from the central armature of the Corridor. Northeastern University, the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Symphony Hall,



Before the Park, the railroad corridor divided Back Bay from the South End. Photo courtesy Monroe and Gary.



To keep people from sleeping in the innermost section of the Park, no benches were installed. Retaining walls rise to a comfortable sitting height. Photo courtesy Moriece and Gary.

the Boston Public Library, Copley Place and the Fens are just a few of the educational, cultural and recreational destinations that are just a stone's throw from the Park.

We presented the concept, then, of a Park and a dual path system that would serve as a true community arterial serving several communities and not simply as a low-capacity, desultory quiltwork of paths and grass. The concept was accepted. The idea of *corridor* began to take.

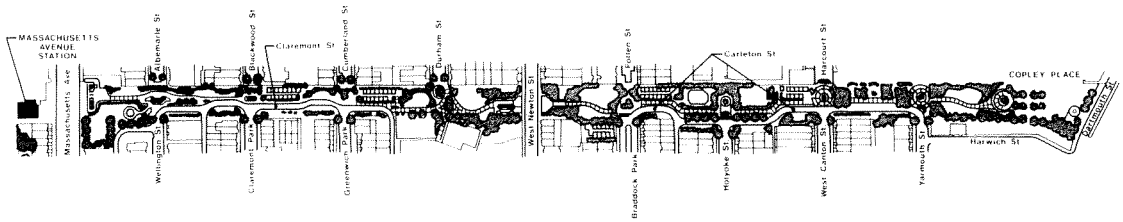
Inspiration from Olmsted

The cue for the tree planting system came straight from Olmsted. The great Northern Red Oaks of the Emerald Necklace were approximately 90 years old and in a magnificent state in 1977. They reached in a robust, continuous chain from the Fens along the Jamaicaway and the Riverway, and then along the Arborway, for about four miles — approximately the same length as the incipient Park.

It would be great to have similar marching columns of giant shade trees threading though the Stony Brook valley, creating a kind of environmental parity between the beat-upon neighborhoods of the Corridor and the upbeat neighborhoods astride Olmsted's Muddy River parklands. With that sense of parity perceived, I hoped, the public could consider the Park a "new strand in Boston's Emerald Necklace," and thus be prepared to devote to it the attention and commitment it would require. The phrase, and the parity concept for which it stood, soon caught the public's attention. The term "new strand" has been used ever since.

We wondered whether we could forego mass tree plantings and diversified plantings along the path backbone of the Park to

BACK BAY – ST. BOTOLPH – SOUTH END – FENWAY – SYMPHONY



Between Massachusetts Avenue and Back Bay Station is the Park's most urban section. This ten-block stretch is built on a deck over subway and railroad tracks and through a seam between Back Bay, South End, St. Botolph and the Fenway — neighborhoods that are densely developed and include many cultural and educational institutions.

The landscaped deck posed formidable challenges. Paying for it required political arm twisting; building it required careful engineering. The complicated program included creating play spaces for a community starved for recreation facilities, protecting the privacy of homes built right next to the park, keeping train noise down and replacing an alley that ran parallel to the tracks.

These neighborhoods contain more economic, ethnic and social diversity than others along the Park. The South End, traditionally populated by poor and working-class households, is drawing young, middle- and upper-middle class people to its attractive Victorian row houses, while Chinese and Arab residents remain. Some tensions surfaced during design discussions because of the disparity in lifestyles between the upper-income families and the recently arrived immigrants.

Today this section of the Park is packed with activity. Basketball courts, playgrounds and even a tennis court (included partly at the insistence of a local politician) seem shoehorned into every corner. It is lush and lavish, with dozens of garden plots, berms and planters insulating the abutting buildings from the main paths and play areas. Contingents of trees march along (as they do through the entire Park).

Protection from Strangers

All along the Park, residents who participated in the Park design expressed a concern that both the linear connection and cross connections it would create would allow strangers to access their neighborhoods.

Here, along the most urban section of the Park, residents of some streets requested that vehicular and pedestrian access to their street from the Park not be permitted. On these blocks, the grade of the Park does not meet street level, and walls and fences were built.

Now, after the Park has been used for three years, some of these residents feel that a connection should be made. Although there are no plans to do so, the Park design could be adapted to allow pedestrian connections to be built.

allow the Corridor trees to stand alone. Could we forego understory plantings to keep the trunks clear and vivid, as Olmsted had done here and along most of the Emerald Necklace? There would be another benefit: Kept clear of growth, the trees would allow ample views into the linear park from adjacent streets and neighboring homes and other buildings, an important way of addressing the security concerns of adjacent neighborhoods.

Low shrubs, with a height at maturity no greater than about three-and-a-half feet, would allow low ornamental accent and form-making without providing blinds for ambush. The trees would possibly need to be trimmed up, too, to about a seven-foot height, to keep branches from obscuring view. This "Clear-view Zone," as we termed it, would ensure easy surveillance.

In subsequent public meetings of the Corridor's eight station area task forces, the presentation of this design approach began to flesh out the landscape of the Corridor Park where it counted most. People expressed agreement or gave head-nodding approval. A new confidence was also felt as we presented "safety-and-security" design option sketches to the people who lived in the St. Botolph Street and South End neighborhoods, and to the residents of the Mission Hill Extension and Bromley-Heath public housing projects in Roxbury. Their feelings switched further away from apprehension and mistrust to understanding and confidence as we demonstrated that design could channel users who were just passing through away from sensitive access points important to local residents.

The choice of tree for the Corridor-long planting was complicated by several issues. One was that part of the Park would be built on a deck above a subway and train tunnel, which would not be able to support the weight of much softscape fill. We wondered what trees would be good survivors in the relatively shallow root zone.



Community gardens are shoehorned into every imaginable corner of the Park.
Photo © Ben E. Watkins.

As elsewhere, the Park seems to have taken on a life of its own. It is busy with bicyclists, people walking dogs and people hurrying to and from shops and jobs in the Copley Square area. It is home to an annual barbeque that celebrates the fusion, both physical and social, of these neighborhoods.

The Park has transformed a neglected urban "sink" into a proud front yard. Buildings that turned away from the tracks are orienting themselves toward the rebuilt open space: a flowerbox here, a door there, even brand-new balconies have been appended. New buildings embrace the Park as openly as they do the street.

Bit by bit, the investments public agencies made in the Park are being matched by the investments of Bostonians themselves, who are making the Park part of their city.
—Todd Bressi, Aileen Rosen



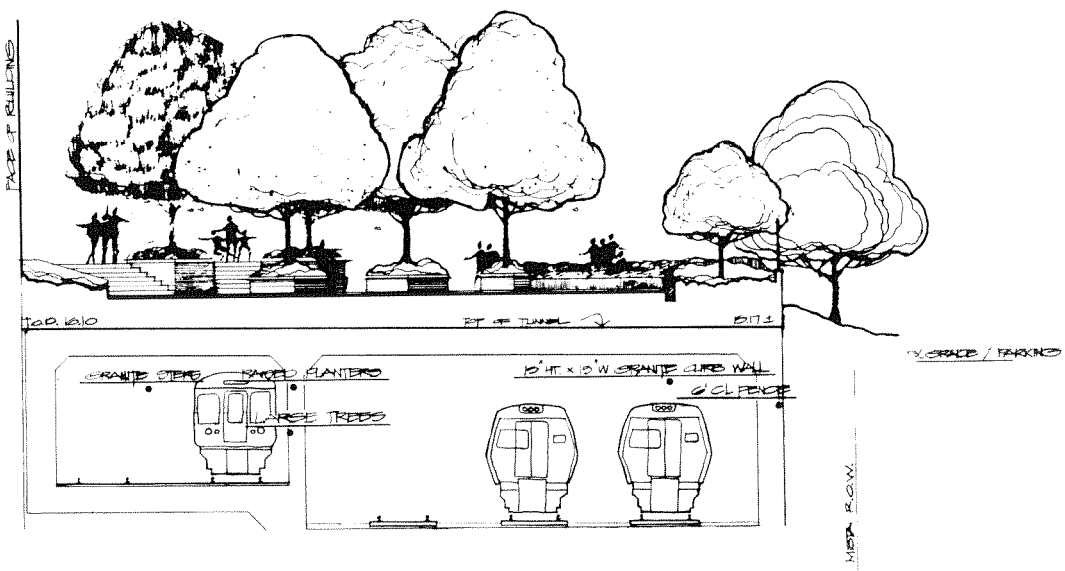


Photos courtesy Moreice and Gary.

In this case we could turn to New York City's Riverside Park, designed by Olmsted in 1893 and modified by Robert Moses in the 1930s. This linear park, which hugs Manhattan's rising shoreland between 72nd and 125th streets, completely covers the trackway tunnel of an Amtrak line. The answers were reassuring. Green parkland flows seamlessly across the buried railroad tunnel. The London Planes (the tree of choice here) that were planted on top of the cover were seemingly as vigorous as those standing to either side and almost as large and high. How deep was the soil? We peered down through a tunnel air intake grill (the New York City Parks Department could not locate plans). It seemed that there was a root zone depth of four feet, perhaps a bit more.

The London Plane is the most widely planted shade tree in New York and many other Northeast cities. It already has a proud tradition in the Boston region as the legendary tree of Cambridge's Memorial Drive, where embattled Harvard students tied themselves to the "sycamores" in the 1960s to save them from the Metropolitan District Commission's highway-expanding chainsaws. While the limit of its hardiness range is northern Massachusetts, the grandly crowned trees on Memorial Drive were 70 years old and in robust health in 1978.

We thought the London Plane would be a fine Corridor tree. With its upward spreading limbs, broad crown and ample shade, and its cream and brown mottled bark, the London Plane could offer a better year-round aesthetic than oaks or maples (although it would lack the bright red autumn color of the latter). Planted with this single species, the Corridor tree rows and path would reach magnificently along the Park, leading the eye to the far dis-



Section through the Back Bay segment of the Park shows how acoustic decks were topped with landscaping. At one point in the deck, a railroad technicians' workroom is sandwiched between the top of the tunnel and the surface of the Park. Drawing courtesy MBTA.

• *We accomplished our goals.* • *We shaped the decisions.* • *We restored our community to health.*

— *Edwina Cloherty*

tance and reminding the user of the continuity of the park system overall and the entirety of the Corridor experience.

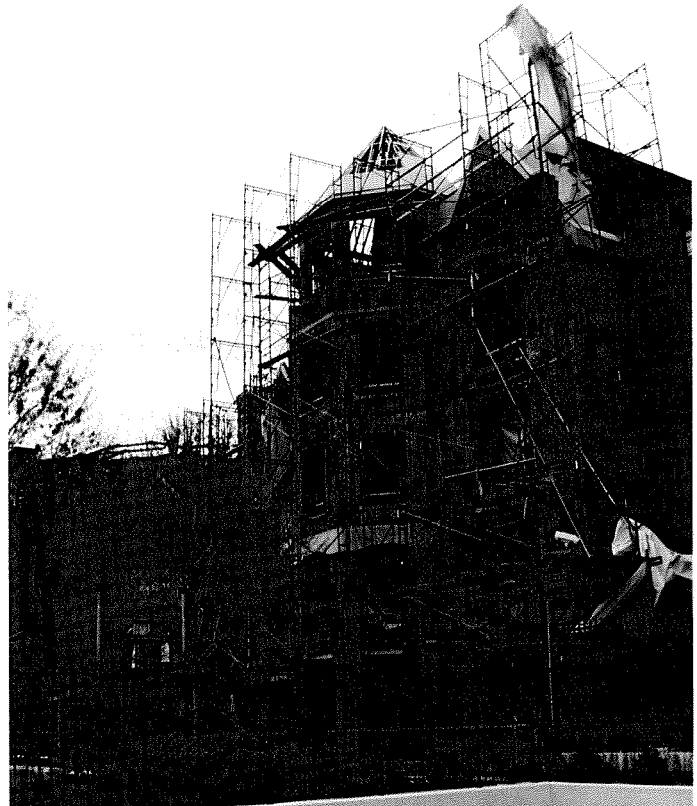
Another concern was that monospecial planting could be unwise, given the possibility of unforeseen disease and insect attack. We thought planting only the Bloodgood variety of the London Plane, which had successfully resisted all health problems for nearly a century since its introduction, would preclude these problems. This hybrid of the Oriental Plane Tree and the American Sycamore would be likely to persist in its resistance to disease and insects of both Old World and New World origins.

However, largely because of the sad experience of the American Elm's demise, an understandable mistrust of monospecies planting had developed among park agency officials and urban foresters. In the end we adopted a compromise approach, using three species — Red Maple and Northern Red Oak as well as London Plane — to carry the thread of continuity through the Park. Each was large, fairly round-crowned, and robust, and the fall foliage colors of bright red, brick red, and yellow would counterpoise well. Continuity would be achieved by planting each species in long chains of 14 to 20 trees. Not a perfect marching column, but at least the platoons would be recognizable and respectable.

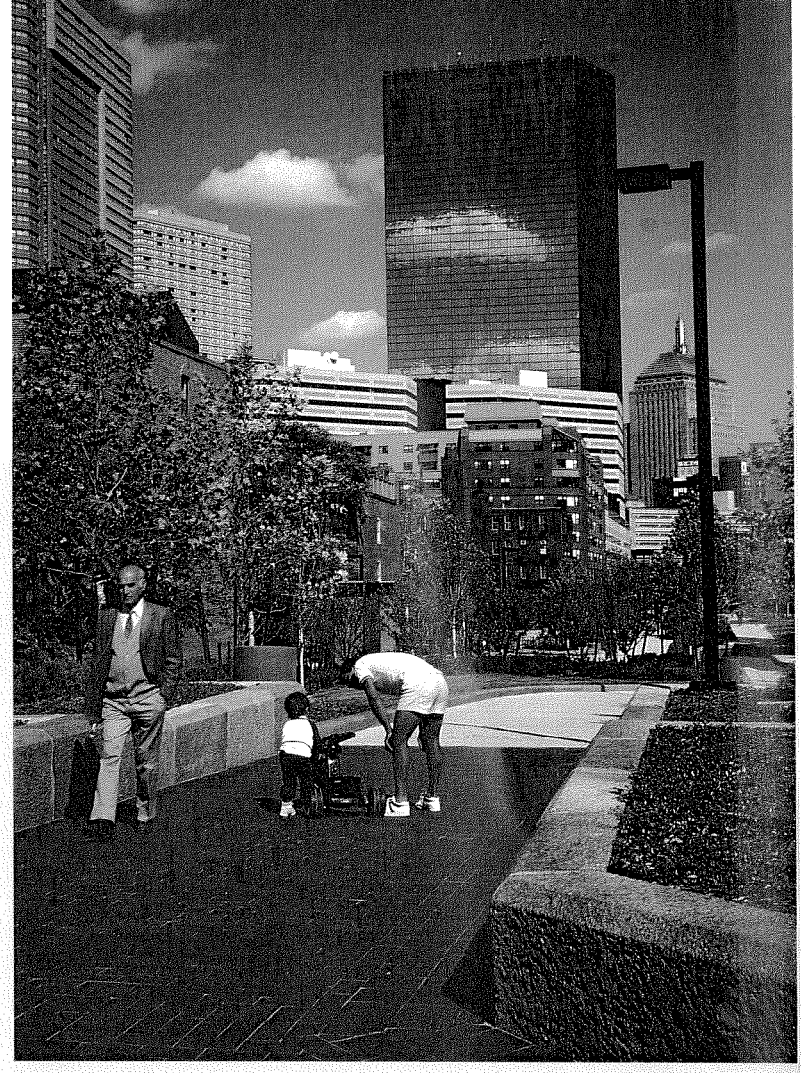
Clusters of Neighborhood Parks

Skeletons are only as valuable as the life they support, and the tree-and-path backbone of the Park would be less important were it not for the special places that cluster and eddy along this central stream. There are places for play, places for resting and waiting, and, perhaps most notably, places to grow kitchen produce. Community gardening has long been a matter of civic pride in Boston, well before an appreciable segment of Olmsted's historic Fens was converted to the Victory Gardens of World War II. Citizens' rights, rather than civic pride, are the force behind many community gardens in Boston, and many acres owned by the city or the Boston Redevelopment Authority have been cultivated by residents over the years in almost the same spirit as the early citizens of the city used its common cow pastures, common footpaths and common fishing and hunting grounds.

Thus it felt historically proper, as well as socially responsive, to provide for community gardens within the body of the park. Each neighborhood would have its territory, with access and use managed by an organization such as Boston Urban Gardeners, which had been the city's community gardening voice for years. The aesthetic annoyances of jerry-rigged chicken wire fences and



New construction is turning its face toward the Park. Photo by Todd W. Bressi.



The Park provides a pleasant pedestrian conection to Boston's Copley Square district. Photo © Ben E. Watkins.

the rank growth of weedy garden plots would be precluded, we believed, with judicious screen plantings of ornamental shrubs and good iron picket fencing and gates. And the advantages of the presence of good neighbors in the gardens would help the public watch over the park as a whole.

With the Park now in its fourth year since completion, a sense of coming of age pervades the grassy swards, the tree rows, the gardens and the rest of this very Boston linear park. The old wounds of the highway-building, neighborhood-busting days are healed, or at least invisible. The great tree crowns are filling out, the favorite benches are getting worn in just the right places. The people of old neighborhoods that had been kept apart by a nineteenth century railroad for a century and a half are now joined, and they in turn are linked more openly with the heart of Boston.

Not a bad outcome for a former urban battleground.

Notes

1. Boston Redevelopment Authority, *Boston's Scenic Corridors: Study and Plan for Rehabilitation of the Charles River and Muddy River Parklands* (Unpublished report, 1968).

2. Among the opponents of the freeway were Barney Frank, then an aide to Mayor Kevin White and later a U.S. Representative, and Michael Dukakis, then a state senator and later Governor.

3. The $780 million rail, transit and park project was developed by the MBTA under the planning, engineering and design coordination of Kaiser Engineers/Fay, Spofford & Thorndike. Roy Mann Associates served as the coordinating landscape architects and master planner for the Park. RMA also designed the Park's sign kiosks, path markers and other special furnishings and pavement devices.

For design purposes, the Park was segmented into three sections, each of which was assigned to separate engineering and landscape architecture firms. For the Forest Hills section, Mason and Frey served as landscape architect and Howard Needles Tammen and Bergendoff served as engineer. For the Roxbury section, Sasaki Associates served as landscape architect and PRC Engineering served as engineer. For the Back Bay section, Moreice and Gary served as landscape architects and Kaiser Engineers/Fay Spofford & Thorndike served as engineers. Carol R. Johnson Associates was landscape architect at the Ruggles St. Station, and Morgan Wheelock was landscape architect at the Jackson Square Station.

The community coordination consultant was Ellenzweig Associates, Inc., and the park management consultant was CBT/Childs Bertram Tseckares and Casendino, Inc.

The comments by Edwina Cloherty were excerpted from a submission nominating the project for the Rudy Bruner Award for Excellence in the Urban Environment in 1989. The project was named a finalist in that competition.

The Two Themes: Settings in Fellini's Films

Pu Miao

A "place" is unique among the range of architectural creations; it is both distinctive and conventional, both public and individual. It may be difficult for a designer to maintain the balance between these extremes, but the work of Italian film director Federico Fellini, who has created many memorable places on the screen by exploring these contrasts, provides some insight on how this might be done.

Fellini consistently uses two themes to elaborate settings in his films. A major theme is represented by a physical structure or an activity that dominates a place; a minor theme is depicted by incidental objects or activities. A minimum thread of logic ties the overall setting to the incidental elements, relating the two themes. But the two themes represent two versions, public and personal, of a place. By making this distinction and juxtaposition, Fellini presents a layered, balanced portrait.

In films that depict real places (such as those that appear in Fellini's autobiographical films), the major theme tends to be represented by a conventional image of a location. The Piazza delle Erbe, for example, a setting in *Amarcord*, has a standard appearance that a person probably could have found in any 1930s Italian town: stone pavement, buildings with tall, gloomy facades, arcades, American movie



posters, public festivals, residents taking their customary walks during the evening and men girl-watching.

Images that relate to the minor theme gradually emerge. After a rare winter storm, a six-foot-deep snowdrift accumulates on the piazza and the dark, stone buildings appear to float on the raised, white, glittering surface. Townspeople walk around through paths dug out in the snow. The young Fellini follows a girl he secretly loved in the labyrinth. Finally, a large blue and golden peacock owned by a local count flies into the monochromatic scene. These extraordinarily personal, accidental and sometimes surreal images contrast with the familiar depiction of the Piazza delle Erbe. It is through such a bold juxtaposition of two visions that the Piazza gains intimacy and unusual character at the same time.

In *Roma* (1971), Fellini depicts Raccardo Anulare, the highway that rings the city, on the eve of a football game. In the film, Fellini and his crew are driving in dense traffic to shoot a sequence. Horns are heard from all directions; people curse each other — typical scenes on a jammed highway.

But as the scene unfolds we see that the sky is stormy; it starts to rain. A crew member fires signal flares into the dark sky. A roadside building is burning. A truck of livestock overturns and animal blood mixes with the now heavy rain. No one notices the moment at which the public reality is mixed up with this personal surreality. But isn't it true that through the interplay of these two themes Fellini created a memorable Raccardo Anulare?

Fellini, in depicting a real place, often portrayed the major theme from a public point of view while portraying the minor theme from an idiosyncratic view. But he tended to do the opposite with dreamed or imagined places: The general setting he presents is a strange, distorted world, yet realistic details appear constantly, alluding to the world with which viewers are familiar.

In *The City of Women* (1979), the hero, dreaming, falls into a place that symbolizes the battlefield between the two sexes. The general configuration of the place is a dramatically distorted stadium with a huge altar in its center. Within this extraordinary environment, however, details such as cracks in the masonry wall, a picture of Queen Christina of Sweden, electric switchboards and graffiti are visible. As the hero tries to find his way around this misty nowhere, a telephone rings. Such a juxtaposition of realistic details and an eccentric background not only produces the ambiguity that is common to dreams, but also helps the viewer find a symbolic meaning in Fellini's personal fascination.

Divide a place into a major structure and minor details. Let the two themes depict the locale from two different perspectives. This is how one can freely express one's personal fascination about a place without disorienting an audience.

In this way, perhaps, architects can follow Fellini's admonition to create spaces that "bring together those features you associate with a place so it is immediately recognizable, and at the same time reproduce a feeling."[1]

Public and personal images of the Piazza del Urbe combine in the snowstorm scene in Fellini's *Amarcord*. Courtesy New World Pictures.

Note

1. Federico Fellini, *Cinecitta* (London: Studio Vista, 1989), p. 122.

PERCIVAL GOODMAN'S HERODIUM DRAWINGS

Raymond Lifchez

New York architect Percival Goodman, who died in 1989 at age 85, will be remembered as a critic and essayist whose books, lectures, articles and letters argued that well designed environments — buildings as well as cities — must be grounded in practicality, beauty and social good.

His legacy includes two books — *Communitas, A Blueprint for Ideal Communities* (1947), co-authored with his brother, philosopher Paul Goodman, and *The Double E* (1977), a treatise on the relationship of ecology to city planning. He also designed many buildings, including synagogues and schools in the New York area, and taught architectural design at Columbia University from 1946 to 1971.

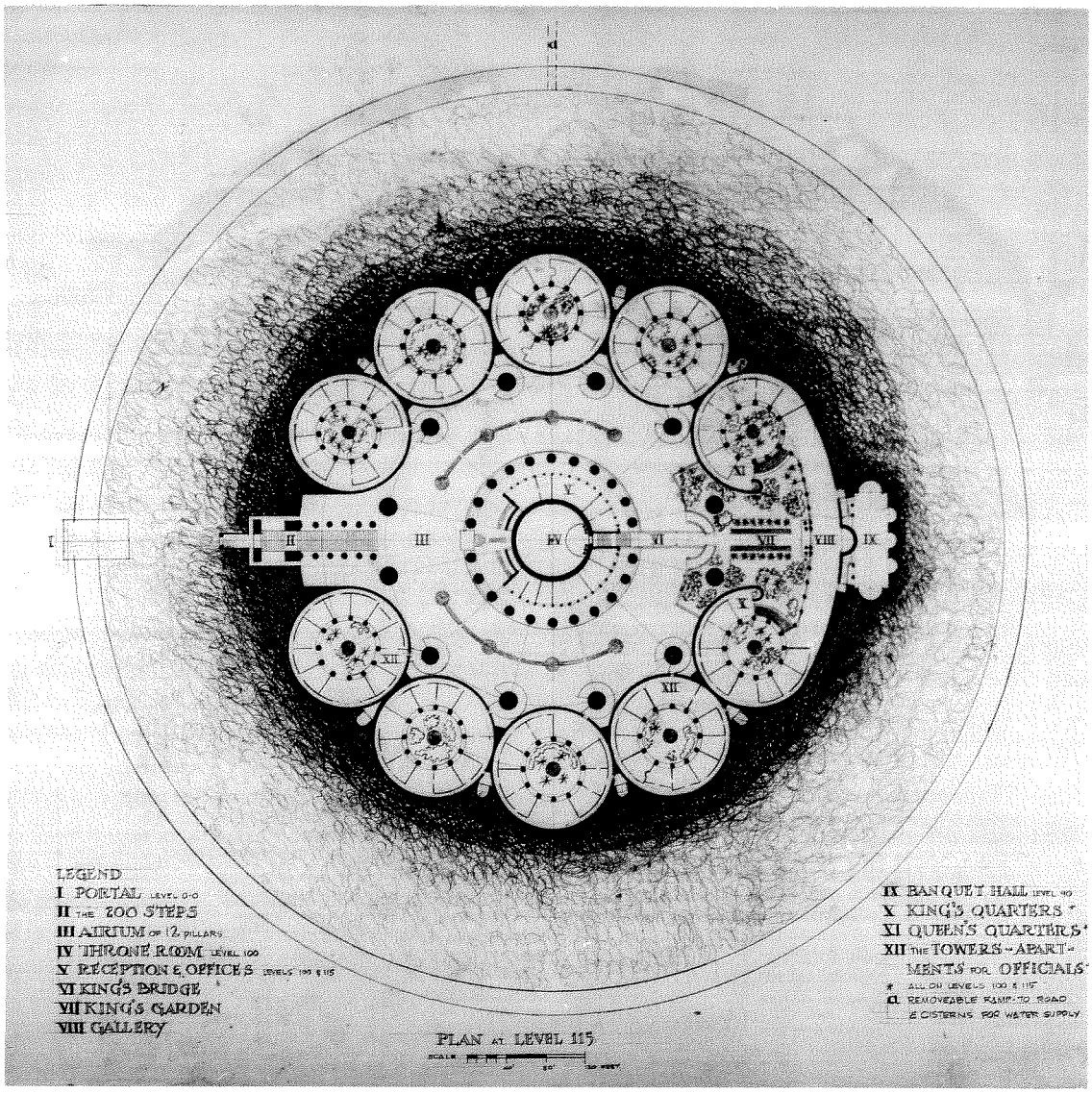
Goodman's vision — as architect, writer and artist — was informed by his ability to draw and by his abiding interest in utopian literature. In his final years he produced a magisterial work, *Illustrated Guide to Utopia: An Architect's Travel Diary* (not yet published), in which he joined his love of illustration to his fascination with utopian communities. This series of annotated drawings of utopias throughout history took several years to produce. However, Percy also took time away from that task to amuse himself or to examine seriously various ideas through paintings, drawings and sculptures. He would use a provocative text to flesh out the image of a lost building; he would lampoon the politics of unusual personalities by cartooning their portraits or palaces; or he would comment on current debates that concerned him. Among these works are the drawings published here of his reconstruction of a mausoleum-palace built by Herod, King of Judea, during his reign (B.C. 34-4).

