THE ARCADIAN METROPOLIS

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Towards a Sustainable Urban Form

by

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ABSTRACT

> Our own American past has an invaluable lesson to teach us: a coherent, workable landscape evolves where there is a coherent definition not of man but of man's relation to the world and his fellow man.
>
> John Brinckerhof Jackson

This thesis endeavours to give evidence of the Arcadian vision, of a synthetic view of nature and humanity, as it has been understood in the evolving settlement patterns of American civilization over the last 350 years. This thesis suggests that the Arcadian vision is still very much a part of the American psyche and awaits reinterpretation. Evidence is given of how this reinterpretation is already taking place in the urban landscape of America. It also suggests how the Arcadian vision may provide significant clues to realizing meaningful urban and suburban growth into the 21st century expressed in a sustainable urban landscape.

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> Nous avons une leçon inestimable à apprendre de notre propre passé américain, soit que l'évolution d'un paysage cohérent et réalisable se fait lorsqu'il émane d'une définition également cohérente, non pas de l'homme en soit, mait plutôt de l'homme par rapport à son univers et son proche.
>
> John Brinckerhof Jackson

Cette thèse tente de mettre en évidence la vision arcadienne, du point de vue de la synthèse de la nature et l'homme, tel qu'elle a été comprise a travers l'évolution des divers genres de colonisation américaine depuis les dernières 350 annees. Le propos de la thèse est que cette vision arcadienne fait toujours partie intégrante du psychique de l'Amérique et mènera à une nouvelle interprétation. La these met en evidence les nouveaux debuts de cette re-interpretation dans le contexte du paysage urbain de l'Amérique. Finalement, la thèse suggère la manière par laquelle cette vision peut donner la clef a une croissance valable de la ville et de la banlieue au long du siècles prochain, exprimée a travers un aménagement urbain équilibré et soutenu.

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INTRODUCTION & BACKGROUND

This thesis addresses an alternative ideological orientation to understand urban and suburban growth vis-a-vis the notion of the Arcadian vision. The intent is to provide a conceptual framework of American urbanism based on an understanding of the idea of the city in the history of American civilization. It is an examination of the way the Arcadian vision has been invoked and made manifest on the American landscape. As such, it draws on literary and graphic sources that have supported the idea of an "Arcadian metropolis" from the earliest settlements onward. The Arcadian metropolis is the ideological model for American urbanity. It constitutes a vision in which city and country are equally valuable components in an evolving landscape, which is best served when those components operate in harmony. The ideal hinges on the belief that the American landscape provided an opportunity to create a unique urban pattern that is one with the cultivated landscape. This thesis is a search for origins, with the hope of establishing a normative position on how to proceed to realize meaningful urban form into the 21st century.

The Arcadian vision is a mythological and utopian construct found primarily in Western thought and expressed primarily in literature and in art. The thesis proceeds on the assumption that mythological and utopian thought have been, and remain, important aspects of America's collective cultural expression. The ideals of a synthetic view of nature and humanity expressed in the Arcadian vision, have their origins in the Hellenist poets and in the early Biblical texts of the Judeo-Christian tradition. The need and the desire to establish an harmonious relationship with the land and one another has indeed allowed American towns and cities to evolve differently from their European counterparts due to a collective interpretation of the Arcadian vision in the American settlement experience.

The Arcadian vision in America can be understood along two opposing lines of thought that embrace, in a complementary manner, the dialectic nature of American settlement patterns. On the one hand, nature has been idealized in terms of the "agrarian myth" or the "pastoral ideal" in direct opposition to the city. Alternatively, the city has been seen as an utopian ideal at best and, on a more pragmatic note, as the source of economic, political and cultural activity - a necessary evil. The dialectic nature of these opposing views characterizes the American settlement experience. The promise of the open landscape and pastoral sensibilities have allowed American cities to evolve differently from their European counterparts by combining city and countryside, a reflection of the emerging values of an urban-pastoral society. The Arcadian vision suggests a rural-urban synthesis in which the city and the countryside are united for the common good of society.

The notion of living in harmony with nature and one's fellow was imprinted on the psyche of the early settlers to North America and remains a vital part of our collective values today Suburbia, as we know it today, has often been cited as the closest manifestation of this ideal, which in turn, has served as the model for what may be referred to as an American urbanism. It is argued in this thesis that American urbanism has grown out of a much broader context than the Anglo-American origins of the suburbs in 18th-century England

This thesis suggests that these "synthetic" values are synonymous with an emerging typology, neither urban nor suburban, expressed in a new urban synthesis. This typology is found in the earliest settlement patterns made manifest in the urban code of *The Laws of the Indies*; in the early settlement patterns in New England and other colonial frontiers; in the grand visions of Penn's "Greene Country Towne" and L'Enfant's Washington D.C.; in the early suburbs of Chicago and Philadelphia as precursors of the late 19th-century Parks and City Beautiful Movements; in the Garden City Movement as it was interpreted in America; and in the New Community Movement. Today, there is growing evidence of a sustainable urban landscape expressed in the recycling of existing settlements and landscapes that reflect a new economic, social and environmental agenda - of an ecological world view. Collectively, these settlement patterns give evidence of the Arcadian vision made manifest on the American landscape.

In the post-war quest to provide housing solutions in North America, the concept of Suburbia was bravely embraced as a viable model for providing meaningful urban form The suburbs were considered logical answers to the economic, social, technological and even environmental questions facing a whole new generation from the 1940s onward. As a result, the suburbs have become the dominant urban form in North America. Over half of America lives in the suburbs.

It has become apparent that Suburbia is not all that it was hoped to be. Suburbia continues to grow at an unprecedented rate, generating, in its wake, a crisis of many dimensions. Our roads and highways have become increasingly inadequate; housing costs have risen to the point that double income families can no longer afford to buy homes; agricultural and recreational lands are receding along the urban fringes; societal values relating to the structure of the family and the nature of the workplace are rapidly changing; and serious environmental concerns are just beginning to surface. From Richard Sennett's stinging indictment of the societal bankruptcy of the suburbs in the sixties to Jack Lessinger's prediction that the suburbs will be the "region of obsolescence" by the end of the nineties, Suburbia has become increasingly topical over the last two decades. During this period, much work has been done to understand what went wrong and, more importantly, to find ways to ameliorate the suburban condition. For example, we can no longer afford to build on the available land in the same measure as we did back in the 1940s and 1950s and especially as in the 1970s and 1980s. It has been posited that Suburbia should be reclaimed to accommodate the new economic, social, technological and environmental agendas of the nineties. But the related questions of how to proceed, on what basis, and to what end, seem to have escaped layperson and professional alike.

In this respect, there are a growing number of apologists who argue that Suburbia has undergone a transformation over the last two decades to become autonomous and viable in its own right. The new suburban fabric is comprised of more than large tracts of single family homes connected by a vast road and highway infrastructure. It includes retail, commercial and information age industries as well. In America, this form of Suburbia is being referred to as "edge city" or "perimeter centre" or even "technoburbia." Arguably, the urban centres of old have been transplanted, without any recognizable morphology, into the suburbs. Their raison d' etre is based on the changing nature of land economics and the attendant speculative development practices of the 1970s and 1980s. This form of Suburbia accepts the automobile as the major means of transportation, resulting not only in an entirely car-oriented residential area but in an entirely car-oriented city.

And while Suburbia continues to grow around us, alternative patterns of growth are beginning to emerge. Loosely referred to as New Communities, these vary considerably in size and program, some as small as hamlets, some as large as towns. Generally, the concept of New Community design embraces denser housing patterns, the reintegration of community and social facilities and alternate modes of public transit. New Communities also respond to the emerging ideas of environmental responsibility expressed in a sustainable urban landscape.

PROLOGUE

ORIGINS OF THE ARCADIAN VISION

All people who have a history have a paradise, a state of innocence and a golden age.
Friedrich von Schiller

I Greco-Roman and Judeo-Christian Influences

Arcadia is at once a strange and familiar place. Few have been there, but many people have imagined what it is like. Located in the Peloponnesus in southern Greece and isolated by mountains, the historical Arcadia was a land of small primitive villages scattered among the valleys. In this setting, a pastoral civilization developed in ancient times and was characterized by a life of rustic simplicity, uninterrupted quiet, and simple pleasures. Arcadia, however, is a state of the mind rather than a geographical location; it is a moral landscape. It lies in our collective memory, although evidence of Arcadia extends from Greece during the Golden Age of the 5th century BC to America in the late 20th century. Arcadia, in our imagination, is both an immaterial vision and a material construct in which both the metaphysical and the physical inform one another, "a delicate blend of myth and reality." [1] That relationship exists in the literature and art of the Arcadian vision which describes Arcadia as an other worldly place and as a physical entity. It endeavours to give evidence of the metaphysical properties of nature, that is, of the properties of the heavens and the Gods, and humanity's relationship to those. The Arcadian vision can, therefore, be seen as a moral landscape in which humanity is afforded the opportunity to interact with the Gods through nature and one's fellow (Fig.1). This idea suggests that a dialectical relationship exists between nature, humanity and the metaphysical properties inherent, by association, to both.

The Arcadian vision derives from two separate traditions: the Greco-Roman myth of the Golden Age and the Judeo-Christian account of the Garden of Eden in the Bible. Although these traditions merged in Western thought and today are virtually inseparable, they were distinctly different traditions.

Early Greek sources for the Arcadian vision are found in Hesiod's *Erga kai hemerai* (8th-century BC), in which many Arcadian themes were brought to light. In the works of the Hellenistic poets, Theocritus's *Idylls* (3rd century BC) and Virgil's *Eclogues* (1st century BC), Arcadia was a place to withdraw to and escape from the city and the related conflicts of urban life. It was a landscape inhabited by the gods. The sounds of the pipes

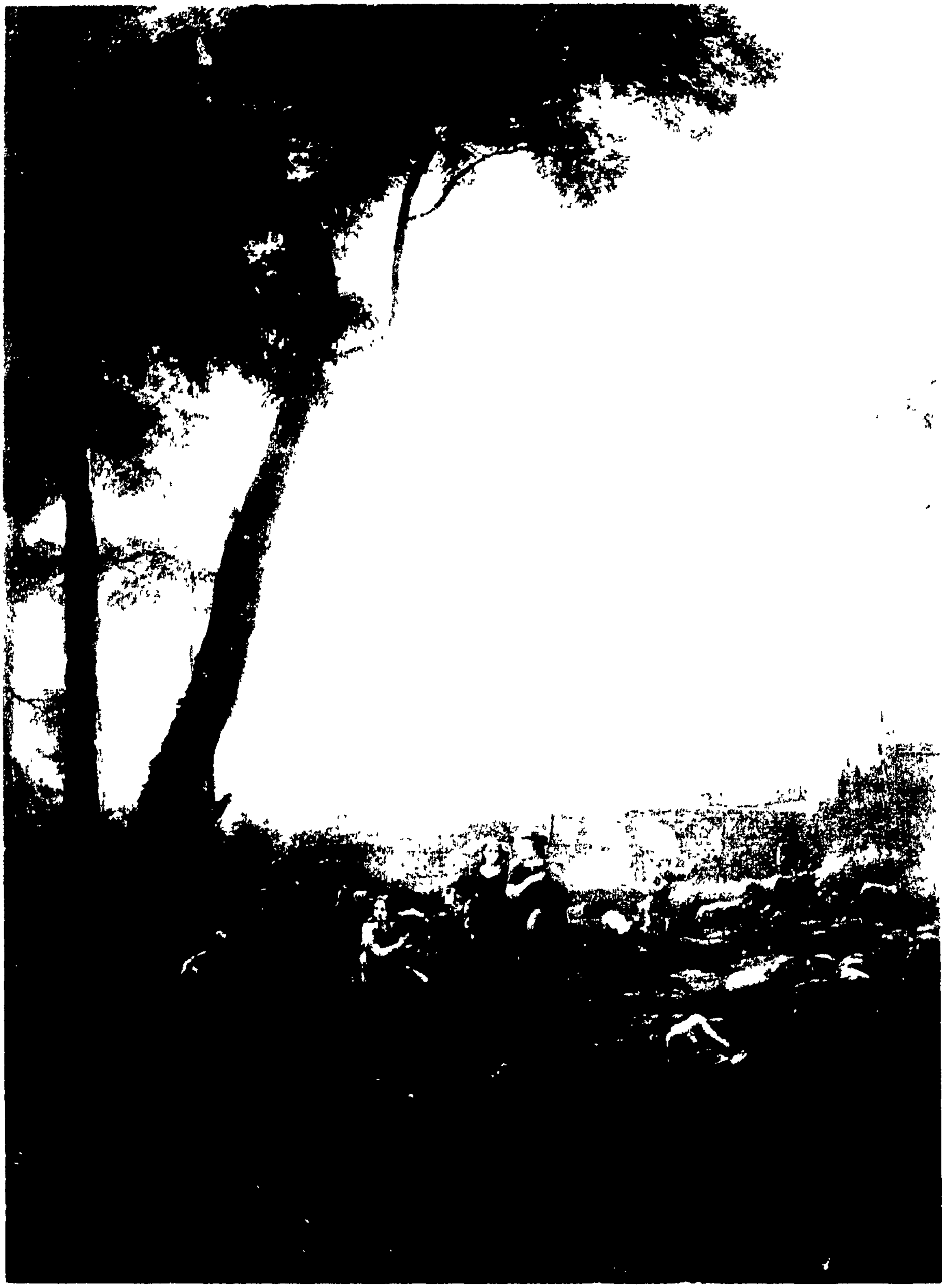

Figure 1 "Landscape with a Rustic Dance" by Lorrain, 1640 (Langdon, *Claude Lorrain*, 1989).

of Pan, ruler of the gods, permeated the Arcadian landscape and whose presence was sent forth through the shepherd's song which proclaimed the cosmic order. Nature remained unspoiled and humanity lived in harmony with nature and one's fellow (Fig.2) Arcadia was represented as a pastoral world bathed in the warm glow of the evening sun. The symbolic landscape created by Virgil was a place to withdraw from the opposing forces of the city and the wilderness - a middle landscape between the forces of humanity and the forces of the gods.

The Judeo-Christian aspects of the Arcadian vision are rooted in Near Eastern mythology dating from 2000 BC. The Judeo-Christian conception of the Garden of Eden in the biblical account is not original. In addition to drawing ideas from Greek mythology,. it suggests a garden landscape in which humankind lives in a state of physical and spiritual bliss (Fig.3):

> The garden either as nature perfected and ordered by the hand of man or the garden as an Arcadian oasis in a chaotic and disordered world comes increasingly to act as a substitute for a return in time to the unspoiled innocence of the Golden Age or Eden or the attainment through redemption to a 'new heaven and a new earth'. The garden thus becomes a means to human perfection, and nature, impinging on the human spirit, purifies and orders it.-

The Greco-Roman conception of Arcadia suggests a return to a former state of innocence and well-being while the Judeo-Christian conception suggests a teleological orientation in which the garden is symbolic of the present and of something yet to be attained, of a paradise yet to come. The Arcadian vision, derived from these traditions, survived in no small part because of this biblical mode of thought. Augustine, in *The City of God* (413 onward), rejected the idea of an attainable earthly paradise, although it did exist, in his interpretation of the Garden of Eden. He believed that nature afforded humanity "a perfect allegory of heaven" on earth and that everyone could partake of nature to achieve similar ends.[7] However, the Protestant Reformation did much to reconcile millennial thought to envision an attainable earthy paradise believing that, "The promised land of Canaan in the Old Testament ...was recovered under the New Testament's covenant of faith when man became a second Adam in Christ."[1] The "promised land", after the discoveries of the New World, was not to be found in Canaan but in America.

Authors of sacred and secular literature have explored the notion of the Arcadian vision, of a perfect state of being, by combining both traditions. The Arcadian vision has evolved over time to become more than a metaphysical construct. It includes secular conceptions of nature and humanity, "according to the human capacity or discipline of thought understood to be the key to spiritual and material fulfillment." Arcadia, often

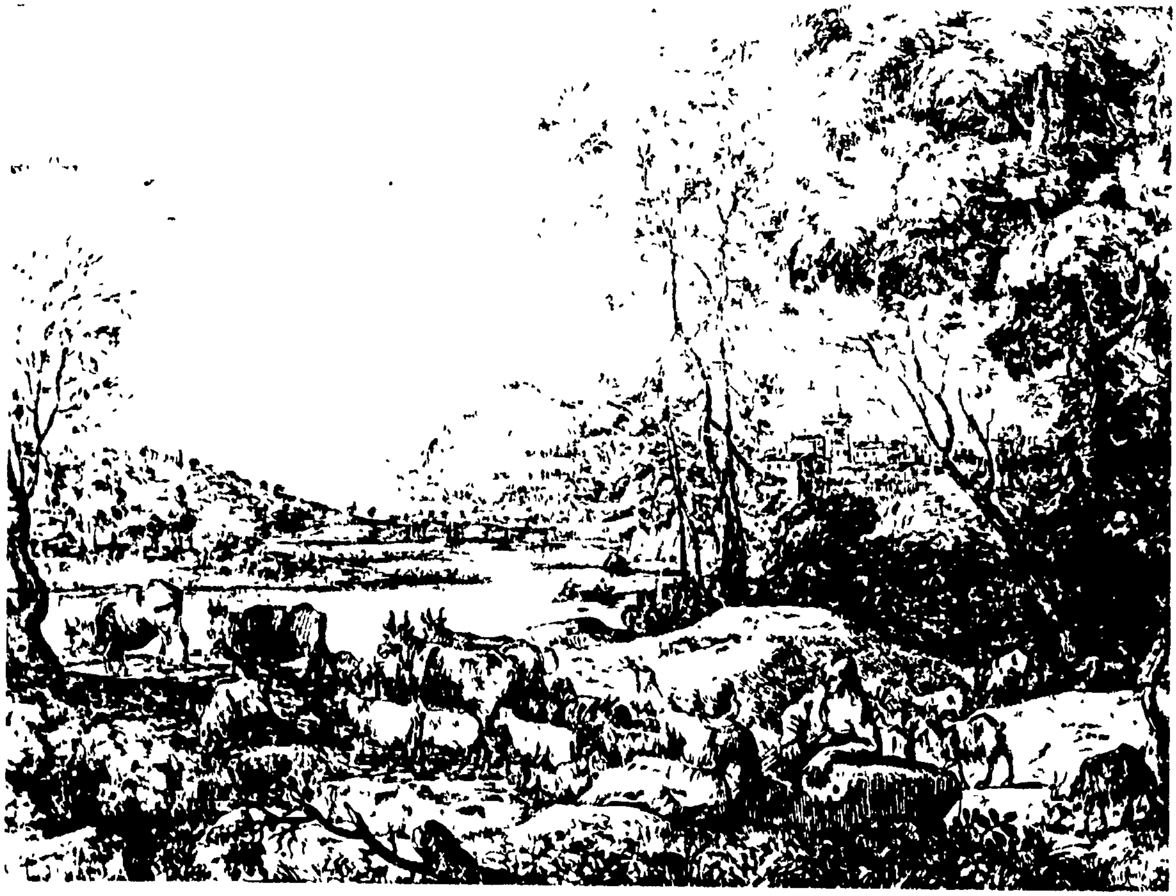

Figure 2. The shepherd and shepherdess conversing in Arcadia (Russell, *Claude Lorrain, 1600-1682*, 1982).

associated with paradise, is found in both sacred and secular literature and art describing nature's ascendancy as a frame of reference on which to proceed upon to realize humanity's place on earth. As William McClung suggests in *The Architecture of Paradise* (1964):

> The search for Paradise is thus an effort to discover the correct relationship between man, nature and craft; and as a phenomenon both of secular literature and of urban planning and design, 'Paradise' devolves into versions of arcadia and utopia, the one an Eden and the other a Jerusalem.[6]

A distinction can be made between "Arcadian" and "utopian" The Arcadian vision shares utopian premises in that it seeks to imagine a better world for all by striving for an harmonious relationship between people. It differs at the same time by emphasizing humanity's relationship toward nature , that is the ascendancy of nature, as the fundamental premise from which to achieve a better world. This implies, of course, that humanity's well-being is dependent on the well-being of nature. The Arcadian vision, in its historical literary interpretation, is a moral paradigm that informs our actions in the material realm of possibilities. It represents a middle realm between the heavens above and the earth below (Fig.4). It also lies between the wilderness and civilization as a material representation and is often associated with the latter. Arguably evidence of both have survived

> ... to the extent that Paradise is of the past, it is arcadian and open, the epitome of nature of which it is a small part; to the extent that it is imagined to survive into the present, it is a secret garden walled or otherwise barred against man; to the extent that Paradise signifies a Paradise to come, it is urban and conspicuously fortified.[7]

The utopian influence on Arcadia as an imagined place has been related to the notion of a heavenly city, of Jerusalem. Corresponding images of Eden and Jerusalem can be seen to represent the Arcadian and utopian ideals respectively. Both the garden as well as the city can be seen to represent Arcadia in one form or the other and, most importantly to this thesis, as a combination of both McClung makes the argument ,that for Eden to have survived, it had to be drawn into the context of an emerging urban civilization:

> The uncertain status of the garden in history reflects the failure of an arcadian or pastoral model of beatific existence within the context of a purged and renewed heaven and earth; the survival of Eden depends, therefore upon whatever accommodation can be reached with the city. To survive, in fact, Eden must become a garden-city.[8]

McClung cites both Old and New Testament sources (Ezekiel 47, Revelation 22) for the prophetic visions of a New Jerusalem with references to the inclusion of nature, and Eden specifically, within the city walls (Fig.5). The apparent ambiguity of locating Arcadia

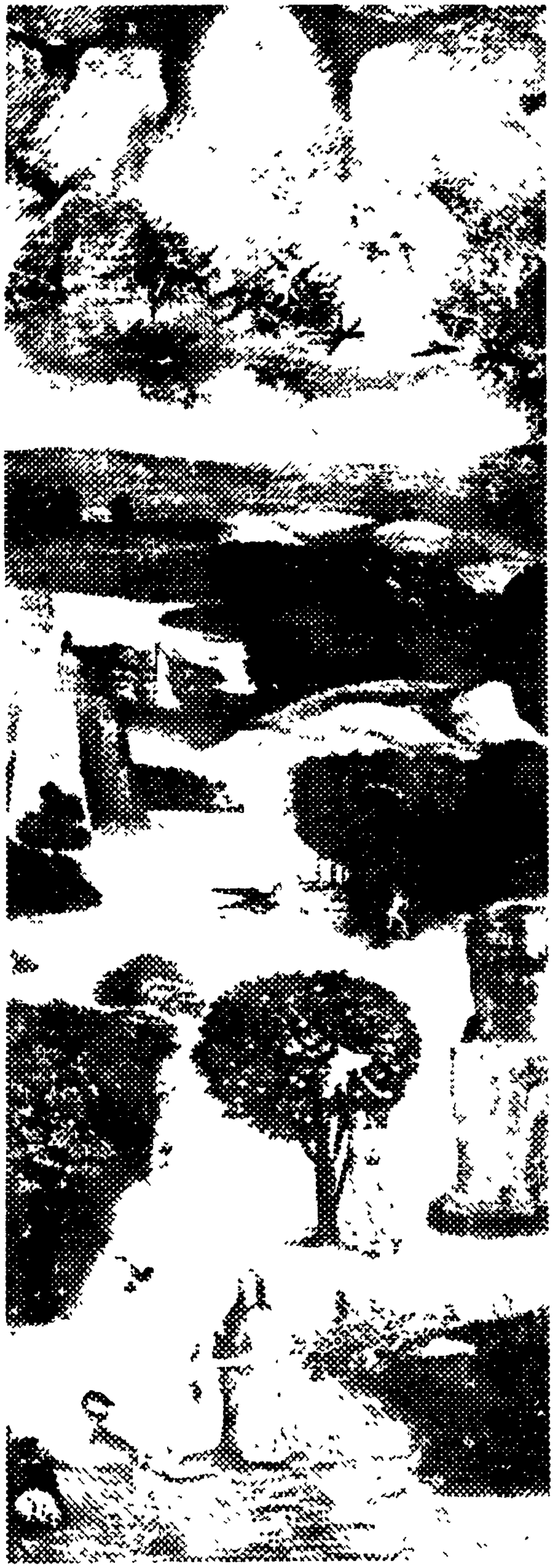

Figure 3. Paradise in the garden of Eden (McClung, *The Architecture of Paradise*, 1983).

between nature and urbanity or within an urban context constitutes the territorial domain of Arcadia however the middle landscape is considered. Paradise or the pastoral ideal can be seen to lie outside of the city, or well within the city walls, as a mediating influence on the nature of the city itself and humanity's determined place. The millennial Jerusalem can be seen as the first "garden-city", embracing both nature and civilization.