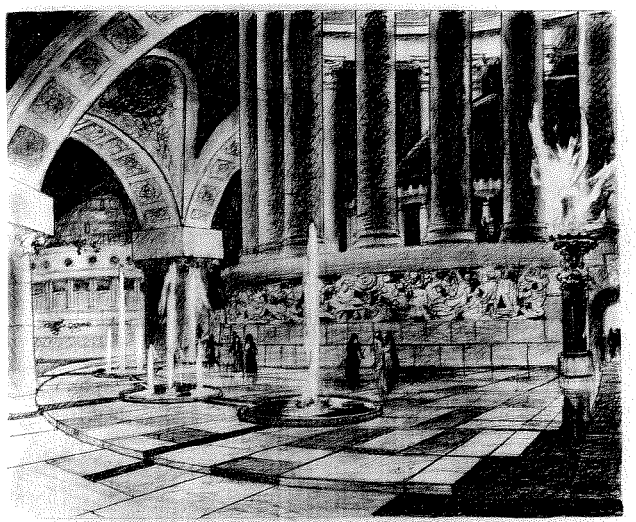
The Herodian, as it was called, stood 12 kilometers south of Jerusalem and five kilometers east of Bethlehem. Though the structure was demolished in antiquity, the site has been well excavated, measured drawings have been made, and the ruins have been photographed. But Percy would not have had access to this information; in making his drawings, he relied mostly on the account of the building by Flavius Josephus (ca. 38 - 100 A.D.) in his history *The Jewish War Against Rome*. Percy did not intend his drawings to be archaeologically correct; rather, he transformed written descriptions into masterful drawings.

A striking aspect of Percy's perspective views is his depiction of human figures. These are an essential element in all of his drawings, conveying through gesture, action and interaction not only architectural scale and purpose but also the architect's preoccupation with the intended human experience of the environment envisioned — the intent to create spirited, humane buildings in which, in the words of Aldo van Eyck, "space in the image of man is place and time is occasion."

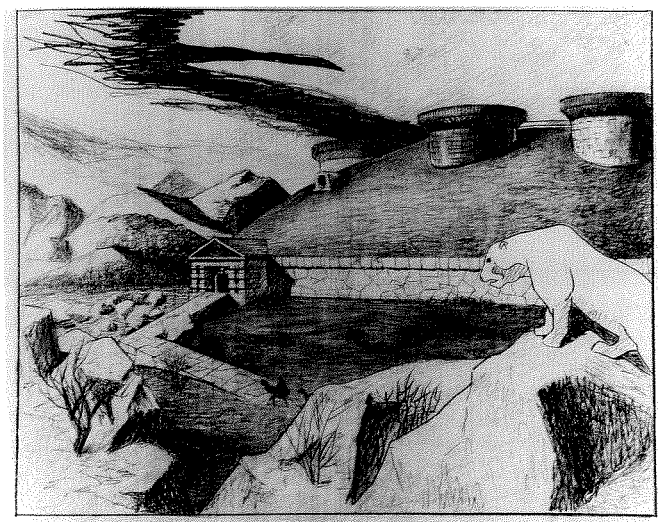
For architects, drawing has always had a dual function — to project what is envisioned and to encourage and nourish that vision. Architectural drawing was formalized as a particular art form in the nineteenth century, created in the French system of architectural education at the École des Beaux Arts and generally adopted internationally. The drawings produced under the French regime are admired for the clarity with which the architect's vision is projected. Goodman studied at the École des Beaux Arts after winning the Paris Prize in 1925 (its $5,000 purse allowed him to study and work in Europe for four years).

The Beaux Arts regime of architectural education prescribed a rigorous course of study: atelier and lecture courses on the theory and history of architecture, construction, perspective, mathematics,


LEGEND
I PORTAL LEVEL 0·0
II THE 200 STEPS
III ATRIUM OF 12 PILLARS
IV THRONE ROOM LEVEL 100
V RECEPTION & OFFICES LEVELS 100 & 115
VI KING'S BRIDGE
VII KING'S GARDEN
VIII GALLERY
IX BANQUET HALL LEVEL 90
X KING'S QUARTERS *
XI QUEEN'S QUARTERS *
XII THE TOWERS-APARTMENTS FOR OFFICIALS *
* ALL ON LEVELS 100 & 115
REMOVEABLE RAMP TO ROAD
CISTERNS FOR WATER SUPPLY
PLAN AT LEVEL 115



IN THE ATRIUM OF THE TWELVE PILLARS



"IN THE SHAPE OF A WOMAN'S BREAST"

strength of materials and ornament. Students' knowledge and integration of these subjects were tested in design problems that included making measured drawings of existing buildings and creating historic restorations — the latter surely appealing to Goodman's imagination.

The design drawings of Beaux Arts-trained architects were elaborate compositions in which plans, sections, elevations, construction details and vignettes depicted a building within its context and in use. The drawings were brilliantly rendered: Line and color, shades and shadows, and perspective illusion all combined to create a compelling image of the building's formal and material qualities.

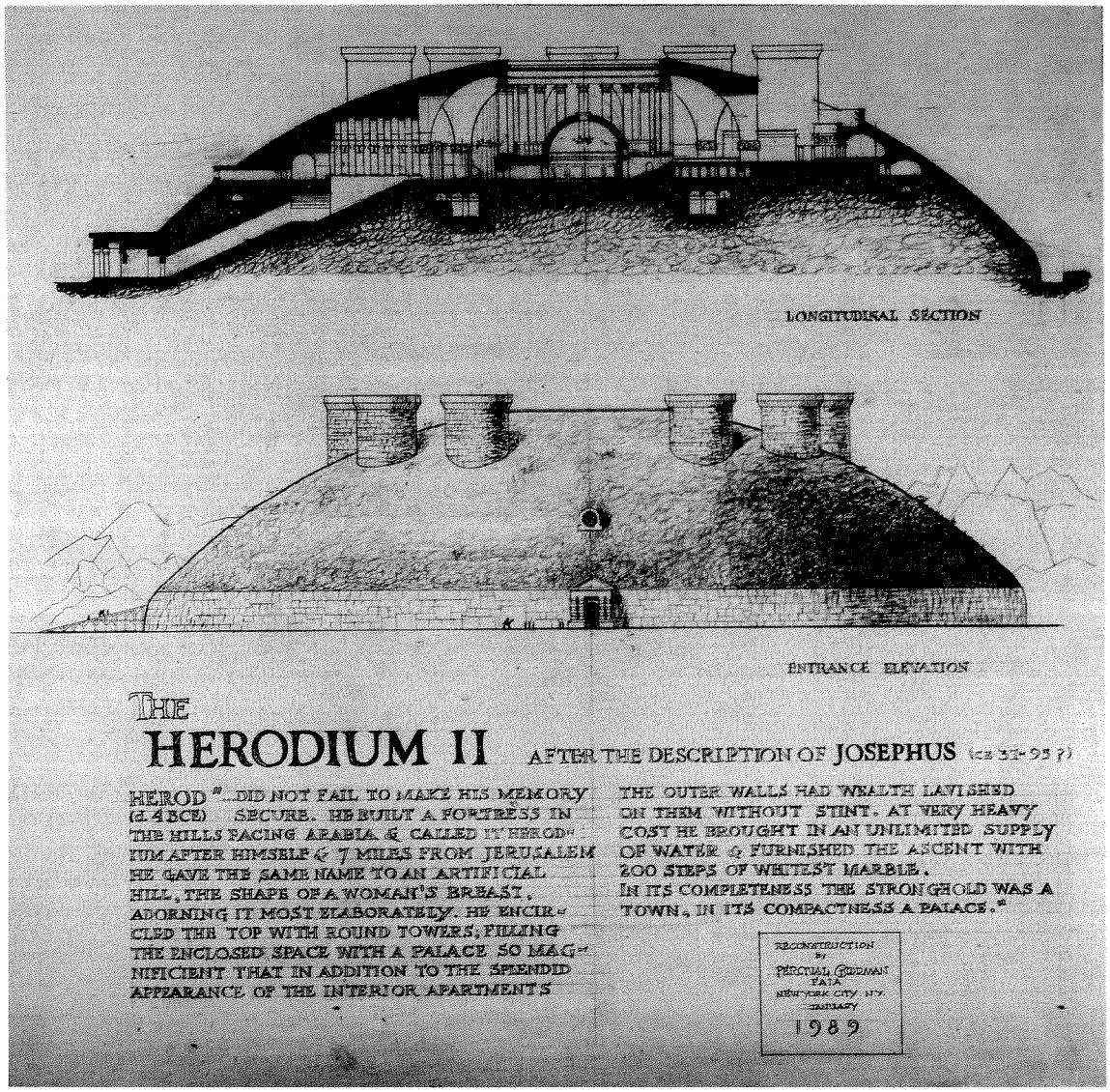
Percy was no antiquarian, but a thoroughgoing Modern architect who benefited from the professional traditions current in his formative years. His remarkable ability to draw his ideas served him well and gave him enormous pleasure throughout his life. The Herodian drawings, his last, were made shortly before he died.

Architecture is singular among the arts in requiring, as its basic function, a program. A work of art is a work of art because it is an entity in itself and needs no other reason for being. But shelter must meet certain demands so that humans can live on a planet that was not designed for them. To protect against heat and cold and to provide for a variety of other needs, different forms of shelter must obviously take different shapes. A hospital will be different from a courthouse, a crematorium, or anything else.

Thus architecture becomes art only when these functions are no longer needed. For instance, the Parthenon became a work of art, in all its purity, when it no longer functioned as a shelter for Athena's priests and for the ritual worship of her. It is the rare architect who will build a shelter and see it ultimately refined into a work of art.

I selected the Herodium as a subject for development because I had read a description by Flavius Josephus, the Jewish historian noted for his accuracy, who describes this palace of Herod in a few clear paragraphs. Here was a program on which an architect could start dreaming and developing. However, I am not an archaeologist, nor am I interested in ruins. So what I have drawn, though true to the period in style, may have only the most minor resemblance to what Herod actually built. But it does answer the program for the palace built for this historic despot.

— Percival Goodman


LONGITUDINAL SECTION
ENTRANCE ELEVATION
THE
HERODIUM II
AFTER THE DESCRIPTION OF JOSEPHUS (CE 37-95 ?)
HEROD "...DID NOT FAIL TO MAKE HIS MEMORY (74 BCE) SECURE. HE BUILT A FORTRESS IN THE HILLS FACING ARABIA & CALLED IT HERODIUM AFTER HIMSELF & 7 MILES FROM JERUSALEM HE GAVE THE SAME NAME TO AN ARTIFICIAL HILL, THE SHAPE OF A WOMAN'S BREAST, ADORNING IT MOST ELABORATELY. HE ENCIRCLED THE TOP WITH ROUND TOWERS, FILLING THE ENCLOSED SPACE WITH A PALACE SO MAGNIFICENT THAT IN ADDITION TO THE SPLENDID APPEARANCE OF THE INTERIOR APARTMENTS
THE OUTER WALLS HAD WEALTH LAVISHED ON THEM WITHOUT STINT. AT VERY HEAVY COST HE BROUGHT IN AN UNLIMITED SUPPLY OF WATER & FURNISHED THE ASCENT WITH 200 STEPS OF WHITEST MARBLE.
IN ITS COMPLETENESS THE STRONGHOLD WAS A TOWN, IN ITS COMPACTNESS A PALACE."
RECONSTRUCTION by
PERCIVAL GOODMAN FAIA
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1989

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Outlook

There is a marvelous, direct simplicity to the words *out* and *look* set together. The order in which they join — *outlook* or *lookout* — carries subtly different meanings even though they are in some measure interchangeable. Both are used to designate a place from which to view, but otherwise their meanings diverge. *Lookout* carries connotations of wariness, its first meaning is a scout or watchman. *Outlook* becomes a point of view, a more encompassing stance towards the world. A lookout may be useful; an outlook is what we need to have.

Patrick Geddes, in creating the Outlook Tower in Edinburgh, set out to make a place that would stand for a point of view. He took over an existing camera obscura and made its physical outlook over the city a symbol for integrating knowledge about the city with an understanding of the countryside, region and world at large. Surely Edinburgh lent itself to picturesque examination, with its legacy of a craggy landscape framed by splendid rows of buildings and prickly spires, yet Geddes intended more. Through her article "Sorting in Patrick Geddes' Lookout Tower," Joyce Earley examines the intellectual scope that underlay Geddes' point of view and his commitment to bringing that vision to bear on the world about him through education and action.

Alison and Peter Smithson, in their dialogue of reflections on "The Nature of Retreat," demonstrate the intensely considered outlook that has made their architecture and their writings so provocative and influential. They trace the evolution of ideas embodied in their *Patio and Pavilion* construction first built in 1956 and reconstructed as part an exhibition that toured U.S. museums last year.

In "A Tale of Two Villages," Ronald Lee Fleming reports on the efforts of two historic villages to retain a considered relation to the landscapes that surround them even as they are beset by the pressures of far-flung urbanization. Historic preservation advocates act here as lookouts, watching over relationships that too often escape notice and consequently disappear.

The Southwest Corridor Project in Boston is the result of relationships that did get noticed and have served, through several decades of community involvement, to bind together a disparate set of neighborhoods, government agencies and planners to create a linear park where otherwise a divisive freeway would have held sway.

John K. Bullard and Peter Clavelle, mayors who have participated in the Mayors Institute for City Design, describe the outlook of people who are firmly committed to place, to bearing responsibility for what happens in their cities. Bullard calls for careers that are committed to a specific place and Clavelle describes the achievements of a community whose political transformation we first discussed in *Places 3:2*.

The extraordinarily fertile outlook of J.B. Jackson is represented here in "The Vernacular Landscape is on the Move ... Again." The determined eye, committed vantage point and lucid language that characterize his writings and lectures have brought us all to see the American landscape more richly and more completely than conventional academic wisdom allowed. His first embodiment of this outlook was the creation of *Landscape* magazine, which for many years he edited and published personally. Those early issues, filled with many differing voices and startling, aberrant observations, were an important stimulus to our thinking about *Places*. They tower still in our minds.

—Donlyn Lyndon



Musee d'Orsay, Paris

© Ian McLeod

The Nature of Retreat

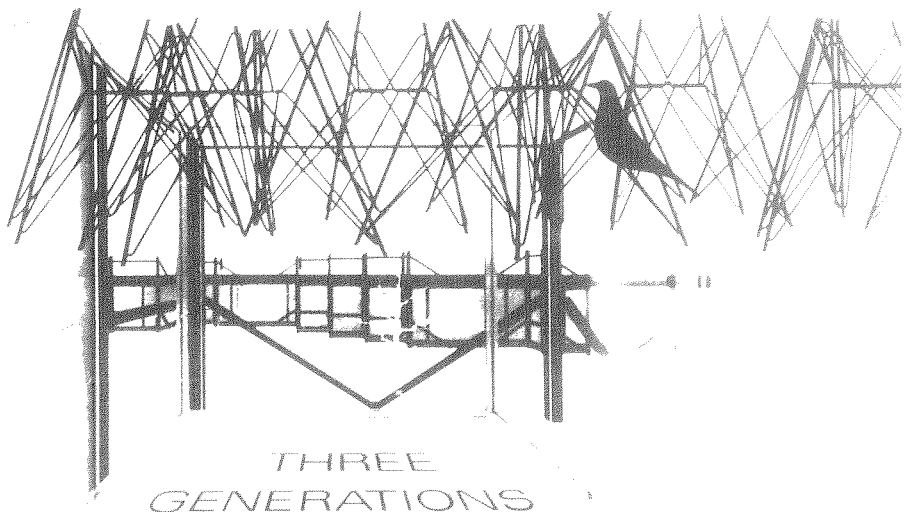
These four texts, edited from lectures given at the University of California, Berkeley, College of Environmental Design, in March, 1991, are about persistence, about ideas reflected on, carried on, through time.

We take persistence to mean not only that ideas persist in the *Three Generations* ❶ way, in which the three generations of people at work at the same time learn and absorb from each other,[1] but also that ideas persist from deep time and work within a single long work-life. For example, in the fourth text, "Phenomenon in Parallel," the 1947 work-life connection between Charles and Ray Eames and Mies van der Rohe records a sudden *Three Generations* insight.

It might seem extraordinary, the comparison implied in the third and the fourth texts, among the nature of the two habitats, *study* and *desert*, of St. Jerome; the way the Eameses thought in 1949 about their site in the Santa Monica Canyon; and the objectives of our *Patio and Pavilion* exhibit at the Whitechapel Art Gallery in 1956. ❷ The real St. Jerome lived in the fourth century, and the painters of the allegories of his life, the idylls of inhabitation, worked between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. We follow on, it would seem, an idea and an ideal persisting from deep time.

And to discover within our own work an unconscious persistence of "the track," as a binding element, an essential part, of the mechanism of "conglomerate ordering,"[2] is an example of observing persistence within a work-life.

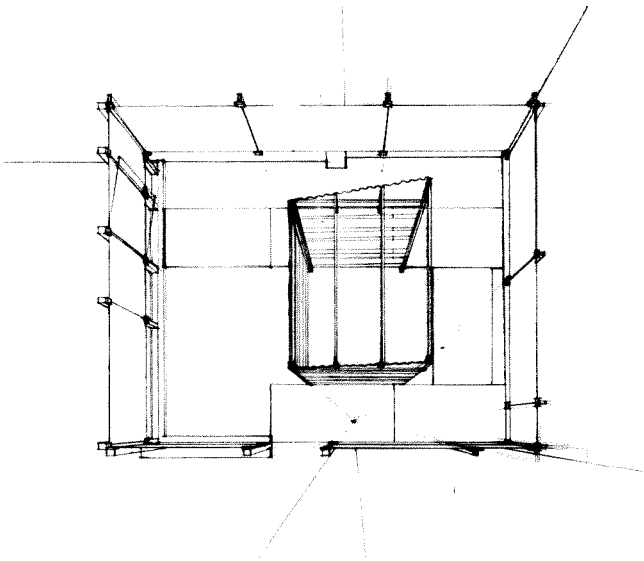
The *random aesthetic*, the *"as found,"* the *Cluster*, persist in our work in response to place; they have to do with appropriate place making. Through all four texts runs a concern for the way we should act in the present, and for us, the texts are pointers towards what we will do next.



THREE
GENERATIONS

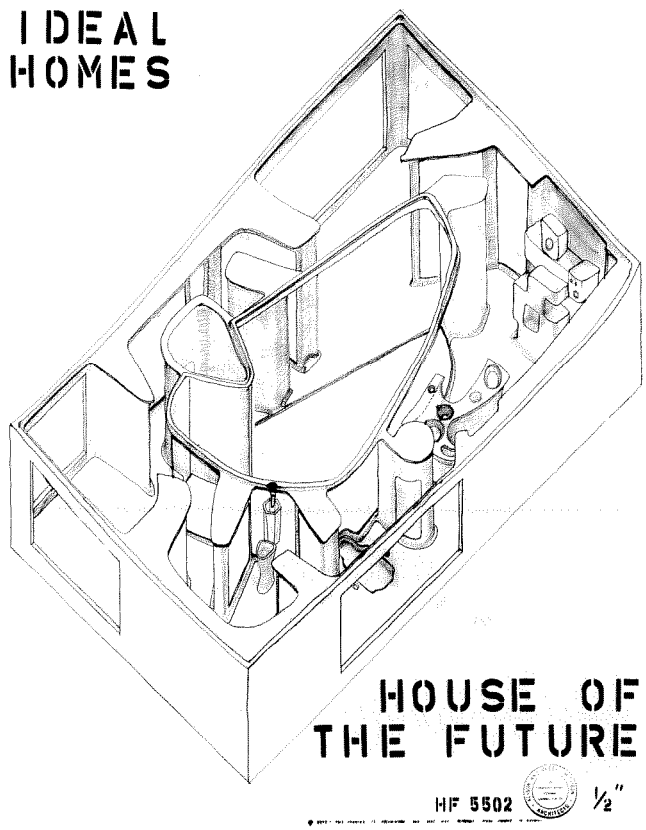
Outline drawing of *This is Tomorrow* exhibition, 1956. Pencil on tracing paper drawing by Peter Smithson.

❶



***House of the Future, Daily Mail Ideal Home Exhibition,* 1956. Pencil axonometric by Alison Smithson.**

❷



PATIO AND PAVILION, 1956, RECONSTRUCTED U.S.A. 1990

The 1950s are recalled by the reconstruction of our Patio and Pavilion *in The Independent Group exhibition that is being installed in four art galleries in the U.S. during 1990-91.*

The year 1956 happened to be incredibly rich for us in terms of built-ideas.

Many of the ideas in the *Patio and Pavilion* section of the *This Is Tomorrow* exhibition had already been explored in the spring of that same year in a different form in the *House of the Future*, part of the *Daily Mail Ideal Home Exhibitioion.* ❶ ❷

Patio and Pavilion was a pavilion in a patio.

The *House of the Future* was a patio encapsuled by its pavilion.

Both speak to a portion of the sky, for this was also the period in which we had created our "Private Sky" diagram that would allow dwellings their right to address a portion of the sky with its, as yet, unbreathed air. ❸

The change in thinking, in attitude, that both of these 1956 exhibition buildings effected — and still represent — was our beginning of a response to climate, a response that sought to enhance the quality of life in the house and protect the house from the disadvantageous effects of a northern island climate. This reflected a consciousness of the house that celebrates the material pleasures of being in a specific location, a part of its response to place; an extension of the idea of the house as a vehicle for the celebration of the life lived within it, decorated by its use for the day-to-day celebration by its inhabitants.

Our 1950s attitude was a change from the venerable pavilions that we inherited from the Modern Movement. The "pavilions" of our architectural grandparents, such as Le Corbusier's *Esprit Nouveau and* Mies' *Barcelona Pavilion*, belong to a world innocent of machines and technology. All our projects, from our Team 10 housing clusters to the houses and housing we managed to build, try to protect the occupants and position them so they can appreciate the seasons, enjoy quiet and feel protected.

Mies could take quietness for granted in the first half of the century. He could be sure of the individual rights of the undisturbed, inhabited place situated away from industry until almost at the end of his life, when the new

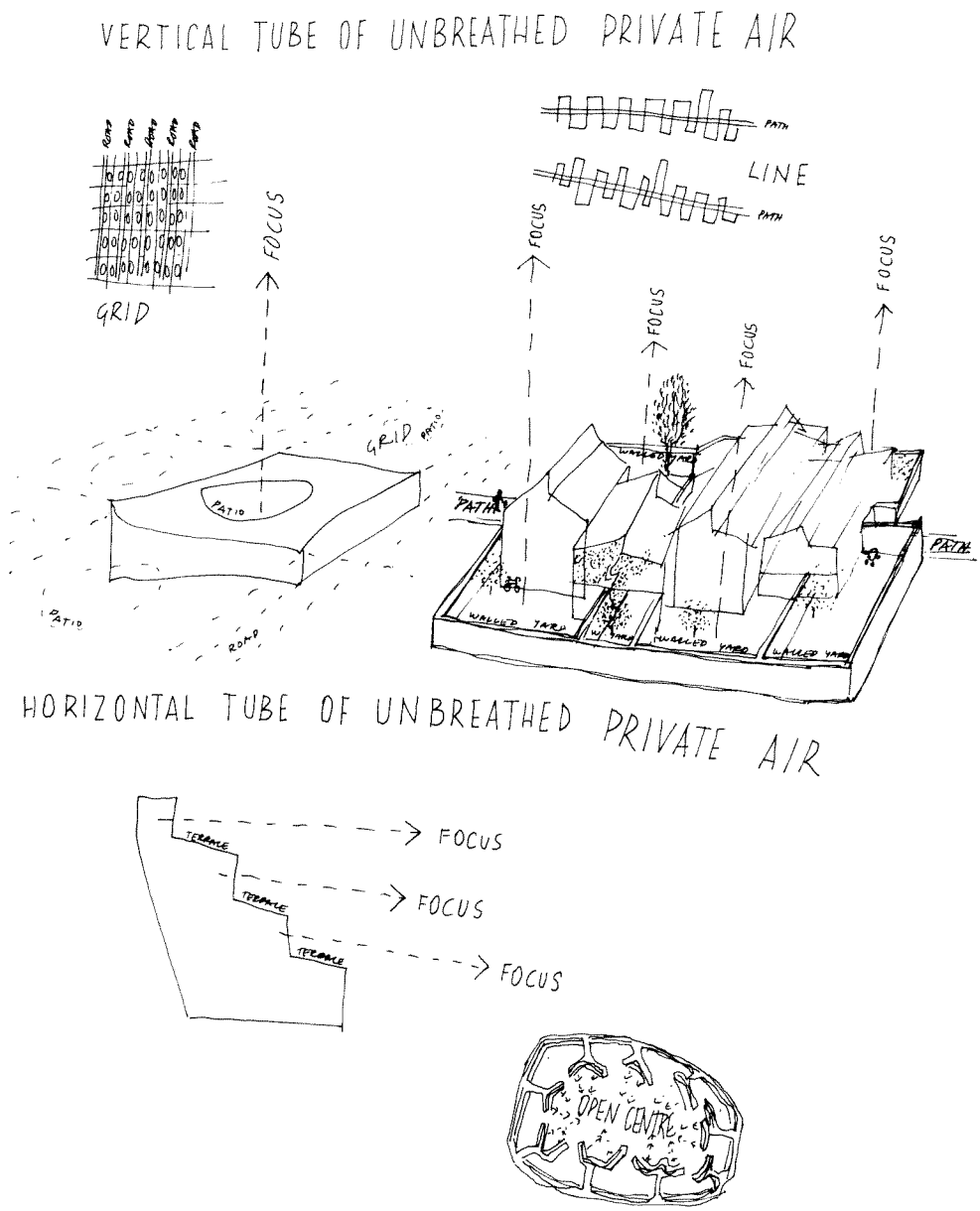
state highway was built directly opposite his last pavilion, the Farnsworth House. (A mobile home camp grew on the other side of the river; the tree screen had to be left so dense one is barely conscious of the river when in the house or on the property.) Society in its great numbers, its machines and technologies, now penetrates everywhere and impinges on everything.

Starting to work in the 1950s we never could make the innocent assumptions available to the *Heroic Period of Modern Architecture*. In the American magazines of the 1940s and 1950s we could foresee the consumer-oriented society that would, through advertisements, change all our lives. But, primarily, World War II had acted as the great divide between ourselves and our grandparent architects, who built for the few tall cars and for the genteel who shopped for rarely replaced objects. Similarly, other realities must divide us from those of the generation that follows us, those who feel the need to reconstruct pavilions.

Here I must make a slight digression to do with this seemingly universal need to represent a previous actuality. I both value memory and am frightened of my own uncalled-for remembering (by this I mean, when something I see recalls something I do not want in my head). What I can remember is composed of things seen and heard; I consider my memory a sampler of European and British Empire history. I work with memory, and it allows me to make connections to the past, interpolations of the present and gives foresight — a most valuable facility for an architect — as to a possible future.

Take a working example. I visit a site in England or Europe for the first time. I am a first time visitor to a place that has been living many years, has been mutated by many hands. (Even a green field site in Europe has been worked over for anything up to a thousand years.) I am an intruder and, as such, instinctively respect place. Learning about previous patterns of use of a place allows me to understand how the all-around of the site came about. This knowledge is part of the richness of information necessary to my thinking about how meaningfully

Diagram of unbreathed private air.
Ink drawing by Peter Smithson.
❸



to extend the existing built fabric and how to insert the new so that people may better appreciate the existing all-around of the place. As architects we are involved with the history of people's use of places.

Memory is also valuable to me because my mind is able to turn history into an energy to create new things, which people can then use without having to think about how to use them; or new places that people can feel fit their needs, in the same way they feel comfortable in their choice of clothing. Remembering is therefore an enabling device. Presumably the generation that follows ours feels that the reconstruction of pavilions is an enabling device. What I do not understand is, what for?

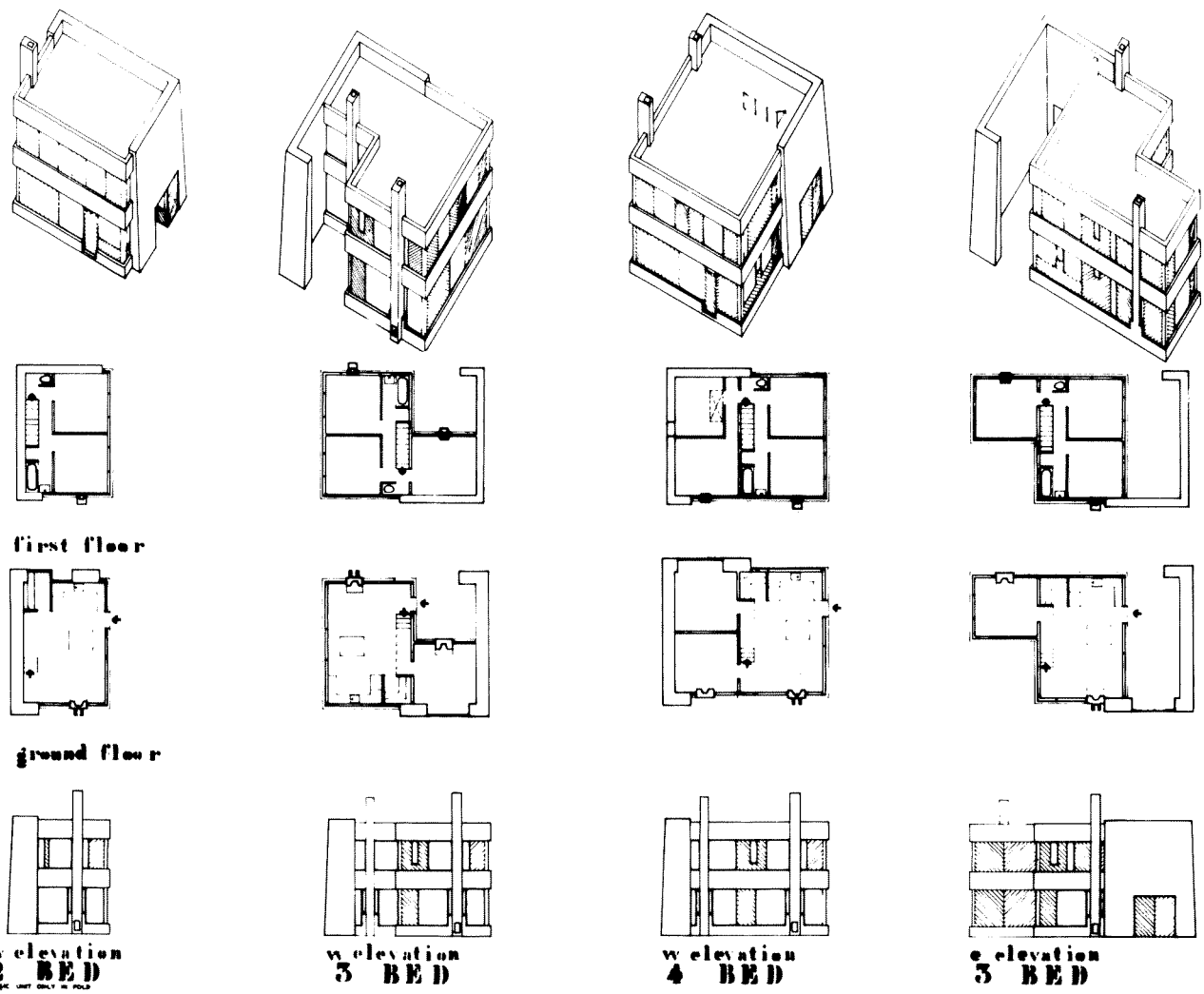
I have to go on about this will-to-reconstruct, because it is a happening of our time. I was in and out of Barcelona during the 1985-86 reconstruction of the Mies Pavilion and I enjoyed watching it go up, for we knew Mies and when the Pavilion's working drawings were first displayed in London in the 1970s we met the man who did them and so on. Our initial attitude was that reconstruction destroys a dream and that, by way of recompense, it cannot recreate for a subsequent generation the excitement, or the impact, experienced by architects of our third generation on first discovering photographs of a lost *Heroic Period of Modern Architecture* pavilion.

Therefore, my attitude toward reconstruction remains ambivalent, as does my attitude toward the formation of so many reconstructions of "what life was like." This activity is not as creative as that of the nineteenth century, which invented a new type of building in which to view painted panoramas of cities (which were then still containable within an overview): Our century has only been able to add sound to this experience.

Since I cannot believe that those walking into the reconstructed *Patio and Pavilion* this year in the

***Fold Houses*, 1955. Project taken to CIAM 10 at Dubrovnik.**

❹



U.S. (even if they know our writings) can feel the impact of that original time of 1956, or see in it the promise of so many of the ideas and attitudes that we are still unfolding, extending, let my quote from two initiatory manifestos of ours of winter 1955 prior to the *This Is Tomorrow* exhibition:

At the Whitechapel Gallery from August to September 1956 there will be introduced a new order of art manifestation. Its object is the exploration of a new field, that of large-scale art work; the border between architecture and the plastic arts.

The whole exhibition can be considered a kind of art proving-ground. Our own group interprets the general aim of the exhibition in a rather special way, for we believe that we are concerned in our separate disciplines with satisfying different aspects of man.

We try in all our collaborations to establish contact between the individuals at a level of ideas, not as a collaboration devoted to an aesthetic movement.

In this instance we have worked at a kind of symbolic "Habitat" in which are found in some form or other the basic human needs — a piece of ground, a view of the sky, privacy, the presence of nature and of animals when we need them, and symbols of the basic human urges — to extend and control, to move.

The architect's work of providing a context for the individual to realize himself in, and the artist's work of giving signs and images to the stages of this realisation, meet in a single act, full of inconsistencies and apparent irrelevances of every moment, but full of life.

The 1950s was a period of exploration of appropriate forms for grouping together buildings, principally housing. The *Fold Houses* of 1955, intended for infill of a Yorkshire village, are an example. They were offered at the start of our Team 10 thinking at La Sarraz and taken to CIAM 10 at Dubrovnik, 1956, to answer the theme of "Habitat." ❹

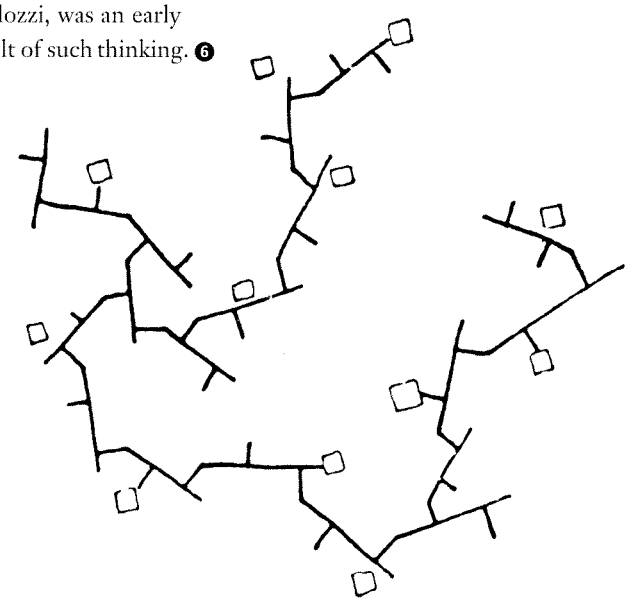
Starting in 1951 we made a series of *cluster* diagrams ❺ and *cluster-mats* that Peter Smithson explored in watercolor images.

At that time we spoke of a *random aesthetic* that sometimes entailed a "free-fall" of ideas that allowed things to take up their own intrinsic patterns. The arrangement of the photographs in the *Parallel of Life and Art* exhibition, which we made with Nigel Henderson and Eduardo Paolozzi, was an early result of such thinking. ❻



❻

***Parallel of Life and Art*, 1953. By Alison and Peter Smithson, with Nigel Henderson and Eduardo Paolozzi.**



❺

The cluster district of a city. Drawing by Alison Smithson.

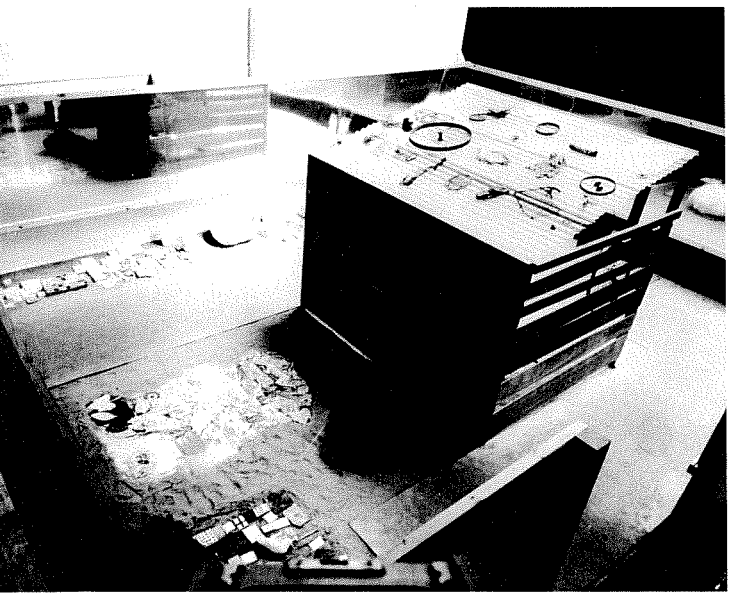
Related to these ideas was our attitude to the *as found*, the serious consideration of what existed, an attitude toward used things, built places and landscape that I have already described. This attitude was inherent in the act of the inhabitation of our *Patio and Pavilion*, for we came back from camping on our way to and from CIAM 10 at Dubrovnik in September, 1956, to find *Patio and Pavilion* built to our drawings and "inhabited" by Nigel and Eduardo.

Let me quote a document of the period:

With the transparent roof of the Pavilion made to display Nigel's arrangement of the "as found"; the sand surface of the Patio chosen to receive our collaborators' tile and object arrangement; the reflective compounding walls to include every visitor as an "inhabitant"; the "art of the as found" was made manifest. ❼

Our exhibit for *This Is Tomorrow* was to do with "light-touch" inhabitation of the Earth; with the transient, which, along with the permanent, we wrote about in the early 1950s (before the hippies, before the restlessness of people was obvious through the constant movement and migration we have seen this last quarter of a century). You could say that the nomads' dream is an instinct of our time, still unrequited: perhaps this is one good reason why we should be reminded of "light-touch" inhabitation by the reconstruction.

—A.M.S., 1990



❼

***This is Tomorrow* exhibition, Whitechapel Gallery, 1956. Photo by Nigel Henderson.**

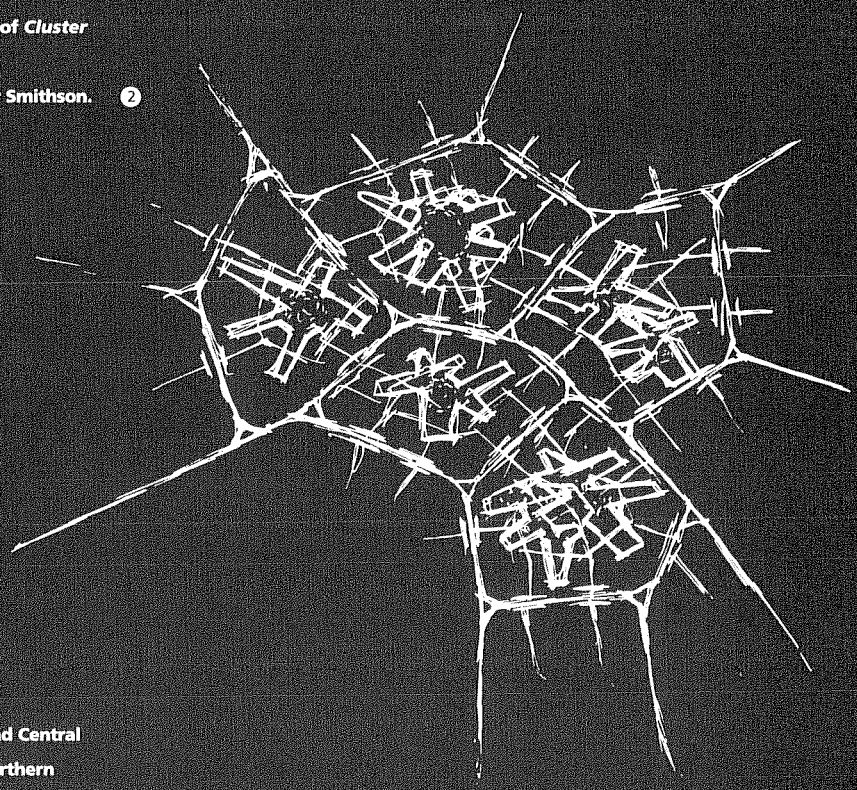
PATIO AND PAVILION RE-BUILT: A GOTHIC AFTER-THOUGHT

I have recently written that we in Europe are ready for another architectural ordering that is in a way "Gothic"; that is, non-compositional, non-theatrical — an ordering we are calling "conglomerate."

Looking to the period of the *This Is Tomorrow* exhibition when *Patio and Pavilion* was first shown; to the time of one's first knowledge of American freeways from books (especially Sigfried Giedion's *Space, Time and Architecture*, the single most formative academic book for those who were students in the 1940s); to the experiences in the 1950s of the reality of those freeways serving New York, Boston, Los Angeles; and to the realization that only in those freeways had we something capable of ordering a modern city, of providing a system of reference to which one can relate (as to a range of hills or a stream) with all one's sensory equipment — in that period one could say Gothic sensibilities began to grow again.

The argument of that long sentence is that in medieval times the relationship with the land, a range of hills, a river, or the sea was taken in with all the senses and gave the ordering and placement of houses and streets. This sort of relationship is reestablished by the "geographic nature" of the freeways. One does not see them, one lives them in the same way as one lives with the sea: They have their seasons, their smells, their festivals. One's relationship to them is Gothic. ❶

In the early 1950s we began to work with this idea, to consider freeways as an urban structuring device. ❷ I now perceive (as a consequence of this 1990s rebuilding of *Patio*



Follow-up study of *Cluster City*, 1961. Drawing by Peter Smithson. ❷

Junction of Grand Central Parkway and Northern Boulevard, New York City. "One's relationship to them is Gothic." ❶



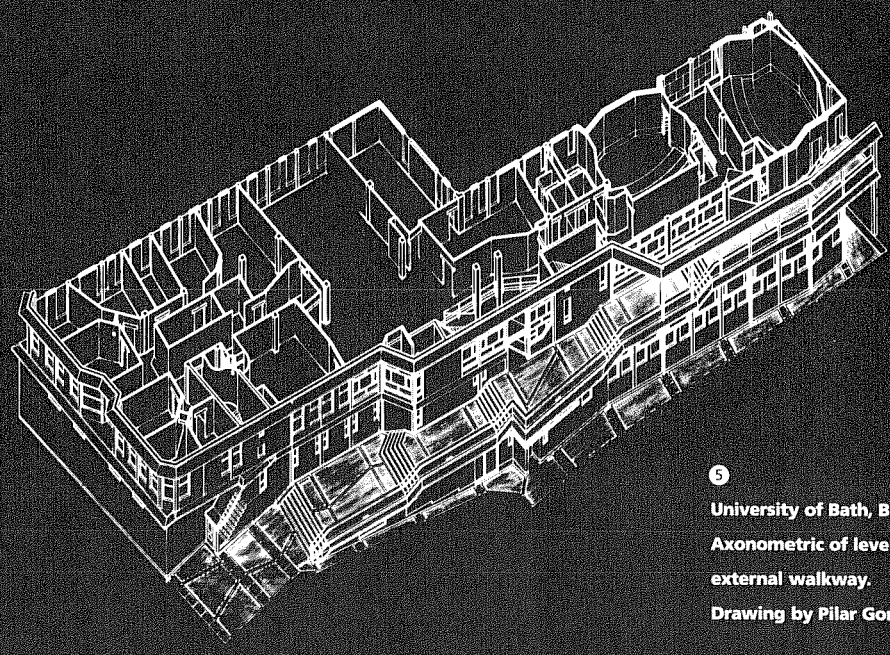
and Pavilion) that in the original exhibit, put together before I had directly experienced the American freeways, we had made a small domain structured by the track around the pavilion, which held together a miscellaneous assembly — a mode of organization that is essentially Gothic. ❸ ❹ It is a mode we have followed, more or less, ever since. ❺ ❻

In *Patio and Pavilion*, the size of the enclosure, the number of persons that can be contained within, exactly suits the activity and that, too, is Gothic. Gothic space is net to activity. ❼

By this reading *Patio and Pavilion* can be seen as a recovery of sensibilities that had been laid dormant by the overwhelmingly theatrical and graphic characteristics of Italian Renaissance architecture.

In England, the sensibility, the language, of Italian architecture overwhelmed the native mode in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. We are now ready, I believe, for another architectural ordering in which fragments of the Gothic sensibilities are recovered. The rebuilding of *Patio and Pavilion* is a pre-signal of an important happening.

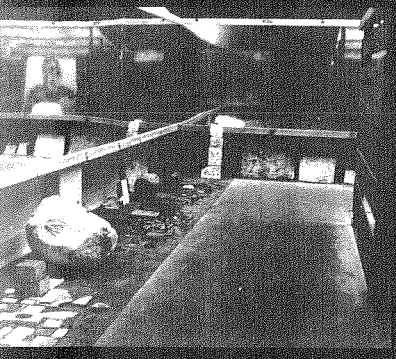
—P.S.



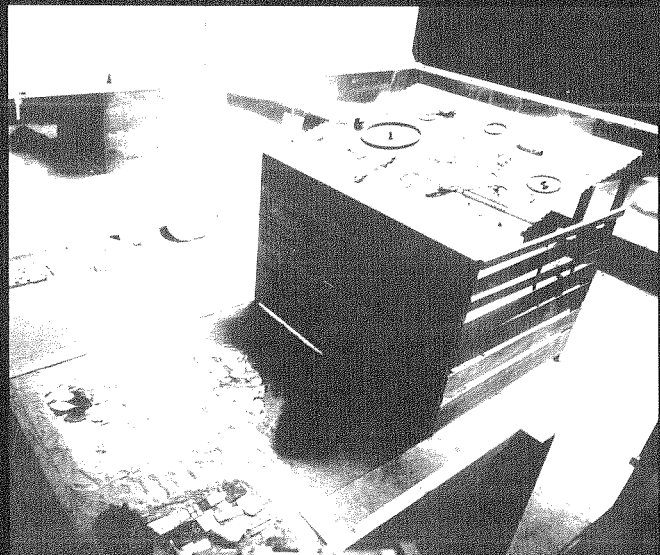
❺
University of Bath, Building 6E. Axonometric of level 2, with external walkway. Drawing by Pilar Gonzales.



***Patio and Pavilion*, reconstructed at I.C.A. London, 1990. "Gothic space is net to activity." Photo by Peter Smithson.**
❼



❹
"... the track around the building, which held a mysterious assembly ..." Photo by Nigel Henderson.



***Patio and Pavilion*, view from above. Photo by Nigel Henderson.** ❸



Walkway next to Building 6E,
University of Bath.
Photo by Peter Smithson.

THE *IDYLL* AND ST. JEROME

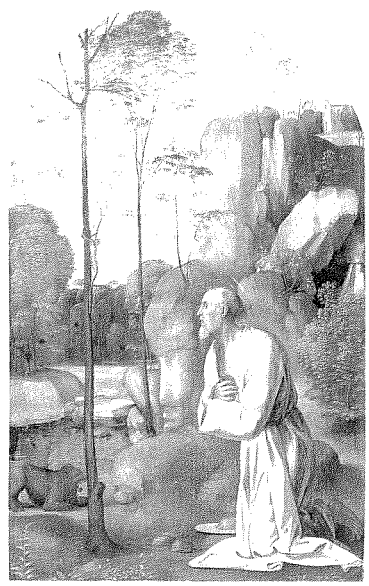
The fashion during the last decade for the reconstruction of seminal pavilions of the *Heroic Period of Modern Architecture* has included a simulation, a partial and a total reconstruction, of our 1956 *Patio and Pavilion*, the last being in the Independent Group exhibition. These various reconstructions have caused us to rethink our position as regards pavilions representative of the *idyll* of inhabitation.

The allegory of the two alternative *idylls* inhabited by St. Jerome was brought to Europe's notice by Renaissance paintings (as if their contrasting-yet-connected subject matter particularly suited the humanist ideal). This recognition came more than a thousand years after Jerome's actual life; that is, the painters were painting between the years 1400 and 1700 and Jerome lived between 342 and 420. Renaissance paintings of Jerome can be used to think about the European *idyll* of inhabitation and what constitutes today the idyllic setting of the *retreat in unspoilt nature.*

Our most recent thinking related to pavilions-as-idyll concerns *the fragment of an enclave.* I will try to explain the insight that generated this thinking and its implications for form giving.

The Energizing Cell and the Restorative Place in Nature: As Found in the Life of St. Jerome

The life of St. Jerome offers two alternative *idylls* — in the *study*, with books, with possibilities for communication with the world; and in the *desert*, a life of kindly asceticism in unspoilt nature. These two ideals are connected by a certain integrity, if not self-indulgence, of remaining one's own person in apartness, in quietude. Throughout European history, these connected alter natives seem to have re-energized each other, in a way that people have been able to use the idea of one or the other to revitalize their sense of well- being; even to the extent of thereby reverifying the meaning of their lives.



❶ ***St. Jerome in the Desert.*** **Tempera on panel by Baccio della Porta (called Fra Bartolommeo).**

St. Jerome in his *study* represents the ability of one to dedicate oneself to work at a self-appointed task, the calm of an inner peace, the ideal of a world at peace. ❷

St. Jerome in the *desert* represents a human desire for the freedom that seems to exist in nature and the undiminishable freshness of its cycle of renewal — nature so immutable, omnipresent, overbearing that humans are relieved from responsibility for its complex order and balance. ❶

Jerome's *study* can stand for the desire to enjoy built order, to be supported by civilized services, to be able to shut out the weather and temper the climate, to have, for our well-being, a perfected sufficiency in our place of work, with the tools of our profession, trade, housekeeping, at hand. Whereas the true *desert* of sand — where man stands alone between the ground and the sky, ringed by horizons that might be infinite — can be an allegory for the burning clarity that some minds achieve, for the dream of self-sufficiency, for an environment that makes no demands on social behavior, for nature taking responsibility for all decisions, everything.

As architects, seeking a balance between response to climate and our responsibility to extend appropriately our architectural inheritance, we can again treat Jerome's life as if it were some kind of ideal brief for a creative life in the city; for a life compatible with a renewed respect for nature. In this *idyll*, Jerome's study is an allegory for *idyllic inhabitation.*

We see in Jerome's *study*, as depicted by the painters, all modern conveniences: cool water and even wine, a beautiful wash bowl and a clean towel, flowers, books, cupboards, writing materials, animals as companions, warm clothes and an amusing hat. Taken together, these elements signify all the benefits of an "urban," civilized domain.

The *study* is also an allegory for easy, written communication; for perfection, the perfected object; for choice in objects and thereby for trade. Jerome in his *study* reaches out to the world of the student because the form of the European college is inherited from the teaching monasteries that gave form to the need for quiet within the cell and the need for easy connection to books. In Renaissance painting it seems as if Jerome's *study* is also an allegory for the freedom to choose the country in which one works, something the Roman world offered, something that we like to do today.



❷
St. Jerome in His Study,
1514.
Engraving by Albrecht Dürer.

The Study Within a *Fragment of an Enclave*

In Bethlehem Jerome probably took to his cave as a *study* because of the knowledge he gained in the *desert*, that such a place offered effective protection from the climate. Thus the encapsulation of *study* within *desert* has already been accomplished.

In an urban setting or nature, all creative activity relies on being cocooned, on its fragment of space being within an enclave, a protective territory. A piece of territory of one's own that society respects is the *idyll* of the pavilion in the defensible enclave. When there is outside a supportive, civilized, or natural framework, creative activity can happen inside. It might be that the only easily defensible enclave is again the *desert*. We will have come full circle.

—A.M.S.

IV

PHENOMENON IN PARALLEL: EAMES HOUSE, *PATIO AND PAVILION*

In 1945, the year World War II ended, Charles Eames and Eero Saarinen made their initial proposal for *Case Study Houses Eight and Nine*. The proposal was for a house and studio for the Eameses and a separate house for John Entenza, the sponsor of the *Case Study Houses* and the editor and owner of the magazine *Arts & Architecture*, in which the proposals were published.

The site, in Santa Monica Canyon, was a real one. Describing it, Eames and Saarinen wrote, "This is grounded in meadow and hill, protected on all sides from intrusive developments, free of the usual surrounding clutter, safe from urban clatter; not, however, removed from the necessary conveniences and the reassurances of city living."[4]

The Eames House sat on "the hill" at one end and over "the meadow" at the other on two thin, cross-braced supports, with a cantilever beyond, The Eameses (Charles and Ray) called it the *Bridge House*. ❶ ❷



❶
Eames' house.
Photo © Julius Shulman.