II The Arcadian Vision in American Thought

Leo Marx suggests, in *The Machine and the Garden* (1964), that pastoralism is very much a part of Western thought that has taken on two forms in America, namely the "complex pastoral" and the "cultural pastoral" notions. The complex pastoral form derived in Western thought with Greco-Roman origins creates an idealized landscape separated from reality through the employment of metaphysical constructs. The cultural pastoral form is more capable of being representational of the American experience. It suggests a particular conception of a good society as an achievable goal:

> This cultural version of pastoralism, ... constitutes a reaction to the world engendered by the desire to withdraw from the complexities of a structured civilization toward a natural environment promising individual freedom and instinctual spontaneity. Not advocating a complete retreat to a primitive life-style, the impulse envisions a mild, cultivated terrain, a "middle landscape" in which the conflicting values of art and nature, civilization and primitivism merge into a characteristically rural environment located between the poles of untamed nature and the city.[9]

The landscape of pastoralism whether Greco-Roman or American represents a moral attitude toward the land and humanity's determined place in the landscape. In America, however, this symbolism has become attached to a moral and ethical interpretation of humanity's determined place in nature. Because this attitude envisions a better society as an achievable goal, it is not necessarily anti-urban, but nature alone that can save humanity - not the city. Middle landscape lies halfway between the earth and the heavens above it is an immaterial vision. The middle landscape also lies halfway between the city and the country - as a material representation. Marx's middle landscape was suggested some two hundred years ago by Richard Price in his *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution* (1785), "The happiest state of man is the middle state between the savage and the refined, or between the wild and the luxurious state. Such is the state in [America]."[10]

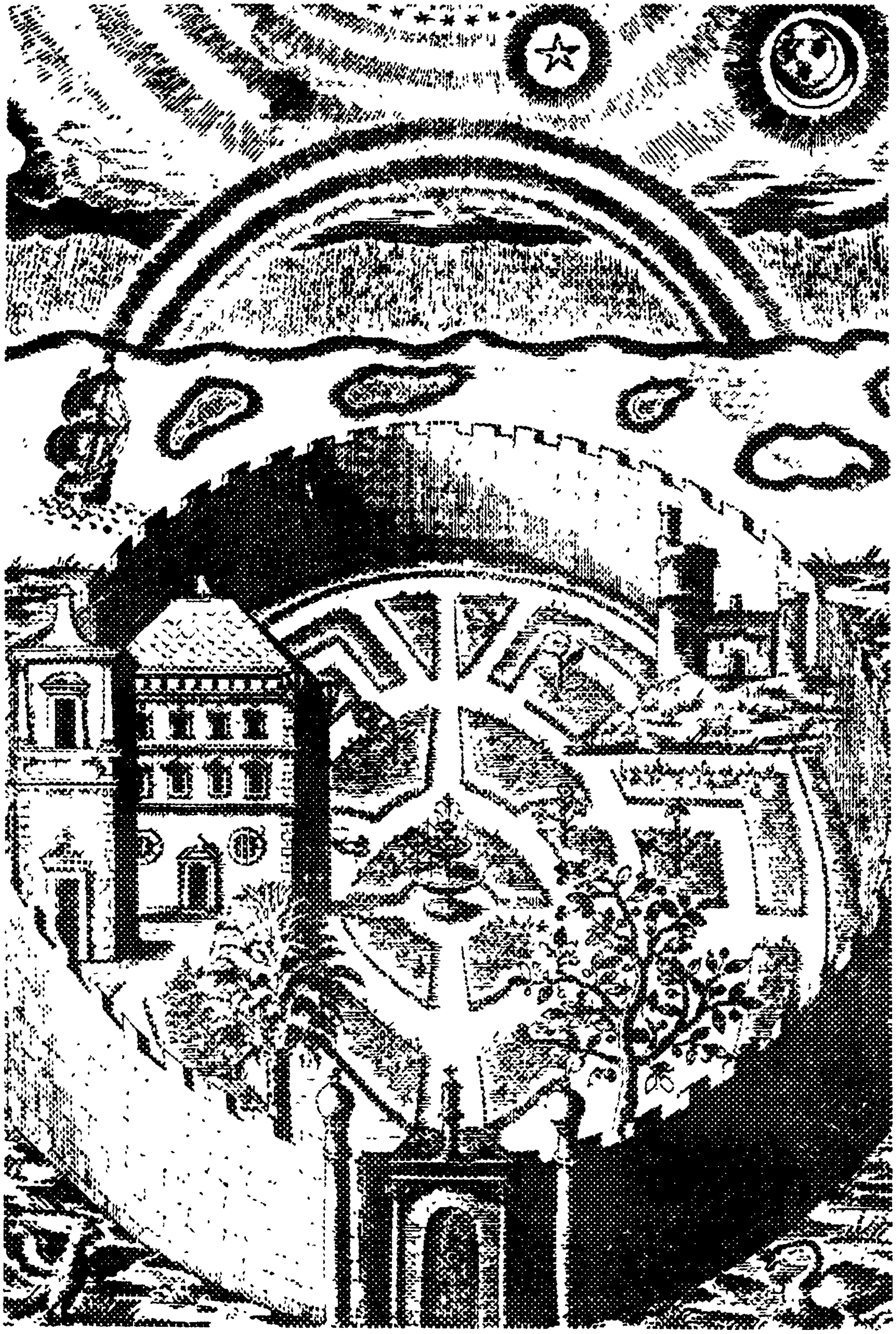

Figure 4. The metaphysical middle landscape between the heavens above and the earth below, symbolized in the garden (McClung, *The Architecture of Paradise*, 1983).

Whether this is read as wilderness and civilization, "savage" and "refined", or agrarian and industrial, the dialectic of the middle landscape has persisted in American thought.

In James L. Machor's *Pastoral Cities* (1985), the author argues that the middle landscape envisioned by Marx can be viewed on a conceptual level. Unlike the pastoral ideal of the individual living in rustic simplicity cut off from the demands of the city, a rural-urban synthesis can be achieved, in which the city and the countryside are united for the common good of society. Machor refers to this synthetic view of nature and urbanity as "urban pastoralism". The concept of integration, symbolic and social, characterizes much of the American landscape and its cities. Urban pastoralism suggests an alternate middle realm which incorporates diversity and urban sophistication in a natural setting:

> This synthesis might take a number of forms, from the preservation of open green spaces in the urban topography to an 'organic' relationship among the inhabitants. At the base of the ideal lies an impulse to provide the urban dweller with some means to renew continually his elemental connection to his spontaneous, natural self while remaining a member of society, of the city, in a word, of civilization. Urban pastoralism is more than an attempt to infuse into cities touches of greenery and rural virtue, as though cities are necessary evils that must be purified with nature. Although at times it has taken this shape, the ideal also constitutes a vision of environment in which city and country are equally valuable components in an evolving landscape best served when those components operate in harmony . [The] ideal has hinged on the belief that the native terrain provided a unique opportunity to create on a national scale an urban pattern that is one with the cultivated landscape.[11]

The concept of urban pastoralism is inherently flexible. It is a paradigm. The pattern produced in one setting cannot be easily replicated in another. The combination of city and country, of urbanity and nature, of grid and garden have taken many forms in the American landscape (Fig.6). The Arcadian vision in America can be understood along two opposing lines of thought that embrace, in a complementary manner, the dialectic nature of American settlement patterns. On the one hand, nature has been idealized in terms of the "agrarian myth", the "pastoral ideal" and the "myth of the garden" in direct opposition to the city. On the other hand, the city has been seen as the source and locus of economic, political, educational and artistic activity:

> There is no denying that the belief in the superiority of either rural or urban environments has been central in America, for beneath their ideological strains share a common assumption informing much of our history: the conviction that city and country embody diametrically opposed values.[1]

The dialectic nature of these opposing views characterizes the American settlement experience. The promise of the open landscape and pastoral sensibilities have allowed

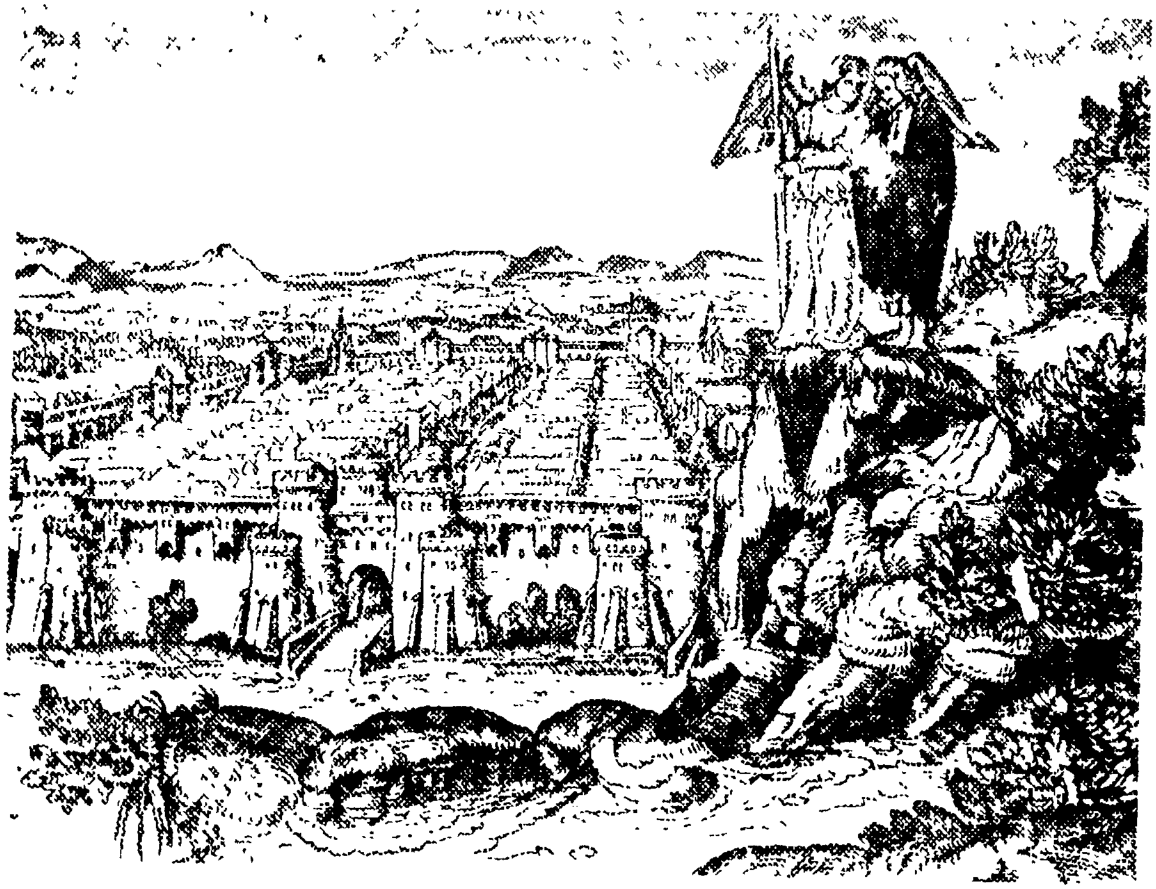

Figure 5. The twelve gated city of Jerusalem according to Ezekiel (McClung, *The Architecture of Paradise*, 1983).

American cities to evolve by combining city and countryside, resulting in an urban-pastoral society - the Arcadian vision made manifest. This urban-pastoral synthesis has been expressed in the early settlement patterns in New England, in William Penn's "Green Town", in Pierre L'Enfant's design for Washington D.C., in the early suburbs of Philadelphia and Chicago, in the Parks and City Beautiful Movements, and in the Greenbelt towns of the 1930s. Today, there is growing evidence for a synthetic view of nature and urbanity expressed in the form of a sustainable urban landscape

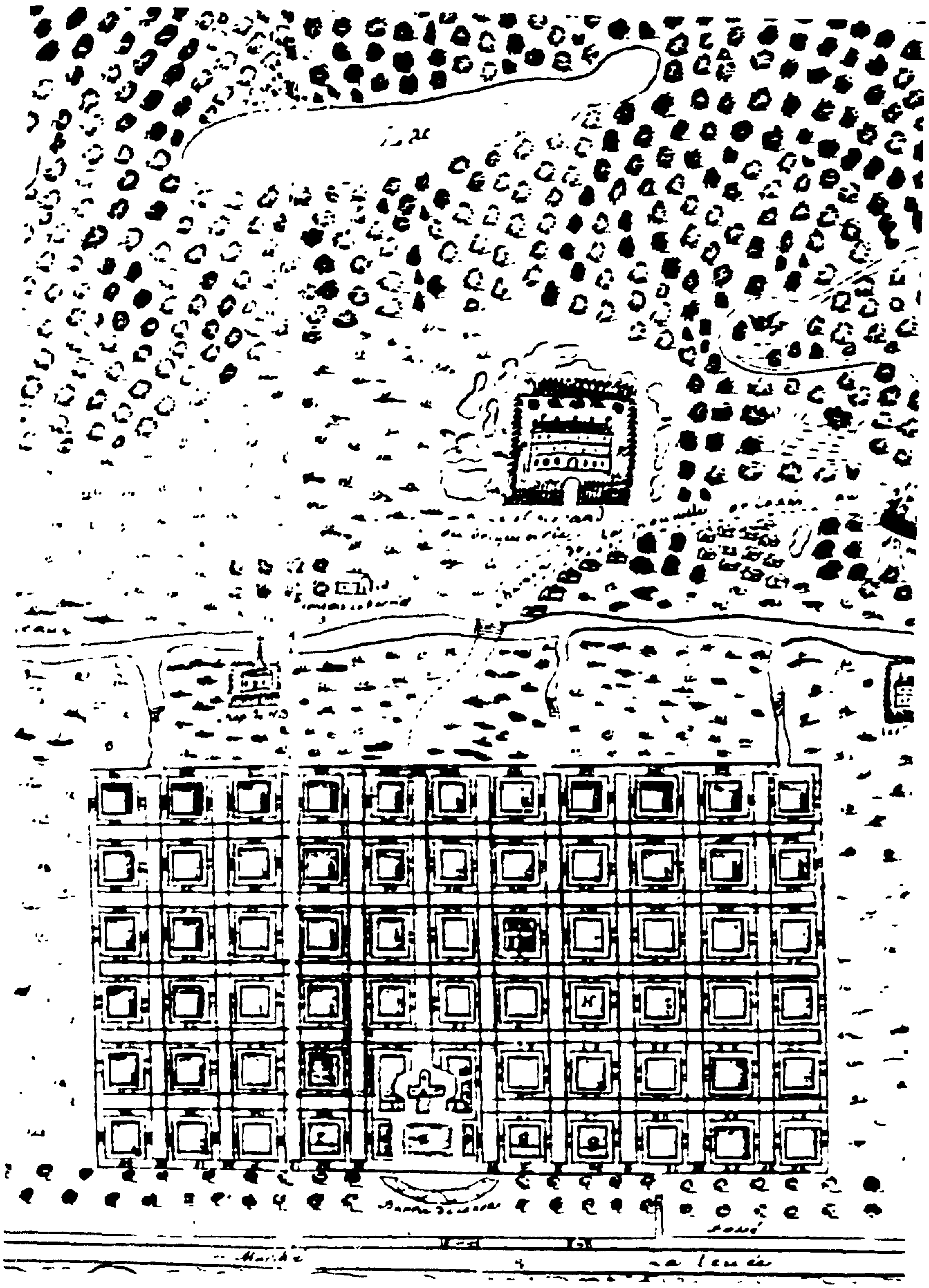

Figure 6. The grid and the garden - the Arcadian vision made manifest in America (Reps, *The Making of Urban America*, 1965).

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[1] Leo Marx. *The Machine in the Garden.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1964, p.19.

[2] Stephen J. Tonsor. "Arcadia". *Dictionary of Literary Terms and Motifs*. _______ ,p.107

[3] Augustine

[4] Sanford, p.57.

[5] McLung, William A. *The Architecture of Paradise: Survivals of Eden and Jerusalem.* London: University of California Press, 1983, p.2.

[6] Ibid, *The Architecture of Paradise*, p.2.

[7] Ibid, *The Architecture of Paradise*, p.19.

[8] Ibid, *The Architecture of Paradise*, p.21.

[9] Marx, Leo. *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1964, p.123.

[10] Richard Price quoted in ibid., *The Machine in the Garden*, p.105.

[11] Machor, James L. *Pastoral Cities: Urban Ideals and the Symbolic Landscape of America.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985, p.123.

[12] Ibid., *Pastoral Cities*, p.125.

CHAPTER ONE

THE ARCADIAN VISION MADE MANIFEST: AMERICAN URBANISM FROM THE DISCOVERIES THROUGH THE ENLIGHTENMENT

> In the evolution of an American spatial order, the grid iron, as the principal pattern of settlement, and the garden, in its many guises as man's bond with land and nature, have played dominant roles. The gridiron, a rational tool and thus a sign of human presence, establishes a measurable and perceivable order over the land. It is a product of society. The garden, as all gardens since Eden, represents nature, yields both sustenance and pleasure. It is a product of individual cultivators. Forming a network over the land, grid and garden together express accommodation between man and nature, rationality and spirit, societal constraints and individual expression.[1]
>
> Alex Krieger

I The Search for Paradise — The Renaissance Imagination

It is often assumed, when discussing the ideological origins of the American settlement experience, that the cultural, social and political advancements made in Western Europe formed the basis from which American civilization proceeded to forge its own identity. The assumption is valid and fundamentally important to an understanding of the emergence of American civilization. However, the discovery of the New World was to have a significant influence in defining, or redefining, European civilization as well. The archetypal primeval paradise, whether of a golden age or a garden of Eden, in sacred and secular thought was given new impetus - stirred by the accounts of the New World and the possibilities it held for Europeans from the Renaissance period onward.

> Contrary to the assertion ... that the Renaissance humanists either ignored or failed to appreciate the supreme importance of the new geographical discoveries, the release of energies known as the Renaissance was largely stimulated by geographical excitement as interpreted in the myth of Eden. History began to move again toward the pole of self-ascertion, because the revelations of new earthly possibilities encouraged a radical departure from old traditions, beliefs, and social institutions.[2]

The discoveries of the New World had a profound effect on the intellectual culture of the Renaissance. The influence of these discoveries led to a greater awareness of nature, not only in aesthetic terms, but in moral and ethical terms. These discoveries also had significant influence on the social and political structure of Renaissance society as a whole. The Arcadian vision first described by Theocrates, Virgil, Ovid and other classical writers

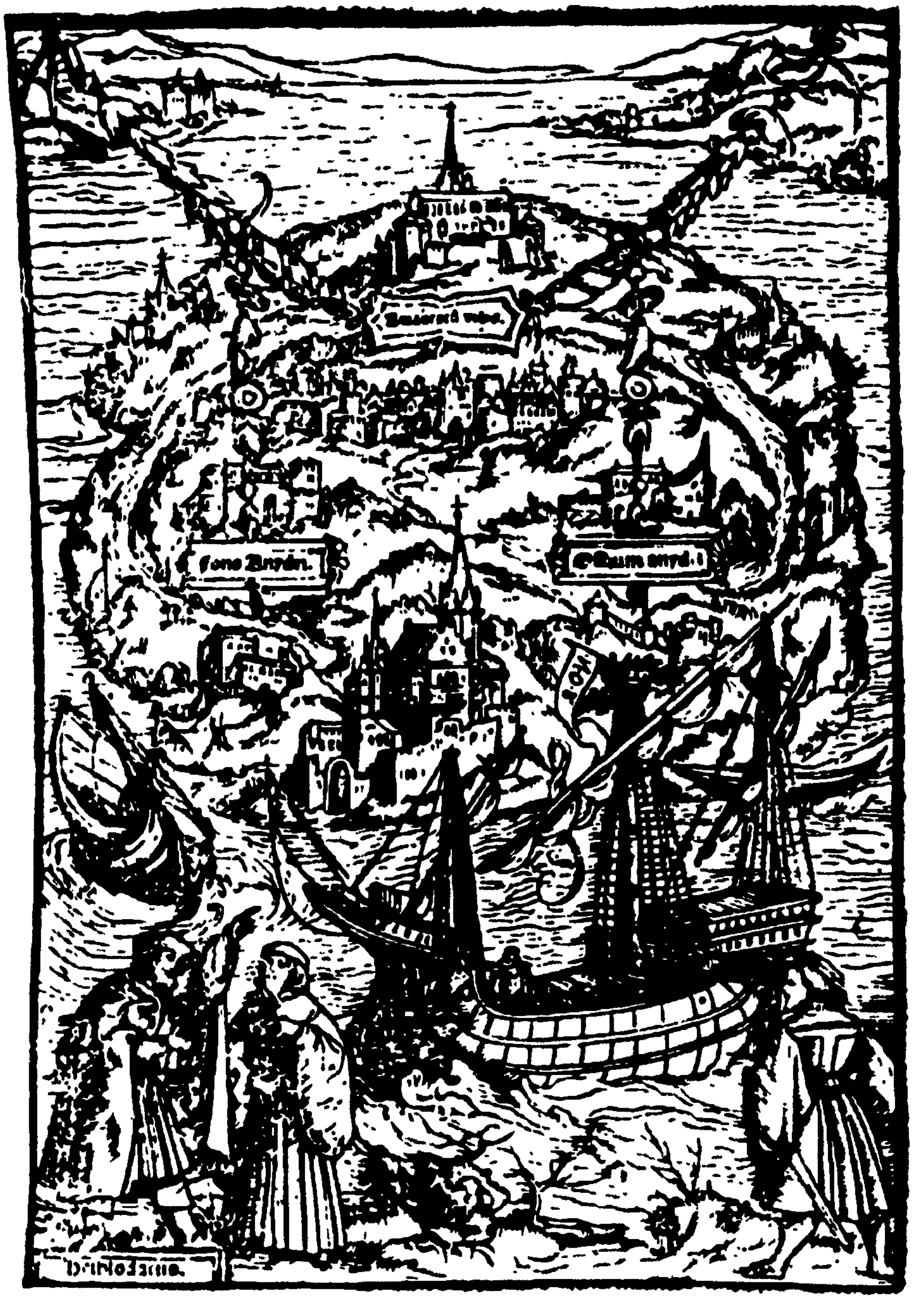

Amaurotū urbs.
Fons Anydri.
Ostium anydri
Hythlodaeus.