According to our notes from a visit to Ray Eames in 1983, she reported looking back to this time:

... John Entenza thought of buying plateau/shared Plateau known about for long time but Will Rogers would never sell ... Family sold ... "bridge" first scheme and structure on site when price went up and became worth three times as much therefore thought why be so wasteful and survey found trees in straight line ... all plateau impenetrable at time ... idea to excavate/cut into cliff behind and see how much space could be built with same amount of box section steel with zig zag beams: result 3 times as much space nearly and more reticent idea of building ... the bridge a young idea.

Between the publication of the initial project in December 1945 and the start on site in early 1949 there was a three-year interval.

In 1947 Mies van der Rohe made an installation of Eames' furniture for the Museum of Modern Art's exhibition *One Hundred Useful Objects of Fine Design.* Certainly it is unlikely that Charles Eames was innocent of the American work of Mies, whose "Sketch for a Glass House on a Hillside, c. 1934," is the probable base source for the 1945 *Bridge House*. The notion would have trickled through to Charles Eames via the architecture culture generally in the way things happen.

Mies' built work at the Illinois Institute of Technology — especially the Minerals and Metals Research Building (1942-43), with its coolness, its regularity and its standard steel-window sashes — was something different. It had a quality that somehow opened the gate to another way, a way that was retreated from, or not regarded, by Mies but was followed by others.

So, somehow through Mies, through a rejection of much of Mies, but still through Mies, or so it seems to me, we get the 1949 house — something wholly original, wholly American. What is extraordinary is how, at a time when American culture in its art-propaganda stance was very Europe-oriented; this house in Santa Monica seemed wholly free.

The house was an Eames-defined territory, established by the pavilions set into it that reinforced the line of trees, with, on occupation, an Eames content. Seen from Europe, it was something wonderful.

The framing, the skin, of the pavilions are a notation against which was played a content. ❸ Both house and content are perceived in graphic terms, an American phenomenon in contrast with the very concrete, very European, *Patio and Pavilion*. The Eames' House and *Patio and Pavilion* can be considered as phenomenon in parallel.



Eames house.
Photo © Julius Shulman. ❷

Patio and Pavilion

A text that was written at the time defined our group's objectives for *Patio and Pavilion:*

The actual form is very simple — a patio, or enclosed space, in which sits a pavilion. The patio and pavilion are furnished with objects which are symbols for the things we need — for example, a wheel image, for movement and for machines.

The method of work has been for the group to agree on the general idea and for the architects to provide a framework and for the artists to provide the objects.[5]

To understand the interpretation we are giving here you must imagine *Patio and Pavilion* as originally realized at the Whitechapel Gallery in 1956. The "content," the "objects of occupation" made or discovered by Nigel Henderson and Eduardo Paolozzi, was of a richness and authenticity that no facsimile can catch. ❹❺❻❼ The vagueness of the images



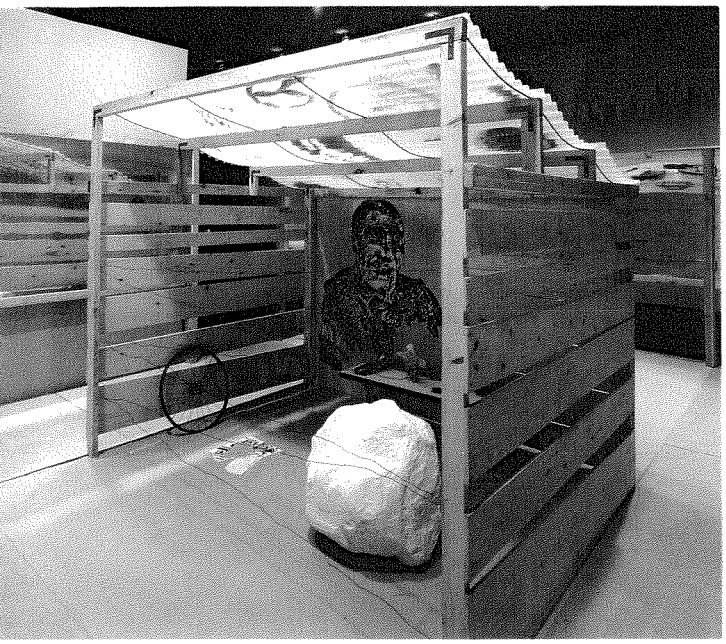
❸
Eames House. "House and content seen in graphic terms." Photo by Peter Smithson, 1978.



Jenkin's Room, Alison and Peter Smithson with Eduardo Paolozzi, 1952. Photo by Peter Smithson. ❹



❺
***Patio and Pavilion*, 1956. "A richness and authenticity no facsimile can catch." Photo by Nigel Henderson, 1956.**



❻ ***Patio and Pavilion,*** **reconstructed at University Art Museum, Berkeley, 1990. Photo by Ben Blackwell. Courtesy University Art Museum.**

❼



that were reflected back from the enclosing patio walls allowed a multitude of interpretations.

Patio and Pavilion presented a sense of completeness — territory, pavilion, objects of occupation — complete in the sense of walking into a house abandoned by the owners during the course of the evening meal, or into a ruined mine shut down by impending disaster and never re-opened.

Patio and Pavilion is a picture of the art-processes of the period of Samuel Becket, Jean Dubuffet, Jackson Pollock and Berthold Brecht.

The Eames House is a picture of the Eames.

—P.S.

Afterthought: Eames and the Seamed Glass Skin

In the tradition of the Crystal Palace, the surface is a regularly seamed glass skin that has no representational function as to structure, or arrangement, or determination of the thing it covers. The decision about the size of the unit of repetition for a seamed glass skin is similar to any other decision about the unit size of sheet material. With stone facings or glass it is traditionally related to the whole of which the unit forms part, but with plywood or patent-glazing the unit is almost certainly in practice that of the standard economic size (or sizes). When a building is made of standard pieces it would seem that it should be thought about in terms of the standard sizes of those pieces — the whole would be derived from the part in some way — an inversion of the Classical tradition. When the skin of a building is glass or tinted glass what is inside is explicit. That inside can be the carrier of the formal idea in the traditional way, or the scaffolding of a graphics of occupation in the Eames way. That is, it can be part of a visual conversation between the immovable inside, the seamed glass skin and a graphic equivalent of the occupiers' activities.[6]

Notes

1. In the 1980s Peter Smithson gave three lectures at the International Laboratory of Architecture and Urban Design that argued, *inter alia*, that because of the long work-life of architects, within the three generations at work at the same time, the younger learn from the older, the older from the younger, in the old artisan way. See Smithson's essays, "Three Generations," *ILAUD Annual Report, 1980* (Siena: ILAUD, 1980); "The Masque and the Exhibition," *ILAUD Annual Report, 1981* (Siena: ILAUD, 1981); and "Parallel Inventions," *ILAUD Year Book, 1983* (Siena: ILAUD, 1983).

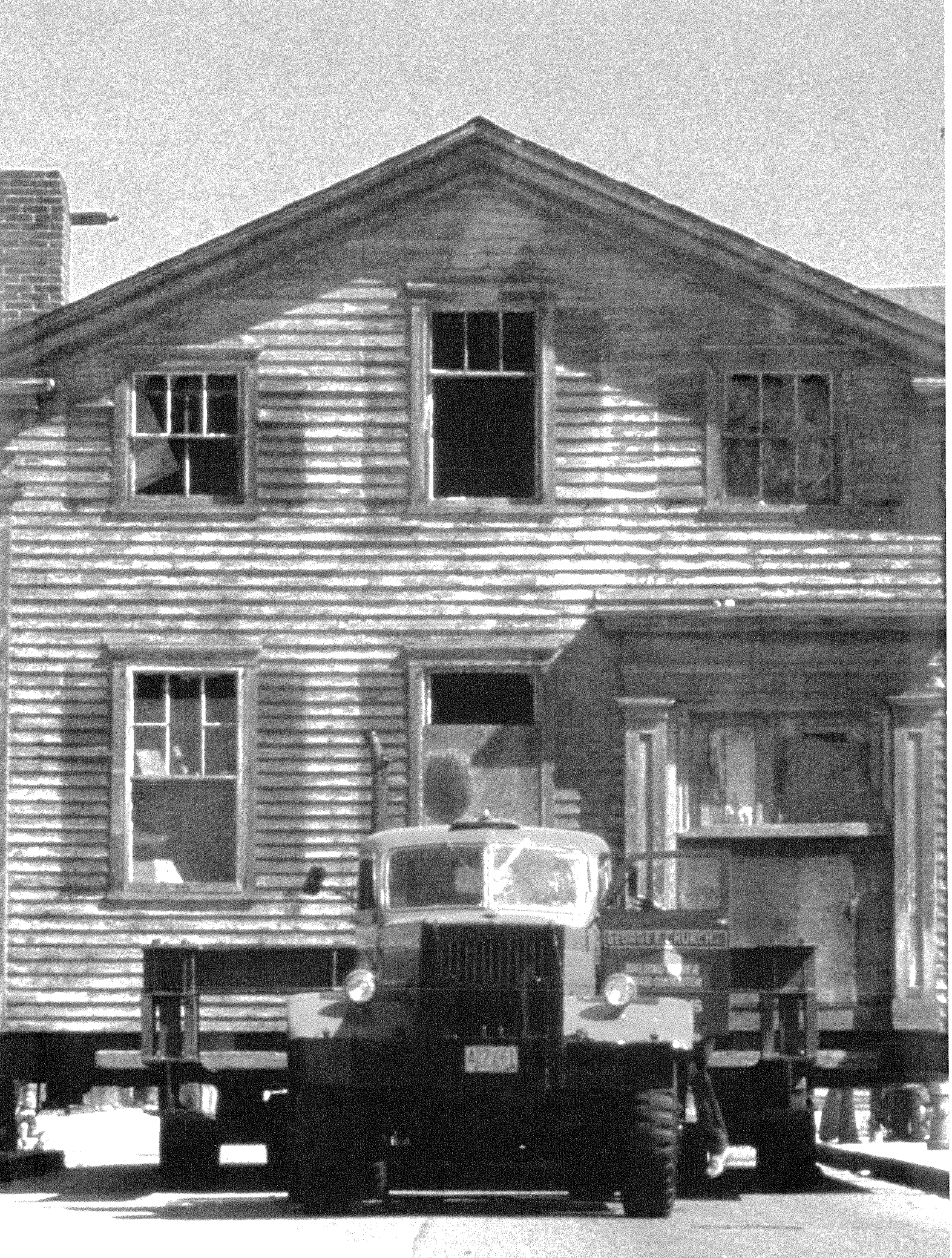
2. See "Conglomerate Ordering," *ILAUD Year Book, 1986-87* (Siena: ILAUD, 1987); "Think of It as a Farm," *ILAUD Year Book, 1988-89* (Siena: ILAUD, 1989); and "The Recovery of Parts of the Gothic Mind," *ILAUD Year Book, 1990-91* (Siena: ILAUD, 1991).

3. Both the illustrations are solar pavilions. The solar pavilion that was built and inhabited was our own Upper Lawn, 1959, whose whole story was told in Folly, *UPPER LAWN, Solar Pavilion* (Barcelona: University of Barcelona, 1986).

4. *Arts & Architecture* (Dec., 1945).

5. Written for BBC Third Programme.

6. This passage was adapted from Alison and Peter Smithson, *Without Rhetoric* (London: Latimer New Dimensions, 1973).



The Specialty of Place

There is no question about the importance of places; they even rate their own journal. But are places so important that a person can specialize in them? Or, put another way, can a person create a profession — and a career — based on a single place?

This question was the subject of a thesis I submitted at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1974 in pursuit of masters degrees in architecture and city planning. And it remains the subject of my professional life in my particular place — my city of New Bedford, Mass., a working-class, mostly Portuguese seaport of 100,000 people, the city in which I was born.

The longer I test the hypothesis that one can specialize in a place, the more important I think it is for the future of small cities. I remain worried, however, that the professions and the schools that are concerned with cities are not confronting this issue.

I knew the path I chose was not well travelled when my proposals were met by puzzled looks from my professors at MIT. I had enrolled in MIT's architecture program but soon realized that to understand my city I also needed an education in city planning. I proposed a joint program with a joint degree, but to my surprise this had never been done. To me, architecture and city planning intersected at my desire to shape and improve New Bedford. But this did not coincide with the traditional intersection, called "environmental design," so my teachers did not know what to do with me. Showing the toleration of eccentricity that makes MIT such a wonderful place, the

The following articles by John K. Bullard and Peter Clavelle are adapted from remarks they made at the Mayors Institute for City Design meeting held in Charleston, S.C., last October, in conjunction with the annual meeting of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. The preparation of these articles was assisted by funding from the National Trust.



Previous Page:
For a place to survive, people must make a commitment to it. This house in New Bedford, Mass., was scheduled for clearance under a redevelopment program. It was moved to a nearby lot and turned into an office and store.
Illustrations courtesy City of New Bedford.

faculty let me invent my own joint program, joint thesis and unusual career. I shall always be grateful to them for that.

I had two influences in my decision to specialize in a specific place. First my very strong attachment to New Bedford. In his provocative book *Rules for Radicals*, Saul Alinsky advised middle-class activists, "We must begin from where we are if we are to build power for change." I feel a connection to New Bedford that is infinitely more powerful than that which I feel to any other place because it comes from my family, my history, my heart and my gut, not just from my head.

My second influence was the tendency of technological innovations to eliminate roots. As the design and planning professions become more specialized, and as long-distance communications and travel become so much easier, people have less of an imperative and fewer opportunities to put down roots. Professional schools are creating nothing but Paladins — "Have Gun, Will Travel."

I wanted to stay in one place so that I could really learn how it worked and who made it work. To have meaning for me that place had to be New Bedford. In a city of this size, I realized, if the place were to be the constant in my career, then my profession would have to change from time to time. If I were to specialize in a place, I could not specialize in anything else.

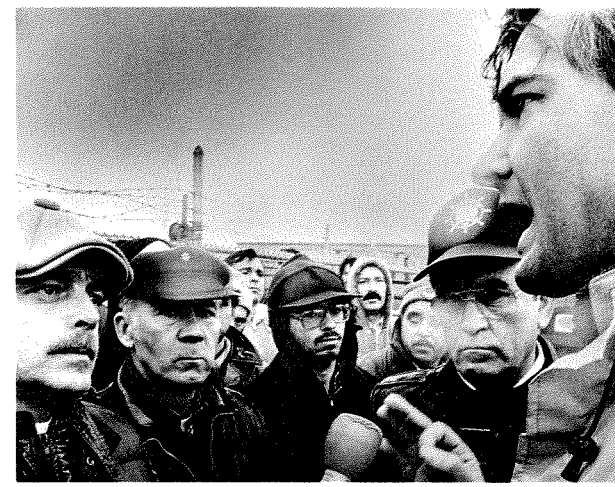
My first efforts in New Bedford focused on a problem that was not the most difficult to solve (another suggestion of Alinsky's) but still needed to be addressed: revitalizing the waterfront historic district. I developed a citizen-driven revitalization plan in my MIT thesis and then filled the job that the thesis had created, working with three non-profit community organizations for 11 years. Those three groups, with considerable support from city government, transformed the historic center of this world-famous whaling port from a dilapidated 15-block civic embarrassment into a thriving and successful area. The district simultaneously serves as the support base for the nation's most productive fishing fleet and attracts visitors because its historic character has been preserved in a first-rate manner.

My task, both as a student and with the non-profit community organizations, was to elicit a vision for the waterfront — one shared by the people involved in this community and by city government. I spent a lot of time asking people, "What do you want to be?" Too often they responded by offering comparisons: "We want to be like Mystic" or "We want to be like Newport" or "We want to be like Nantucket or Boston." It took deeper digging to find a vision that was rooted in New Bedford. The vision was to maintain the waterfront's function as a working support system for our fleet,

yet recognize that it is a historic district, a national landmark.

If those of us who were working on the revitalization had a guidebook, it was Kevin Lynch's *What Time Is This Place?* We wanted New Bedford to possess many times, to show that history is a continuum. There is nothing artificial about this historic district. It is not fancy or self-conscious. Our people work in the historic buildings doing what they and their ancestors have done for more than two centuries: outfitting New Bedford's ships. This is the way all seaports should be, but places like this are now very rare.

Once people began to be conscious of this vision, my role was similar to that of a trolley conductor. I tried to keep everybody on board pointed more or less in the same direction and, as we built momentum, to make sure that city government and everyone else kept going in that same direction.



New Bedford has been a working seaport for two centuries. Preservation has meant conserving both its architectural heritage (opposite page and below) and making sure its commercial fishing operations continue to thrive. At right, Mayor Bullard talks with striking fishermen.



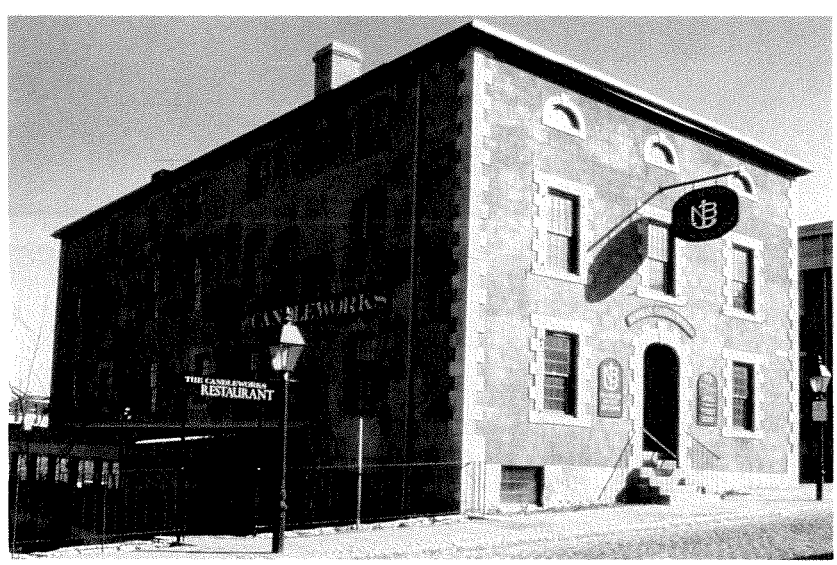
As the success of the district's revitalization gained attention (my thesis advisor had said it was impracticable and would not work!), people said to me, "You must be a preservationist. Where are you going after you finish with New Bedford?" Clearly my idea of specializing in a place was not in general currency!

Revitalization is something that never starts or ends; it is a continuing process. But when we had reached a certain level of success — having restored major buildings and established that our working waterfront could co-exist with historic preservation — it seemed that the time had come for me to move on. My "profession" as "preservationist" had to change, and it did. A good and popular mayor had retired to assume a judgeship, and people in the city said they wanted me to do for all of New Bedford what had happened in the historic district. So I became a "politician" and was elected Mayor of New Bedford in 1985. That a Yankee preservationist could be elected mayor of a city like New Bedford speaks volumes about our people's desire to recover the pride and attain the high standards that had once been intrinsic to our city.



As mayor, the history about which I learn seems mostly to concern sewer lines, and the preservation in which I am involved is more about children's lives in an atmosphere clouded by drugs, violence, AIDS and economic hardship. But the lessons I learned as a preservationist in New Bedford are very useful as I work today in the world of politics. And the people with whom I developed good relations based on trust and performance are the same people with whom I work today.

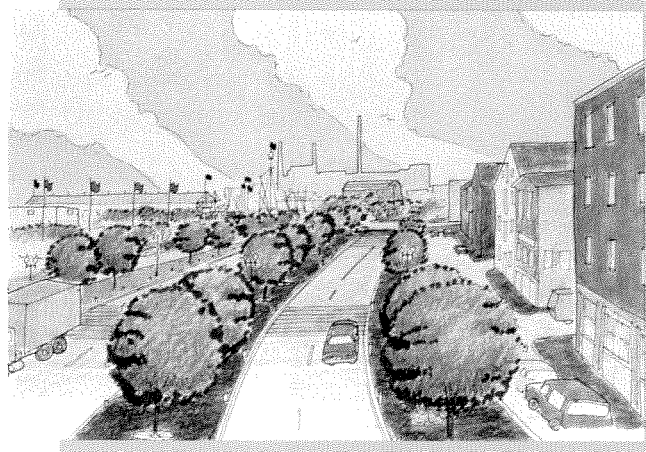
My role, of course, is somewhat different. Being mayor is like being a



Neighborhood improvement works one building, one decision, at a time.







New Bedford's historic seaport has been cut off from downtown by a six-lane surface highway. The city is trying to tame the traffic and create stronger pedestrian links.

I have professional training as an architect, so even without having participated in the Mayors Institute on City Design I would tend to focus on the physical design aspects of a mayor's responsibilities.

But I do not think that any of us mayors believe we are experts in design any more than we think we are experts in education or drug treatment or sewage treatment or firefighting or any of our other responsibilities. We are students; we want to learn. The message of the Mayors Institute is that whether we want to or not, we will affect the physical legacy left to our citizens and their descendants. It is an important responsibility that we take seriously.

The case study problem that I brought to the Mayors Institute was how to connect downtown to the waterfront. New Bedford's waterfront is a working waterfront; three hundred fishing boats are still fitted out along the water's edge. It is unfortunate so many American waterfronts no longer fulfill their historic role, but in New Bedford, competition for space along the waterfront is very intense and, therefore, we place an emphasis on water-dependent as opposed to water-enhanced uses.

But New Bedford has made some of the same

mistakes other cities have made. In a period when fishing was in decline and people thought waterfront property was not very valuable, we built a highway along the water's edge, separating the working waterfront from the waterfront historic district and our central business district. The waterfront is the source of our history, the source of our character, but we are cut off from it by that highway.

We are now planning a heritage park and want to reconnect the historic downtown to the waterfront. But how?

We talked about eliminating the highway, but this approach would have presented difficulties for the industrial areas south of the city that need access to a highway. We talked about burying the highway, but this approach would have been expensive, and if people do not like to admit mistakes when it is cheap to correct them, they really do not like to admit mistakes when it is expensive to correct them.

We talked about leaving the highway at grade and adding intersections in five or six places; Mayors Institute advisors counselled against major changes like these because they can create upheaval and cost a lot of money.

So we are planning less elaborate changes that are more practical and will provide a better result. We are keeping the highway at grade but turning it into an ordinary street with ordinary dimensions — narrower traffic lanes, no shoulder and much wider sidewalks. We are adding a single intersection with traffic signals.

These changes will slow the traffic and shift the balance between automobile and pedestrian toward the pedestrian. People will no longer feel they are taking their lives in their hands to cross the thoroughfare. This solution need not be costly, yet it will return the street to the scale to which we are all accustomed.

— John K. Bullard

shock absorber. Everyone else is allowed to fly off the handle. The mayor absorbs all the shocks and keeps the ride smooth. But if I felt as if I were conducting a trolley before, now I am like the captain of a ship. I have to move the ship forward, but care for and protect the welfare of the passengers and the crew while I am at it. The ship is big and slow to turn, but it is an exhilarating ride.

People now ask me: "Oh, you're a politician! What are you going to do after you finish with New Bedford?" So the test of my hypothesis continues. I don't know how, or when, my profession will change again, but I know it will. There are all kinds of professions in which I could work towards my goal: making my city — New Bedford — a better place.

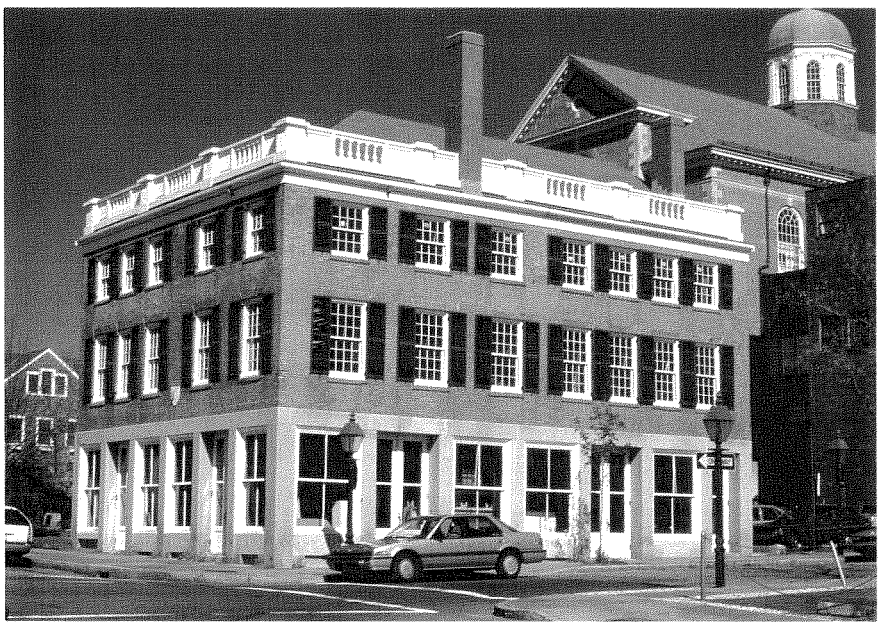
Although I am only 17 years and two different "professions" into this test, I can draw some conclusions that are important for others who might be considering similar paths.

First, there is no security in this approach. The feeling that I am on a career path occurs less frequently than the feeling that I am alone in the woods. There are no mentors, no examples. Long-range career planning seems impossible. There do not even seem to be followers who could lend an encouraging notion that this is a credible approach.

Second, the rewards of staying in one place and making it a career are immense. One sees every day the improvements for which one has been responsible. There is a connection to time, place and people that serves as an anchor in an uncertain world. I understand the meaning of my life.

Third, if small cities are to survive, and thrive, more people must chose this path. We do not really need any more architects or planners in Boston





Even after this building was nearly destroyed in an explosion, New Bedford preservationists fought to keep it standing and to rebuild it.

or San Francisco or even in Cambridge. But in New Bedford, Fall River, Lawrence, Chelsea, Brockton and the hundreds of other small and poor cities in America we are in desperate need. A single committed person willing to stay and become part of such a community is more important and has a greater positive impact than a hundred hired guns.

We need people to choose this path. Cities such as these can fail without causing the national concern that is expressed over the tribulations of Philadelphia, New York, or Detroit. They can vanish without a whimper, except, of course, from the people who live in them.

The question we ought to ask is not whether a person can make a career of a single place. People can, and it is imperative that they do so. The question should be: What are the professions and the schools doing to encourage young people to meet this need?

The Vernacular Landscape is on the Move...Again

Architecture, especially interior architecture, tends to formalize and institutionalize certain relationships. Why this should be the case I have no clear idea, but I am convinced that the Western world — in particular the U.S. — is in the midst of a radical shift in attitude toward architectural or designed spaces.