Figure 1.1. More's Utopia from the Basle edition of 1518 (Tod and Wheeler, *Utopia*, 1978).

was embraced during the Renaissance. The classical civilization of the past, as a symbol of greatness, was reunited with the possibilities of the New World. Renaissance letters embraced and pronounced the idea of a golden age and an earthly paradise, notably in the Arcadian literature of Sannozzaro's *Arcadia* (1504) and in Sydney's *Arcadia* (1509). Erasmus, wrote in 1517, that he anticipated "the approach of the golden age".He suggested that, following the discoveries of the New World, the golden age was not something of antiquity but was of the Renaissance period. In his, *Praise of Folly* (1509), Erasmus developed a satirical account of nature and civilization in which the primitive New World and civilized Europe figured prominently. Longing for an Arcadian existence of simplicity and aesthetic harmony he wrote, "The people of the golden age lived without the advantages of learning, being guided by instinct and nature alone." Shortly thereafter, and not by coincidence, his friend, Sir Thomas More, published *Utopia* (1517). It represented the spirit of the period in that it brought to light the symbolic significance, in socio-economic and political terms, of the New World to Europeans. It also reflected the spirit of the age made evident in reports of the early explorers, most notably, Christopher Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci. In comparing More's *Utopia* with the Columbus's accounts, James Manchor suggested in *Pastoral Cities*:

> Anyone who knows Columbus's Journals, cannot help noticing the emotional constellations in each. While the inspirational sources for the feelings in the two differ, the impulses are essentially the same - the desire for fresh beginnings, for spiritual and emotional rebirth in a new landscape radically different from that of the Old World.[4]

Utopia , through the narration of its main character, Raphael Hythloday, described that new landscape as an ideal state, between nature and humanity, in a place called Utopia (Fig.1). More located Utopia in America, on an island, cut off from European civilization which, in More's opinion, had become too difficult to govern because land and related possessions were largely a private affair. More conceived Utopia as a communal economy of shared resources which nature provided in abundance, an urban society with an agrarian base. The related attributes of sufficiency, harmony in human relationships, and a balance between humanity and the natural world characterized Utopian life. An elaborate system of trade and communication was established and while everyone worked on the land at some point in their lives, the majority of the Utopians lived in the cities. They led a simplified lifestyle, free of luxury or need, pursuing instead poetry, philosophy, and gardening as they only worked six hours a day. Utopians were keen gardeners, not only because they enjoyed it but because there were inter-street competitions for the best kept garden. "It would be hard to find any feature of the town more calculated to give pleasure and profit to

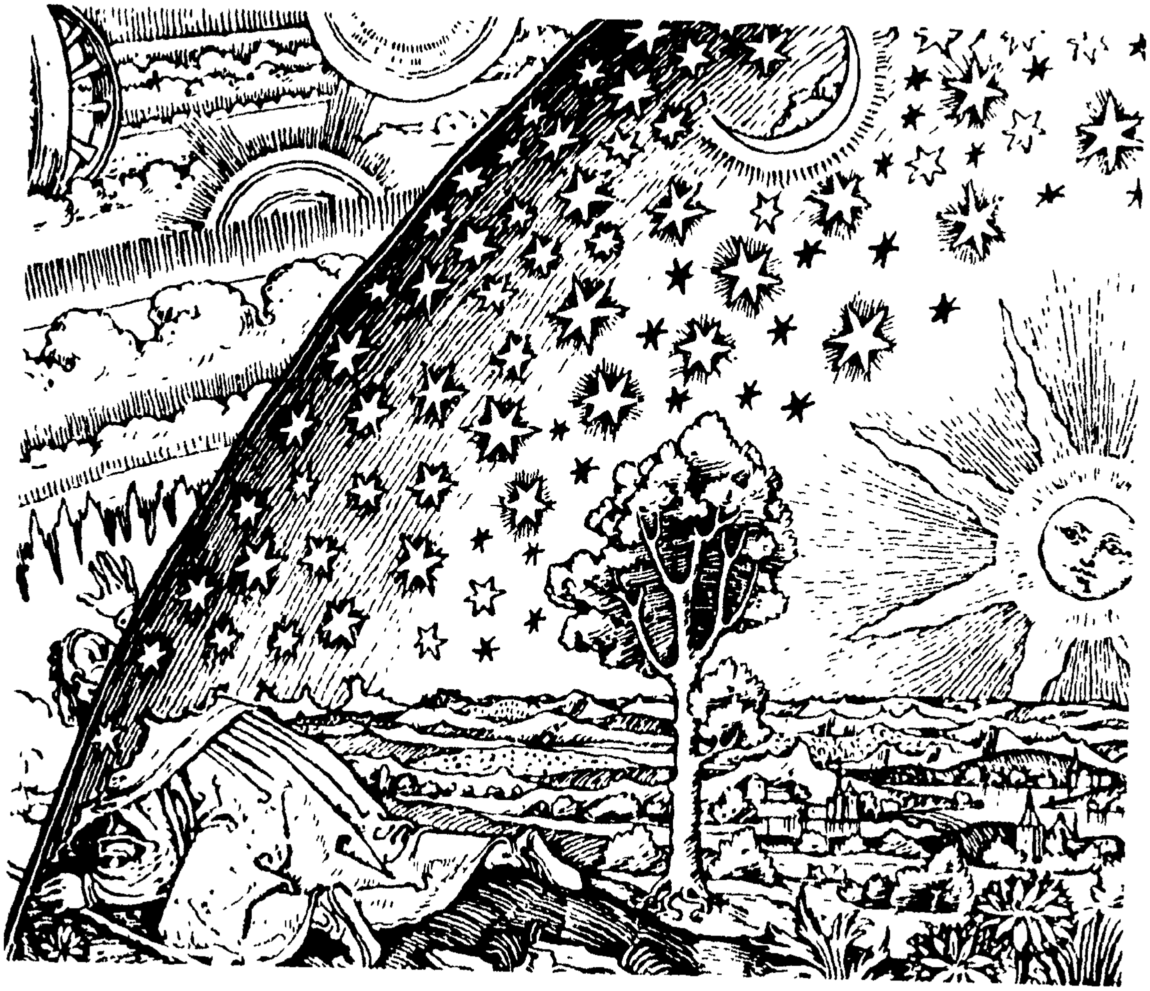


Figure 1.2. A 16th-century view of the universe (Tod and Wheeler, *Utopia*, 1978).

the community".[5] The Utopians were free to practise religion as they saw fit, as More believing that the search for truth had to be carried out openly and freely and without provocation. More believed that truth would ultimately prevail where freedom of expression was promoted under common law. Ironically, he died a martyr by trying to stop Protestantism from spreading in England.

More's Utopia was conceived as a commonwealth of 54 city-states, each possessing at least a radius measure of ten miles of arable land between them. This made each city self-sufficient but still close enough to neighbouring cities to encourage comradeship and cooperation. The arable land was composed of well-ordered farms and farmlands which helped to support the city. Utopia was a synthesis of country and city, united on the territorial level by the commonwealth of city-states. It represented, at a conceptual level, the urban pastoral ideal. The synthesis of country and city on the territorial plane was replicated by the Utopians at the municipal level in the urban plan originally drawn up by King Utopus:

> The city is compassed about with a high and thick stone wall full of turrets and bulwarks. ... The streets be appointed and set forth very commodious and handsome. The houses be of fair and gorgeous building, and on the streets they stand joined together in a long row through the whole street without any partition or separation. ... On the back side of the houses, through the whole length of the street, lie large gardens enclosed round the back part of the streets. Every house has two doors, one into the street, and a postern door on the backside into the garden. These doors be made with two leaves never locked nor bolted, so easy to be opened, that they will follow the least drawing of a finger, and shut again alone.[6]

Internal spaciousness mirrored the external expansiveness. Houses were built in blocks, the centre for each square being devoted to a "broad garden" which the inhabitants tilled in common. Interestingly, the configuration suggested a grid pattern for laying out streets at a time when that method of civic design was not yet widely used in Europe.

As much as Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* was a fictional account of a better world, of paradise on earth, it is interesting to note how many Utopian ideas were actually put into practise by the early settlers to America. *Utopia* was, after all, not a secular account although many of the emerging humanist values of the Renaissance found a place in More's *Utopia*. *Utopia* embraced many of the prevailing Judeo-Christian eschatological and millennial doctrines that found expression during the Renaissance and which were made evident in the settlement experience of the Puritans and others in the New World.

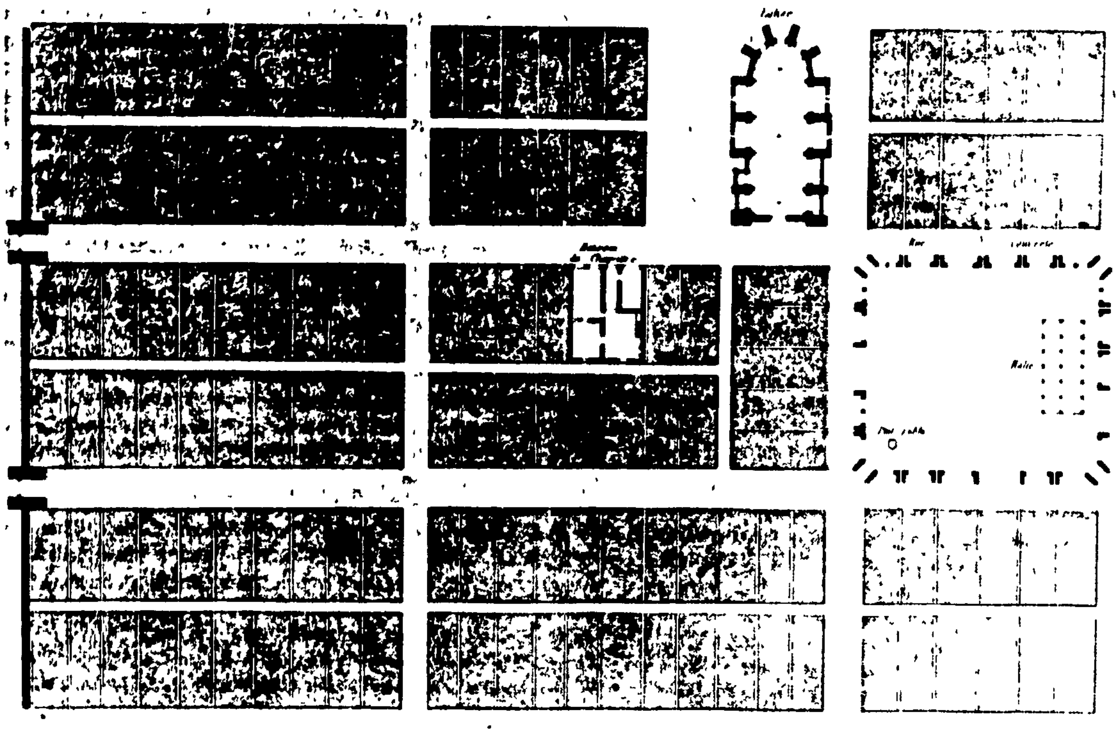


Figure 1.3. Plan of a portion of Monpazier, France, 1284 (Reps, *The Making of Urban America*, 1965).

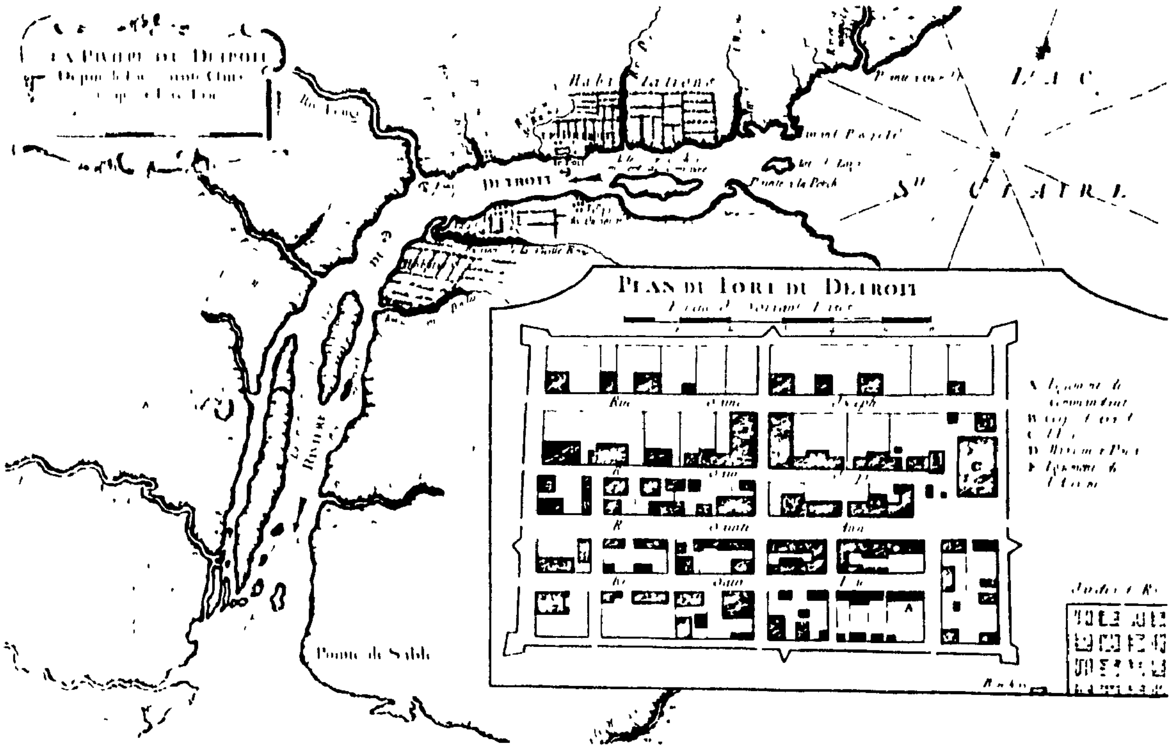

DETROIT
Plan du Fort du Detroit
Pointe de Sable

Figure 1.4. Plan of Detriot, Michigan, 1764 (Reps, *The Making of Urban America*, 1965).

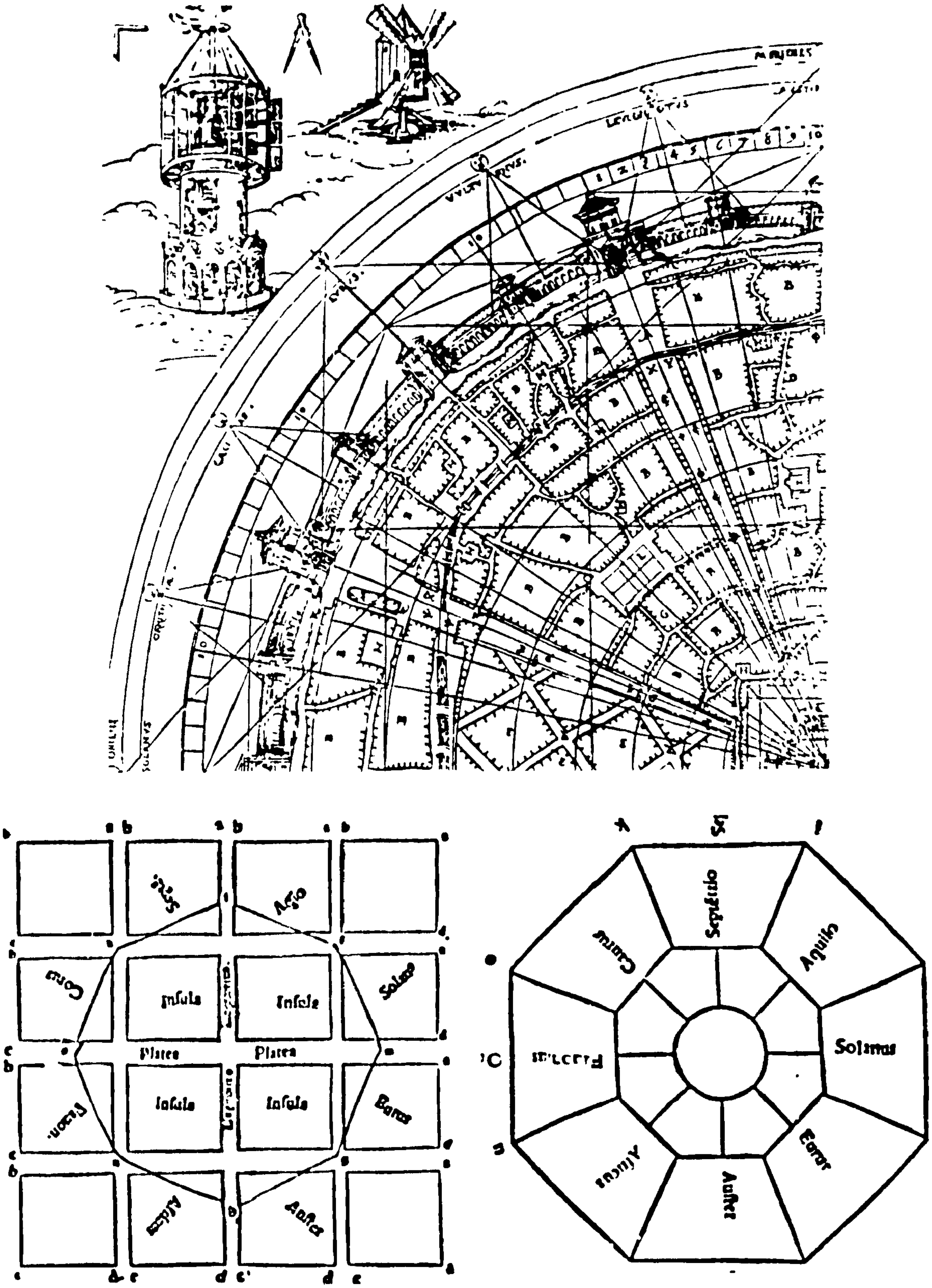
II From the Classical to the Colonial Euro-Urban Influences

The New World offered the possibility for new forms of social organization based on changing religious and political ideals during the Renaissance. The Enlightenment, following the Renaissance, provided new ideals that included the pursuit of reason and science - a secular understanding of humanity and its determined place in nature and the cosmos (Fig.2). The earliest European settlers to the new world were Spanish, French, English, Dutch and Swedish. Initially, the villages and towns and the surrounding agricultural lands of the early settlements in America resembled those of Europe. These settlements were later transformed to meet the needs and the desires of an emerging society. Time-honoured urban and rural values and ways of building villages and towns were challenged in light of a growing awareness of, and respect for, the New World with which the settlers were entrusted. The Arcadian vision, revived during the Renaissance, was thus given new meaning in the context of the New World.

Some of the earliest settlements in America resembled the "bastide" or fortified towns of Europe. As Europe emerged from the middle ages, colonial towns were built as new territories were conquered and settled. Bastides were originally established as frontier outposts in Europe and later in America. The difficult conditions faced by the early American settlers exceeded those of Europe. The American frontier settlement experience was protracted by comparison to its European counterpart and, as a result, the walled town or bastide became an important part of the early American settlement typology. In plan, Detroit (1701), had a strong resemblance to the medieval bastide town of Monpazier (1284) In his description of Monpazier, John Reps notes in *The Making of Urban America*:

> The grid-iron plan, market square, walled perimeter, and restricted size characterize [the bastide] with but few exceptions. The walls of the town enclose a rectangle ... divided into blocks... . Near the centre, surrounded by arcaded streets - a feature of many of the French bastides - is the market square. The church and its adjacent open space are located nearby off one corner of the market square.[7]

The significance of the bastide plan lay in its formal and spatial disposition in relation to the surrounding landscape. The plan was introverted, walled at its perimeter, with the focal point on the church and market area (Figs.3,4). The bastide served as a refuge from the wilderness and the unknown elements of the frontier landscape. After a fortified town was established, the surrounding lands were typically brought under cultivation. In the case of Detroit and the French settlements along the St.Lawrence and the lower Mississippi, the


Insula
Platea
Solanus
Eurus
Auster
Aquilo
Septentrio
Caurus
Africus
Solanus
Eurus
Auster

Figures 1.6a,b,c. Vitruvius's diagram of the winds and archetypal town plans (Rosenau, *The Ideal City*, 1959).

land was divided according to the French land tenure system. Although the surrounding landscape proved to be hostile, a great effort was made to create, or recreate, on formal terms, the landscape within the city walls. The influence of Renaissance planning on the settlement patterns of the early colonial towns was considerable in that respect, although on a much simpler scale (Fig.5).

In general terms, the Renaissance period witnessed a greater concern for the city in terms of its architecture and urban design. The town of Vitry-le-Francois (1545) exemplified the influence of Italian Renaissance planning in France by the attention to the axial relationships of the roads with the town square, the cardinal points and the location of significant buildings. The streets were either grid-iron and/or radial in layout, lined with continuous residential buildings, forming perimeter blocks. These perimeter blocks, with their large internalized courtyards, provided the town's inhabitants with private space to garden as well as another level of security beyond the town fortification. Renaissance planning was a synthesis of earlier town-planning efforts, beginning with the theoretical work of Vitruvius in the Augustan Age, notably in *The Ten Books of Architecture* (1st century BC), and culminating in the work of Leon Battista Alberti's *De Ra Aedificatoria* (15th century).[8] The location of the town, the size and formal configuration of the town plan, the location and size of streets and squares, the disposition of civic and private buildings, the location of commercial and artisan activity, and the type of materials were all discussed in detail in Vitruvius's remarkable text.[9] Alberti, like his predecessor Vitruvius, believed that a town should be laid out in favourable geographic conditions with attention to climatological, agricultural and defensive concerns (Figs.6a,b,c). The streets, which served as the framework of the town, were to be laid out radially and/or orthagonally, in a hierarchical manner and be terminated with civic buildings and squares in a grid-iron plan Urban squares and open spaces were included to provide recreational space. Unwanted industrial activity was to be located outside the town.[10] Alberti, along with many architects and town-planners, proposed numerous plans for real and imagined towns and cities throughout Europe.

Of Grids and Gardens

In concert with the discoveries of the Americas, Renaissance town-planning was given further elaboration in *The Laws of the Indies* (1573) under the rule of Philip II of Spain. The *Laws* embraced many of the Renaissance ideas of town-planning and codified them into an elaborate set of ordinances for the process of colonization in the New World.

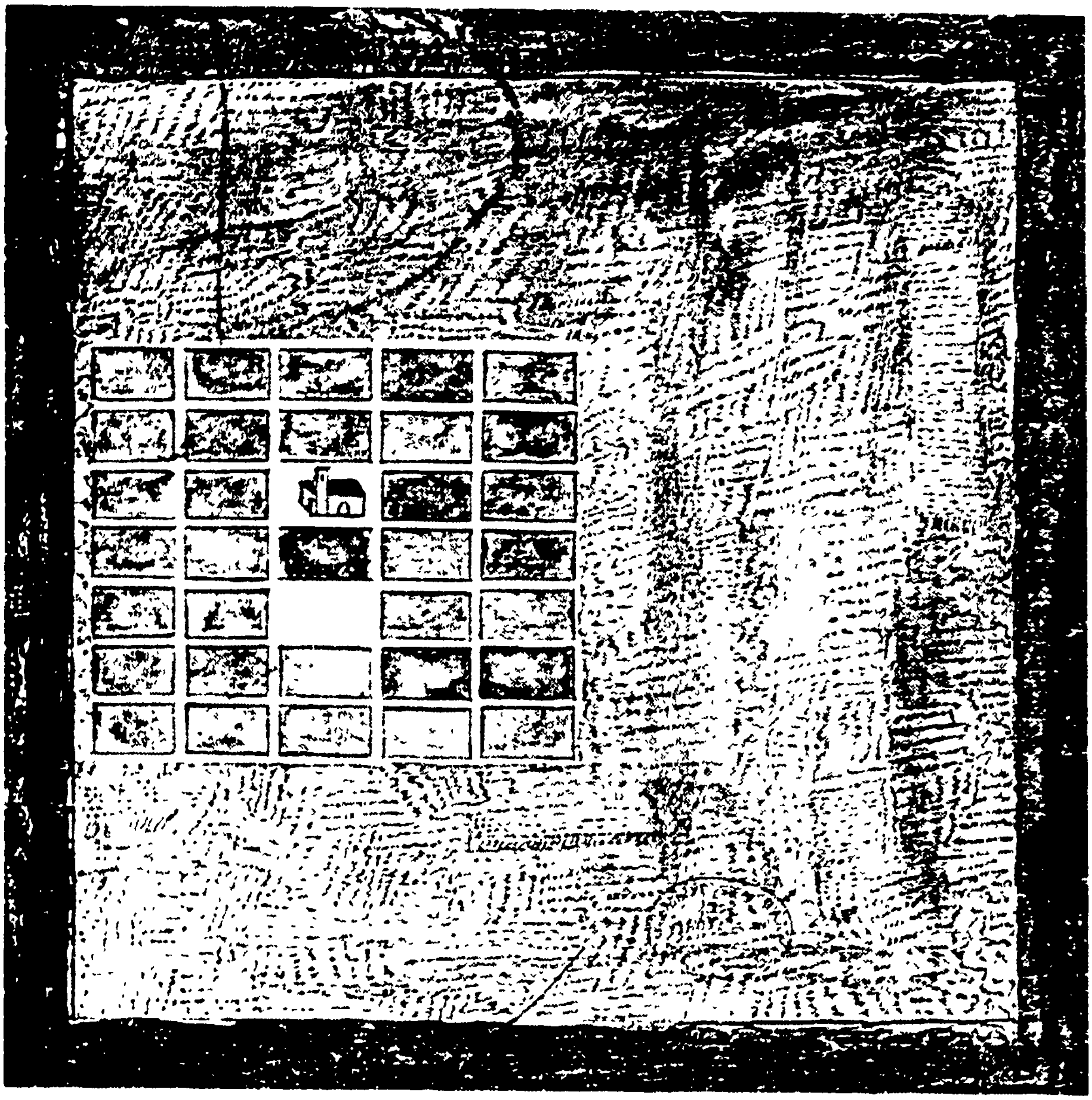


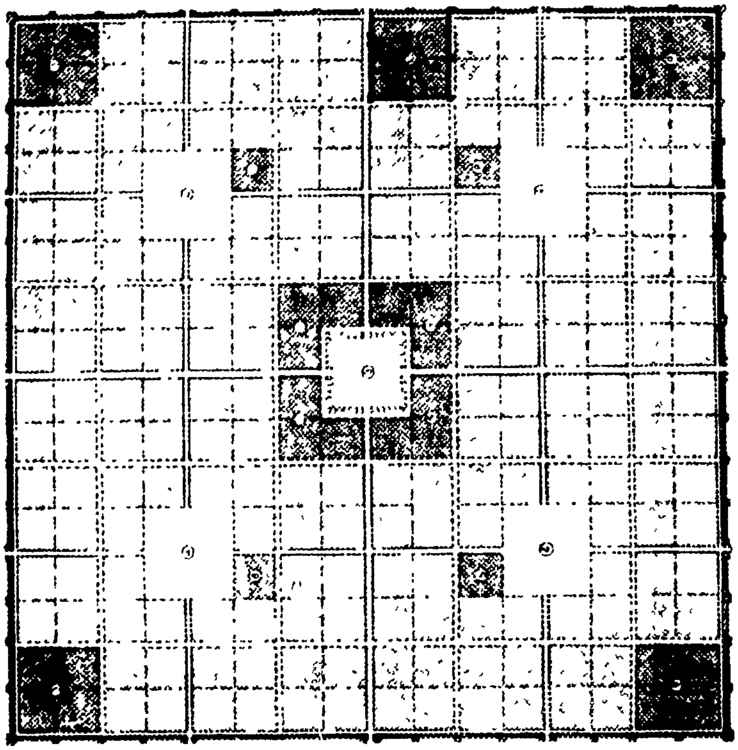
Figure 1.5. The prototypical city composed of a compact town centre and an expanding peripheral landscape (Lejeune, *The New City*, 1991).