For centuries our civilization has relied upon enclosed spaces to establish relationships and identities, but now we are turning away from them in favor of ones that are either more natural or less formal. The vernacular or workaday spaces that we will use in the future will of course include buildings. But we will prefer open spaces such as streets, highways, fields and even the desert.

For 80 years I have lived (along with other Americans) in a world largely composed of enclosed spaces, all of them well-defined and characterized by a greater or lesser degree of accessibility: the church, the school, the library, the dwelling, even the workplace. All were careful to isolate themselves from the street and what it stood for. People of my generation can recall a time when all Americans of middle-class background were taught to distrust the street and street life, and to believe in the sanctity of the home.

We had heard of the fascinations of street life and had a highly romanticized image of its wickedness and its freedom, but we rarely ventured into it. Once we were home and had closed the front door we had the happy feeling of being where we belonged. Home was where each room, each passage, had its own unique character and where every space, every hour of the day, imposed its own appropriate behavior. An important part of the joy of being home was that we could control who had access to it and who could be excluded.

Photos courtesy Frederic Lewis.

My memories of the houses in which I have lived, and of the houses of friends and relatives, are still so vivid that there was a brief time when as a student of American domestic architecture I supposed that I could identify and describe the prototype exte-





The middle-class vernacular house,
is a fixed focus for stable social relationships,
codes of behavior and even morality.

rior of the American dwelling. I soon found that I could do nothing of the sort. Take at random a dozen middle-class American families of a generation ago, all living in the same town, all with the same education and much the same income, and you will find one living in a white, clapboard, two-story house, another in a Tudor cottage, another in their parents' Victorian house and still another living in a scaled-down version of a Southern plantation.

But once I learned to think of the prototype interior, I was on safe ground. The middle-class home I learned to identify was simply a composition of rooms or spaces accommodating certain cherished domestic values: privacy, family continuity, undisputed possession and, most cherished of all, the ability to offer formal hospitality.

In this type of house one would find the formal entrance lobby, very often the parlor, a so-called "powder room" and a guest room and bath upstairs (in those days most houses had two floors). The small dining room (rarely used by the modern middle-class family) would contain a handsome table and a set of chairs that would seat eight people (even though the family counted only four). There would be a display of silver and company china. The massive front door with its bell, chimes, or knocker was also part of the equipment for hospitality, and in those far-off days there even would be a place where guests could park their car. Many of the houses I am describing emphasized their limited accessibility by small signs saying "No Soliciting," "No Salesmen," or "Tradesmen's entrance in the rear," meaning at the kitchen door.

The custom of hospitality, the spaces it requires and its various forms and schedules, offers the best way of defining a dwelling and the status of its occupants. Standard middle-class hospitality indicates that the house is a territory, a domain with restricted access and its own rules and customs. Neither neighbors nor business associates are automatically invited. Formality in the shape of a sit-down dinner or a catered cocktail party implies no celebration or any ulterior motive; it is simply a tactful way of showing how you live and protecting the house from too much casual dropping in. Privacy is a precious commodity.

Formal hospitality of the kind that calls for invitations well in advance of the event and elaborate preparations in the kitchen is not common in working-class households, not only because of the expense of such meals, but also because the working-class home includes no special rooms for hospitality. If you are a friend you are made welcome even if your visit is a surprise. What takes the place of formal hospitality is a banquet or dance at a nearby restaurant or social organization, and such an event is usually a celebration of a family birthday or wedding or graduation. It calls for no reciprocity.

Among the rich and famous hospitality is on a lavish, not to say boastful scale, and is meant to accomplish several well-defined objectives: negotiate deals and alliances, social as well as in the business world, display the owner's wealth and position, and process people who might be candidates for membership in the power structure. If you pass muster you will be invited to a smaller, more select party. If you fail you are never invited again.

The House as a Moral Unit

What do notions of hospitality have to do with the future of the vernacular landscape? I could answer in one word: territoriality. But a better answer involves the history of both concepts. I know of no study more fascinating for the amateur of landscape history than the evolution of the middle-class dwelling and its changing relationship with the land. That evolution has in my opinion come to an end, but we can see through history not only how the house developed architecturally, but also in authority and prestige; how it gradually became a symbol of stability, attachment to the land, manners and codes of conduct and even morality.

When the Roman Empire had disintegrated as a landscape and the Dark Ages had overtaken northwestern Europe, the large agricultural estates, once worked by slaves, were abandoned or used for grazing. By the seventh and eighth centuries of a new kind of agricultural enterprise began to evolve on some of the extensive monastic estates. A suitable amount of farm land was granted in perpetuity to a family that agreed to live on it, work it, pay taxes and perform occasional military service. These requirements created what is sometimes known as a "moral unit" — a permanent territory with a religious and social and economic identity capable of entering into an agreement with the sovereign power.

Most of those early medieval homesteads were small and poor. But if they ranked far below the larger feudal estates,

they were much superior to the dwellings and plots of land of the rural proletariat or the urban worker. Their status was given official recognition: The crown granted them the right to "keep the King's Peace," that is, to enforce the law and maintain order without police interference, discipline and protect their workers, punish trespassers and defend their boundaries. We might call this privilege an early recognition of the right to domestic privacy; we might also call it an early recognition of the right to offer hospitality, for it meant the privileged landowner could control access to his house and land.

In its Dark Ages beginnings, the home of the yeoman farmer was simply a container, a house with no specific function other than that of providing shelter. But over time a number of radically new construction techniques evolved and combined with a better knowledge of local climate and materials to produce a house capable of withstanding the weather and of lasting for decades. This house could have a preconceived plan for both domestic needs and large open, unencumbered interior spaces. It was well suited to local farming practices, to a self-contained family life and to the public status of its occupants; it provided spaces for storage, privacy, work and hospitality.

The Landscape of Mobility

It would be a mistake to assume that this house is the only kind of dwelling there was throughout this thousand-year period. The nobility and the church had their own, more complicated architectural tradition, which the average yeoman farmer could only admire from a distance. There was also a tradition, far older, far more generally diffused, of a very different kind of dwelling: that of families that possessed little land, who supported themselves by working for others and who therefore had a different relationship to the land and its resources. This landless element seems to have constituted at least a third of the medieval population. Its size gradually increased until, in the late eighteenth century, it comprised almost half the population.

The house of the wage earner is what we now call vernacular, not only because it was crudely constructed out of local materials, but also because it was the dwelling of the poorest class. (Unfortunately, the word "vernacular" still suggests inferiority, the substandard version of the correct, and thus distorts the difference. But the term persists, and to be understood we must use it.)

The yeoman's farmhouse and the wage earner's house were unlike not only as to size and construction, but also unlike in the role each of them played in the lives of their occupants and how each was valued. The house of the laborer did not participate in the structural evolution of the middle-class house, remaining stubbornly loyal to a housing tradition originating in the remote, unchronicled pre-Roman past.

The typical house of those times, which we identify with the Barbarian invasions of northwestern Europe, was crude, easily built and without any individuality — a construction of vertical planks, quickly put together out of timber from the surrounding forest, with a heavy thatch roof supported by poles. There was a hearth and a fireplace on the dirt floor, but no chimney and no ceiling. There were usually two rooms, one of them occupied by livestock. Outside was a small primitive garden and a number of sheds, outhouses and barns.

An extended family would live in a cluster of such houses. All land and resources were owned in common; small wheat fields were allotted to each household. Raising cattle, hunting, fishing and warfare were the main occupations. When the local resources of grass and timber were exhausted, or when an unfriendly group threatened invasion, the so-called village moved on. Mobility was so much a part of the lives of these people that their sacred structure was a small shed or shrine on wheels. A tribe in Scythia lived entirely in wagons on the move: They were known as *hamaxobii* (those who live in wagons), a term that academics might adopt when discusing the mobile home.

Mobility was the ruling element. All things that moved — flowing water, vegetation, fire — were held in common. Even the grass that the cattle ate was common property, since it moved in the wind. Perhaps as a result of the notion that much of the natural environment belonged to everyone who used it, custom held that none of those spaces so necessary to survival were to be altered: no trees cut down or planted, no water damned, no wells dug and no fences built, except around the fields to keep out livestock.

How much of this pagan tradition carried over among the rank and file of the Middle Ages is hard to say. It is easy to see

resemblances between the primitive barbarian house and the medieval cottage, at least in construction. The cottage was a crude one-or-two room frame structure of mud and brush with a thatch roof. With no crops to store and no animals to feed it was little more than a shelter, a container for the elementary needs of the family. It was easily disassembled and reassembled elsewhere, wherever there might be a job. It epitomized a vernacular culture based on mobility and a hand-to-mouth way of life.

The vernacular cottage, and the people who lived within it, were almost entirely dependent on the resources, social as well as material, of their immediate environment. The occupants spent much of the day outdoors. Village authorities or nobles offered (for a fee) a remarkable number of facilities — the public grist mill, the public wine press or brewery, the bathing establishment, the public outdoor laundry facilities, the market. Villagers had use of the common for grazing cows or geese, they could collect fallen branches in the communal forest for fuel, and they could cut a certain number of trees (under strict rationing rules) for building or repairing a house.

This philanthropic arrangement seems to have been intended to keep the vernacular element satisfied with its lot, for any attempt to live in a more private manner was discouraged. The police raided cottages without warning to put an end to too much hospitality. On the other hand, the ancient tradition of downplaying the role of the house accounted in part for the public delight in using (borrowing) public spaces for a brief time and then leaving them unaltered. The church, the churchyard, the village green and even certain rooms in the houses of the nobility, were freely used, on occasion, by all of the villagers.

The consequence of this prolonged outdoor living and absence from home was an animated and sometimes disorderly street scene. Medieval public spaces were used not only for sociability and relaxation but also for work, the exchange of goods and services and information, and even violent and competitive sports and games. When we now talk about the use of public space we usually have in mind friendly interaction and innocent recreation. We have forgotten these spaces once served to supplement domestic life with all its needs and desires, just as we have forgotten the ancestral belief that all empty spaces were the property of the local families.

Permanence versus Accessibility in the Landscape

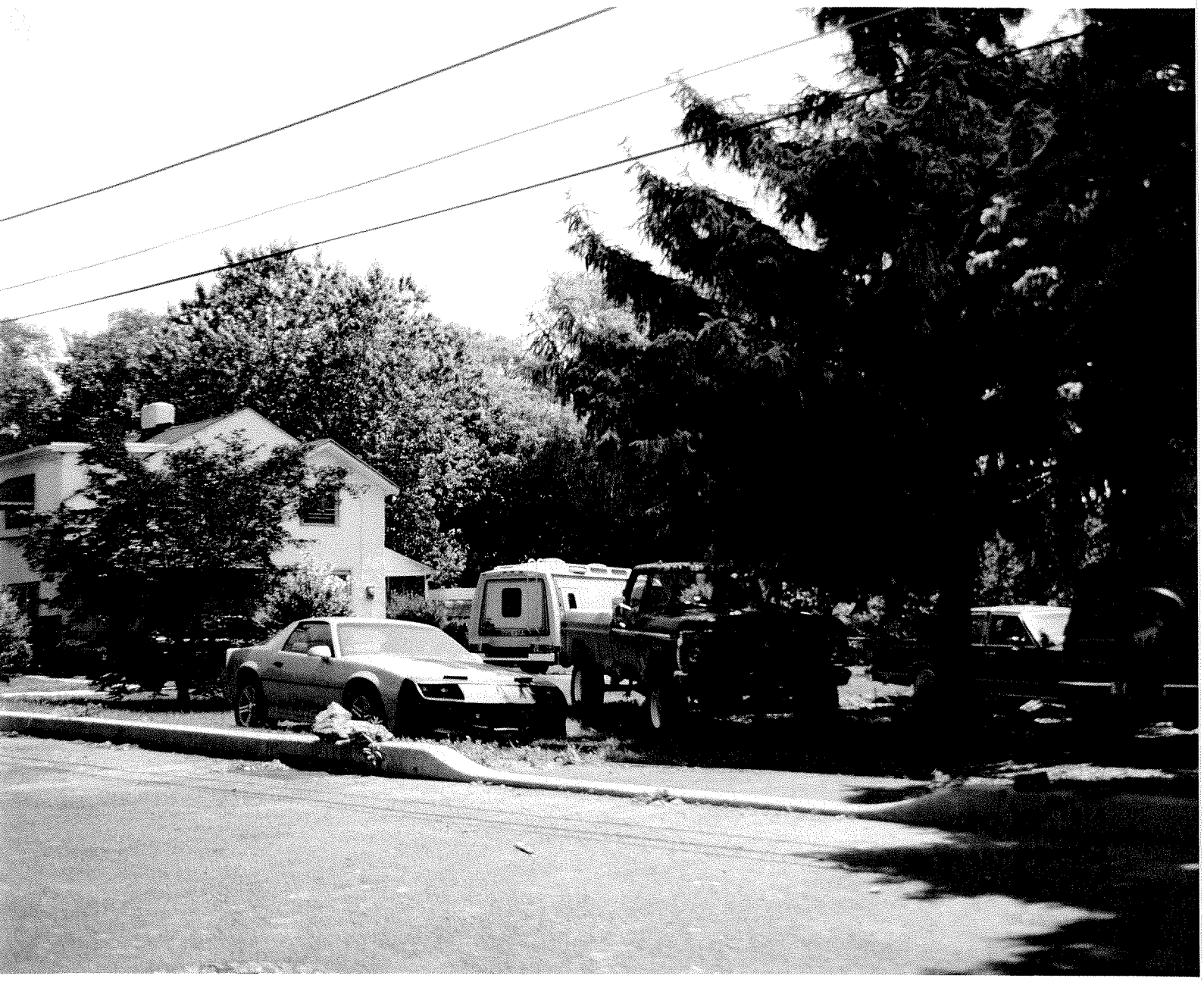
The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries brought a new, more complicated, more expensive architecture (of stone and brick with more specialized rooms and spaces) that all but eliminated the amateur home builder. The laborer's or peasant's house was the product of the crown or of a well-to-do employer, and much of the architecture that we label vernacular was the work of civil or military engineers or professional builders. This was true in Colonial New England and in Virginia. The slave quarters, though built by the slaves themselves, were designed by the plantation owners, and a study of the houses of Massachusetts Bay suggests that many of them were built by professional carpenters and cabinetmakers.

It was a time of planned villages and uniform street facades, a time when people who travelled from town to town looking for jobs were severely punished and ordered to stay where they belonged, and a time when many spaces hitherto open to the public — gardens, forests, churches, palaces — were declared out of bounds. The street, once the scene of so much activity, was redesigned for through traffic and as a work of urban art.

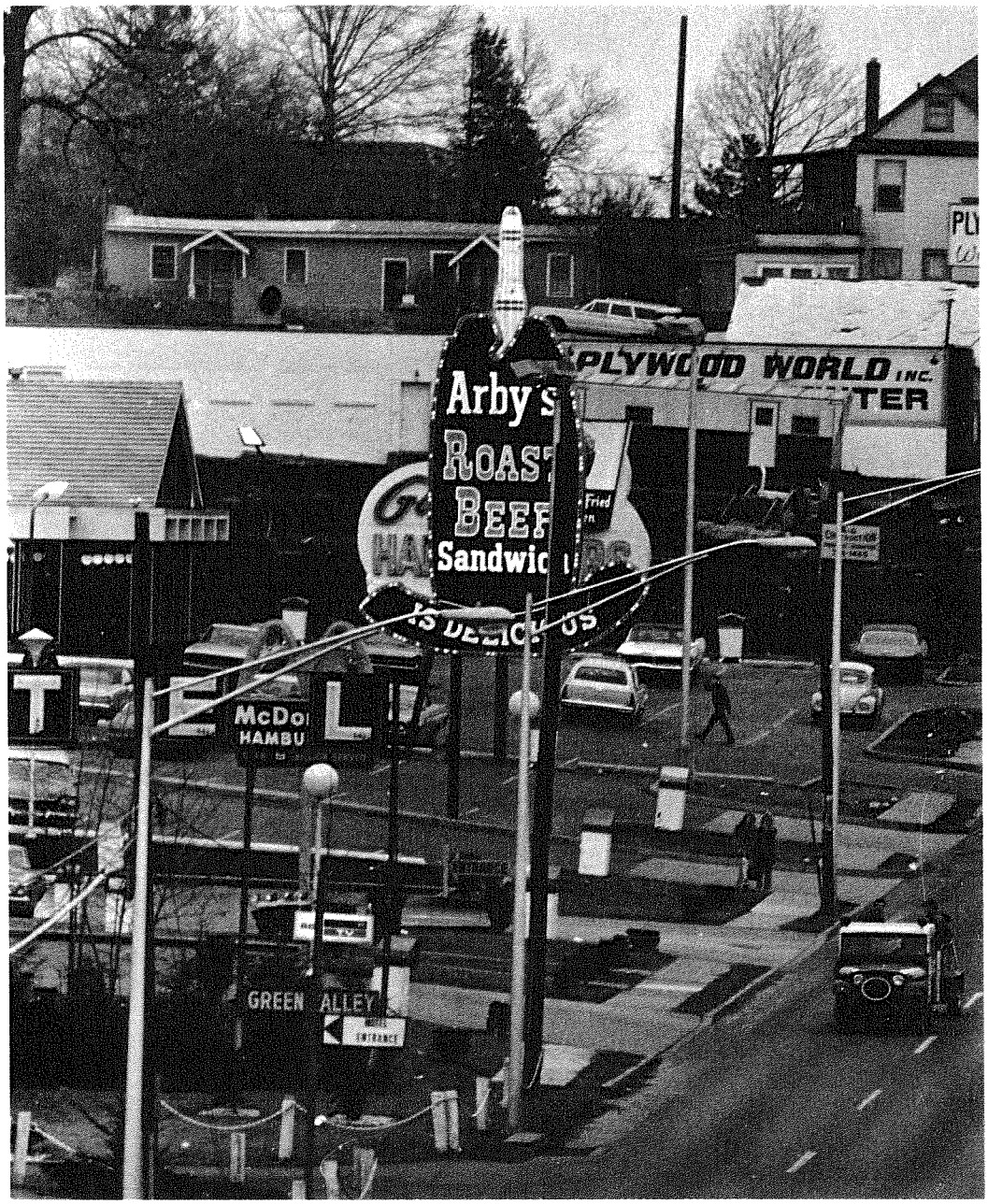
Many of these reforms had the welfare of the public, particularly the poorer public, in mind, but the emphasis was on fostering middle-class standards in the home and public life, and the ideal was all too often the mythical village of self-sufficient households in a bucolic setting. Vernacular architecture meant village architecture, the architecture of landowners, who had clear-cut ideas of the sanctity of private property and the necessity for having roots in the land. The house became a shrine to this religion of permanence.

These attitudes toward vernacular architecture and the house prevailed in my youth a half century ago. But by that time a reappraisal of the importance of the house had long been underway. Historians have pointed out that as early as the 1820s in this country the old triad, living on the land, working the land, owing the land — ways of celebrating the role of the house — was beginning to be meaningless. House and land and family, the moral unit first formulated in the Dark Ages 10 centuries ago, was giving way to a separation between house and work and land. The old traditional landscape was beginning to crumble, first of all here in America.

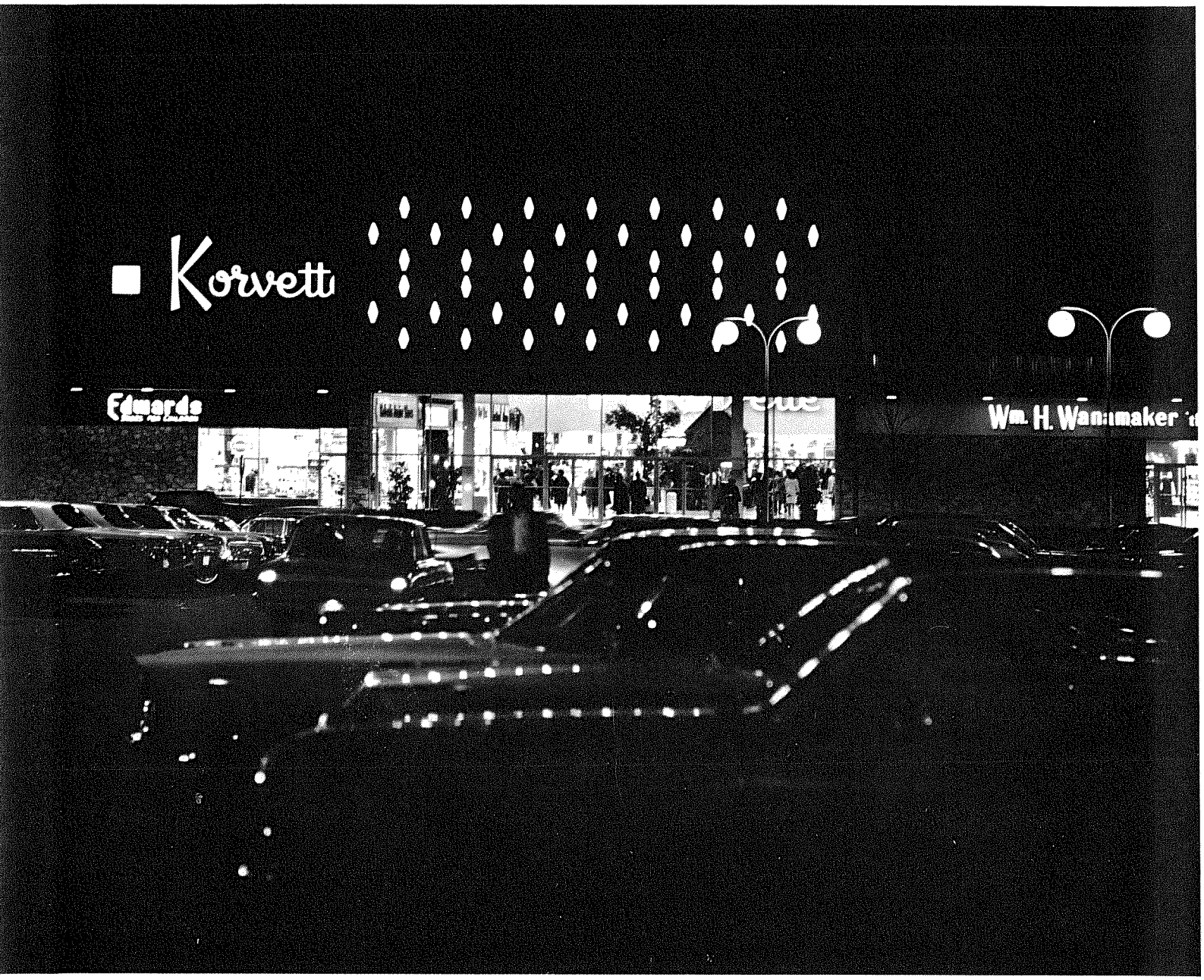
The demise of the dwelling as a moral unit was connected to our growing taste for the exterior experience of architec-



The landscape of the house and stability is giving way to the landscape of the automobile and mobility.



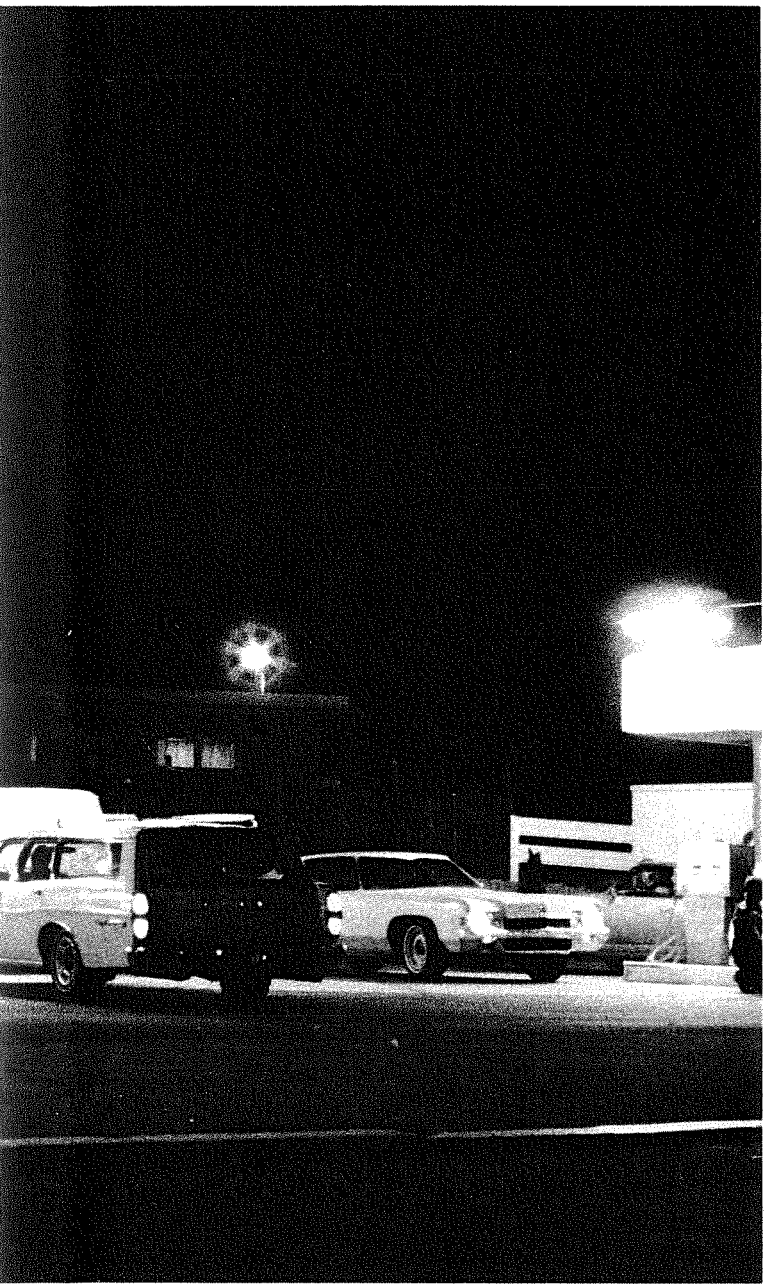
The auto-vernacular lifestyle brings people together in open spaces designed for cars.



Everywhere access is easy and alluring.



Could the auto–vernacular lifestyle beget a landscape of visual beauty?



ture, our new street life here in America. All of these developments are leading to the spread of a new kind of landscape, based less on territoriality and specialized spaces with restricted access, and more on that vernacular liking for mobility and the temporary use of public or semi-public spaces.

I first noticed this great change in America when I came back after three years overseas during World War II. I was amazed by how our cities had grown, how crowded and full of life the streets were, how many new uses of public places had come into being and how a new popular architecture was spreading across the country.