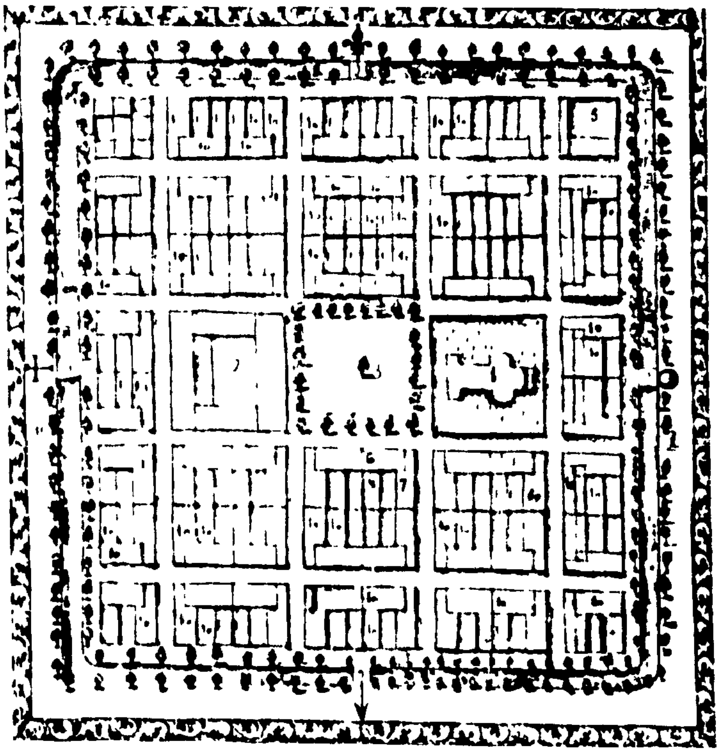
The *Laws* , which also resembled Vitruvius's work in scope and content were, however, limited to town-building and administration (Fig.7). With respect to choosing a site, the *Laws* stated:

> [The town] must be in an elevated and healthy location; [be] with means of fortification; [have] fertile soil and with plenty of land for farming and pasturage, have fuel, timber and resources; [have] fresh water, natives, ease of transport, access and exit; [and be] open to the north wind. ...
>
> The plan of the place, with its squares, streets and building lots is to be outlined by means of measuring by cord and ruler, beginning with the main square from which streets are to run to the gates and principal roads and leaving sufficient open space so that even if the town grows it can also spread in a symmetrical manner [1]

The new town was conceived to be self-sufficient, that is sustainable, and growth was to be accommodated according to the resources available in and around the settlement area Growth of the town was anticipated as colonization proceeded, in an orderly manner, consistent with the civic design principles proclaimed in the *Laws*. In addition, the *Laws* suggested a rectangular format for public plazas, but in most cases in America, the square plaza became the rule. The most important buildings, including civic buildings, the church and merchant shops, were to be laid out along the perimeter of the plaza Within the grid iron plan, the residential areas were to be formed around the plaza These areas would be laid out to include a common for the recreational use of its inhabitants or for livestock to graze. Beyond the the urban areas were located the agricultural lands which were to be subdivided on the basis of settlement lots. Remaining agricultural and other lands belonging to the town would be distributed as growth demanded It was anticipated that the colonial towns would grow and not be limited by political boundaries, a concept that was adopted, and given further expression, in America through the "National Survey" of 1785.[12]

The civic design proclaimed in the *Laws* had a great influence on the settlement patterns in America although the simple orthogonal grid had already been in use for new town planning at least since the Hellenistic age. Scholars generally agree that the grid-iron plan was a product of advancing civilizations in general, like methods of cultivation and social organization, and therefore not unique to European cultures In America, some of the earliest towns were laid out according to the *Laws* including Mobile (1711) and New Orleans (1722). New Orleans, in particular, resembles the Hispanoamerican model of an elongated rectangle of blocks, symmetrically disposed and facing a river (Fig 8) Undoubtedly, the orthogonal division of land together with the Renaissance ideas of





Figures 1.7a,b. The theoretical city of Eximenis, circa 1380, and the Hispanoamerican plan of San Antonio, Texas, 1777 (Reps, *The Making of Urban America*, 1965).

architecture and urban design influenced the early settlements and towns as these emerged during the 17th and 18th-centuries.

At the scale of the town, the grid accommodated functions in an ever expandable module, centred on the town square. In this manner, nature was brought to, and contained in, the town itself. On a national scale, the orthogonal division of land was given form in 1785 through the "Land Ordinance of the Continental Congress". "The adoption of the supergrid for the survey and disposal of western lands effectively stretched the checkerboard pattern across the continent."[13] The town and range system of the National Survey reinforced the grid settlement pattern of towns across the country. The grid, superimposed on nature, thus replaced the "walled garden" of ancient times, and extended it across the entire landscape of America.

III A New Heaven, A New Earth "Citty upon a Hill"

The Arcadian vision, revived in the age of discovery during the Renaissance, was given new meaning in the New World. Essentially, two conceptions of the New World dominated. Some saw it as a paradise restored, a garden of Eden, while others saw it as a forbidding wilderness. Among these were the Puritans, who indeed saw America, not as a wilderness, but as a landscape in which to build their New Jerusalem. Their single-minded belief in God and His divine providence, allowed the Puritans to see America as Edenic - expressed in the millennial vision of a New Heaven and a New Earth. They left England with a divine mission to establish themselves on America's shores. Not unlike More's Utopians, the Puritans were in search of a New Canaan - a terrestrial paradise.and modelled themselves after the Old Testament account of God's chosen people, the Israelites. The Puritans had embraced the emerging Protestant doctrine of the millenium in which the celestial city was abandoned in favour of an earthly one by bringing earth and heaven into one historical continuum.[14] The Puritans saw themselves as the elect who would build the foundation of God's ideal city for all of Protestant England.

The Puritan leader, John Winthrop, chronicled their settlement experience. He envisioned an urban-agrarian society composed of villages and towns in an agrarian landscape. Manchor suggests that Winthrop's writings gave evidence to a "Citty upon a hill" that incorporated millennial thought with a fundamental awareness of the "lawe of nature," which would have significant influence on the Enlightenment conception of the landscape:

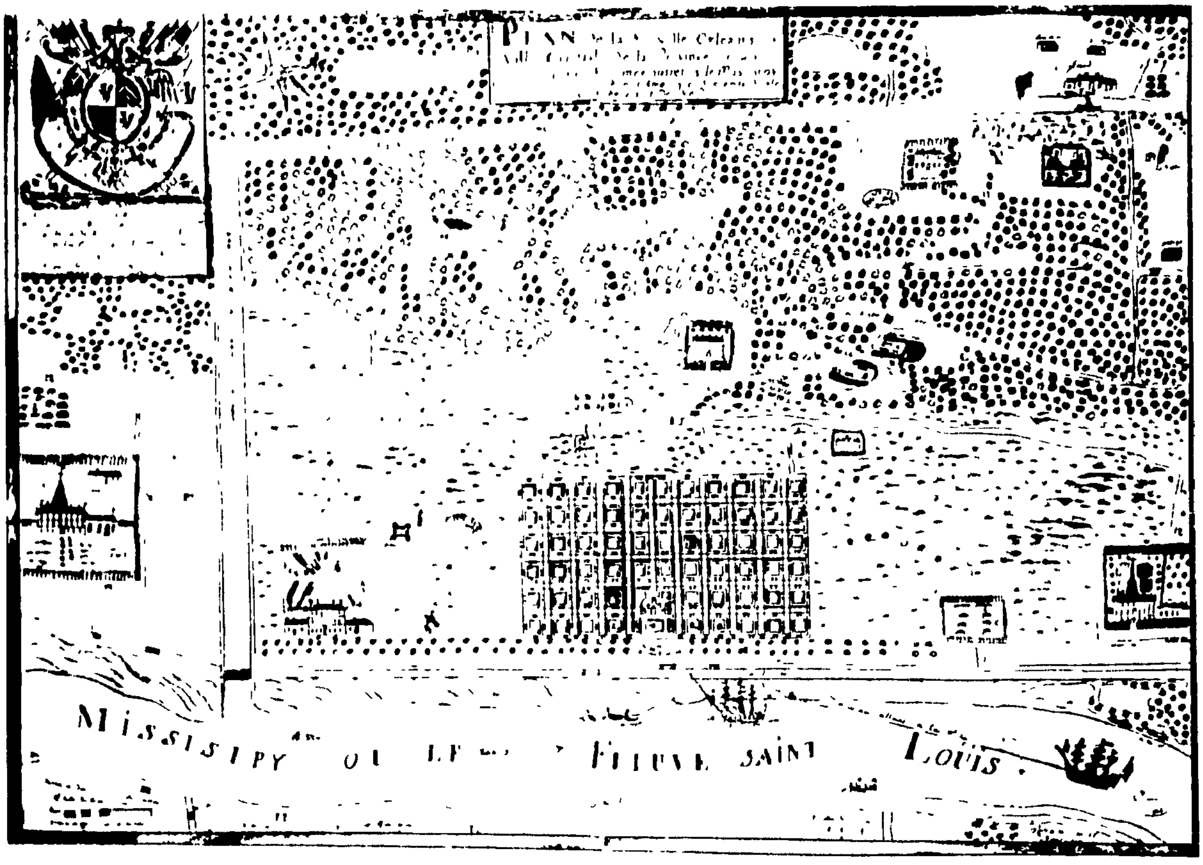

MISSISIPY OU LE FLEUVE SAINT LOUIS

Figure 1.8. The grid and the garden in the plan for New Orleans, Louisiana, 1700 (Reps, *The Making of Urban America*, 1965).

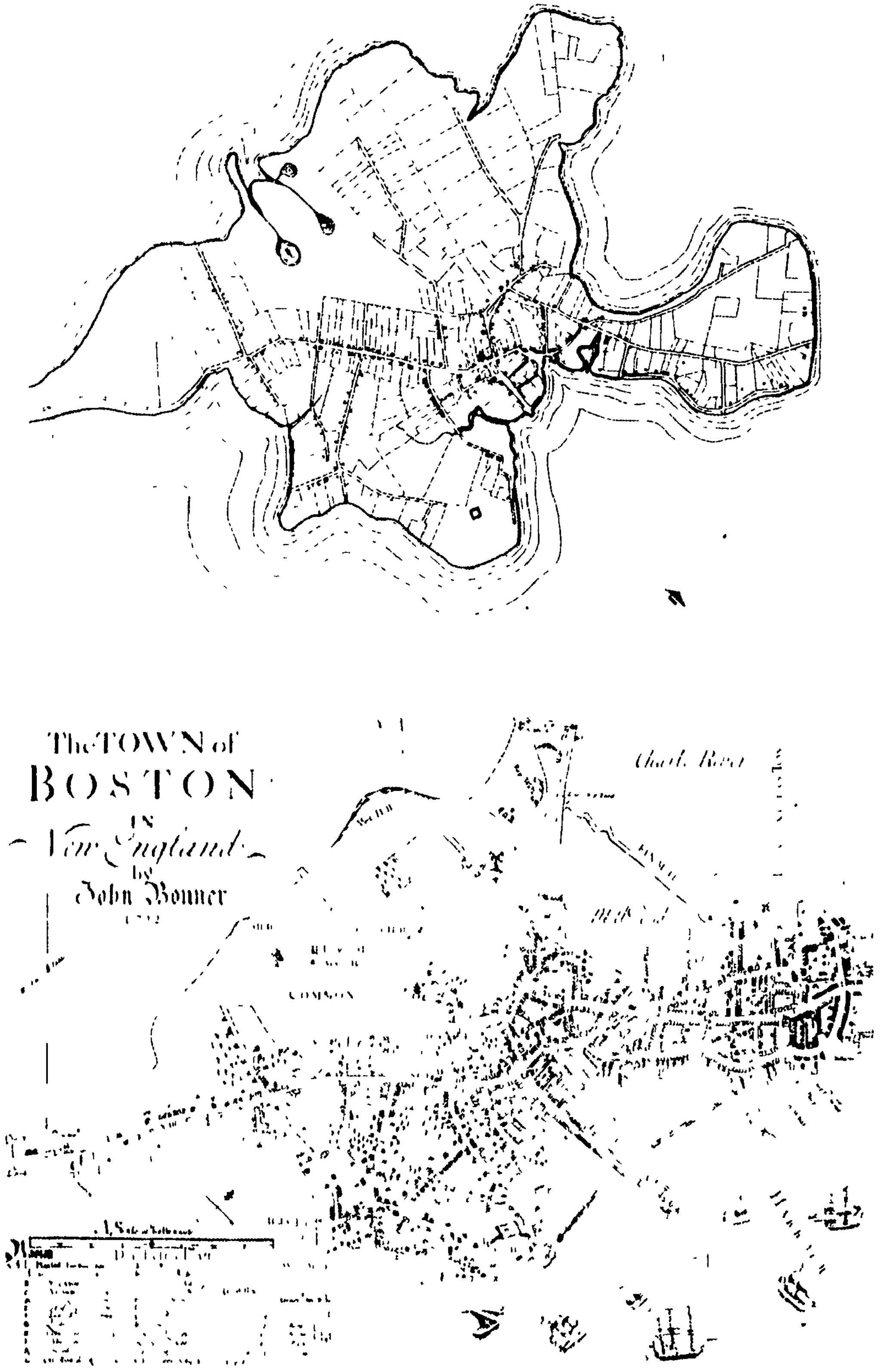
> The images suggest that for Winthrop the Puritan community is to be an organic entity, metaphorically duplicating natural processes. As such it will achieve a harmony among God's works, including nature and civilization, in accordance with providential design.[15]

The symbolic geography that Winthrop envisioned did not necessarily include an organic conception of humanity and nature. However, the biblical account of God's creation and humanity's place in it, was predicated by the overriding concern for stewardship of all that God had provided. Recognizing that "man was a fallen creature" and that nature had been corrupted by man, the Puritans focussed their efforts on building the city upon a hill, "conceived as an environment uniting rural and urban forms, possessing significance as a symbol for the kind of harmony promised in New Jerusalem."[16] Nonetheless, the biblical verse, "Then the Lord God took the man and put him into the garden of Eden to cultivate it and keep it" (Genesis 2:15) undoubtedly found its place in the Puritan vision of the New Earth. Although, as noted, they were more inclined to find their place in the New World in the millennial text of Revelation.

The Arcadian vision, of a synthetic view of nature and civilization, suggests an environmental awareness evident not only in Winthrop's writings but also in the Puritans' perception of their determined place on the American landscape. They believed that the settlement experience, made evident in the theological typology of a New Jerusalem, was coincidental with forming, or rather reforming, the landscape to a divinely inspired plan. In this light, scholars and analysts alike have implicated the Puritans, and others ascribing to biblical orthodoxy, for establishing an adversarial relationship toward the environment. Cecilia Tichi wrote in *New Heaven, New Earth* :

> Our collective mea culpa for environmental rapine, waste, greed, ignorance, fecklessness, and the like reaches backward, we are told, to the beginnings of settlement when those perennially blameworthy forefathers, the Puritans, misread Genesis and became what the late-nineteenth century conservationist John Muir called "pious destroyers'" of the landscape.[17]

The misinterpretation of the Genesis account of creation, of substituting "dominion over" for "stewardship of" the earth's bounty, has a long history preceding the Puritan settlement experience. The connection to early accounts of America as a prelapsarian garden undoubtedly helped to implicate the Puritans as nature's original despoilers. However, humanity's imperious nature can certainly not be laid on the Puritans alone nor on the Judeo-Christian account of earth's creation and humanity's place in it.


The TOWN of
BOSTON
IN
New England
by
John Bonner
COMMON

Figures 1.9a,b. Boston in 1640 as agrarian township and Boston in 1722 as mercantile city (Reps, *The Making of Urban America*, 1965; Fries, *The Urban Idea in Colonial America*, 1977).

Early Arcadian Archetypes

Winthrop's vision of the "Citty upon a Hill" did not initially materialize in the New World as planned. The early settlements of Massachusetts Bay were, in fact, purposefully rural in character with little trace of urbanity. The Puritans were ambivalent toward the idea of establishing any kind of city, as Sylvia Dougherty Fries noted in *The Urban Ideal in Colonial America* (1977):

> The intrusion of the city into the rural landscape posed a challenge not only to the traditional cosmology [medieval] and social outlook inherited by the Puritans from their Elizabethan origins but to economic values which placed the pursuit of riches in the service of religious and community well-being.[18]

The early settlers were bound together primarily by religious affinity and therefore laid out agrarian communities by incorporating a land tenure system as it had evolved in feudal Europe, believing that scripture and nature could best be reconciled in a rural order.[19] Two typical settlement patterns emerged in the Massachusetts Bay area The one was linear and the other was rectilinear. The linear township pattern was a product of organic growth while the orthogonal township pattern was a result of a predetermined plan. Salem (1629) and New Haven (1638), respectively, typify these settlement patterns although the processes of urbanization influenced the character of these townships differently.

The linear township pattern was based on a large land holding that was surveyed to include a town centre or common, comprised of a main street, and some time later, a square and a church terminating at one end of the street. The land was then divided into strips fronting secondary streets. The remaining land was held in common for the villagers. The overall plan was influenced more by topography and site features such as a river then by any formal system of subdivision. The village itself was finite in size and was not planned to accommodate growth.[20] And while few records remain of these settlements, John Reps was able to give evidence of these communities that formed a significant part of the Massachusetts Bay settlements (Figs.9a,b).

The orthogonal township pattern shared similarities in terms of common and private land ownership and the provision for public buildings, however, a formal system of subdivision was adopted. Towns such as Hartford, Cambridge and New Haven all shared a simple grid plan. Of these, Ervin Galantay suggests in *New Towns: Antiquity to the Present* (1975):

> Simple orthogonal plans were drawn up to serve the needs of small homogeneous groups of 250 to 300 persons. A characteristic of these plans was the reservation of a central open space, the "commons" - eight acres in Hartford, sixteen acres in