One of the first essays I wrote in *Landscape* was an attempt to understand the commercial strip. One of its characteristics was accessibility, another was the new-style exterior of the buildings: gaudy, unconventional and obviously designed to attract the mobile consumer and lure him into stopping. The strip was merely the earliest example of a kind of architecture meant to be experienced from the outside and to appeal to the passing motorist: We soon invented the drive-in bank, the drive-in movie theater and the drive-in church. Then there was the super truck stop, the super motel, the supermarket and (what is still evolving) the super service center for automobiles — an elaborately planned landscape containing every possible auto-oriented business, from tire repair to paint jobs to auto sales.

Everywhere access was made easier and more alluring. The new architecture allowed us to have immediate contact with whatever we were looking for: no more waiting for a clerk to come and ask what you wanted, no more waiting for a server to take a request to the kitchen. Nor was there a need for the formality that governed our interaction with clerks or waiters, the social rituals that were to department stores or restaurants what hospitality was to the home. We helped ourselves; instant accessibility was the watchword.

The popularity of exterior architectural spaces — pedestrian walkways, mini-plazas, skyways and tunnels inserted between massive buildings — alerts us to the fact that the new kind of street culture has already made an impact on the urban scene and is telling us that the space of the street is the heart of the city, not green and spacious parks or the the blocks of masonry in which people work and live.

Even contemporary urban parks and public squares have

recently undergone a radical change in their functions.[1] The more our houses and tenements overflow into the street, the more the street will serve as a spacious extension and substitute for domestic activities and relationships. Public spaces are no longer quiet and respectable: They have become the setting for political confrontations, informal instantaneous contacts, buying, selling, and the exchange of ideas. Public spaces are more and more the setting for work, white collar as well as manual. Our social position depends less on our ability to provide hospitality than it does our ability to know the nuances of life on the street.

The Auto–Vernacular Landscape

It is no longer realistic, it seems to me, to discuss the vernacular dwelling as having distinct architectural characteristics. More and more the dwellings of lower-income groups (wage earners and workers in many service industries) are all but identical, at least when seen from the outside, to the dwellings of the middle class. All that we can rely on as a definition of the vernacular house is the way it is lived in and its relationship with its immediate daily environment.

Nevertheless, I continue to look for some visual clue to the nature of the contemporary American vernacular house, and I think I have found one. I think a vernacular house is one that is surrounded by a large number of cars. They are parked on a driveway that leads to the garage, in the back yard, sometimes on the front lawn, and along the curb. The husband has a car to go to work in (often his car is a truck or van that he uses all day long — delivering, collecting, hauling, servicing and transporting people and freight). The wife has a car to go to her job in. One of the children drives to school in his or her own car.

The cars, pickups and Jeeps surrounding the house represent small-scale investment. Bought at a low price from a dealer or auctioneer, they are tuned up, modified, customized and sold at a profit, a small beginning of capital accumulation. The spectacle in certain neighborhoods of the infestation of cars is not attractive, but I find consolation of a sort in the notion that all those automobiles stand for liberation from the constraints imposed by the house: the prospect of easier contact with the surrounding world, the prospect of showing off and the most important prospect of all, achieving privacy.

Cars are not confined to the vernacular population; nine families out of ten possess them. But nowhere have they really improved a lifestyle as much as in blue-collar neighborhoods. The car has taken over, emptying the house of its noisy population, providing a privacy hitherto unknown and relieving the house of its burden of chores and responsibilities: taking the family to the day care center, the laundromat, the supermarket, the drive-in restaurant, the emergency room at the hospital. All that is left of the house is an environment dedicated to leisure and childhood pleasures.

The new landscape can be called the "auto–vernacular landscape." Though primarily urban, it is spreading across the country. (Even the old-fashioned rural and small town vernacular that we recognize as "agro–vernacular," devoted to land and stability, is being replaced by a landscape devoted to mobility and short-term planning.) It is reminiscent not only of the medieval prototype but also of the Barbaric prototype, with its obsessive wandering, its casual attitude toward the house and other traditional institutions, and, above all, its habit of sharing or borrowing public spaces.

The real challenge is defining the auto–vernacular landscape. At the moment I see it as composed of structures and spaces designed to accommodate the auto as distinguished from spaces designed to accommodate people: the interstate, the parking lot, the strip, the gas station, the downtown multiple level garage, the race track and innumerable storage and transit facilities. The mobile consumer is at the wheel, but the layout of space is designed for vernacular movement, which does not occur at human scale. Similar places are by no means lacking in the countryside; a field modified to suit the tractors or a landing strip for planes, has the same impersonal, empty beauty and attraction.

I am struck by the number of outdoor public spaces that owe their existence to the car and the number of structures and spaces, created by the automobile, that bring us together. Having worked in a gas station, I am aware of a very definite sense of place in many of them and of a sense of fraternity that can develop in even the least sightly of roadside installations. In spite of my weakness for truck stops and service stations I hesitate to think of them as the modern equivalent of the "moral unit." Still, they are places where strangers come

together and where they often turn for help, advice and companionship. There is promise in many parts of the auto–vernacular landscape, with its emphasis on mobility and borrowed space, a promise of a place or institution that fosters what might be called a sodality, a society based not on territoriality and position and inaccessibility but on shared interests and mutual help.

The vitality of our car and street culture, its ability to evolve and to discipline itself, contrasts sharply with the decay of that part of our culture that is based on the dwelling and the permanent community. As our stock of houses decreases every year in quantity and quality, as our slums expand and the homeless can no longer be numbered, certain characteristics of our landscape seem to disintegrate before our eyes. One part of it sprouts new office buildings, superhighways, superparking lots and condominiums, while the rows of shabby and crowded inner-city dwellings, abandoned tenements, abandoned schools and churches wait to be bulldozed out of existence. No wonder we resent the new tyranny of the street and the automobile.

Yet on a certain very modest level these two elements sometimes come together to form what might be called a new kind of mini-urban landscape. You catch a glimpse of it in the fringe neighborhoods every American town and city now has: areas where the newest, the poorest and least skilled of minority families live. Often it is no more than several clusters of beat-up trailers, mobile homes and campers, or sometimes hastily built shanties — much too crude to qualify as vernacular. Along a short, unpaved street or formless public space you find a convenience store, a laundromat, a day care center, a bilingual evangelical church and a building called "Heart and Hands" or "Bright Tomorrow." That is where there are posters sternly warning us to lay off drugs. Inside volunteers listen to tales of beatings and dress knife wounds.

But there is also a gas station, a used car lot, shop where radiators are repaired and even a car wash. At the end of the day driveways and alleys are filled with cars and trucks being worked on, and lowriders or their equivalent with flashy paint jobs roar up and down the street, giving off clouds of blue exhaust. The neighborhood, such as it is, comes to life, and you begin to think this is a world where community and cars belong together, like bread and butter or ham and eggs.

A thousand years ago out of desperation we tried to devise a new arrangement: house and land. After a rough start it took hold, and as we all know, it created a rich and beautiful landscape. Perhaps we can do it again.

Note

1. An excellent discussion of how this has happened and how vernacular type of activity has transformed many streets is Mike Helm and George Tukel, "Restoring Cities from the Bottom Up: A Bi-Coastal View from the Street," *The Whole Earth* (Spring, 1990).

A TALE OF TWO VILLAGES

There are some places so special that they set the imprimatur of value on our sense of the American landscape. Their aesthetic qualities and historical associations come together powerfully for us even if we have only experienced them two dimensionally while unfurling the pages of *National Geographic*. However, when these special places are threatened, we are all diminished, even if our memory is only imprinted by images in a magazine.

Such a place is the old village of Deerfield, Mass. — once a frontier outpost, then the site of a brutal massacre during the 1704 French and Indian War, and later the most affluent and elegant of the eighteenth-century Massachusetts towns in the Connecticut River Valley. Today another massacre is in the making. This setting — and others like it across America — are being surrounded by private developers making a quick killing on the sale of house lots, exploiting the values of these special places. The transformation of the surroundings of National Historic Landmark Districts like Deerfield and many of our most historic sites, parks and monuments, is generating national legislative proposals to increase protection of landscape context.

In Deerfield, the colonial past is still palpably present in a mile-long corridor of clapboard houses that salute the street with their pedimented doorways. One hundred fifty years ago, on a gentle mound rising above rich farmland, this street was viewed as handsome. John Quincy Adams, well traveled in his day, could exclaim, "It is not excelled by anything I have seen, not excepting the Bay of Naples."[1]

The street preserves much of its magic because, at least until now, it has retained its setting. It is a setting for all seasons that filters time through the stillness of eventide. The views between the houses look out to the hills where school children might still imagine Indians are lurking, waiting to swoop down during the French and Indian War, taking 50 hostages to Canada.

Photos courtesy Ronald Lee Fleming, the Historic Deerfield Foundation and the Waterford Foundation.

Fields remain close to the old Deerfield street. Intensely green in the summer light, the corn appears like waves, lapping up to the long peninsula of the main street, reminding the viewer that rich agriculture produced the prosperous material culture of these proud houses. From "The Bars," the elegiac Mill Village road that follows the river south of old Deerfield Village, one can still look out across the meadows and tilled fields to the river, a view that has largely remained the same since the eighteenth century. This road wends its way past tree-lined banks with glimpses of the green river below and through an eighteenth century hamlet flanked with old sugar maples where large wooden houses sit back primly from the street.

Deerfield — nationally recognized for its numerous house museums, which are toured by more than 100,000 visitors every year — is just the sort of place that people assume is forever protected.

But if you stay on the road, climb a slight grade through a stand of trees and pass again into open fields, you will witness the spectacular planting of newly risen condominiums. Outfitted in the standard pseudo-Colonial ranchette amalgam, they flaunt their ungainly shapes against the carefully furrowed fields. The vista despoils the memory we have just stored and robs us of some of its meaning because it intrudes upon the fragile poignancy of this special setting. The condominiums are marching in thuggish rows, shouldering their way along the scenic river road toward Deerfield, and have now advanced to just a little more than a mile south of the village's main street.

A local landowner erected 11 of these buildings in the first phalanx four years ago after giving local farmers only two weeks to come up with cash to buy the land. In 1989 the landowner built seven more a half mile closer to the village; some stand empty in their cheap particle board construction. Their basements flood in wet weather, which is making it hard to sell them. They overlook the gently rolling fields from a vantage point that affords that classic vista of the Connecticut River Valley — long narrow tobacco barns, expansive fields and the meandering river.

In Deerfield village, most of the buildings along the historic corridor are owned by three private schools or Historic Deerfield, Inc., which Mr. and Mrs. Henry Flynt founded in 1952. The Flynts became interested in Deerfield when their son was a student at the Deerfield Academy (one of the village's private schools) in the 1930s and began acquiring and restoring the old houses.

But the fields that so handsomely define the mound of the main street are, for the most part, owned by four farming families and remain loosely zoned as residential/agricultural at two acres per residence. Their low-lying meadow land is not clearly demarked as "wetlands" and thus is not subject to special scrutiny for building permits.

Even though the Flynts and their allies went all the way to the White House in the early 1960s to stop the then-new Interstate 91 from dumping its access ramps in the north meadow, the rude arrival of the condos and the subsequent acquisition by developers of a 106-acre parcel of largely wetlands near the condos demonstrates how haphazard and provisional local planning capabilities are.

Despite the acquisition of some open space easements by Historic Deerfield, advice from a plethora of consultants (including state agricultural extension agents, the American Farmland Trust, Trustees of Reservations, the executive office of Communities and Development, and the Center for Rural Massachusetts), consciousness raising during land use conferences and an emerging land trust movement, this very special place is being ruined bit by incremental bit before our eyes.

How could this happen in a nation that has had a national preservation act on its books since 1966?

Deerfield has long been recognized as a National Historic Landmark, the highest category on the National Register of Historic Places. But that listing only requires that there be an environmental impact assessment for certain federal actions affecting such property. It does not require that local land use laws be compatible with the national recognition of a district's historic character (probably fewer than half the 362 districts with National Historic Landmark status have local land use protection), and even when the two do overlap, in most cases local historic districts are drawn so narrowly that they do not protect the environmental context. Deerfield still has no local historic district; four attempts at forming one have failed, beaten back by residents who fear that such designation would dictate the color they must paint their houses (a myth, as the choice to regulate paint color is a local option).













Deerfield, Massachusetts.













Our sense of the historic character of America's rural towns is framed by the landscape that surrounds them.

Another part of the answer is that the very nature of small communities that possess these extraordinary scenic assets usually prevents them from establishing effective zoning, or establishing it in a timely fashion. In Deerfield, the part-time administrative assistant who responded to requests for planning changes was one of only a handful of paid professional employees; the township relies heavily on overworked volunteer boards. These boards have some able members, but like most small town boards they operate on a reactive basis, with rivalries between villages, inhibition among neighbors about stepping on the toes of anyone who wants to make money out of land and a fear of getting involved in what is perceived as "other people's business."

Deerfield's open space plan remains unfinished, even though the area has been on a state inventory of significant visual resources since the early 1970s. Until the plan is completed, Deerfield cannot obtain federal or state funds for purchasing open space. (In any event, Massachusetts is broke right now after allocating more money for open space acquisitions than any other state.)

The various private schools,which are the town's principal property owners, have been slow to share information about their plans; they are only now developing a joint land trust though their holdings comprise several of Deerfield's most important viewsheds.

Is there hope of stronger state regulatory review? Massachusetts has an environmental bill of rights dating from 1972 that states that people shall have a right "to the natural, scenic, historic and aesthetic qualities of this environment," but not many specific laws to help preserve places like the fields around Deerfield. There has been talk of designating what remains of the river byway as a "scenic road," but the state enabling legislation for scenic roads makes this decision a local responsibility that can be pursued or not; there is no requirement that localities protect what is handsome and has been handsome for hundreds of years.

Massachusetts also has statutory authority to create "critical environmental areas"; 11 have been designated along the state's coastline (because of more aggressive action by the federally authorized coastline management agency) but only three elsewhere — thus imposing stricter standards for wetlands permitting. The commonwealth's Department of Environmental Management, with a broader mission than the Federal coastline agency, is now taking responsibility for inland sites.

With more condos looming on the Deerfield horizon, the urgency of the situation finally manifested itself in the spring of 1990. Historic Deerfield organized a very local and (intentionally) non-threatening land use conference, conducted for local property owners by the well respected Conway School of Landscape Design. Located nearby, the school has been deploying its students to prepare open space guidelines for the village that would encourage open space conservation.

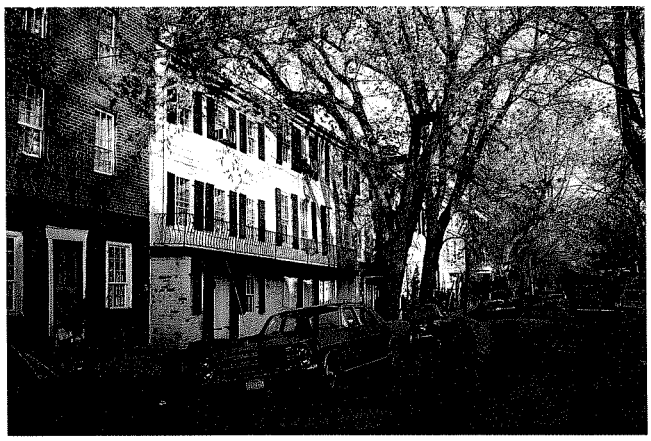
The Deerfield Conference may, in fact, lead to a compact between some of the landowners, though the largest farmer, with holdings in the north meadows, has not yet expressed any interest. A local court, acting on suit filed by Historic Deerfield, enjoined the zoning board to stop a developer with plans for an industrial park on the large acreage south of the condos. The organization asked the developer to meet a requirement of the 1972 state law that an environmental impact statement be filed for the project, and thus delayed any precipitous action. Findings are bearing out the contention that most of this acreage is wetlands, but sentiment among town selectmen and planning board members is still pro-growth.

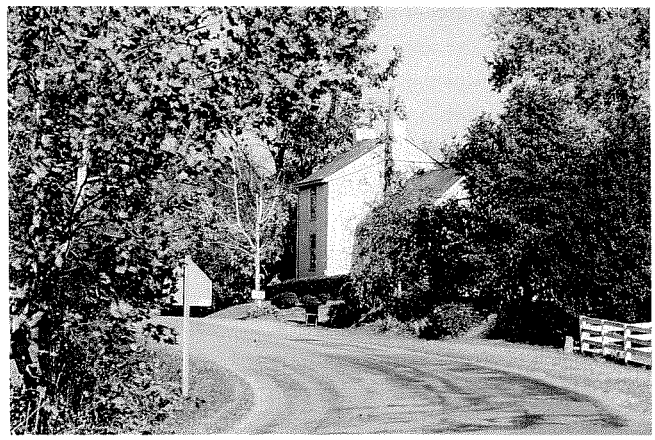
Waterford, Virginia

Waterford, nestled in a bowl of soft hills in western Loudoun County, is approximately an hour's drive from Washington. Its main street of brick, stone, clapboard and log houses reflects 250 years of continuity. Settled by the Quakers, the village is also a National Historic Landmark District with handsome viewsheds of rural landscape from its main street.

The protective Waterford Foundation has sought to acquire easements on buildings since 1944 and more recently on the land in and around the village. But its bucolic setting remains at risk. Even places like this, with constituencies that have cared about them for decades and non-profit foundations to encourage their preservation, find it a full-time chore to remain vigilant.

The Loudoun County supervisors have yet to align the local zoning with a county preservation plan (funded by the

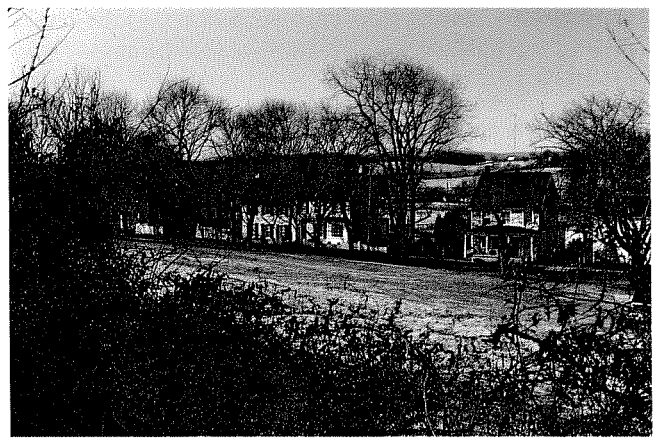












Waterford, Virginia. Towns, fields, forests and creeks combine into an archetypal landscape.

Foundation) that called for limiting development on the five farms that form the viewshed around the village and preserving some of the open space. Meanwhile, as development pressure sparked by Dulles Airport grows, four of the farms are either under contract agreement or for sale.

In September 1988 the National Trust for Historic Preservation put Waterford on its list of the 11 most endangered landmarks, along with old Deerfield, because one these farms (the 77-acre Huntley farm) was finally sold — to a developer who planned 64 houses on pastureland at the east end of the village. After negotiations and national publicity, a compromise was reached in October, 1988. The developer agreed to reduce the number of units in the project to 14, to nestle them in two clusters in woodland that surrounds the



pastures adjacent to the village, and to preserve 55 acres in open viewshed. The Foundation, in exchange, paid the developers $200,000 for the scenic easements; half the money came from the state.

Has Waterford been saved? "Not so," declared Catherine Ladd, executive director of the Foundation:

As the zoning stands today, 292 new structures could be built within the landmark's 1,420 acres, on one to three acres per dwelling unit. This would more than double the current number of structures [110], thereby obliterating the character and integrity of the landmark and causing instant de-designation. We can either fight in court or purchase to own. The county won't downzone as the Waterford Area Management Plan recommends, or extend the local historic district beyond the village to encompass the viewsheds within the National Historic Landmark District because it simply doesn't have the staff, tools and resources to do it.

A year later, in October, 1989, a consortium of 132 Japanese investors acquired the 2,800-acre Firestone Farm, which is just west of the national landmark district and constitutes a major piece of the viewshed, for $26 million. By October, 1990, four new houses were nested on the ridgeline of the Bishop Farm, rising above the village to the east and within the landmark district. And by year's end, the 1,440-acre Hutchison Farm, which includes 300 acres in the northern hillside of the landmark district, came on the market. The land was priced at $10,000 to $13,000 an acre; the Foundation would have needed more than $17 million to acquire the farm. Although a sluggish real estate market has put the sale on



hold, the Hutchisons may begin developing lots themselves to generate income.

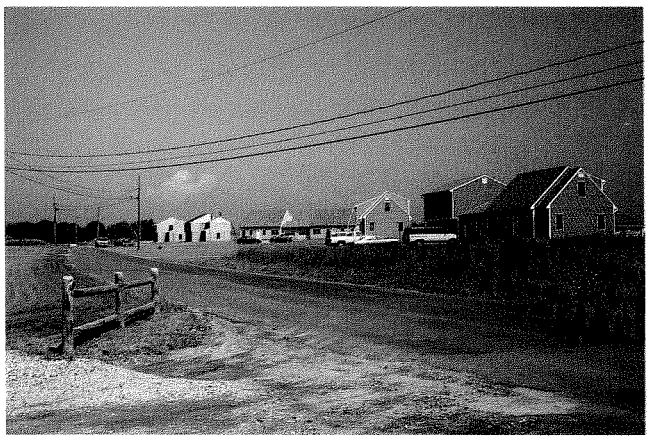
The Foundation's urgent appeals to national conservation groups like the American Farmland Trust went unanswered (except for the possibility of a bridge loan at the prime lending rate) because the land was priced too high. The Trust for Public Land said it might be willing to make a bridge loan if permanent financing were arranged by someone else. But the purchase figure is staggering to the Foundation, strapped as it is by having to buy one large in-town property already and by its struggle to reduce the proposed development on the Huntley Farm. The Waterford Foundation continues to look desperately for sources of money and creative financing options, but so far has had no success.

But thoughtless development ignores this landscape tradition.

This fragile and beautiful place, perhaps the most unspoiled historic village setting near a major metropolitan area, remains in grave peril because there is no apparent political will at the state or county level in Virginia to limit growth effectively — even though roads and sewer systems are inadequate to accommodate it, a majority of the inhabitants of the village do not want it, and it is a county policy to maintain the rural quality of western Loudoun County.

Looking for National Solutions

Once special resources like Deerfield and Waterford are gone, they are gone for all of us. We need to give these places immediate protection as "areas of critical environmental con-



cern" where permits for changes in use, density and design are reviewed. We must allow the broader public interest to prevail where there are values that are identified as of state or national importance, rather than allowing selfishness or short-sightedness to reign.

Reacting to a local planning system that is designed to fail, as Deerfield and Waterford poignantly illustrate, and finding states as yet unprepared to meet the problem, preservationists are increasingly looking for national solutions. They have drafted a National Heritage Conservation Act to protect the context of National Historic Landmarks as well as areas around national parks, monuments and battlefields — the goal that could catalyze a needed land use alliance between those who wish to preserve historic and natural resources.

The strongest version of the bill would allow preservationists to nominate nationally significant properties by petition, require the review of existing National Historic Landmarks so that those that do not meet current criteria for national significance can be taken off the list, and afford stronger and more consistent review of actions by other federal agencies. The Secretary of the Interior would be authorized to enter into preservation agreements with private property owners whose lands are endangered, require a "cooling-off period" before those owners could proceed with development plans, and provide planning grants for local communities. The bill also would provide funds for emergency acquisitions and penalties for "deliberate and knowing" destruction of nationally significant sites. Importantly, it would also provide citizens with the



right to sue the government or the property owner for failure to protect resources.

But the proposed legislation still has a critical weakness: It would grant the federal government authority to negotiate only when there is "owner consent."

If the situations in Deerfield and Waterford have any message, it is that we cannot expect private property owners to preserve and enhance, voluntarily, the character of an area. We cannot count on local land use regulation as a national preservation policy tool. Nor can we rely upon any level of government to pay the enormous quantities of money that these owners claim their property rights are now worth.

American zoning case law provides many precedents for the right of government to reduce the speculative value of

property through regulatory action without paying compensation to the owner. There is no "taking" of property under the Fifth Amendment as long as the owner retains some use and therefore some value in the land. And a more comprehensive accounting of the cost of development would calculate the amount by which public values are diminished if any of these precious lands were developed and their special qualities sacrificed for private gain.[2]

The federal government could prod localities by acknowledging the importance of protecting areas that surround designated "national landmarks." What is the sense of making such a designation if the areas around such sites can be converted to uses that erode the historic character of the sites? We have a very limited and discrete number of National Historic Landmarks, so we ought to require that local land use regulations, particularly zoning, be compatible with the character of these sites and that local actions preserve and enhance that character.

After all, the escalating value of land is the result of many kinds of public decisions and investments — in Deerfield the cornfields are valuable for condo sites because of access to an interstate highway that allows isolated condo owners to commute an hour to jobs as far away as Hartford. In Waterford, part of the value of buying a manorette in the pasture would be the exquisite pleasure of looking at historic Waterford's hard-fought-for investment in a handsomely preserved town.

But it takes a certain courage to downzone — to risk the displeasure of neighbors, or perhaps to deprive a brother-in-law of a job as a contractor. It is questionable whether the town meeting in Deerfield or the Loudoun County supervisors will find that courage or that sustaining wisdom in a majority who makes these decisions, no matter how many public interest consultants come to town to talk about the common good. That is why these issues have to be addressed by other levels of government where a broader review of what constitutes the public interest can prevail.

British land use case law shows how cleverly worded legislation can expand the grounds upon which objectionable projects can be challenged. Obviously, wellcrafted legislation can result in a different flow of court interpretations. The British Town and Country Planning Act of 1971 uses the words "conservation" and "enhancement" together; a recent legal test of this language in a conservation district found a judge denying a building permit while interpreting the word "enhancement" as requiring the evaluation of whether a proposed change in density would enhance the character of a district. This interpretation means that the issues raised by new development would include not only the attractiveness or siting of new development, but whether a change in use or density would damage the very character of a place.[3] One outcome in areas where the survival of rural values are at stake could be limiting the number of houses in a historic village, rather than trying to hide them cleverly in the trees (as a recent award-winning and beautifully illustrated book by the Center for Rural Massachusetts suggests.[4]

Building a Larger Constituency

We must do more than draft legislation. We must build the public and governmental awareness that will result in demands for stronger protective legislation. Certainly, having additional funds for interpreting sites (something that Waterford does now in the old one-room schoolhouse used in the 1880s for the village's African-American children) is essential if preservationists are to build a constituency for major landmark districts. Just as a percentage of public funds is allocated for public art at federal, state and local levels, a percentage of funds should be earmarked for interpreting national historic landmark districts or other critically important sites.

The way to temper resistance is to show the owners what is happening and how rhetoric about property rights is being misused. We need traveling exhibitions that show Congress and state legislatures the visual impacts of defilement and the spiritual desolation that accompanies it.[5] We need to know what is being done elsewhere so we can give state and national legislators a sense of urgency and perspective. Conservatives should want to conserve the values of this country as they are inculcated in the landscape just as much as liberals should.

Preservationists need to orchestrate the creative labors of writers and artists to evoke the values of these places — as Tom Wicker and Russell Baker have done and as Oliver Wendell Holmes did so effectively with his poem about "Old Iron Sides" 150 years ago. This will require conviction, dramatic flair, a precise passion and a comparative command of

the facts — knowing what other countries are doing in order to give Congress a sense of urgency and perspective.

Making sites physically accessible also strengthens and builds the constituency for preserving the character of these areas. The Waterford plan includes an easements program for trails along the creek so that people can walk through the district. Similar ideas have been proposed for Deerfield.

Most preservationists do not understand that by maximizing the pleasure, accessibility, informativeness and attractiveness of historic sites, they can reach the far greater constituency that is not inclined to visit historic sites. State historical commissions, preoccupied with the tedium of listing properties on the National Register and running (usually) individual-building grant-in-aid programs, often suffer from the same single-purpose fixation that afflicts the highway engineers or insurance lawyers.

Preservation advocates at all levels will have to take a more assertive role. Preserving Waterford means going far beyond setting up a National Heritage Education Center in the old village school. If we are to deflate all the flummery about the sanctity of private property rights that masks so much raw greed and stupidity, and with it the erosion of public values in the land, we need to know about the specialness of the Deerfields and the Waterfords, which so palpably evoke the unique contributions, the substantial achivements — even the aesthetic power — of our culture.

We do not want that special experience, that power of place, to be fragmented through the kaleidoscopic views of tract housing or the detritus of the commercial strip. The time for comprehensive preservation legislation is now. It's time to go beyond drafting plans and updating lists of threatened sites; it's time to present our story — the living story of places — to the nation in a dramatic way. The Deerfields and Waterfords of the U.S. cannot wait. Using national authority to defend our national identity does not take away our freedom; it affirms common values, and it is a common-sense response to the paralysis at the local level.

Notes

1. *History of Deerfield, Vol. 1.* (1895), p. 29.

2. Pace University Professor John Humbach, an authority on the "takings" issue of the Fifth Amendment, is quite clear on this. He writes, "No such private sovereignty in the use of land was ever premised in the law, certainly not in the common law.... The claims, moreover, are inconsistent with the social obligation of property that is inherent in the structure of American law." (From "Law and a New Land Ethic," an unpublished essay).

3. Denzil Millichen, "Steinberg and the Importance of Enhancement," *Heritage Outlook* 6:2 (1989).

4. Robert Yaro and Randall Arendt, *Dealing with Change in the Connecticut River Valley: A Manual for Conservation and Development* (Amherst: Center for Rural Massachusetts, 1988).

5. The Townscape Institute, a public interest planning organization, recently organized such an exhibit, entitled *What So Proudly We Hailed.* It visually documents, with 347 photographs and a 14-minute video, the land-use despoilation in and around places like Civil War battlefields, Native American Petroglyphs near Albuquerque and Amish farmlands in Pennsylvania. It also shows alternatives — heritage corridor systems and effective use of design review authority in proposals for the Hudson River Greenway. Co-sponsored by local preservation organizations, it is travelling the country to draw attention to the need for national policy change.

Sorting in Patrick Geddes' Outlook Tower





In 1953, I was offered a small grant to spend three months at the Outlook Tower in Edinburgh, sorting the papers of Patrick Geddes (1834-1932, Scotsman, biologist, geographer, sociologist, regional and city planner, landscape gardener, professor and knight).

Students of city planning pick up a medley of facts about Geddes, one of the founders of our profession:

• He had synoptic vision (call it comprehensive overview plus insight).

• He believed in socio-evolution: Societies with "universal education" would improve their surroundings; these would upgrade society, which would then improve the surroundings, and so on.

• As a young man he had looked down from Kinnoul Hill upon his home town of Perth in the Tay Valley and cried "Eureka," or whatever, "Folk – Work – Place."[1] Geddes' insight on the hill was about the interdependence of city and region: The latter supplied resources, routes and character; the city provided markets, work and services.

• The Outlook Tower was a disused observatory with a camera obscura when Geddes took it over in the 1890s and used it as a center for developing and spreading his ideas.

• Geddes had started the tradition of summer schools in Britain in the 1880s. In the evenings, Geddes' scholars organized entertainments, dressing up and acting historical plays, and inspired him to write *The Masque of Learning*.

• Geddes lectured world-wide, prepared improvement reports and plans for cities in India, designed a university (not built) for the Zionist Commission in Jerusalem and founded the Scots College at Montpelier,

Previous Page:
The Outlook Tower on Edinburgh's skyline. View from Edinburgh Castle.

France, where he spent his last years developing a more elaborate version of the Outlook Tower.

But this portrait has puzzling gaps and questions, upon which my sorting in the Outlook Tower would begin to shed light:

- How could Geddes ride so freely through academic disciplines, as though they were public property?
- I was in planning because towns are where most of us live, decent environments are a civilized idea and the countryside needed protection. But what inspired Geddes?
- What inspired the remarkable people who supported Geddes in his lifetime and those, later in Britain, who were a force in making town planning a public trust?
- Why did Geddes use the Survey Analysis Plan as a formula for city planning, which makes the process sound quick and easy when it is complex, difficult and time consuming? Planners in 1953 had to work for consensus, for example, through interdisciplinary teams comprising local administrators, committee members, powerful developers, the public and civil servants.
- What was the future role of the Outlook Tower?
- Was Geddes' notion about the interdependence of city and region still valid, considering the proliferation of cheap imports and the new, light, footloose industries?

A visitor arriving in Edinburgh in the 1950s would have walked from Waverley Station (center) to Princes Street (right), an elegant, one-sided shopping street in the city's New Town. Photo courtesy Frederic Lewis.





Sketch of the Outlook Tower. From Patrick Geddes, *Cities in Evolution*.

Arrival

In the autumn of 1953, a traveler arriving in Edinburgh off the night train ate an early breakfast in Waverley Station, climbed the steps against a brisk wind off the Forth ("one overcoat colder" than London as the Scots like to say) and reached Princes Street, the most elegant eighteenth-century, one-sided shopping street in Europe. From this south edge of the New Town, built along an east–west ridge, shoppers could look across the Nor' Loch (a glacial lake now drained and planted as a park) to the Old Town on a higher, steep-sided, east–west ridge. From the castle, on a volcanic crag at the west end of the ridge, to Holyrood Palace at the bottom, the buildings on the Royal Mile ran down along streets named Castlehill, Lawnmarket, High Street and Canongate.

An empty space, the parade ground, separates the castle from the first buildings on Castlehill; in the next block is the Outlook Tower, capped by a small dome rising above close-packed roofs, dwarfed by the spire of Tolbooth St. John's church farther down the street. The Outlook Tower is a six- and seven-story building; the crenellated parapet roof has projecting corner turrets and a domed octagonal tower on top. The first four floors had been part of two seventeenth-century town houses on narrow lots. The upper floors and the tower were added in the mid-nineteenth century when the town houses were made into an observatory.

Waiting at the door when I arrived was Eric Stevenson, a towering, fair-haired man, architect and senior planner at the Scottish Office. He was administering the Forbes Trust grants for Lady Whitson, my sponsor. I followed Stevenson fast up steep stone stairs to the Tower's battlements, from which one could see Edinburgh spreading from the Pentland Hills north, over crags, troughs, valleys and the coastal plain to the Firth of Forth, a wildly romantic site.

The camera room in the octagon under the dome had a large, round table that was slightly dished in the center and occupied most of the room. Stevenson explained that a helicopter view of the city and the region could be projected onto the table and rotated; the Tower had been used by several groups during the recent Edinburgh Festival and the camera obscura had been very popular. He did not give a demonstration.

I had expected the Tower would be a workshop like Henry Ford's bicycle shed or Madame Curie's laboratory, but not much evidence remained from the Geddes era except the names of the large space on each floor: Edinburgh Room at the top, the World at the bottom. The only visible reminders of a Festival exhibition that had been in the Edinburgh room were browned photographs and engravings on the walls. A small side room had

PLACE (Geography)	place-WORK	place-FOLK
work-PLACE	WORK (Economics)	work-FOLK
folk-PLACE	folk-WORK	FOLK (Anthropology)

feeling-SENSE	feeling-EXPERIENCE	FEELING
experienced-SENSE	EXPERIENCE	experienced-FEELING
SENSE	sensed-EXPERIENCE	sensed-FEELING

A collection of Geddes images: (Top) Geddes' synoptic PLACE - WORK - FOLK relationship depicted as a matrix. (Bottom) Geddes' "Valley Section" is an icon depicting the interrelatedness of an urban area and its surroundings. (Opposite page) Cover of a literary magazine published by Geddes and his associates.

been used during the Festival as a stained glass artist's studio; tall, dark cupboards obscured the light and large glass pieces, difficult to move. This room had the air of a church vestry, an identity, in comparison to all the other spaces, except for a so-called kitchen (off what had been the Festival tea-room) that had a gas stove and a full bath in it.

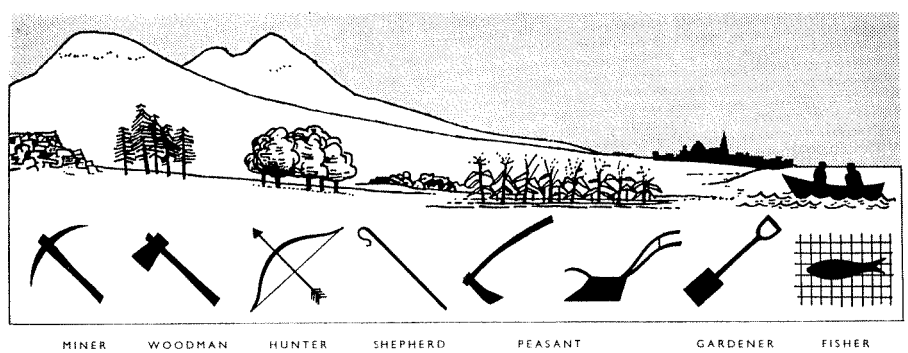
Some of the Festival groups seemed to have left in a hurry, but the place was clean. Floors were covered with linoleum, the rough walls and ceilings with thin paper. The Scotland Room (beneath the Edinburgh Room) had a true-to-scale map of the country painted on the floor. Next below, the English Speaking Countries and the British Empire room was filled with boxes of papers and books on shelves. My workroom.

Stevenson gave me his office telephone number (the Tower had no phone) and some bulky keys, apologized for rushing off, shook hands and left. He had not explained what "sorting" meant.

I went over the premises again. I checked the locks on basement doors and windows, and the gas-taps, cleaned up in the makeshift kitchen (noting a mousetrap in a corner) and examined the views from my workroom windows. The front one looked into a stone canyon, Castlehill; the side one looked across Ramsay Lane, over a flat roof that might have been a covered reservoir and past Ramsay Garden (a block of apartments built as a Geddes initiative) to the parade ground and the castle. There was no desktop working space except a small desk, and there were no tables. I collected chairs from other floors and arranged them around the desk in a half circle, decided to work English hours (one o'clock lunch), opened the first box and dropped into the nineteenth century.

Sorting

The jumble of papers in the box was of all kinds, all sizes; bound, loose, written, typed, printed; magazines, faded photographs, books. First I took out



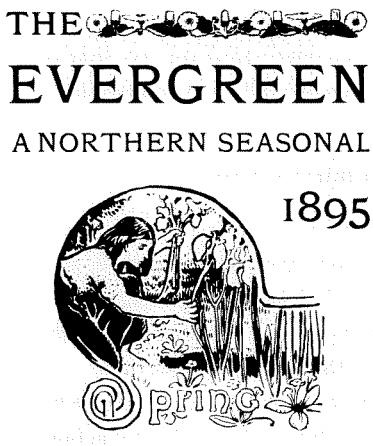
the regional and city planning items: surveys, reports, diagrams, plans for cities in several countries; material from the second traveling International Town Planning Exhibition (the first was sunk by enemy action in World War I in the Indian Ocean); reprints of Geddes articles in professional journals; his book, *The Evolution of Cities*, and other books in the natural sciences, written with J. Arthur Thomson.

Then the art section. Arts and Crafts Movement; Art Nouveau; the Celtic Revival; old Gaelic songs collected from the Highlands and Island by Mrs. Kennedy Fraser; copies of *The Evergreen*, a prose and poetry quarterly, on thick, rough paper, published by Geddes and colleagues — there were only four numbers. Pictures of Pre-Raphaelite women and Rennie Mackintosh's School of Art, and his Tearooms in Glasglow.

Discovery! If the formula for a synoptic view of a city is FOLK – WORK – PLACE, then WORK means all activities, including the arts and crafts. The full formula is then: FOLK⇌ ACTIVITIES ⇌ PLACE ⇌ CULTURE, or CIVILIZATION.

How to sort the nineteenth century philosophers? A natural dividing line was the 1858-59 intellectual earthquake, when Charles Darwin and Alfred Wallace together read their theories of the evolution of species (independently conceived) before the Linnaean Society in London, then published them. (Geddes was 25.) The great Germans who founded modern geography — Immanuel Kant, von Humboldt and his student Carl Ritter — had finished their work before the earthquake. And by that time Auguste Comte (a name occurring often in the Tower — as a young man Comte had been secretary to the utopian Claude Henri de Rouvroy, Comte de St. Simon) already had established a systematic social science, calling it sociology. He held that social phenomena can be scientifically described and that social science should be used in guiding sound social planning.

So by the time Darwin and Wallace's theories were published, the ground had been prepared for those who followed: the Alsatian René Durkheim; the Frenchmen Le Play,



Demolins and Vidal de la Blache; Elisée Reclüs, a Belgian trained in Germany; and in England John Stuart Mill, John Ruskin, the Fabians and socialists, and Karl Marx. The air, as Linnaeus had said about insect hunters (a century ago in Latin), was full of talk. The earthquake had uncovered exciting new territory, which the philosophers were preparing to map and stake out.

Herbert Spencer's name was conspicuous among the papers, and difficult to catalogue. He treated all sciences as common ground, anticipated Darwin's theory of evolution and coined the saying "survival of the fittest." Then Prince Kropotkin, a geographer, revolutionary, veteran of a Cossack regiment in Siberia and also a conservationist! Kropotkin, from his observations of mutual aid among higher animals, held that the Sociological Darwinists' justification of human greed, based on survival of the fittest, was wrong.

The road to the Ideal City did not run straight through the social sciences, apparently; it looped through natural science. For us working in 1953 in the planning department of a large city, nature impinged only during the week as parks and landscape, greenbelts far out, weather so foul we could not go on survey and biology at evening classes. The region, where you walked on weekends, was someone else's responsibility.

I has assumed that Geddes was Professor of Botany at Dundee for pragmatic reasons, but this short-sighted view changed at the Outlook Tower. It seemed that Thomas Henry Huxley (1825-95) was the key to the question of what inspired Geddes. Huxley was a natural scientist, philosopher and educator who believed in educating the whole individual. Age 35 when *The Origin of Species* was published, he defended it publicly against dissenting scientists and churchmen, opposed Victorians who quoted "Survival of the fittest" to justify greed and worked to apply Darwin's theory in the new science, which the German Ernst Haeckel had named "Ecology" in 1869.

As a first-year student, Geddes had abandoned botany in Edinburgh after one week and gone to unusual lengths to join Huxley's five-month intensive course in natural science at the Royal School of Mines in London; he was inspired and convinced by Huxley.[2]

It seems possible that Geddes built his theory of socio-evolution on the

ecological principle of progression, which would have been known to him and to Huxley before it became authorized writ. This principle holds that certain plants and animals live together in communities in certain places (children know which they are and where to find them); in time, these communities change (pioneer plants on disused farmland, for instance, give way to more mature species, then scrub, then trees); and at each stage, the sitting tenants improve conditions for their successors. This principle, combined with the possibilities suggested in the Theory of Evolution (and Geddes' belief in *universal* education as a factor in social evolution) could explain Geddes' optimism and his ability to persuading others to join him in the drive toward Ideal Cities.

But the prospects for building Ideal Cities were not encouraging. In Britain Geddes had little or no official support; the public did not assume responsibility for planning cities until 1947. In Geddes' time, a newly formed local government network had barely managed to take over the public workhouses, the sewers and the cleaning of town streets.

Reform work meant private means. Octavia Hill, in her efforts to improve the miserable conditions of the working classes, was being encouraged and partly financed by Ruskin, Cadbury and Lever; other enlightened industrialists had built civilized housing for their workers, who then did better work. Ebenezer Howard, in his spare time, was devising principles for garden cities which would be built on green sites, privately financed.

Geddes, a prophet, preacher, planning consultant and builder with entire old towns and cities as his subject, was supported by a few life-long friends, a changing band of young enthusiasts and convincible local philanthropists. He kept clear of political and religious groups. He joined only those voluntary organizations that he could lead and when they ceased to attract support, or the members split on basic issues, he moved on — the choice of routes to socio-evolution was wide. His aims were never quite clear to others because his vision was continuously evolving as he synthesized ideas from observations and experiences, in light of philosophical theories appearing on both sides of the Atlantic. It was Geddes' vision and his drive that attracted and held his supporters.

The Improvements

Interruption. At one o'clock every day, the castle gun fired and shook the windows. Edinburghers checked their watches, and I went out to enjoy the Old Town and check on the Improvements. Geddes had returned to Scotland in the 1880s to be botany demonstrator in Edinburgh and lecturer in natural history in the School of Medicine. The university was in the Old Town, which was was an overcrowded, overbuilt and unsanitary place: shabby, congested, slummy and breathtaking, with fine fifteenth- to eighteenth-century buildings combining Scottish engineering skills and French flair.

The Old Town had been built originally so that Scottish nobles could live near the court and its French connections. From the main axis along the back of the ridge, long thin lot lines at right angles, like a fringe, ran down the slopes; these narrow sites were permanent under Scots law whereby land was not sold to developers but leased in perpetuity at a fixed rent with binding conditions. As a result, the aristocrats' houses along the Royal Mile were built very tall and deep and as the population grew, courts appeared on the backlands — dark six-story canyons with two extra stories on the lower slopes.

Around 1800, wealthy families began moving across the Nor' Loch to the New Town, leaving the historic center to rot. By the time Geddes returned, the Town Council had passed an Improvement Act and divided the old town into Improvement Areas.

Geddes and his new wife, Anna Morton, both already involved in the Improvement cause, created a sensation by settling in an apartment in a slum tenement in James Court. They were given the Lawnmarket Area to improve, in a remarkably loose arrangement, apparently unfinanced. They restored their apartment and with the help of friends and eager students, went on to buy and restore others in the building and then other tenements, which became halls of residence for university students. Meanwhile, Geddes undertook the building of Ramsay Garden, a highly romantic apartment group alongside the Castle Esplanade, intended as a town and gown hall of residence and flats.

Keele

Stevenson had told me there was material in other places where Geddes had worked. The aim was to bring as much of it as possible into the Tower. Records from Geddes' association with the British Sociological Society had been moved from London during World War II to the home of the retired secretary in the Midlands, and they were being passed on to the University of Keele. Steven-son asked me to visit these two places.

I went down to the Midlands, first to the small market town of Ledbury

and the home of Alexander Farquharson, who had worked with Geddes and Branford in London for years as secretary of the Sociology Society. Mrs. Farquharson showed me a tea chest with about 10 cubic feet of loose papers in it that had been collected from one of their London buildings during World War II, I think she said after it had been bombed. The Farquharsons had several similar chests and were sorting and passing the papers on to the university; some had already gone but the work was slow.

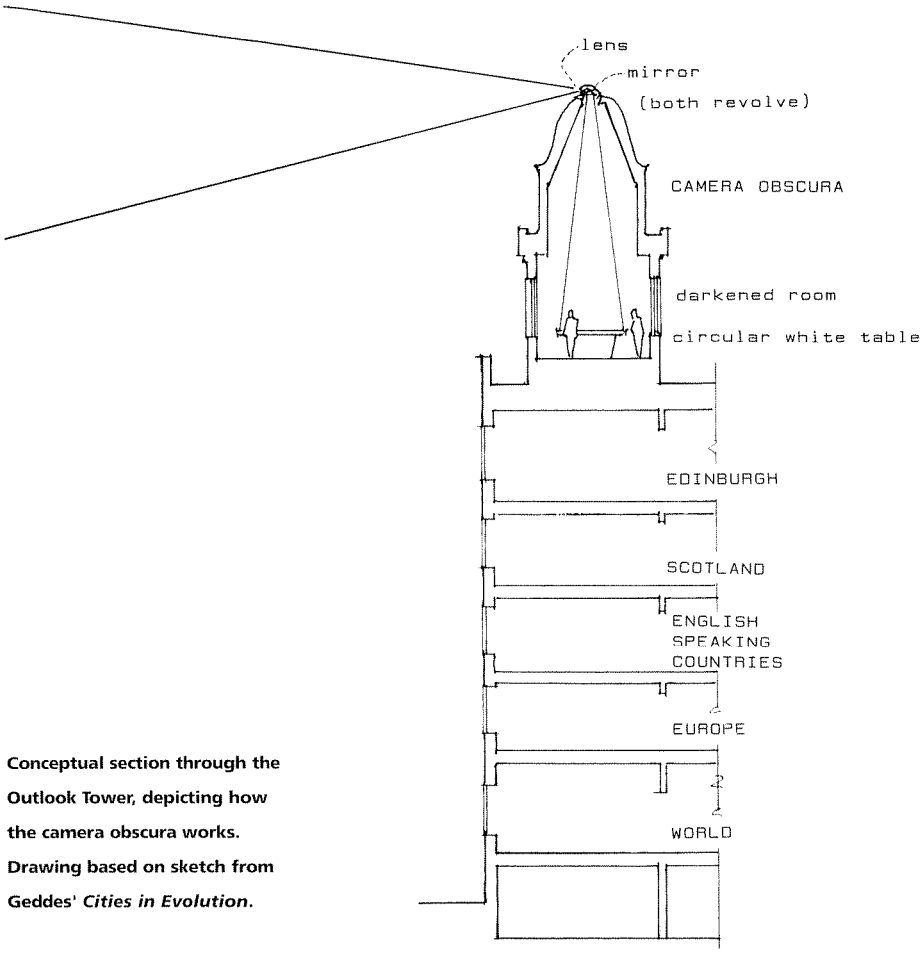
At Keele a librarian showed me, in a dark passage, a row of tea chests with the familiar mix-up of papers. I asked how they were going to catalogue them and she said they were waiting for someone to be appointed to do the work. It might take a year or more.

The Midlands trip settled two queries. First, the curious response of social scientists when asked for advice. For example, architects working under pressure on a public housing scheme ask scientists whether main doors should be placed to face across a street or be staggered to avoid housewives confronting each other. One scientist says, "We haven't done our research on that one yet. Sorry." Another says the same and goes on to give all the advice she can from her experience.

British sociologists apparently were divided between purists, who saw soicety as research material (they quoted Comte, one of the nineteenth-century founders of the discipline, who wrote, "social phenomena can be sci-

The view from the Outlook Tower. Photo courtesy Peter Hall.





Conceptual section through the Outlook Tower, depicting how the camera obscura works. Drawing based on sketch from Geddes' *Cities in Evolution*.

entifically observed and reduced to laws") and those who thought "social science should be used in improving the human condition" (also quoting Comte). Like the latter, Geddes put need ahead of purity and used his experience, *faute de mieux*.

The second point was the role of an Outlook Tower. At Keele, Geddes would be catalogued as a sociologist; in the university records at St. Andrews and Edinburgh and at the Roscoff Marine Station, he would be considered a biologist. In our profession, he was a regional and city planner. The Synthesizer was being taken apart. *An outlook tower is a symbol of synthesis.*

Boys

Arriving in Edinburgh off the night train, sky shining, wind fresh, it was wonderful to be back! I took a flag out of the theatricals chest and out onto the battlements and hauled it up. A blast sent it rattling and slapping across the street, over the roofs, halfway to St. John's steeple before I could haul it back. Celebration postponed.

An English friend who was subsidizing my grant with home comforts had four boys. Would they like to visit the Tower to see the camera obscura? They came, ate rolls with soft drinks, climbed to the battlements, checked the view and went into the octagon.

Working the camera obscura was more or less like milking a cow in a cinema. The boys were surprised to see on the table cars scuttling along Princes Street, the castle rock with the city wrapped around it, grey terraces stretching to the Forth, the Fife mountains beyond, more terraces rotating to Arthur's Seat and Calton Hill. After identifying their school they were eager to explore the tower.

An acquaintance who had been passing on Castlehill at the time said afterwards she thought school classes were rehearsing historical plays: Campbells trouncing McDonalds, Scots trouncing English, Members of the government fighting the opposition on the floor of the House, rich fighting poor, private interests fighting public, nature fighting the unnatural, giant firms fighting planners... . The one o'clock cannon exploded, the tumult stopped, boys tore downstairs, shook hands, thanked me for a super time and vanished. For boys, as for George Bernard Shaw, every drama must present a conflict; society and the city are a battleground, naturally.

By degrees, the British public had been making itself more responsible for city planning. Legislative changes in 1947 gave local authorities control over construction and over major changes in the use of (for the first time) *all* land in the country, except war department land and farms and forests remaining intact. (Property owners who lost value as a result could claim compensation up to a set date.)

But for city hall to exercise its power responsibly, the public must be fully informed, using Geddes' terms, about the folk, place and work (activities) that together equal culture. Local government departments have in their files comprehensive information — surveys — of their area made by qualified teams for staff and elected members to use. For practical reasons, this mass of documents is not generally available to the public.

At the Outlook Tower, the Geddes group had made its own place where citizens could study themselves and their culture in detail. At times it is still that kind of place, when Edinburgers fill it with their festival, when boys find their school with the camera obscura. The work of researching and presenting survey material was then and is now a learning process.

The public today could make its own surveys — children, college students, voluntary societies and retired groups could do the work with professional guidance. The Outlook Tower, then, was and should be a place for working on data, for filing and exhibiting it for debate and discussion. It needs meeting rooms and a cafe.

Meanwhile at city hall today the modern departments are analyzing and correlating their survey data — diagnosing problems, shortages, injustices, past failures, needs; noting trends, potentials and resources unused; then hammering out, coordinating policies and plans for the city and its people for the next few years. The mechanisms whereby citizens in a democracy are systematically involved in this hammering process are not yet worked out. When they are, the words "outlook tower" in a city might symbolize the public's place in that process.

Mice

The sorting went on and overnight the temperature dropped to three overcoats colder in the Tower. I thought I must stop work or get permission to install some kind of heating. Meanwhile, a ragged hole had appeared in the thin paper covering the workroom ceiling, as though it had been hit by a tall lance. I searched the building; nothing was out of place. Then a heater arrived and it worked.

I went back to sorting and after some time had an eerie feeling I was not alone. At a respectful distance in the half-circle of warmth on the floor sat two mice. They were cold and hungry, and probably had come into the Tower to scavenge crumbs. They were trying to eat old paste on the ceiling paper when one fell through.