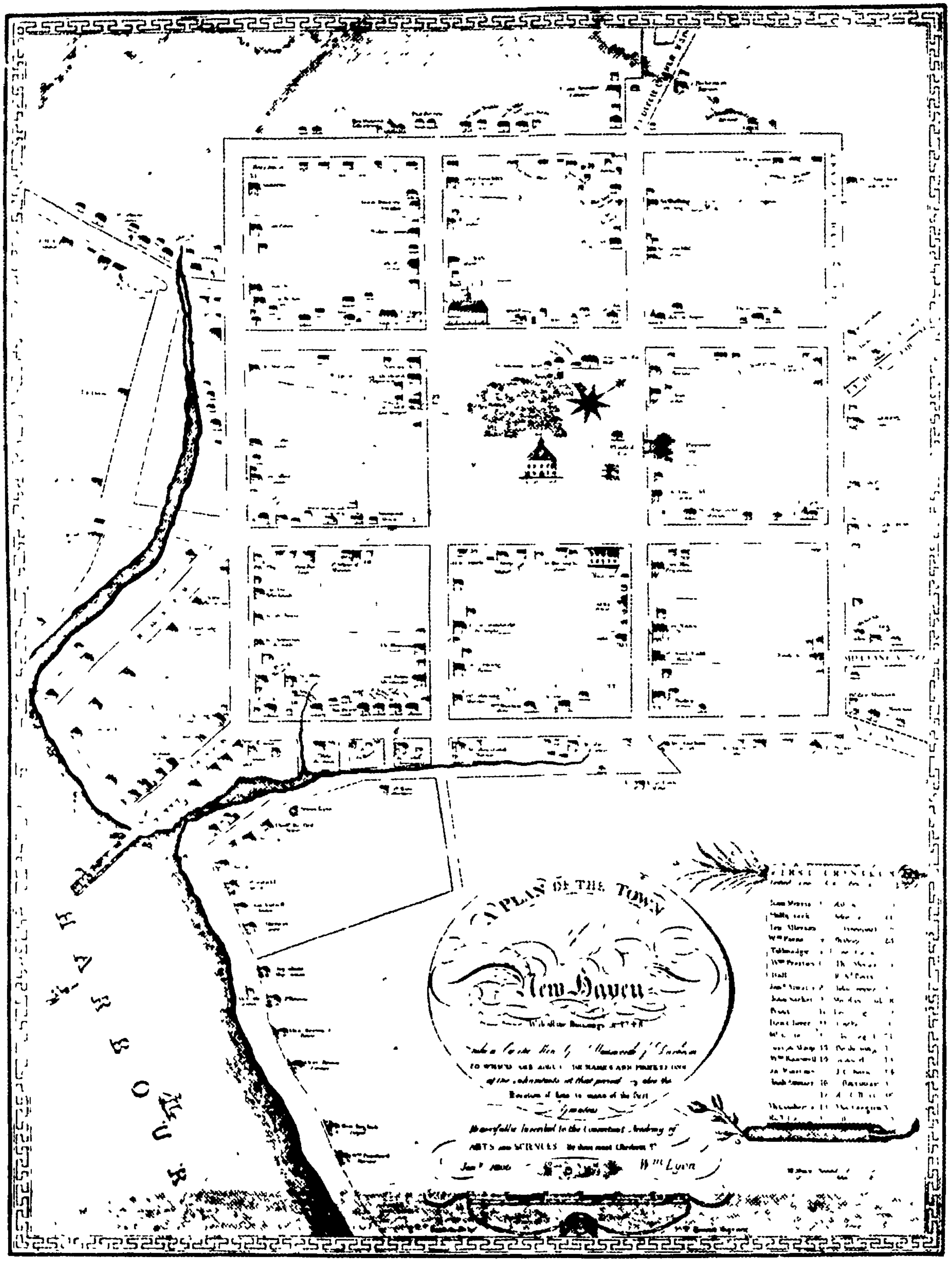

A PLAN OF THE TOWN
of
New Haven
Wm Lyon
HARBOUR

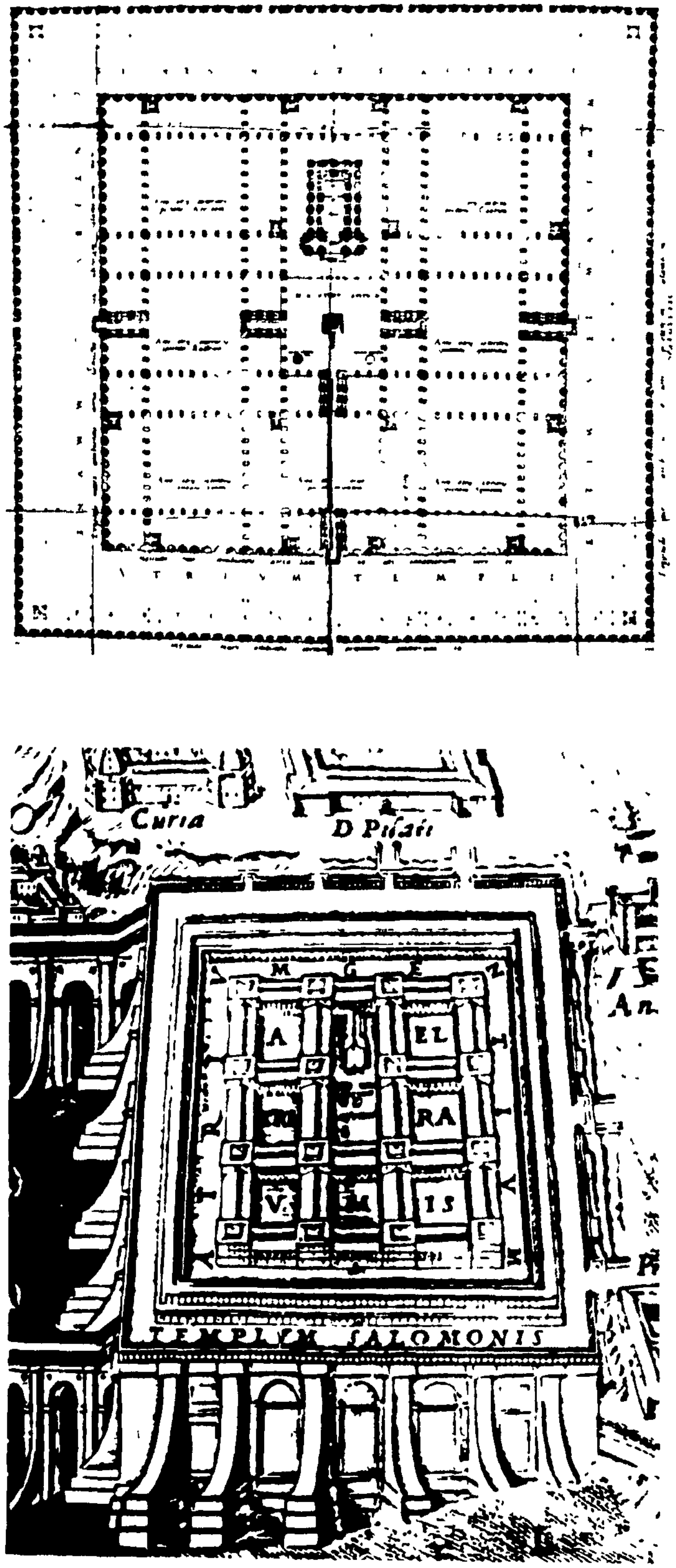
Figure 1.10. Plan of New Haven, Connecticut, 1748 Fries,*The Urban Idea in Colonial America*, 1977).

> New Haven. ... The New Haven plan is a perfect square formed by three times three blocks resembling the standard Hispanoamerican plan for "thirty vecinos," except for the fact that the New Haven blocks are unusually large (825 feet square compared to 450 or 300 feet in Latin America).[21]

The increased size of the blocks may have been a result of adapting traditional planning ideas in the context of the New World, given the vast amount of land available for settlement. The plan also incorporated a more spacious and open arrangement of buildings, both public and private (Fig.10). The Puritans' plan for New Haven, in particular, also shared a strong resemblance to numerous plans for a New Jerusalem described in the Bible and later interpreted by a number of Renaissance theologians and scholars as a perfect square of nine blocks (Figs.11a,b). Of these biblical cities Fries noted:

> The biblical cities, although varying considerably in their dimensions, had certain features in common. First, all were square. Second, the prophetic city of Ezekial incorporated the encampment of the twelve tribes of Israel, placed in contiguous groups of three along each of the city's four sides which were oriented toward north, south, east and west. ... Third, the city proper was located at the centre of the "suburbs" and, also measured in a square, thus formed with its suburbs two concentric squares. Finally, ... the biblical cities were measured around two central axes.[22]

New Haven was established after a number of other settlements, most notably Boston, appeared not to hold the promise envisioned by Wynthrop's "Citty upon a Hill." Under the leadership of John Davenport and with the help of Thomas Graves, surveyor of the Massachusetts Bay area, New Haven was established as "a bible commonwealth in the purest possible form."[23] The orthogonal grid was not new as an urban form, however, in the case of New Haven the plan shared many consistencies with the biblical cities, including the measure of nine equal squares, solar orientation and the disposition of the public and private buildings and its relationship to the landscape. Instead of locating the dwelling units around the centre with garden and farm lots behind them, the dwelling lots were located within each of the peripheral squares, rather than facing the central square or common, giving each inhabitant a larger piece of the garden. In many respects, New Haven was the archetypal Arcadian community - a synthesis of nature and urbanity. It gave evidence both of a New Jerusalem and of the garden of Eden and therefore represented, better than any other early settlement, the Puritan vision of the "Citty upon a Hill". Not until a century later would that vision be given further expression in the grand Arcadian visions of Philadelphia and Washington DC.


Curia
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TEMPLVM SALOMONIS

Figures 1.11a,b. Scholarly interpretations of Ezekiel's temple and Jerusalem (Fries,*The Urban Idea in Colonial America*, 1977).

IV The Enlightenment of America

The Newtonian Universe

The scientific discoveries of the Enlightenment had a profound influence on Western thought, as did the discoveries of the New World during the Renaissance. The perception of nature and of humanity's place in it changed profoundly in Europe and in America. Coincident with the American Revolution, the Enlightenment in America promised a change in the conception of America's place in creation "from an essentially ahistorical accomplishment of Providence to a secular, historical possibility." [24] During this period the biblical imagery of a "despoiled earth" and "fallen man" eventually gave way to a new concept of nature and of humanity. The early efforts of European scientists such as Galileo and Bacon in the 17th century, and later by Newton, Boyle and others, collectively gave empirical evidence of a divine cosmic order revealed in the inherently complex patterns of nature. "As a result, nature achieved an ascending dignity as a tutelary phenomenon equal, if not superior, to holy writ. To confront the great book of nature was to peer into the divine mind and read its immutable laws recorded there." [25] To consider the perfectibility of nature and of humanity in concert with a divine plan altered America's self-image in the New World. No longer bound to a millennial imperative, the Arcadian vision was given further consideration in terms of a cosmology based on natural law as well as on mythology and religion. The related idea that humanity was morally regenerate had far-reaching implications:

> "The process of moral regeneration was to be, indeed, a civilizing process, but, as opposed to the supposedly corrupt urban culture of Europe ... the new American civilization would hew to its agrarian basis. ... In this context, the peculiar virtues of America came to be associated with the cultivators of the soil and with the regenerating powers of nature."[26]

The immutable laws of nature thus provided the moral ground to conceive an American landscape distinctly different from the despoiled earth of Europe, one that was both Edenic and pastoral.

In Europe a heightened interest in, and awareness of, nature emerged during this period. Numerous treatises and books on the philosophical and aesthetic implications of natural law were published. This awareness took a number of forms, not only in literature but also in art. Landscape painting, as a distinct genre, achieved widespread popularity during the Enlightenment. The Arcadian themes in the work of the 17th-century artists, Claude Lorrain and Nicholas Poussin, gave evidence of the human condition in a state of nature, of the correspondence between the visible world and the metaphysical properties of nature. The pastoral landscapes served as backgrounds for the artists to explore themes of

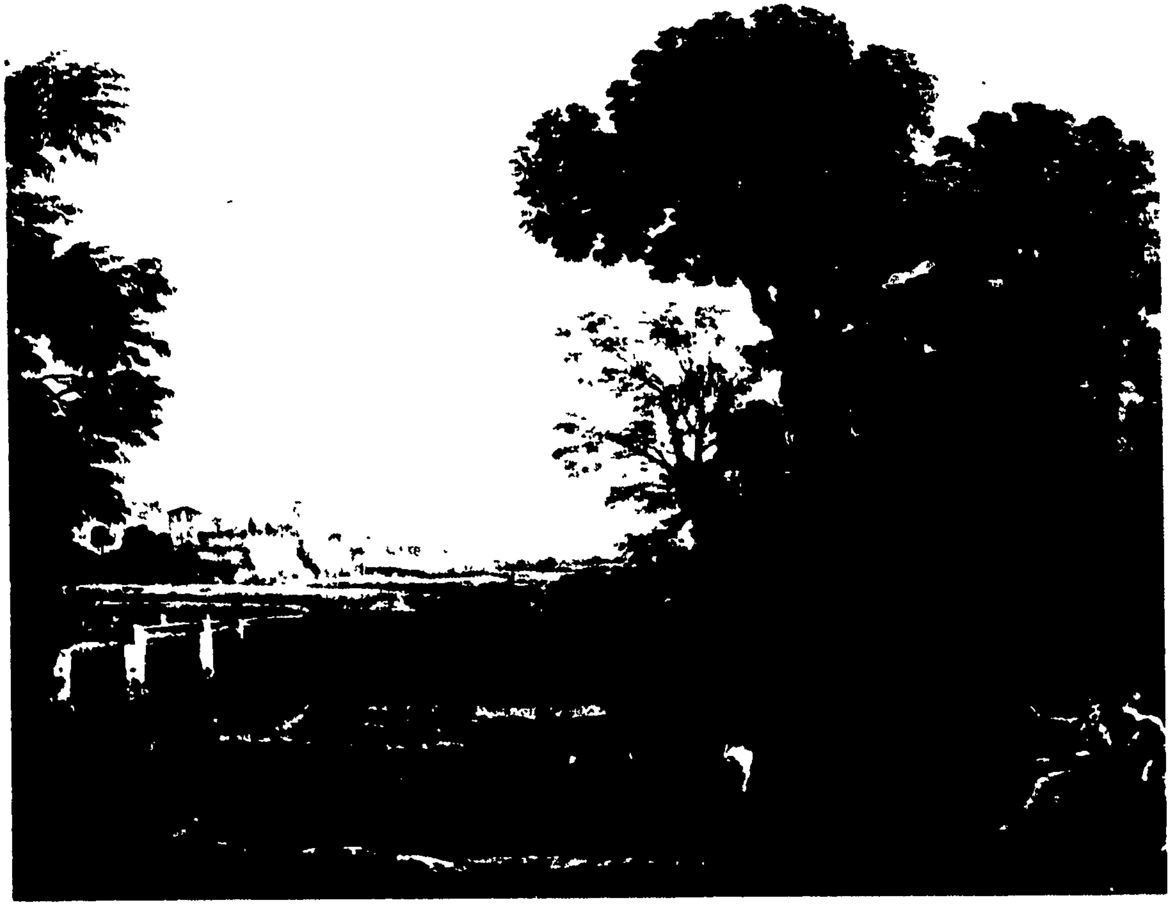


Figure 1.12. A pastoral landscape in Arcadia by Claude Lorrain, 1648 (Russell, *Claude Lorrain*, 1982).

mortality, tranquility and dignity in a classicist vocabulary (Figs.12,13a,b). The themes of their later works were varied and included utopian and metaphysical characteristics.[22] The pastoral mode was incorporated by European artists recording the American landscape during the 18th century. Artists like Archibald Robertson and John Joseph Holland painted cities like New York, Boston and Philadelphia in the context of bucolic settings, suggesting a harmony between nature and civilization synonymous with the Edenic promises of a New World (Fig.14).

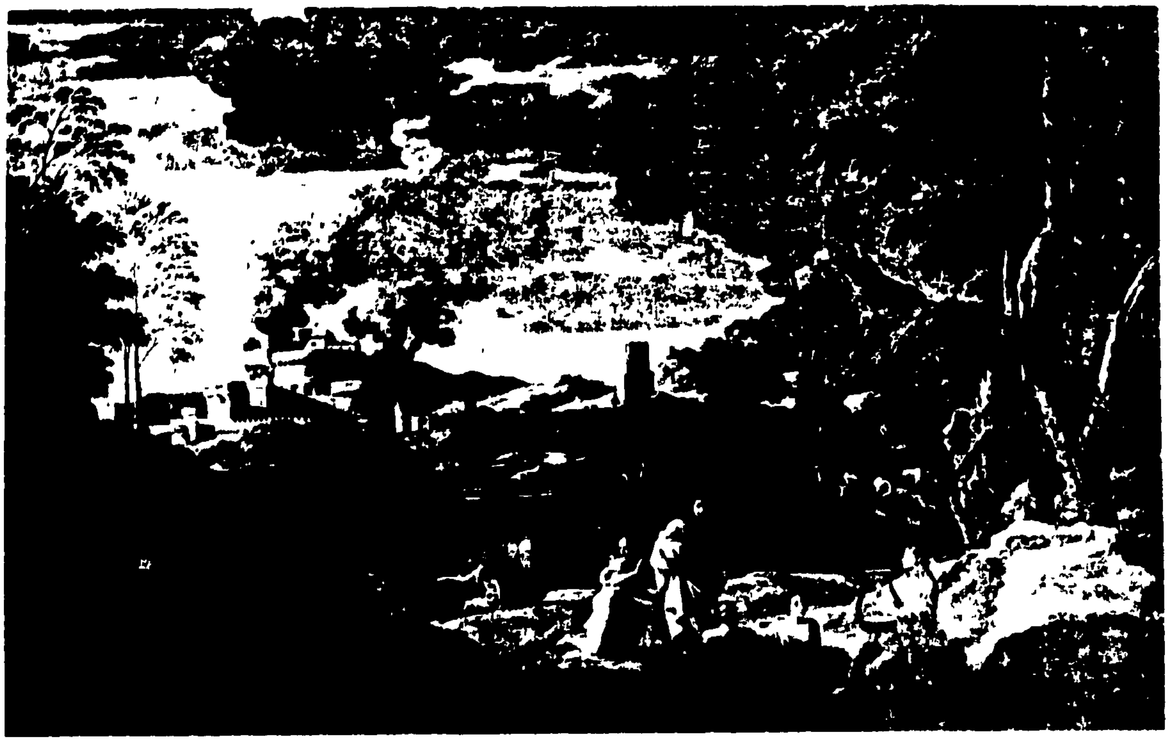
Farmer James

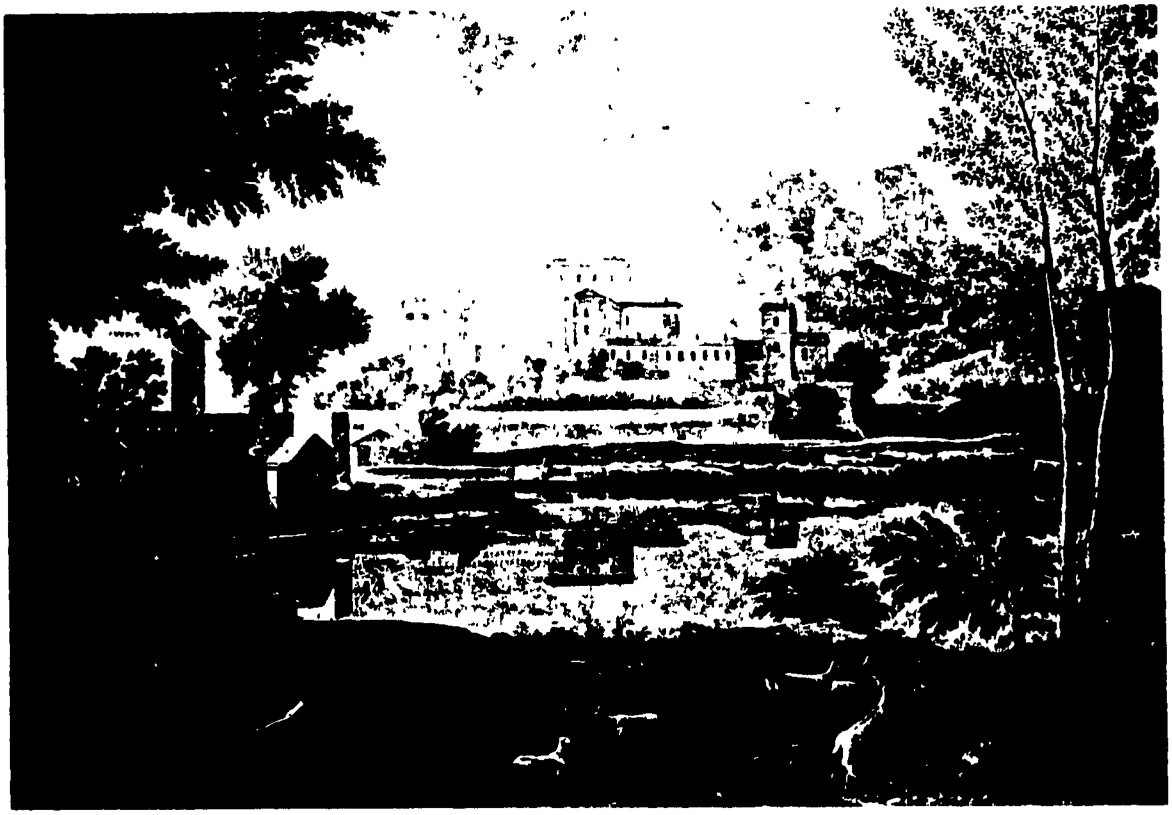
The Arcadian vision was given further definition during this period by embracing the vision of an agrarian society. The traditional pastoral mode was linked to an emerging attitude toward the environment based on the scientific knowledge of a Newtonian universe. The sociological and economic implications of this vision were directed toward a veneration not only of the landscape but of agriculture and the role of the "yeoman" farmer in society. As Leo Marx suggested in *The Machine in the Garden* :

> There was nothing new, to be sure, about the expression of agrarian pieties. In England, much earlier, the general renaissance of classical learning had helped to intensify native respect for agriculture. Any number of Greek and Latin authors besides Virgil provided the models of praise for husbandry. ... Then, too, the glamorous prospect of settling new lands, remote from centres of civilization, added to the appeal of rural as against urban life.[23]

In America, the rural or agrarian landscape was venerated from the earliest settlement experience onward. The Arcadian shepherd of Virgil's *Eclogues* was replaced by the American husbandman who sought refuge from the forces of civilization, notably those of Europe, in the New World. The role of the husbandman, or farmer, as a geographical agent of change during this period was central to shaping the attitudes of an emerging American civilization. These attitudes, of a synthetic view of nature and humankind, expressed in an agrarian philosophy, were made evident in the literature of Hector St. John de Crevecoeur's *Letters from an America Farmer* (1782) and in the definitive American vision of a pastoral-agrarian society in Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia* (1785)

Crevecoeur, a naturalized American, wrote of the agrarian ideals and the "cultivators of the soil" that shaped those ideals in the American settlement experience. Similar to More's *Utopia*, Crevecoeur employed a narrative style to relate the events surrounding the settlement experience. In discussing *Letters of an American Farmer* , Cecilia Tichi suggested:





Figures 1.13a,b. Pastoral landscapes of Arcadia by Poussin, circa 1640 (Merot, *Nicholis Poussin*, 1990).

> Crevecoeur's is a moral aesthetic, emphasizing the well-being of these cultivators who are made by (and in turn give shape and character to) America. The pleasing geography of orderly and prosperous settlement reflects the American mind, that of the New Man. His "regeneration", "resurrection," and "metamorphosis" from the servility and prejudice of Europe is the achievement of Americanization, itself the outcome of settlement.[29]

The "cultivators of the soil", in Crevecoeur's mind,were "regenerated" because of their association to the land, their vocational inclination, as farmers, a result of being exposed to the vast geography of America. The land was considered to have more than material or political benefits - it determined the moral character of its citizenry. The landscape was seen as a "cardinal metaphor of value" in which the "metaphoric even more than the physical properties of the land" held the possibilities for regeneration, namely in the form of a pastoral-agrarian landscape.[30] Crevecoeur was also aware that not everyone would be able to find a place in a rural setting. Villages and towns would invariably result from the intractable process of civilization or "Americanization." In keeping with the Enlightenment ideals of perfectibility of humanity and its institutions, Crevecoeur naively believed in the possibility of transforming the institutions of Europe to accommodate American needs, without recognizing the implications of the forces of industrialization or the nature of the changing institutions themselves.[31] Nonetheless, Crevecoeur's *Letters* provided a description of America as an agrarian society during the Enlightenment period, in which the Arcadian vision of synthetic view of nature and humankind held unforeseen potential as a pastoral-agrarian society.

The Greene Republic

The potential of a pastoral-agrarian society, as a national goal, was given definitive form in Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia* (1785). Published only three years after Crevecoeur's *Letters*, Jefferson's *Notes* advanced many of the ideas outlined by Crevecoeur's Farmer James. However, Jefferson was able to separate the literary metaphors from the political reality facing America. Like Crevecoeur and other American thinkers of his day, Jefferson held to the spirit of the age of the Enlightenment, placing his faith in nature and humanity. Still, Jefferson held a simplistic belief in the virtues of the rural inhabitant over those living in the city. Indeed, the European city and its associated ills of industry and manufacturing were viewed as antithetical to the pastoral agrarian ideal advanced by Jefferson. "Those who labour in the earth are the chosen people of God, if ever He had a chosen people, whose breasts He has made His peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtue", and "Corruption of morals in the mass of cultivators is a

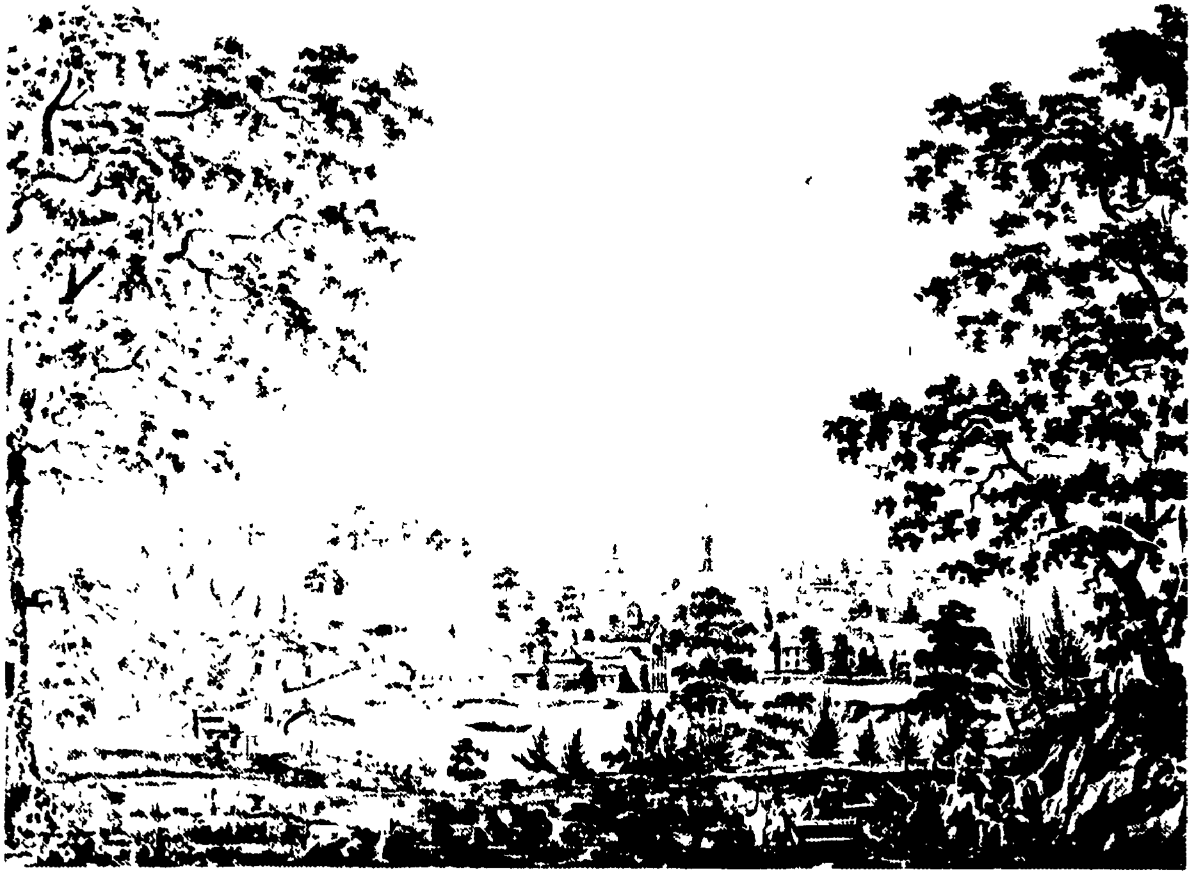


Figure 1.14. A pastoral view of Philadelphia by Gilbert Fox (Machor, *Pastoral Cities*, 1985).

phenomenon of which no age nor nation has furnished an example." And of those who chose to live in cities, he wrote, "The mobs of great cities add just so much to the support of pure government, as sores do to the strength of the body."[23] Jefferson, was particularly loathe to accept the idea that progress was linked to industry and trade. Instead of economic growth on a national scale, he sided with self-sufficiency within the pastoral community. The rural yeoman farmer was better able to participate in the democracy Jefferson envisioned by being engaged in the political life of the community. Only an agrarian society could ultimately embrace the democratic ideal he sought for America. To have a stake in the country meant, quite literally, to have a stake in the land. The city and the values associated with urbanity could not afford the American citizen this opportunity.