The mice and I were the only living creatures in this place. We were relatives from way back — family, more or less. Paper-eating mice are a problem and I was responsible for the Geddes papers, but murder was not in my contract. I could trap them live and ask the Edinburgh zoo (early landscaping by Geddes' daughter, Lady Mears) to keep them. The zoologists there did not study house mice.

Two years later, as a planner in the Scottish office, I would have telephoned the Edinburgh Nature Conservancy down the street about the mice. A scientist would have said, (they almost always did) "We haven't done research on that one yet," and go on to make practical, ecologically sound suggestions. It was not their job to give civil servants informal advice, but they were responsible people.

Geddes might have found a role for the mice in the same spirit as he recognized and promoted the street sweepers in India — he gave them a place in the civic street processions and plots of land on which in rotation they composted street sweepings and grew vegetables.

House mice suggest the connection between zoologists and sociologists: Society is not exempt from natural laws; our town is a product of raw materials — the stones in the streets, our food, our energy, brains and beauty. Cities and regions are still interdependent even though the scale has changed; our region may be the planet and our cities, following Geddes, may be Madras, Jerusalem, or New York. We are working, heaven help us, on the science of civilization.

The Outlook Tower may be a metaphor for intellectual co-operation, or it may be a center set up by the people of a city/region for learning, teaching and debating, with information lines to all other institutions in the area but independent — a center for exchanging ideas and intentions about the community, the place and the future, so that elected representatives have a clearer idea of what they represent. An Outlook Tower, you might say, is another step on the way to improving the design of democracy.

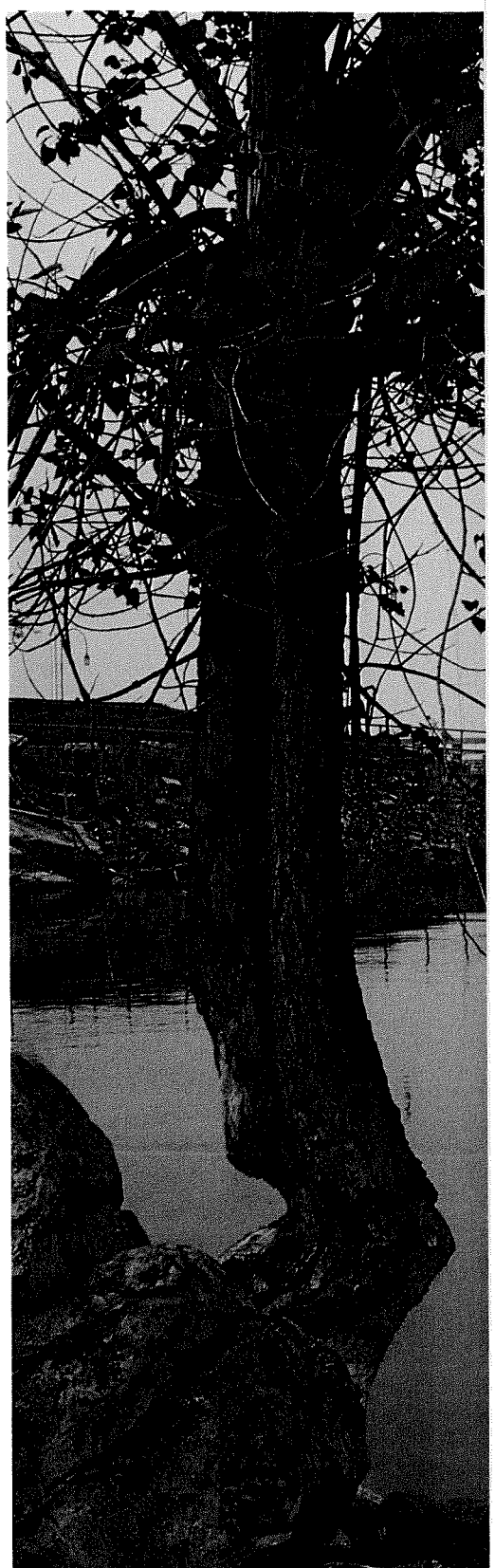
Notes

1. False. It was Le Play, an engineer, economist and sociologist, who coined the saying "*Lieu Travail Famille*"; Geddes adapted it in his acrostic-type thinking devices and in his lectures as, depending on the audience, "Place Work Folk," "Environment Function Organism," or "Geography Economics Anthropology."

2. After leaving London, Geddes continued research in the natural sciences. He wrote and lectured on biology throughout his life and with J. Arthur Thomson produced several books: The first, *The Evolution of Sex*, caused a sensation in 1889; the last, *Life: Outlines of General Biology*, was published in 1931.

3. An execllent biography with full bibliographic lists is Helen Miller, *Patrick Geddes, Social Evolutionist and City Planner* (London: Routledge, 1990). Guides to Edinburgh architecture are C. McKean, *Edinburgh: An Illustrated Architectural Guide* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1983) and Gifford, McWilliams, Walker and Wilson, *The Buildings of Scotland, Edinburgh* (New York: Penguin, 1985).

The People's Waterfront of Burlington



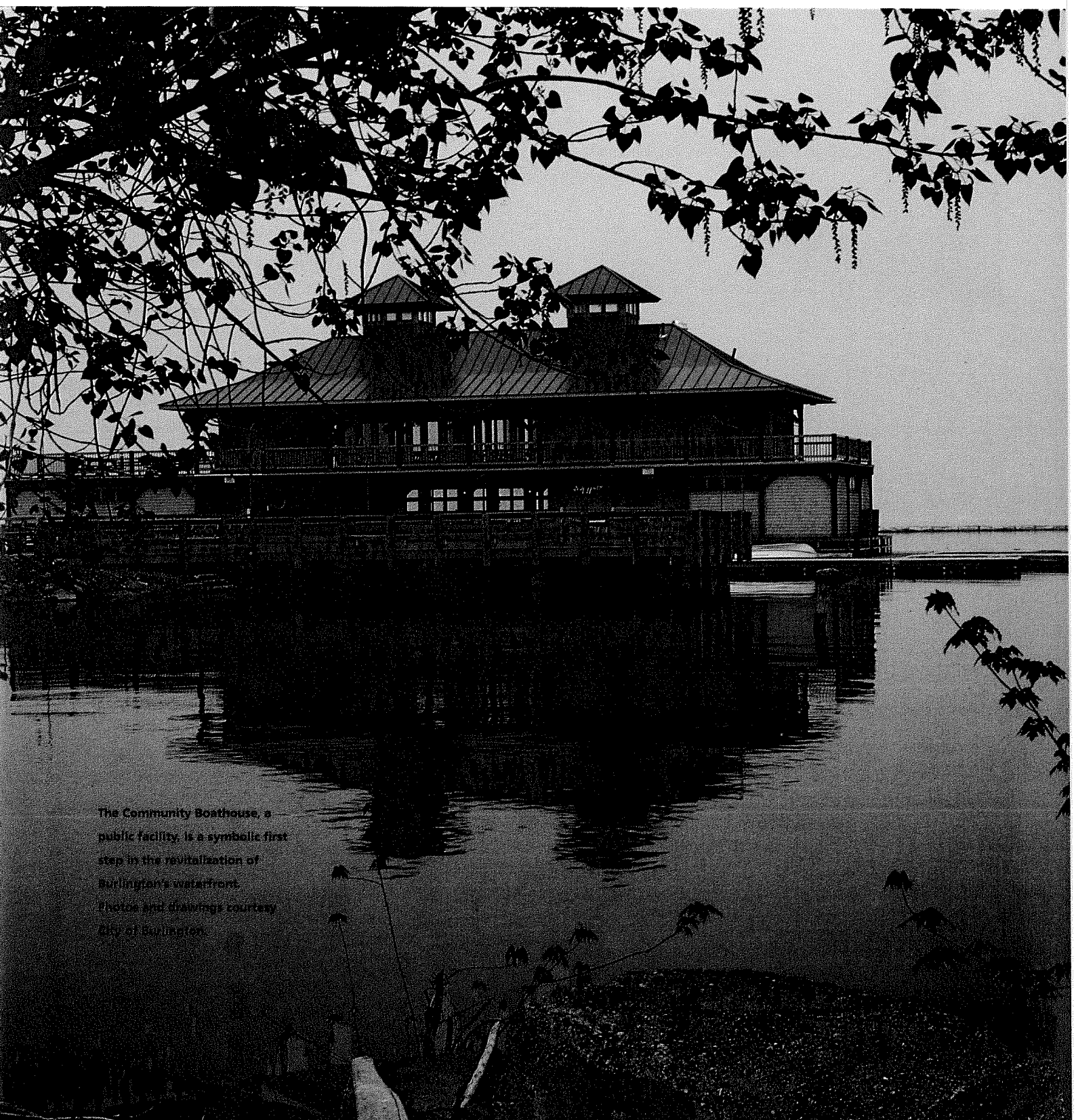
There's an old Vermont saying, "If you don't like the weather here, just wait five minutes." The story of the Burlington, Vermont's downtown waterfront might be described with a different twist: "If you don't like this run-down waterfront, just wait 20 years."

Burlington is Vermont's largest city, a regional center in northwestern Vermont for education, finance, health care and law. The city rises up a hill toward the east away from Lake Champlain, one of the largest fresh water lakes in the United States.

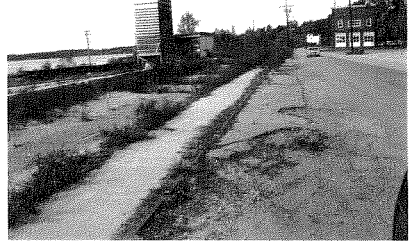
The waterfront dominated the city's economic base for almost a century. Burlington was once the third largest lumber port in North America, and the city's hill section boasts some magnificent homes built in the late 1800s with high-quality woods.

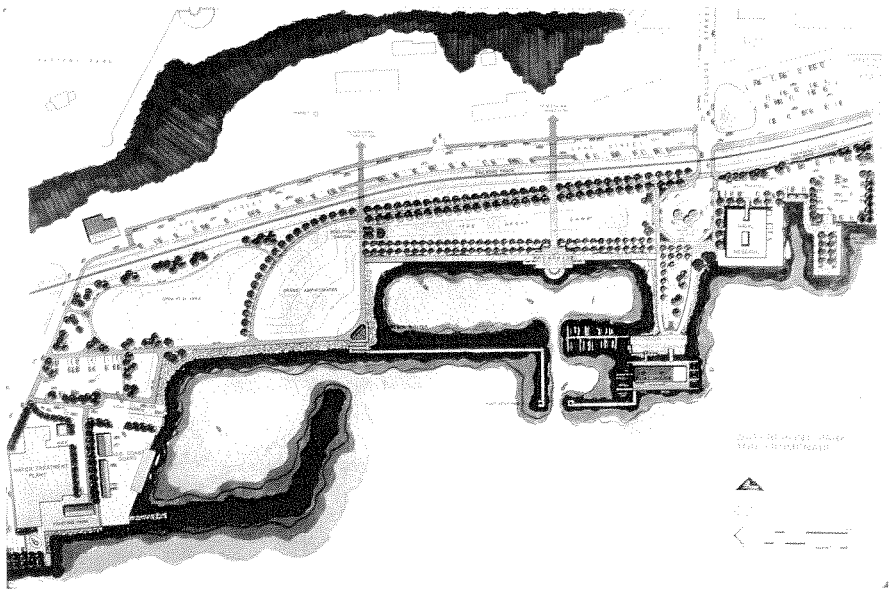
But the waterfront's importance began to fade in the 1950s and 1960s. With the growth of high-tech manufacturing firms like IBM (which started its Burlington operation in 1957) and the diminishing importance of shipping and railroading, Burlington, not uncharacteristically for a U.S. city in mid-century, turned its back on its waterfront. What was once a bustling economic center gradually evolved into a kind of off-limits zone of railyards, oil tanks and junk yards. Jobs were few, public access was severely restricted and visitors tended to view the magnificent sunsets from the hill rather than from the water's edge.

In 1973, hoping to make the waterfront more attractive, city leaders passed zoning ordinances that gave property owners until 1993 to remove oil tanks and other structures that were deemed unsightly. At the same time, the city was pursuing waterfront urban renewal projects that resulted in the demolition of some 200 homes and 40 small busi-



The Community Boathouse, a public facility, is a symbolic first step in the revitalization of Burlington's waterfront. Photos and drawings courtesy City of Burlington.





The waterfront as it appears now, and a concept plan approved by voters in March.

nesses. The goal of these actions was to provide better prospects for private sector development, such as luxury condominiums, offices and general commercial and retail space, along the city's waterfront.

But the redevelopment plans that were proposed in the 1970s and 1980s all failed. Triad Inc. of Montreal proposed a 10-acre, $22 million residential and commercial project in 1978 but could not obtain financing. Burlington developer Antonio Pomerleau took over Triad's proposal in 1979, but could not win federal assistance. Heavy public opposition contributed to the demise of another Pomerleau proposal for a $35 million hotel, marina, condominium and retail project in 1980. (The debate at the time was whether a miniscule quarter-acre of parkland, which would have been donated by the developer, would close at sunset or 10 p.m.)

In 1981, the political landscape of Burlington and Vermont changed with the election of Bernard Sanders, an avowed democratic socialist, as mayor by 10 votes. Sanders had campaigned in part on the theme "The Waterfront Is Not For Sale," and it struck a resounding chord with voters.

As the director of Burlington's Community and Economic Development office under Mayor Sanders, I worked with him to promote a vision of a waterfront that would be accessible and affordable to all. Our goal was to provide generous uninhibited public access to the shoreline and public activities that would not require people to have a lot of money to enjoy.

The Sanders Administration was closely involved in the creation of the next master plan for waterfront revitalization. We worked with a local couple, Paul and Lisa Flinn, who had acquired control of key parcels. In 1984 their firm, the Alden Waterfront Corp., came forward with a $100-million, mixed-use concept that would have taken 10 years to build.

The Alden proposal would have included almost six acres for parks as well as promenades, a boathouse, an art center, public marina, a maritime museum and affordable housing. It also would have included a five-story, 100-room inn on the shore, retail and office space, and 300 units of market-rate housing. There was a strong public presence in the discussion of the proposal; more than 1,000 people came out for different Neighborhood Planning Assembly reviews.

The city applied for, but did not receive, a $23 million Urban Development Action Grant to support the project. Then we sought the voters' approval to issue $6 million in general obligation bonds, which would have been used to help pay for the project's infrastructure and would have been paid back from tax-increment revenues. In exchange for this financial support, the city would have received significant concessions from the devel-

opers, including a share of future positive cash flow. But the bond proposal did not work, either. Although it won approval from 55 percent of the voters in a December, 1985, election, Burlington's charter requires a two-thirds vote of support for a general obligation bond.

City officials stepped back to evaluate why the people of Burlington rejected the bond issue. One factor was an unresolved legal issue, which the city had been pursuing at the same time, involving the ownership of much of the land along the shore. In the late 1800s the Vermont Legislature deeded 30 acres of filled lands to the Central Vermont Railroad Co. with the provision that the property be used only for railroad purposes. The city was pressing to see whether that land, which the city did not believe was being used for railroad purposes any longer, could be returned to public.

Another factor was that some people saw the city's financial support as a subsidy for luxury development. Others thought there was not enough parkland and open space (even though the 25-acre project would have included six acres of parks); some environmentalists did not want to see any development along the waterfront.

Whatever the specific reasons, the bottom line was clear: The people of Burlington wanted a better waterfront.

A New Vision Develops

After the bond issue was defeated, the developers began selling off parcels to recover some of their losses and the railroad began drafting its own development plans for its substantial land holdings on the waterfront.

We in city government decided to move quickly in a number of areas. We asked the Vermont courts to settle a

Axioms for a Public Waterfront

I have been intimately involved in waterfront development and revitalization for almost a decade. What have I learned? The lessons are many and we still have some challenges ahead of us. Here are a few ideas I would like to share.

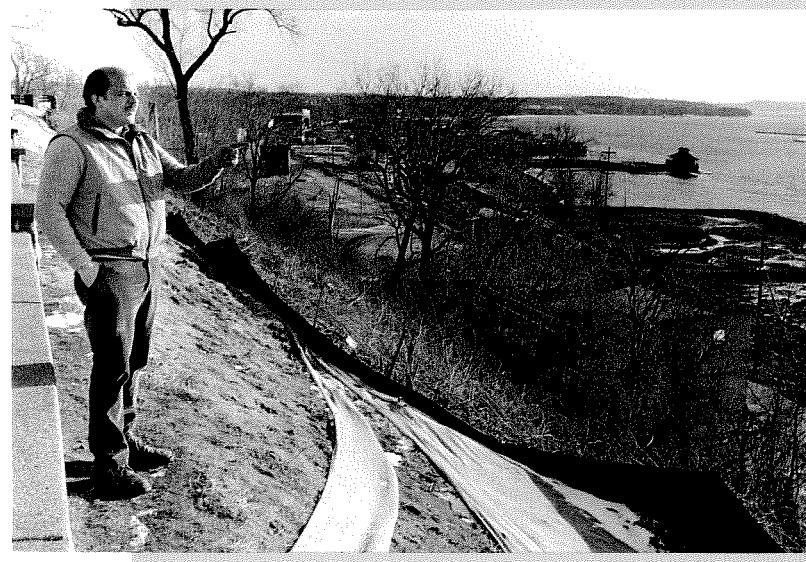
A large project with only one developer is not always wise. Burlington's beautiful, historic downtown was built piece by piece by many people. That decentralized approach has been our tradition. We have had little experience, and little success, with large-scale projects pioneered by one firm or one vision. We are letting waterfront development evolve, letting it proceed in several small stages and promoting balanced, incremental development.

Access to the water's edge must be a condition for any development. Access must be defined well; it must be forever. You will probably have to fight to get it, but do not compromise.

Political consensus is very important in developing the waterfront. Consensus is hard to create. You must pay attention to the range of constituencies in the community, particularly those interested in the environment and architectural heritage. You must pay attention to the impacts development will have on neighborhoods, especially lower-income ones.

Waterfronts cannot compete with downtown, nor can they ignore it. You must build strong links between the two. Waterfronts can serve as an anchor for downtown it if is nearby, and public investment on the waterfront can attract visitors to downtown.

Look to the past for design help. Our vanished waterfront district did not include many historic



Mayor Clavelle surveys the site.

buildings, but we have borrowed a lot from those that did exist. Our Community Boathouse design was selected after a design competition; the winning architect simply mimicked the design of the previous boathouse. People feel very comfortable with it, they feel that it is theirs.

Focus on neighborhoods near the waterfront. In Burlington, we cannot have success on the waterfront if revitalization causes nearby residents and businesses to be displaced.

Create the public spaces, the streets and parks, first. Design begins right at the street. The street pattern will segment the project and control its scale.

Create housing for a range of incomes. In Burlington, we must overcome the perception that there should not be housing on the waterfront because if there were, it would be exclusive.

Transportation and parking issues can be killers. You should maximize the use of precious waterfront land for public uses and commercial areas that are pedestrian-friendly. We have promoted many ideas about how to do this. One is to create an "urban chair lift," an enclosed gondola that would deliver up to 1,800 people per hour to the waterfront from parking areas near an interstate highway connection two miles east.

Own the land yourself. Traditional land use regulations can protect your natural resources, but if the land is really important to you, find a way to own it outright.

Avoid the temptation of doing it all now. We want to create an urban reserve of property on the waterfront. Future generations will decide how to use it; they will debate the issues, generate the controversy and have the fun and excitement we have had.

Above all, be patient.

— Peter Clavelle



An earlier proposal for Burlington's waterfront.

long-standing legal dispute. Specifically, had the railroad abandoned the land? If so, shouldn't the land revert to state ownership?

We rewrote the zoning for the waterfront. The City Council unanimously passed new standards for building heights, density, park space, open space, view protection and allowable uses. One of the regulations (passed in 1989) was an inclusionary zoning ordinance that requires at least 25 percent of any waterfront housing project to be affordable housing.

We adopted an official map of the area and began to plan for public improvements, commissioning an infrastructure study for the area.

Finally, we began investing in publicly owned facilities to meet public demand and to serve as a catalyst for future private sector development.

Bike Trails, Parks, a Boathouse and More

In 1988, we completed a nine-mile-long bike path along the waterfront, much of it on inactive railroad rights-of-way. This is an astounding recreational resource, more popular today than many of us dreamed it would be when we began the first sections of it a decade ago. The trail was opposed by property owners; one legal challenge made it to the U.S. Supreme Court. The city won its case in 1989 and in the process strengthened the constitutionality of the rails-to-trails statute.

We expanded and improved our parks along the entire waterfront, using annual capital improvements money and special funding. In March, 1987, voters approved a bond for park improvements and the construction of a $1 million Community Boathouse, which was built on a barge that was towed from Texas to Burlington and



The Boathouse provides activities that are affordable and accessible to a large number of Burlington residents.

which serves as an anchor and an inspiration for waterfront development. The Boathouse features a restaurant, meeting space, and marine-type concessions such as boat and SCUBA rentals, and was opened on July 4, 1988.

In November, 1988, voters approved $2 million for purchasing some of the railroad land near the Boathouse and turning it into a waterfront park. Even though we had not yet secured title to the property, we immediately began planning and designing the park.

The debate on the park was over a fundamental issue: Should it be urban or should it be left as a natural area? The Green Party, actually a small group of people, felt the park should be left in a natural state. Sentiment for a "passive" urban park prevailed. Interest in the park (to be opened this summer) remains high; more than 150 people showed up at a meeting to discuss where the trees should be planted.

We finally were able to acquire the park site last summer after resolving the legal issue regarding land ownership and intense negotiations with the railroad over approximately 45 acres of its undeveloped waterfront land.

The Vermont Supreme Court ruled in 1989 that yes, the public could become owners of the lands deeded by the state legislature to the railroad if the land were no longer used for railroading purposes. It was a major victory, but the Court left unresolved a basic question: Had the railroad abandoned the land? We were still facing several years of litigation.

The city, the state and the railroad opted to settle our differences out of court. We negotiated a deal last summer that gave the city immediate access to the 11 acres we had designated for the waterfront park, at a price of $250,000. We also gained an option to purchase an additional 45 acres of railroad property by the end of 1991.

Based on this agreement, city voters approved a "concept plan" for the waterfront last November. The 10-year plan includes an indoor recreation center, a transportation center, human-scaled commercial and retail buildings on privately held land, an environmental research center, performing arts spaces and an "urban reserve" of land that would not be developed.

This March, the voters approved a measure to issue up to $1 million in bonds to acquire the additional railroad property (which could cost up to $1.96 million). They also approved spending $1.9 million to acquire land and a building used by the U.S. Naval Reserve — a key site just south of the new Boathouse.

We are fortunate that developers in the late 1970s could not get financing for condominium towers. The people of Burlington are on the verge of creating one of the most unique waterfronts in the U.S.: a shoreline of complete public access through publicly owned parks, boathouses, marinas, bike paths and other public projects; a commercial/residential zone built with an eye to human scale and historical relationships; and an unprecedented open, public process to keep people involved in the waterfront's evolution.

Paolo Polledri's article "Dreamscape, Reality and Afterthought" (*Places* 7:2, Winter 1991) reminded me how much I disagree with the popular view that San Francisco has no civic design vision. On the contrary, no American city has arrived at a stronger vision of what it wants to be. No American city has more engaged its citizens in defining this vision, and, despite some well known failures and breakdowns, no American city has worked so consistently towards its realization.

Polledri writes that "we need a vision to point us in the right direction and to overcome the uncertainty and unease that pervades contemporary urban life." As a negative example, he describes San Francisco's becoming a "tourist ghetto with hotels and shopping malls on the water."

I would argue that most San Franciscans have strong feelings about what the city should look like. Often these derive from its unique natural setting — white buildings seen across water, against green hills. Thus, the vision does not come so much from individual buildings, as it does in Chicago, as it does from an overall sense of place.

San Francisco has a strong identity. Its districts are able to maintain and improve themselves through a design policy that requires new buildings to be compatible with existing ones in terms of height, bulk, color and ground-level treatment. Thus the district takes priority over individual buildings — a circumstance that may annoy some architects and their historians.

At the same time there is a strong desire for visual complexity and diversity, for which citizens have fought successfully at the ballot box. For example, voters have used the initiative process to stop hotels, baseball stadiums and even the construction of a home port for the battleship *Missouri*. The goal has been to preserve public access to the city's waterfront and prevent tourist domination, a characteristic of life in San Francisco that is considered essential by a majority of its inhabitants. This is not "factionalism," as Polledri maintains, but the expression of a remarkable consensus.

Finally, San Franciscans are commited to a pedestrian life supported by public transit and an urban fabric that encourages walking. With this comes not only a bias against cars, but also a concern for pedestrian comfort and enjoyment. Public design policy requires access to sunlight, views and open space and protection from the wind. Put these and other ideas together and you have a powerful design vision for the city — a vision that grows out of the value people place on maintaining the city's well known diversity and livability.

Polledri asserts that "the understanding of urban and architectural issues is limited to a small, specialized and professionally trained segment of the public.... In consequence, much of the physical environment is unknown and incomprehensible to the majority of [San Francisco's] inhabitants.

I disagree. In 1970, Allan Jacobs, then San Francisco's planning director, published the city's first urban design plan. Clear and accessible, the plan communicated to ordinary citizens what was right and wrong with the city's development and preservation patterns, inviting them to take an active role in determining its future. They have done so, and today — in response to continuous public pressure — San Francisco has stronger and more consistent urban design policies than any other American metropolis.

Since this is a political and democratic process, some factionalism is inevitable, but there is also an overriding impulse — an ecological impulse, for lack of a better term — to preserve the city and region from further degradation and restore it as a setting for life of every kind. In this respect, Olmsted may be a more valuable antecedent than Burnham in suggesting to designers the nature of their response and the breadth of their involvement in guiding this vision and giving it form, content and expression. I do not think it will lack for beauty and excitement.

— John L. Kriken

Places encourages comments and critiques from readers. Please send letters to: Donlyn Lyndon, Editor; Places, c/o Center for Environmental Design Research; 390 Wurster Hall; University of California, Berkeley; Berkeley, CA 94720. Please limit letters to 500 words.

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Peter Clavelle

is a native of the Burlington area and was elected the city's mayor in 1989. Previously, he had been Burlington's director of community and economic development and the manager of other municipalities in Vermont.

Joyce Earley

is a member of the Royal Town Planning Institute and a fellow of the Landscape Institute in the United Kingdom. She spent 20 years in British planning departments and 10 years as a consultant in Southern California. Since 1957 she has been a working member of the Environmental Planning Commission of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources. She lives on the Rhine in south Germany.

Harry Ellenzweig

is a practicing architect in Cambridge. His firm, Ellenzweig Associates, specializes in transportation-related public projects and in work for institutions, particularly science and medical facilities. He has a special interest in projects serving a public purpose.

Jacqueline Hall

is an urban planner practicing in Boston who has worked with a variety of public and private institutions and community organizations. Her expertise is directing large-scale, mixed-use development projects.

Ronald Lee Fleming

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