Jefferson's vision for a pastoral-agrarian society was given further expression through the National Survey of 1785 (Fig.15). As J.B.Jackson suggested in *Landscapes* (1970):

> The almost universal use of the grid for towns can not be entirely understood without some reference to the wider regional grid of the National survey - which automatically prescribed at least the main axes of any town - nor without some reference to the American ideal. If in terms of design, our cities are more than extensions of a village grid, the village itself - is in turn little more than a fragment of the regional grid: an orderly arrangement of uniform lots frequently focussed about a public square with no particular function and unvarying dimensions.

The survey laid an apparently egalitarian order across the land and, in so doing, came to symbolize Jefferson's democratic ideal on a national scale through the town and range system. Homesteads, villages and towns were established within the gridiron system that the survey dictated. The grid symbolically confirmed the idea that the process of moral regeneration was directly linked to the civilizing process of an agrarian landscape. Thus, during the Enlightenment period the Puritan values of a spiritual rebirth in the New World were transformed to a moral rebirth of a nation, expressed in the Jeffersonian landscape of the "Greene Republic".

On Civilizing Cities

> I was in my Working Dress, my best Cloaths being to come round by Sea. I was dirty from my Journey; my Pockets were stuff'd out with Shirts and Stockings; I knew no Soul nor where to look for Lodgings. [24]
>
> Benjamin Franklin

The pastoral ideal envisioned by Jefferson was already being challenged before *Notes on Virginia* was first published. Jefferson knew that a pastoral-agrarian society, a permanently rural America, was impossible to reconcile with the urban growth along the

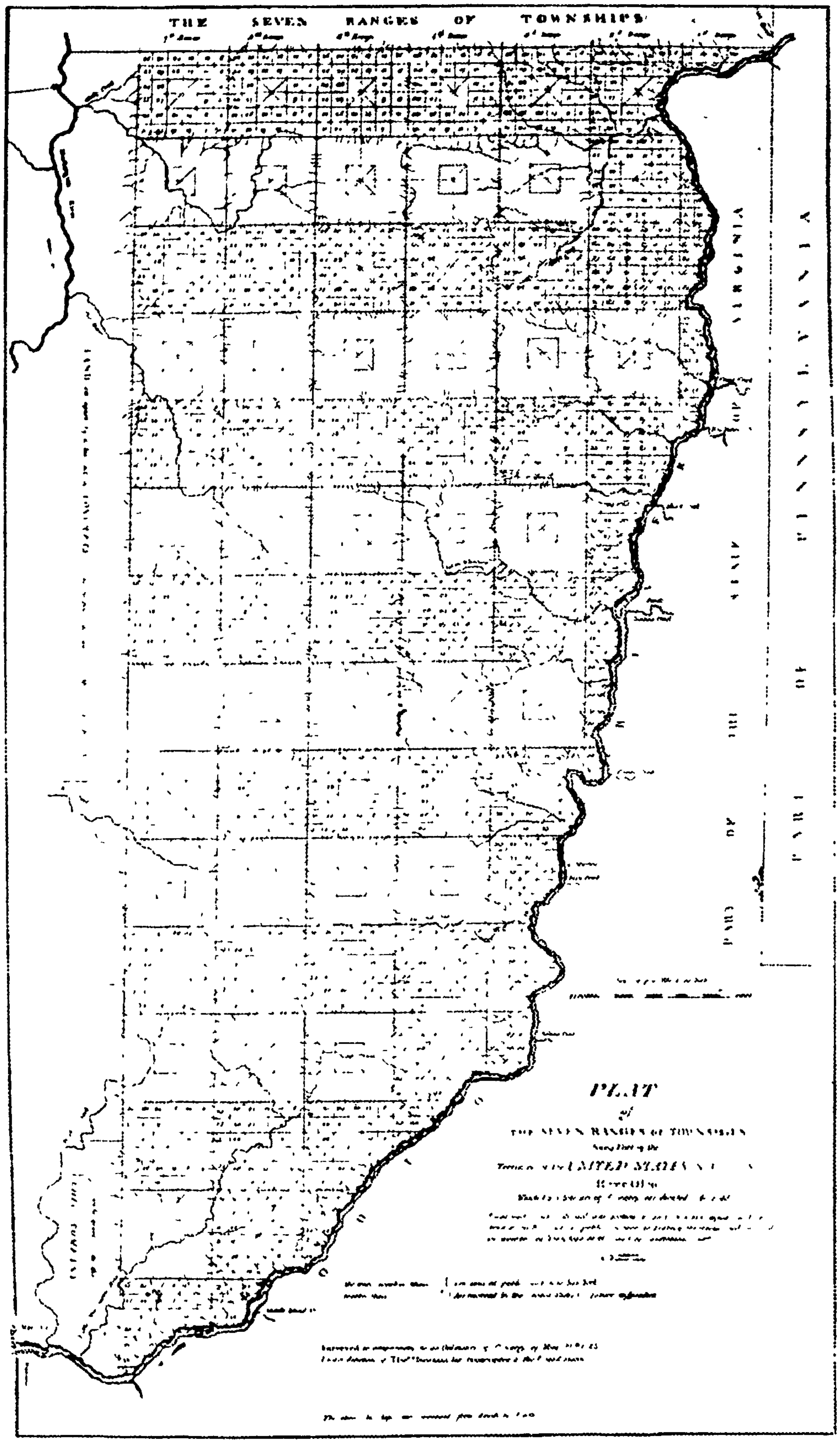

THE SEVEN RANGES OF TOWNSHIPS
VIRGINIA
PENNSYLVANIA
PLAT
of
THE SEVEN RANGES OF TOWNSHIPS
UNITED STATES

Figure 1.15. The town and range system of the National Survey, Ohio (Reps, *The Making of Urban America*, 1965).

eastern seaboard and the expansion across the continent. The Industrial Age was transforming Europe and would in time also transform America. This was foreshadowed in Crevecour's *Letters* and articulated in his later *Sketches of Eighteenth-Century America.* It was discussed in the "queries" of Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia* , in his correspondence with John Adams and in Adam's *Wealth of Nations* (1776). The issues facing an emerging nation after the Revolution were perhaps chronicled best in Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography* (1771 onward).

Franklin, like Jefferson, represented Enlightenment thought in America, yet his vision ultimately allowed America to transcend an historically static view of a pastoral-agrarian society. The pastoral view was vital to understanding the American consciousness of the period, however, the processes of civilization were changing the moral geography of the nation.[35] The rise of manufacturing and small-scale industry were making a significant impact on the urban centres of Boston, Philadelphia and New York as well as smaller urban and rural settlement areas. In this context, Franklin emerged as a spokesperson and guardian of the national conscience, himself "a product of eighteenth-century urban culture extending from Europe to Colonial Boston and Philadelphia."[36] Franklin's *Autobiography*, written over a period of two decades, sought to redefine the pastoral ideal in terms of bridging rural and urban values, which he believed to be vital to individual and communal fulfillment. Manchor suggested that:

> Franklin provided an exemplum of pastoral urbanity manifested in the social atmosphere of a city and the character of its citizens ... Franklin ... believed that in America a new type of city was possible, combining the best of rural and urban and inhabited by individuals drawing on native talents and inspired by the promise of the open landscape and fresh beginnings.[37]

He identified himself with humble beginnings, both literally and metaphorically. This was made evident in his arrival to Philadelphia where, by practicing prudence, ingenuity and a devotion to his ideas, he was able to rise in personal and public stature which was synonymous with the rise of the whole nation. To Franklin, rural values traditionally associated with the traits of the simple yeoman, were also ingrained in the urban dweller. Americans were, therefore, all primitives of a new sensibility in which the promise of the New World extended the moral geography expressed in the Arcadian vision to country and city alike.

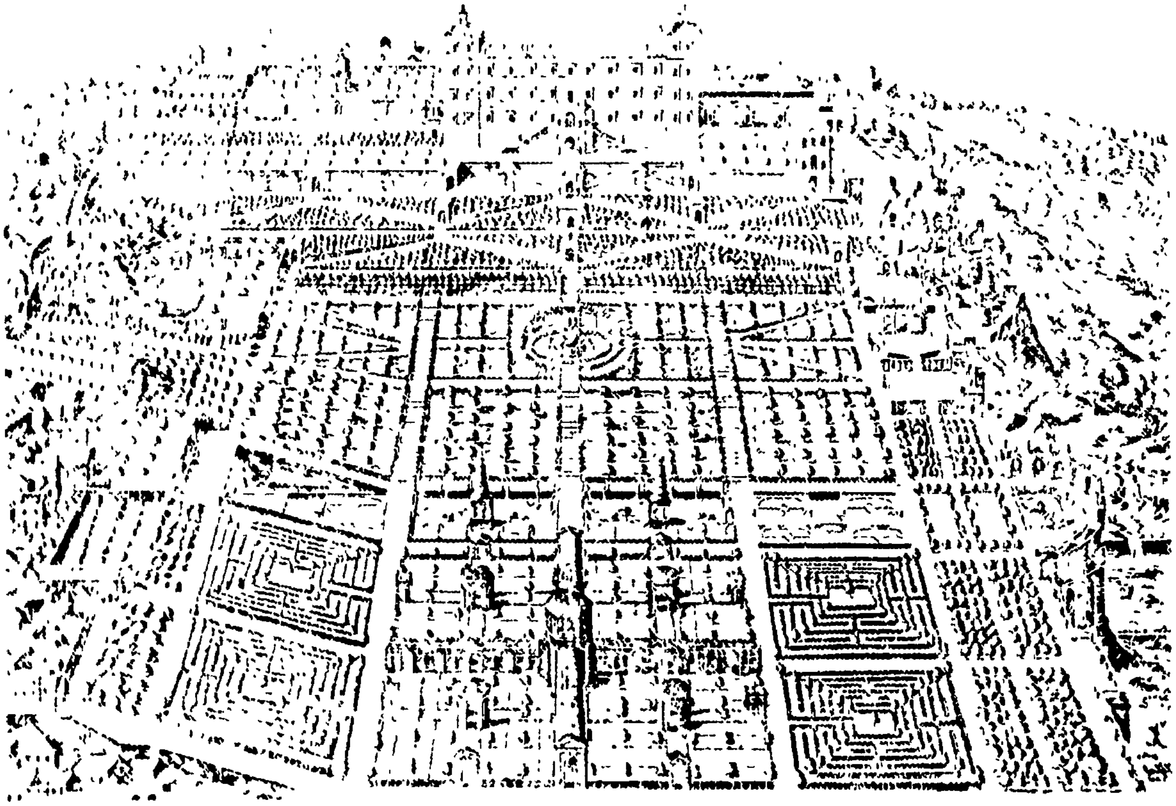


Figure 1.16. The Italian garden in the 16th-century; Villa d'Este at Tivoli Newton, *Design on the Land*, 1971).

V The Grand Arcadian Visions

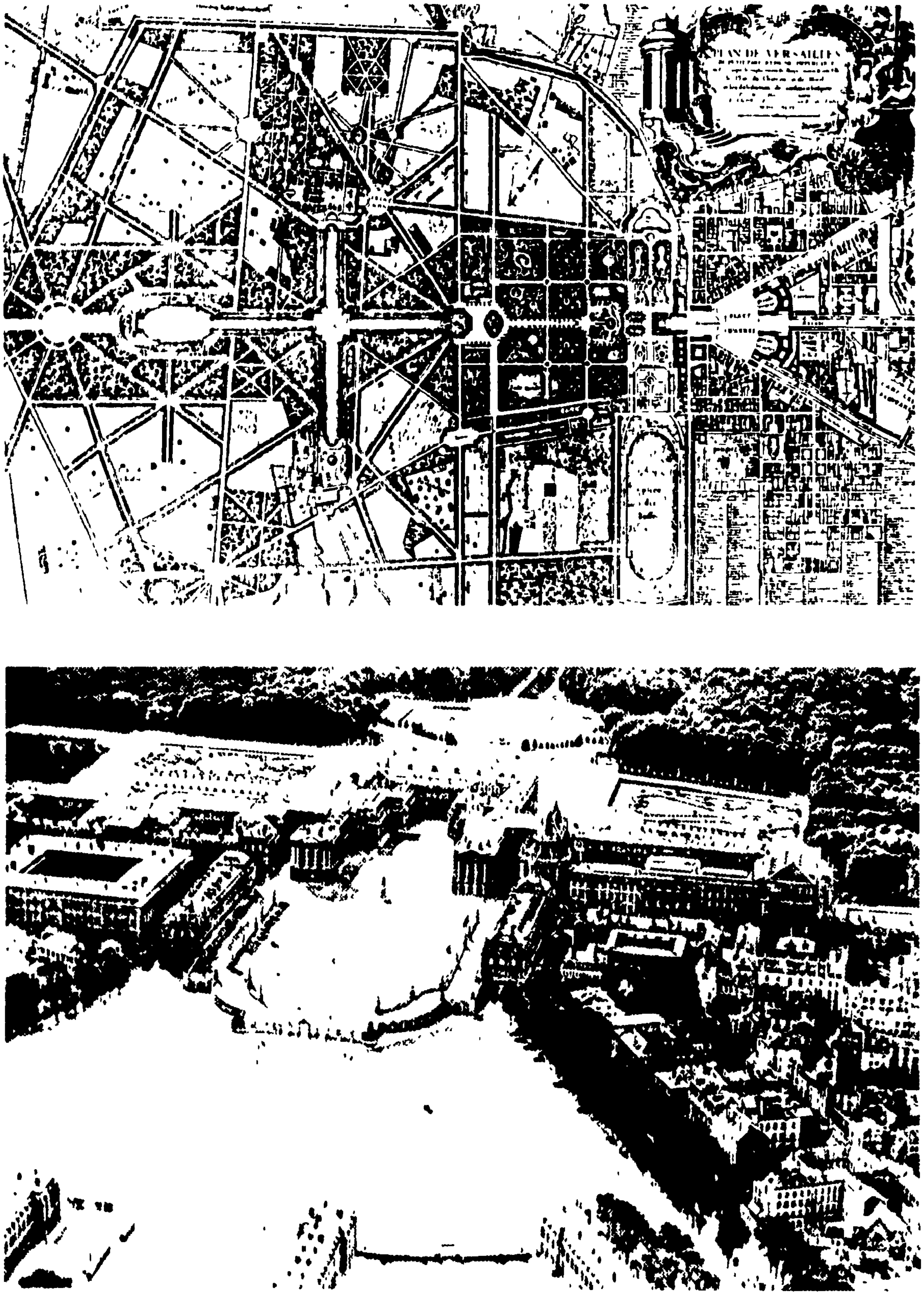
Baroque Influences

Renaissance planning and the renewed interest in the orthogonal plan had a significant impact on European and American urbanity. However, the Renaissance also influenced European urbanity with the symbolic landscape of the garden (Fig.16). The Renaissance garden gained widespread attention in Europe through the Enlightenment period culminating in the French Baroque garden schemes.[38] The garden, in its symbolic role, found acceptance in America in the 18th and 19th centuries. The Renaissance garden embraced emerging humanist values, its layout and composition symbolizing the cosmos and humanity's determined place in it. The garden gave symbolic meaning to humanity's existence while also providing sustenance in its harvest. The Baroque garden schemes carried out by the French, transformed entire towns such as Versailles (Fig 17a,b).

At Versailles, the walled garden of Eden was replaced by nature's garden, extending across the the landscape to the horizon. Arguably, the Baroque garden symbolized a harmony not only between the cosmic order and humanity but between humanity and nature as well - a dialectic in which the whole was seen as greater than the sum of its parts. Furthermore, Baroque geometry sought to establish, symbolically, humanity's relationship to the cosmos and the world it inhabits. Baroque planning did not seek a relationship of dominance over nature but one of a perfectible order based on the divine principles of geometry. The notion of humanity's dominance over nature was therefore misinterpreted in Baroque garden design and subsequent Baroque city planning efforts both in Europe and America. In England, the French Baroque influence was perhaps best exemplified in Christopher Wren's plan for the reconstruction of London (1666) Although the plan was never executed, the Baroque formality of the piazzas, radial streets and axes, combined with a subordinated grid and the infusion of nature and greenery was to become universally acknowledged and copied (Fig.18). The Baroque influence may rightfully be regarded as a symbolic attempt to express the Arcadian vision - of humanity in the extended garden in formal terms. As the urban landscape of America unfolded in the 17th and 18th centuries the influences of the Renaissance and the Baroque became more apparent.

Penn's Philadelphia

> That so soon as it pleaseth God ... a certain quantity of land or ground plat shall be laid out for a very large town or city ... and every purchaser and adventurer shall, by lot, have so much land therein as will answer to the proportion which he hath bought or taken up in rent.[39]
>
> William Penn


PLAN DE VERSAILLES

Figures 1.17a,b. The cosmic order in the plan of Versailles, France, 1746 Newton, *Design on the Land*, 1971).

William Penn was made Governor and Proprietor of Pennsylvania in 1681 where he assumed his divine mission to establish the Quakers in the New World. Like John Winthrop before him, Penn was concerned with promoting religious freedom, but for the Quakers. Penn was interested in building a divinely inspired city, an "holy experiment", to be inhabited by a largely rural and religious society:

> Whereas the city seemed to represent in microcosm all the foibles of an artificial, man-made world, especially liable to human corruption, the country promised the recovery of innocence, sincerity, honor, and, because of its association with nature, access to the sublime truths of the universe.[10]

Raised in London, Penn had acquired a sensitivity for European urbanity and civility , however, he was also critically aware of the city's pitfalls. His later conversion to Quakerism radically changed his views of an ideal society and of an ideal city. Philadelphia was thus conceived as a rural-urban synthesis, which Penn referred to as the "greene country towne". The pastoral ideal of living in rustic simplicity, as the yeoman farmer of antiquity, had great appeal to Penn and, like Franklin after him, he believed that rural values could also be ingrained in the urban dweller.

Philadelphia was established in 1682, a part of a vast land holding entrusted to Penn. He had hired Captain Thomas Holme to survey and plan his "green country towne". In many respects it conformed to the orthogonal plan evident in Renaissance planning and in the *Laws of the Indies*. John Reps suggested that Penn was probably influenced most by the plans submitted for the reconstruction of London after the great fire. [11] A number of these plans included a gridiron framework with a street hierarchy and a balance of urban squares and open spaces throughout, most notably in Richard Newcourt's plan. Philadelphia exemplified the appropriation of the grid to establish the democratic ideals of an emerging society. Ideologically and formally, the grid reflected these egalitarian values.

In terms of the character of the city, Penn suggested something unmistakably American in the the way the figure (building) and ground relationship would be conceived:

> Be sure to settle the figure of the town so as the streets hereafter may be uniform down to the water from the country bounds; let the place for the storehouses be on the middle key, which will yet serve for market and state houses too. This may be ordered when I come, only let the houses be built in a line, or upon a line, as much as may be. ... Let every house be placed, if the person pleases, in the middle of its plat, as to the breadth way of it, that so there may be ground on each side for gardens or orchards, or fields, that it may be a green country towne, which will never be burnt, and always be wholesome. [12]

The notion of the buildings defining the open spaces as was the practise in European town planning was abandoned. Instead, the surrounding landscape would help to define the

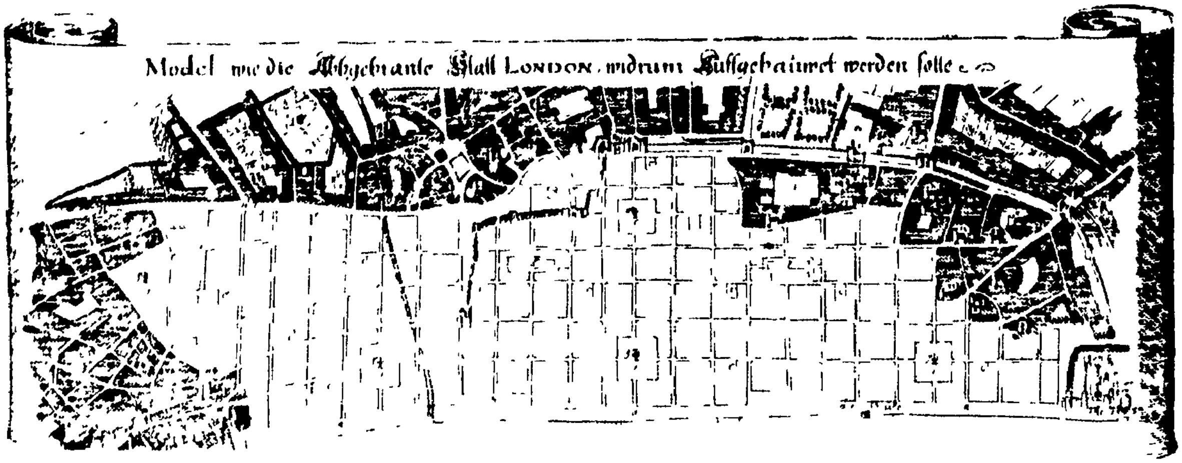

Model wie die Abgebrante Statt London, widrum Auffgebaiwet werden ſolle

Figure 1.18. Robert Hooke's proposal for rebuilding London after the fire of 1666 (Reps, *The Making of Urban America*, 1965).

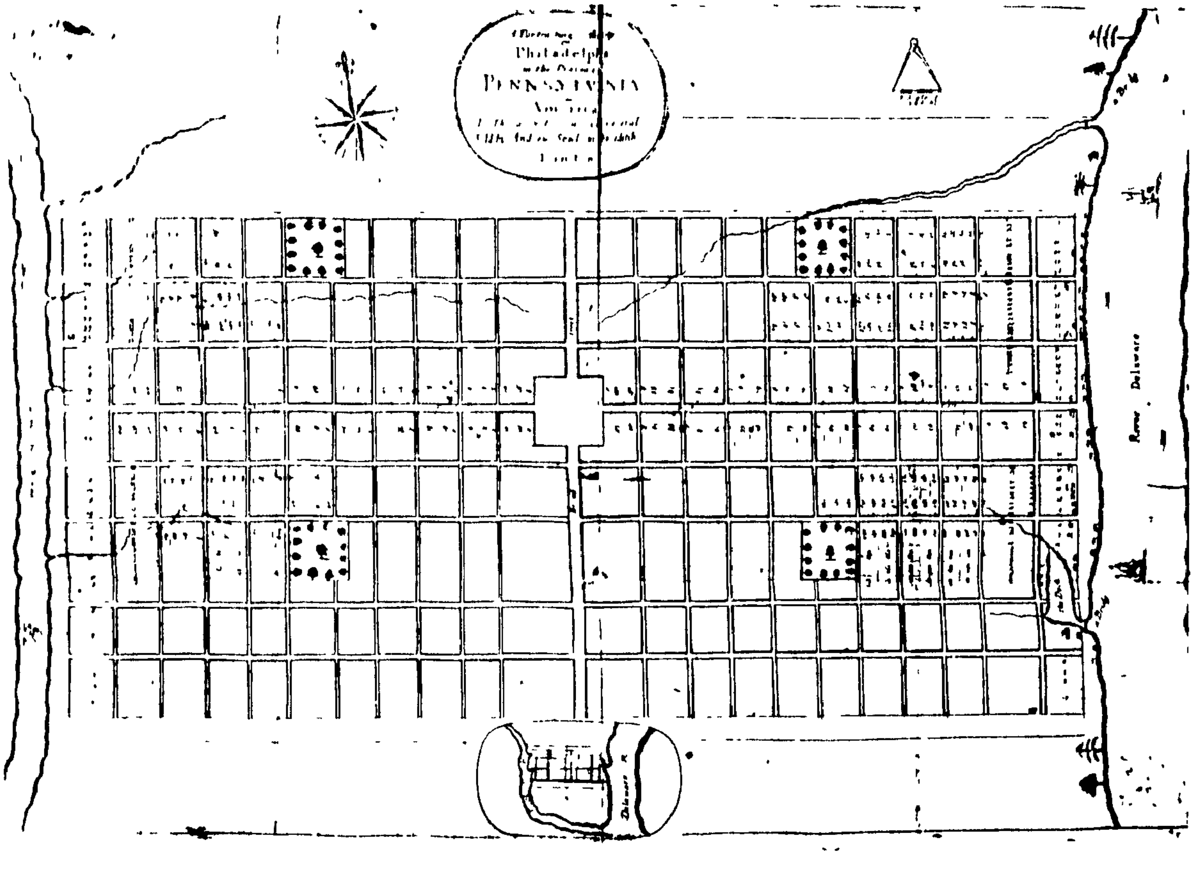

Philadelphia
Pennsylvania
River Delaware

Figure 1.19. William Penn's plan for Philadelphia, 1682 Fries,*The Urban Idea in Colonial America*, 1977).

buildings, resulting in a continuous green. The intent was arguably pragmatic, noting that Penn had visited London at the time of the great fire. Building separation would help to remedy that problem. The intention of spacing the buildings and setting them into their own gardens and providing civic squares of greenery were part of Penn's plan to build a city in which nature and urbanity were intertwined. Philadelphia was in many ways like New Haven, but on a much grander scale. Penn's idea of creating a "greene country towne" reflected his vision for a city in the garden.

The significance of Philadelphia lies in its disposition to the surrounding countryside. It was conceived to be a part of a larger matrix in which local, regional and national issues could be addressed. The garden extended beyond the limits of the town to include the entire land holdings of the region, which were surveyed and apportioned as counties and townships. Like in More's *Utopia*, the townships surrounding Philadelphia were comprised of large land holdings surrounding the towns or villages. To accommodate further settlement and growth, Philadelphia was to be linked to the surrounding landscape with a network of roads and highways linking smaller townships to Philadelphia. Like many of the early settlements and towns, the size of Philadelphia was determined by the amount of arable land available to sustain it. It was planned on a regional scale, in which the well-being of its citizens and the land they required for their sustenance were equally important. Conceived on a regional scale, its inhabitants were linked not only to the surrounding landscape but to one another (Fig 20). The underlying idea was one of social, economic and environmental stability more than one of size or predetermined form. In many respects, Penn's work predated the regional planning efforts of the 19th and 20th centuries.

As Philadelphia was settled, demands on the land were so great along the port that the large land blocks were divided and buildings were laid out one next to the other which created perimeter blocks with internalized courtyards and which changed the intended character of the town dramatically.[43] Penn's vision for the "greene country towne" was challenged even in his lifetime. Today, Philadelphia bears little resemblance to Penn's original vision for a city in the garden, yet the moral geography of the "green country towne" remains intact.

L'Enfant's Capital

The Arcadian vision was eventually to be given full expression, in ideological and formal terms, in Pierre Charles L'Enfant's design for the national capital at Washington D.C. He was charged with providing a plan that would best represent the goals of the Republic and the national character by President Washington in 1790. L'Enfant produced

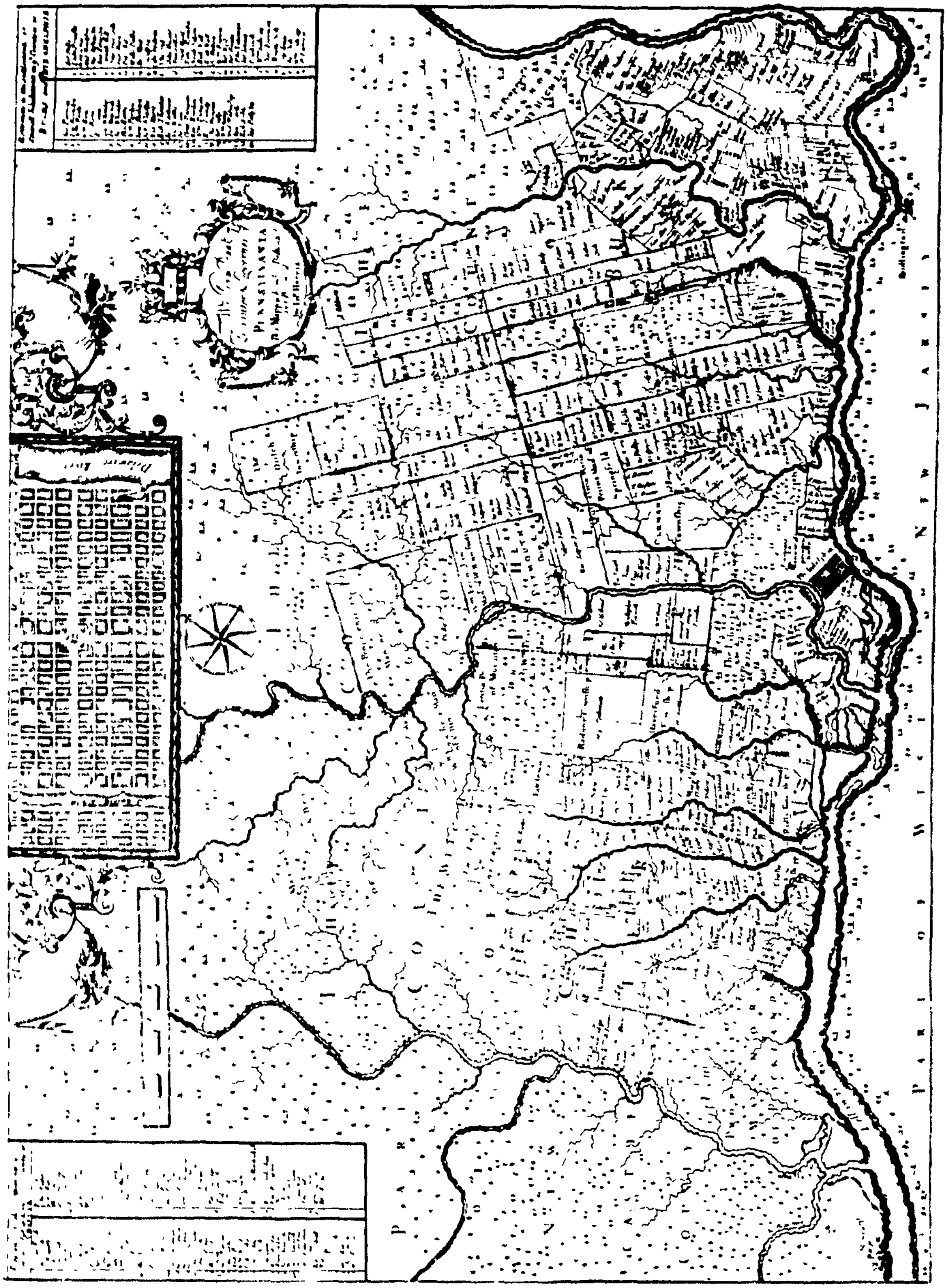


Figure 1.20. The regional plan for Philadelphia, 1720 (Reps, *The Making of Urban America*, 1965).

his plan for the capital in 1791 (Fig.21). It was as inspired as it was great, capturing in one broad landscape the American urban ideal of the city in nature's garden. Writing to Jefferson, L'Enfant noted, "To change a wilderness into a city, to that degree of perfection necessary to receive the seat of Government of a vast empire ... is an undertaking as vast as it is novel."[44] L'Enfant, like William Penn before him, believed that the native landscape would make the capital great. The grand and sublime architecture of the French Baroque was particularly appropriate to including the native landscape. The plan was conceived in a manner that brought nature into the heart of the city while at the same extending urbanity across the landscape - symbolically representing a synthetic view of nature and urbanity

The plan integrated the natural surroundings and established long axes along terrain that could support views or prospects, and combined a topographically sensitive radial street pattern with a modified grid pattern. These axes were to be tree lined boulevards 140 feet wide including 30 feet to either side for pedestrians. Alternatively, Jefferson had originally proposed a gridiron plan for the capital. L'Enfant correctly believed that a gridiron plan was too utilitarian and not accommodating for the site. The intent was to create an aura of greatness and naturalness through extensive planting of trees and arbours and retaining,wherever possible, the natural features of the site. He created a hierarchy of streets and urban squares to express the grand idea of the capital - the national seat of government. Spacious gardens lined the streets. Natural land features were used to create a canal in addition to water features and fountains. Every "plat" within the city was large enough for "spacious houses and gardens". Government and related civic buildings were situated in this grand natural expanse. As in Philadelphia, the buildings were defined by the open spaces surrounding them. Only along the grand avenue were the civic buildings arranged to create a wall to define the open space.[45]

L'Enfant's grand Baroque scheme for the capital inspired the design of many towns and cities thereafter. As James Machor suggested, "For L'Enfant, the national capital represented a literary and visionary symbol of American development - an original hieroglyphic, the characters of which were to be reinterpreted and reused in cities of the future."[46] In its conception, it extended the "moral geography" envisioned by Penn, Jefferson and others and provided the ideological and formal basis for the City Beautiful movement of the late 19th century. It was, and remains, America's answer to the Arcadian vision on a grand scale.

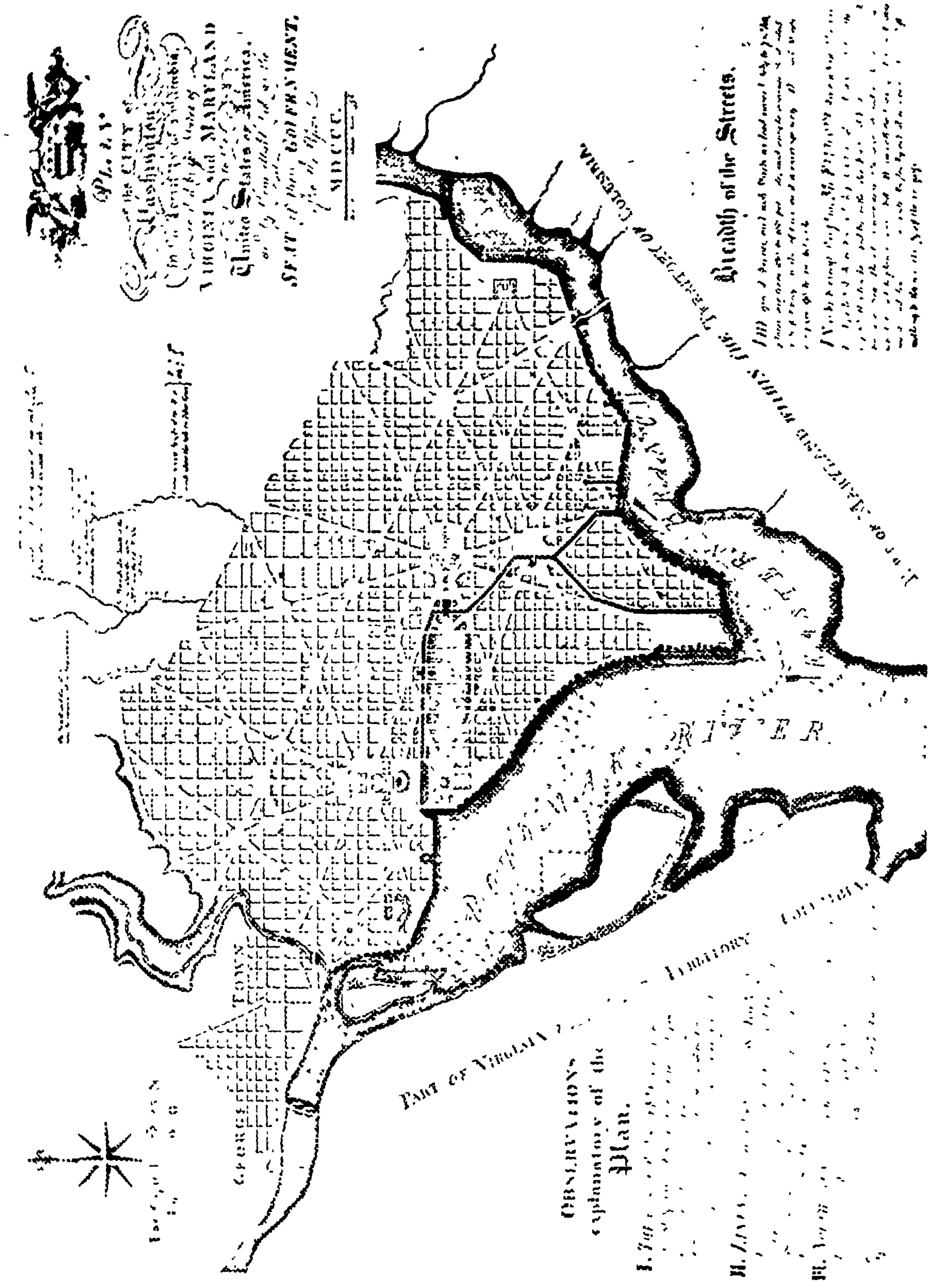


Figure 1.21. L'Enfant's plan for the Capital, as drawn by Andrew Ellicott, 1791 (Newton, *Design on the Land*, 1971).

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[1] Alex Krieger. "The American City: Ideal and Mythic Aspects of Reinvented Urbanism", *Assemblage*. vol. 3, 1987, p.38

[2] Charles L. Sanford. *The Quest for Paradise: Europe and the American Moral Imagination*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1961, p 41

[3] Erasmus, quoted in Sanford, *The Quest for Paradise*, p 62

[4] James L.Machor. *Pastoral Cities: Urban Ideals and the Symbolic Landscape of America*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press,1985, p.28.

[5] Sir Thomas More, *Utopia*. eds.G.M.Logan and R.M.Adams. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988, p.57.

[6] Ibid., *Utopia*, p.68.

[7] John W. Reps. *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965, p.2

[8] Helen Rosenau. *The Ideal City: Its Architectural Evolution in Europe*. London: Methuen and Company, 1959, p.42.

[9] Vitruvius. *The Ten Books on Architecture*. trans. Morris H. Morgan. New York: Dover Publications Inc., [1st-century BC] 1914

[10] Ibid., *The Making of Urban America*, p.4.

[11] _____. "The Laws of the Indies" (reprint of the original text) *The New City* ed. Jean Francois Lejeune. University of Miami, School of Architecture. New York: Princeton University Press, 1992, p.24.

[12] Ibid., *The Making of Urban America*, p.7.

[13] Erwin Y. Galantay. *New Towns: Antiquity to the Present*. New York. George Brazillier, 1975, p.34.

[14] Ibid., *The Quest for Paradise*, p.78.

[15] Ibid., *The Quest for Paradise*, p.51.

[16] Ibid., *The Quest for Paradise*, p.54.

[17] Cecelia Tichi. *New World, New Earth: Environmental Reform in American Literature from the Puritans through Whitman*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979, p.vii.

[18] Sylvia Doughty Fries. *The Urban Idea in Colonial America*. Philadelphia. Temple University Press, 1977, p.34.

[19] Ibid., *The Urban Idea in Colonial America* ,pp.34-6.

[20] Ibid., *The Making of Urban America*, p.120.

[21] Ibid , *New Towns: Antiquity to the Present*, p.33

[22] Ibid., *The Urban Idea in Colonial America* , p.64.

[23] Ibid., *The Urban Idea in Colonial America* , p.65.

[24] Ibid., *The Quest for Paradise*, p 71.

[25] Ibid., *The Quest for Paradise*, p.72

[26] Ibid., *The Quest for Paradise*, p.116.

[27] Margaretha R. Lagerlof *Ideal Landscape. Annibale Carracci, Nicolas Poussin and Claude Lorrain*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990., p.14.

[28] Leo Marx. *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964, p.97

[29] Ibid., *New World, New Earth*, pp.99-100.

[30] Ibid., *The Machine in the Garden*, p.111.

[31] Ibid., *The Machine in the Garden*, p.117.

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[32] Saul K. Padover, ed. *The Complete Jefferson: Containing His Major Writings, Published and Unpublished, Except his letters*. New York: Duall, Sloane and Pierce Inc., 1943, p.679.

[33] Erwin H. Zube *Landscapes: Selected Writings of J.B.Jackson*. Boston: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1970, p.5.

[34] Benjamin Franklin. *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*. ed. L.W.Larabee. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964, p.231.

[35] Ibid . *The Quest for Paradise*, p.41.

[36] Ibid., *The Quest for Paradise*, p.117.

[37] Ibid., *Pastoral Cities*, p.12.

[38] Newton, Norman T. *Design on the Land: The Development of Landscape Architecture*. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press, 1971, p.173.

[39] Ibid., *The Making of Urban America*, p.156.

[40] Ibid., *The Urban Idea in Colonial America* , p.83.

[41] William Penn, quoted in Reps, *The Making of Urban America*, p.163.

[42] Ibid., *The Making of Urban America*, p.160.

[43] Ibid , *The Urban Idea in Colonial America* , p.92.

[44] L'Enfant, quoted in Reps, *The Making of Urban America*, p.248.

[45] Ibid., *The Making of Urban America*, pp.240-62.

[46] Ibid , *Pastoral Cities*, p.106.

CHAPTER TWO

THE EMERGING ARCADIAN METROPOLIS: AMERICAN URBANISM TO THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

> The city delights the understanding. It is made up of finites: short, sharp, mathematical lines, all calculable. It is full of varieties, of successions, of contrivances. The country, on the contrary, offers an unbroken horizon, the monotony of the endless road, of vast uniform plains, of distant mountains, the melancholy of uniform and infinite vegetation; the objects on the road are few and worthless, the eye is invited ever to the horizon and the clouds. It is the school of Reason.[1]
>
> Ralph Waldo Emerson

I Urban Form to Urban Reform — Country and City

The ideology that shaped American towns and cities exceeded the economic purposes for which these centres were established in the first place. The settlement patterns of the early pioneers and early town-planners clearly reflected a new vision of humanity's determined place on earth. They used nature, not civilization, as the common reference upon which to build their new Republic. The abundance of land greatly influenced the morphology of American urbanity. With the foundations laid for an emerging American urbanism, towns and cities grew in a distinctly different manner from their European counterparts (Fig.1).

The Arcadian vision, expressed in Jefferson's agrarian philosophy and in an emerging urban-pastoral tradition, was made evident in the nation's capital, Washington D.C. Not only was its design significant but also, if not more so,was its geographic location. In the *The New Urban Landscape* (1986), David Schuyler suggested:

> The location of the nation's capital in Washington, D.C., and the subsequent placement of most state capitals not in their largest cities but in geographical centers had profound implications for American urban culture. By artificially separating seats of government from the country's metropolitan areas, the revolutionary generation enshrined as cultural norms the agrarian ideal and an accompanying philosophical distrust for cities.[2]

Based on the gridiron form of the early settlements and towns of the 17th and 18th centuries, American urbanism sought to incorporate the changing vision of the new city in nature. As cities grew in size, population, and social complexity a whole new vision was needed to address the urban condition and its meaning in Jefferson's "greene Republic." Beginning in the early 19th century, a new generation of thinkers began to examine the

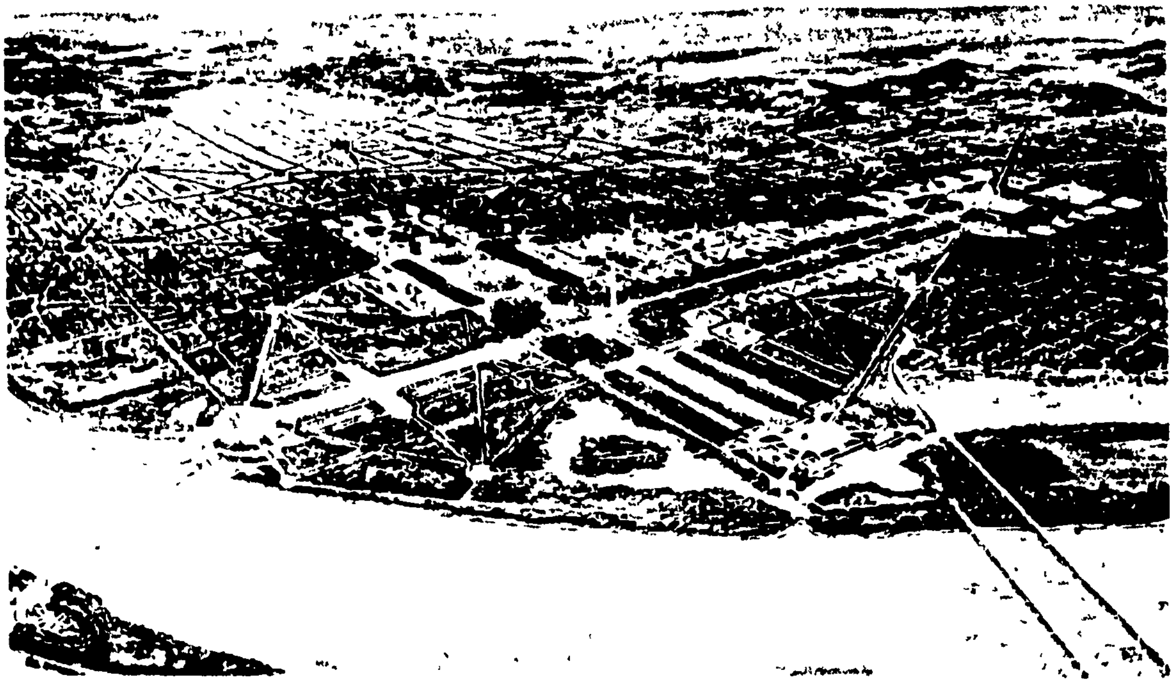


Figure 2.1. The synthesis of nature and urbanity in Washington, DC, 1901 (Reps, *The Making of Urban America*, 1965).

future of the city and further define urban form and culture. Based on the shared vision of the ascendency of nature, these individuals sought to redefine nature outside of the agrarian philosophy of their predecessors.

This new conception of the city, of an alternate middle landscape, was based on the concept of the Arcadian vision made manifest in the early colonial settlement patterns. The concept of the city in nature was already very much a part of Penn's Philadelphia and other towns and cities. With the rapid growth and the resulting congestion of these new cities, came a need to redress the critical issues of urban space and form. American urbanism during the 19th century sought to restore a synthetic view of nature and urbanity, transforming the "city in nature" to that of "nature in the city."

Schuyler suggested that the 19th-century American city evolved differently from its European precursors in three distinct ways. First, the American city was planned and built much more openly with a broad measure for streets and individual properties In many ways, it was the antithesis of the compact commercial centres of Europe. Second, the new concept of the city was middle-class in orientation. Values associated with the family and the community, influenced the spatial organization of the city significantly. Dense urban settings were no place to raise a family or try to establish a community. During this period, public parks were introduced in some neighbourhoods to alleviate the rising urban squalor and to provide a place for family gatherings. The builders of the early suburbs sought to provide a refuge in nature as a domestic refuge. Third, the older pattern of residential and commercial land uses were challenged. The old practice of providing a place to live close to work was no longer considered necessary. In the early 19th century, new urban transportation systems allowed the separation of home and workplace. And with this new technology came the suburbs which provided an escape from the city.[2]

The established urban pattern of private land ownership was modified as cities expanded and new means of transportation were incorporated. Given that many townsfolk had appropriated even small parcels of land on which to build, the distances between neighbours increased significantly compared to their European counterparts. Any opportunities for a "walking city" were diminished as the street-car and the railway extended the boundaries of activity within the city and at its borders. As became evident, these new urban transportation systems only increased the distances, physical and psychological, between the city and its inhabitants.

The eventual emergence of garden suburbs, city parks, and country estates during the late 18th and 19th centuries reflected a new recognition of the mediating influence that nature alone could afford city dwellers. Together, these 19th century conceptions

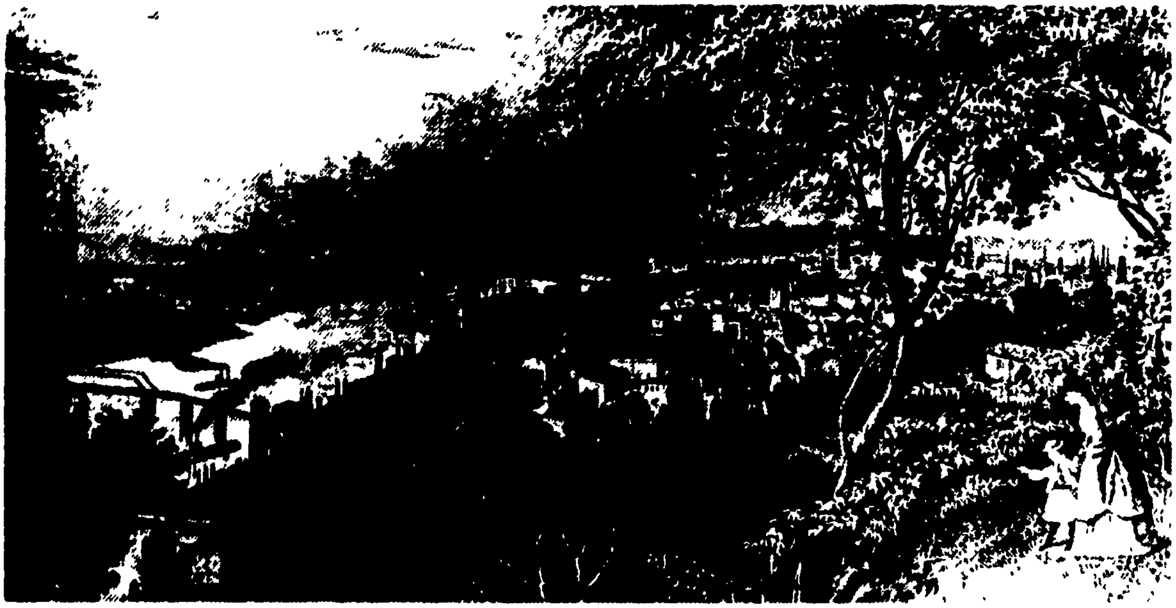


Figure 2.2. The changing nature of the city and the pastoral during the 19th-century (Stilgoe, *Borderland: Origins of the American Suburb*, 1988).

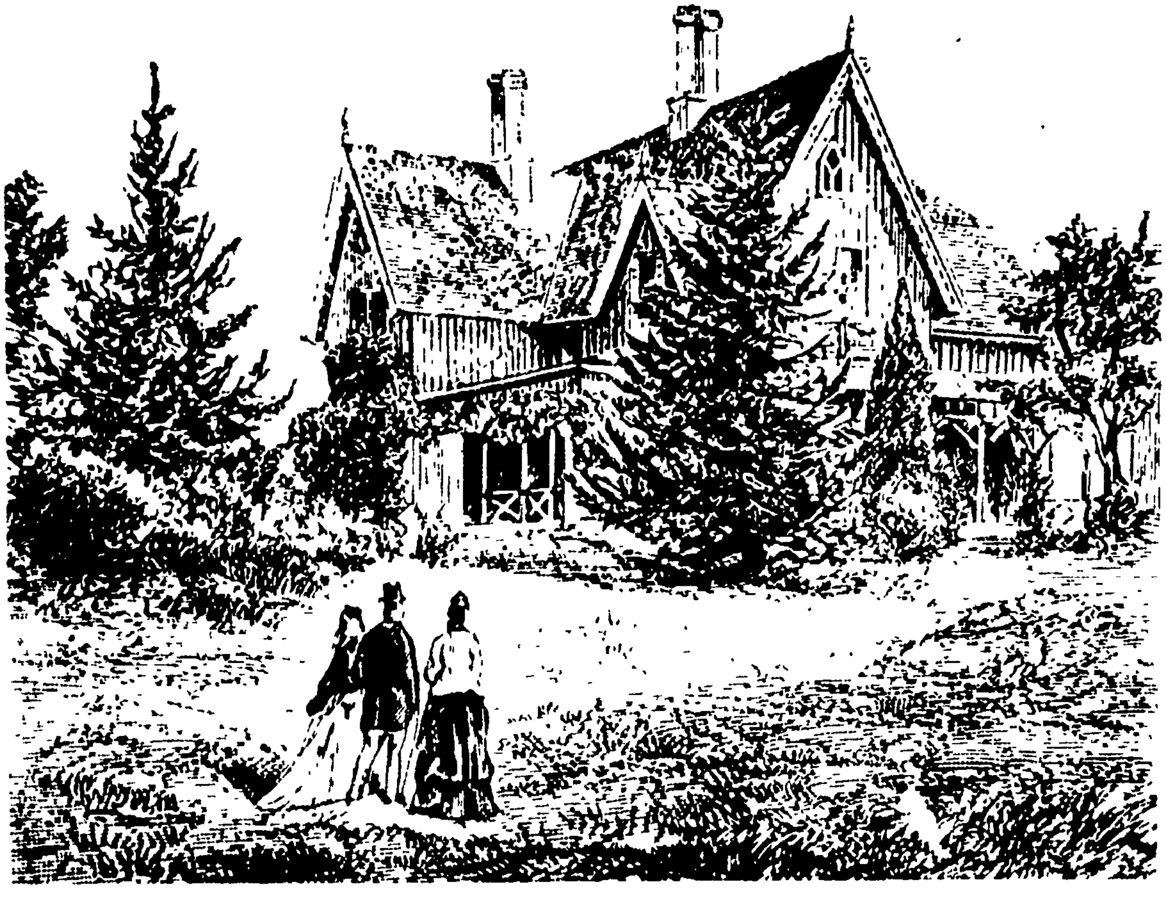


Figure 2.3. The emergence of the home in the landscape beyond the city (Stilgoe, *Borderland: Origins of the American Suburb*, 1988).

contributed to the evolution of the American city and established the character of a comprehensively new urban form, one that can only be called Arcadian (Fig.2).

Anti-urbanism and Reform

Ralph Waldo Emerson's writing extolled the virtues of country living but even he was ambivalent about the city and all that it offered. "I wish to have rural strength and religion for my children [as well as] city facility and polish."[4] The historian Anselm Strauss suggested that the dichotomy between urban and rural values became most pronounced during the 19th century, a period of unparalleled urban growth in America. These were the expansionist years not only geographically, but also technologically, demographically and economically. The pre-industrial urban landscape of America was transformed during the 19th century to include the emerging industrial order of Western civilization. Manufacturing, new transportation links to the interior from the east, and the emergence of a society with a political consciousness were greatly influencing both urban and rural areas. The urban population grew significantly toward the end of the 18th century and into the 19th century, particularly along the northeastern seaboard. While only an estimated 5 percent lived in urban areas in 1790, almost 20 percent lived in urban areas by 1850.[5] During that period, the eastern cities of New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Baltimore were experiencing dramatic growth and were subject to the problems associated with large urban centres including congestion, the growth of industry, lack of proper sanitation and the attendant social ills (Fig 3). The cities were subject to a growing number of criticisms. Americans saw urbanity as a double-edged sword, bringing prosperity and success on the one hand and moral and social degradation on the other.

The Arcadian vision, expressed in the Jeffersonian agrarian ideal, was being threatened because, as some believed, the cities were draining the vitality out of the country, and along with that, the promise of a democracy which could best be nurtured in a rural environment.[6] Among the liberal clergy writing at that time, Amory Mayo characteristically addressed the country-city problem suggesting:

> just now, commerce is flaunting her sudden successes and intolerable follies of luxury in the eyes of the country, inflaming young men with the aspiration to exchange the honors of health and the independence at home for slavery and effeminacy in the town ... and the exhausting pleasures of a city career.[7]

The conflict between the values associated with nature and those associated with cities intensified during the last decades of the 19th century. Yet many believed that increased

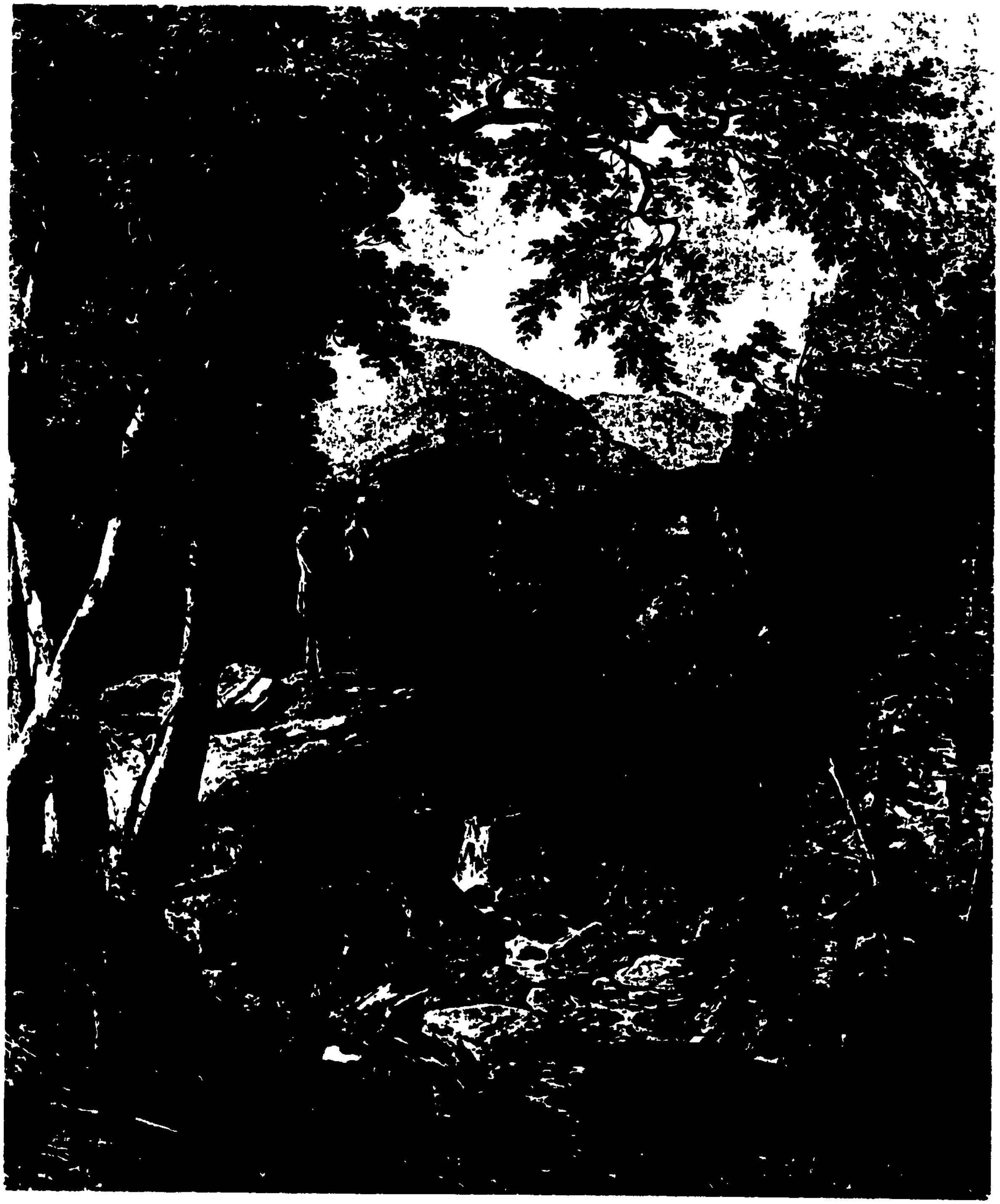


Figure 2.4. "Kindred Spirits" contemplating the wilderness far beyond the city by Asher B.Durand (Powell, *Thomas Cole*, 1990).

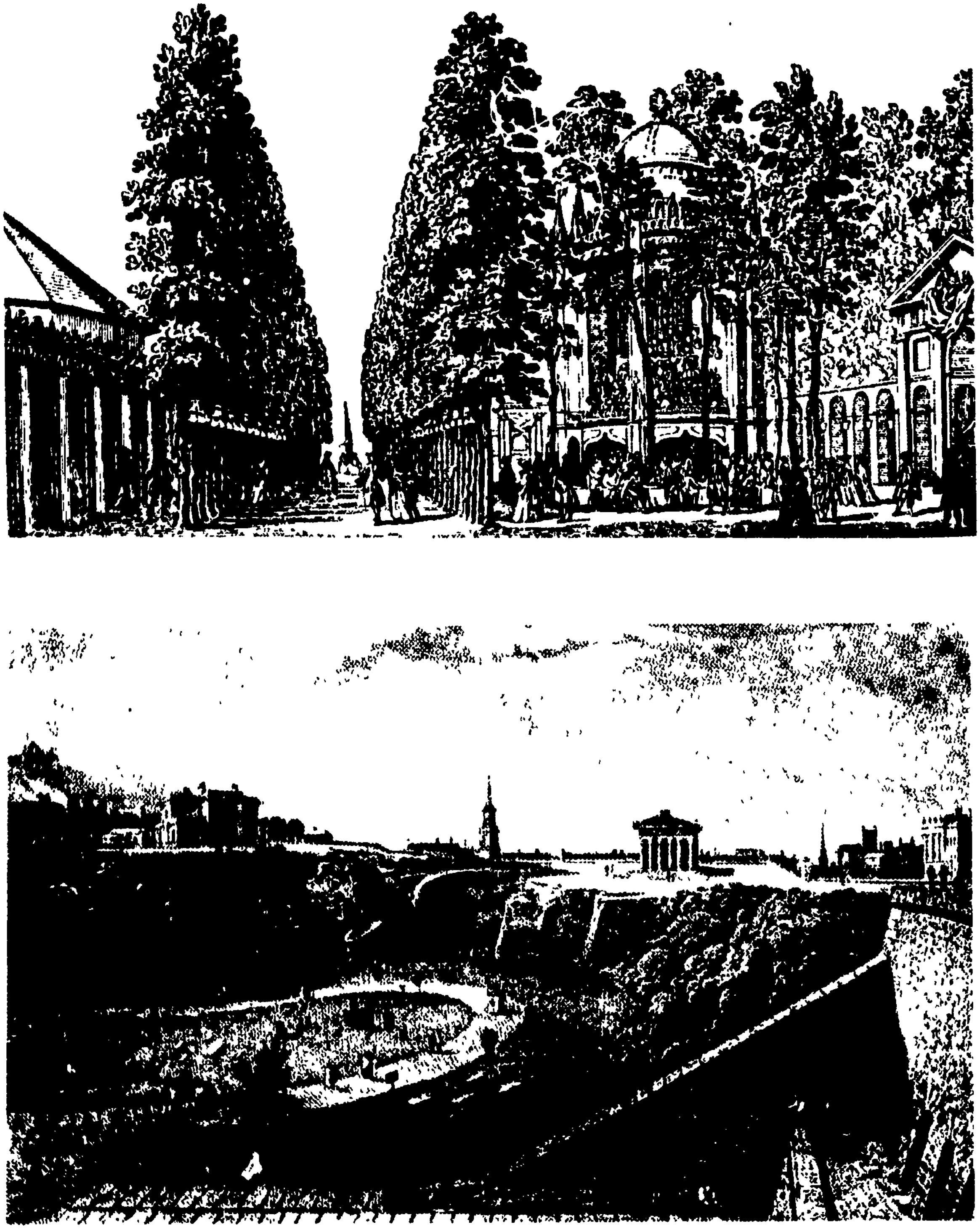
growth, urban and rural, was part of a natural pattern and that a balance could be struck between city and country. "Confident of native conditions, they asserted that the nation's urban development was consonant with rural values and with the themes of American uniqueness and nature's ascendency."[8]

America's unique place as "nature's nation" was difficult to reconcile with the geographic advancement of industrialization both in the city and the country. As the urban grid spread across the landscape, the distance between town and country increased, putting nature out of reach for many urban dwellers. The scenic associations of the pastoral and the agrarian landscape were loosing their influence on the form of the American city.[9] To counteract this, the reformers of the 19th century sought ways to introduce nature to the city and its inhabitants. These included popular writers such as Catharine Sedgwick and Maria Cummins, intellectuals such as Theodore Parker and Ralph Waldo Emerson, and landscape architects such as Andrew Jackson Downing and Fredrick Law Olmsted.[10] The ascendency of nature, as a national ideal, was also proclaimed in literature and in art, most notably perhaps in the work of William Cullen Bryant and Thomas Cole (Fig 4).

Thomas Cole, a poet and landscape painter, expressed the hope as well as the tension of that period, in a series of five allegorical paintings titled, *The Course of the Empire* (1849). In these, Cole idealized the development of American civilization from a savage to a pastoral state, then to an urban one, and finally, to urbanity's demise and a return to the savage. "Cole's cyclical interpretation of the progress of civilization [expressed] a variation of the agrarian ideology, with destruction seen as the price exacted of an urban society that dominated nature."[11] The "moral geography" of Cole's work suggested a return to nature from the forces of civilization - to seek a balance between nature and urbanity. The *Arcadian or Pastoral* state (Fig.5) was the ideal, while the *Consummation of the Empire* (Fig.6) was the worst condition, one where humanity dominated nature. Reformers during this period sought to ensure that Cole's allegorical predictions would not come to pass.

II The "Rus in Urbe" Movement

The effort to restore nature to the city first gained recognition during the mid 19th century in America. The idea of providing open areas for public use in the city was not new, dating back at least to Roman times. However, providing open park areas, as we know them, originated in 18th-century Victorian England where the idea was put into place to counteract the urban blight and congestion associated with the industrial city.[12]. The



Figures 2.7a,b. The emergence of the park. A private walk at Vauxhall and a public walk at St.James Cemetery, Liverpool in the mid 18th-century (Chadwick, *The Park and the Town*, 1966).

later work of Capability Brown, Humphrey Repton, and others of the English Landscape School had a great impact on the manner in which these urban spaces were conceived and executed during the 18th century (Fig 7). In America, providing nature in the city was closely linked to the urban reform movement. And as James Manchor suggests, "Although romantic thought helped inspire this renewed interest , equally decisive was a growing, quasi-scientific belief that light, fresh air, and greenery could help reduce disease in cities by dispelling harmful vapours that caused sickness."[13] This movement, which sought to integrate the morality of nature with the functions of urban life, became known as the Parks movement. The Parks movement literally transformed the urban landscape and firmly established American cities as being different from their European predecessors. The 19th century was a period of the emerging Arcadian Metropolis.

Cemeteries: Places for the Living

Andrew Jackson Downing was among those leading the efforts to restore nature to the city, albeit in the suburbs. His books, *A Treatise on the Theory and Practise of Landscape Architecture, Adapted to North America* (1841) and *The Architecture of Country Houses* (1850), among others, had a significant impact on the manner in which the early parks, park cemeteries, and suburbs were designed. With respect to the early cemeteries, Downing noted that such parks would "civilize and refine the national character, foster the love of rural beauty, and increase the knowledge of and taste for rare and beautiful trees and plants."[14] During the mid 18th century, in an effort to provide nature to the urban dwellers, park cemeteries were created on the outskirts of the city to allow visitors from the city a place to contemplate nature. Numerous cemeteries were built during this period including Mount Auburn in Cambridge (1831) and Laurel Hill in Philadelphia (1836).

Downing incorporated many of the characteristics associated with the Romantic movement and the Picturesque school of landscape design including the curvilinear roads, pool and ponds, secluded groves, meadows, statuary and chards in the design of these cemeteries (Figs.8,9). Mount Auburn and Laurel Hill, as well as the other park cemeteries, became very popular during this period replacing the urban grid with the flowing contours of curvilinear paths and greenery. "The popularity of these rural cemeteries for uses other than as burial places must have astounded and perhaps horrified their sponsors. On fine spring or summer days visitors by the hundreds flocked to the park-like enclosures."[15] Many came to picnic and to take in the work of the gardeners and sculptors, other to stroll in the park-like settings.

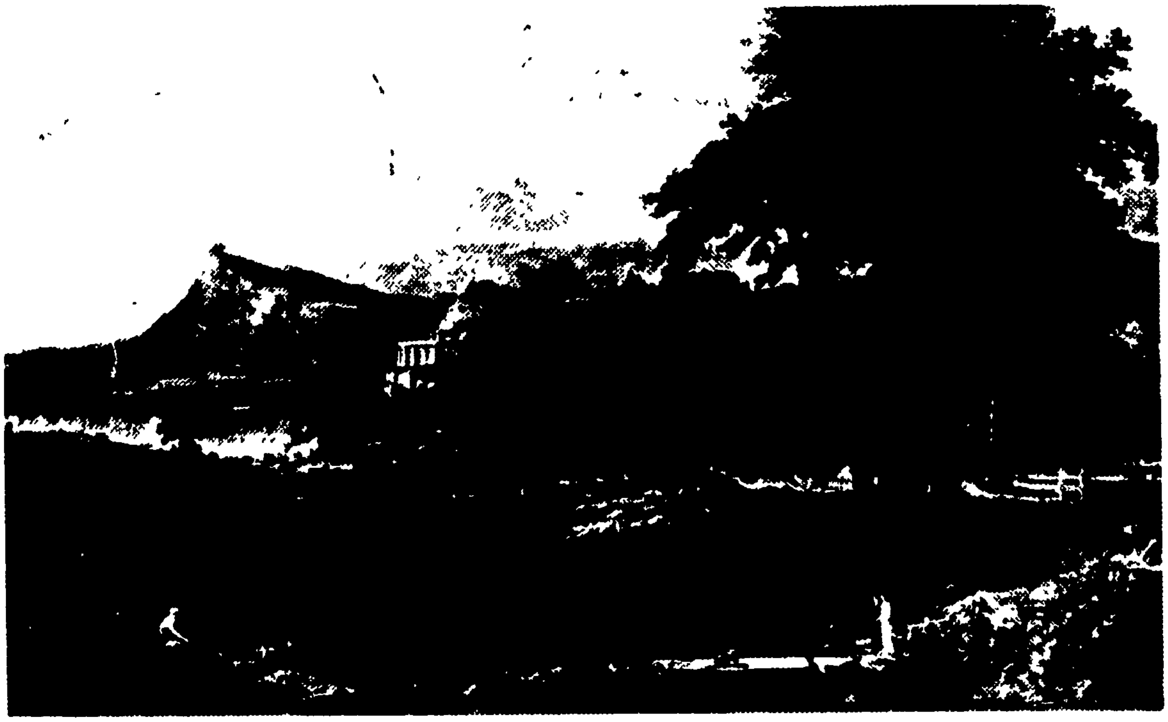


Figure 2.5. "The Course of Empire: The Arcadian or Pastoral" by Thomas Cole, 1836 (Powell, *Thomas Cole*, 1990).

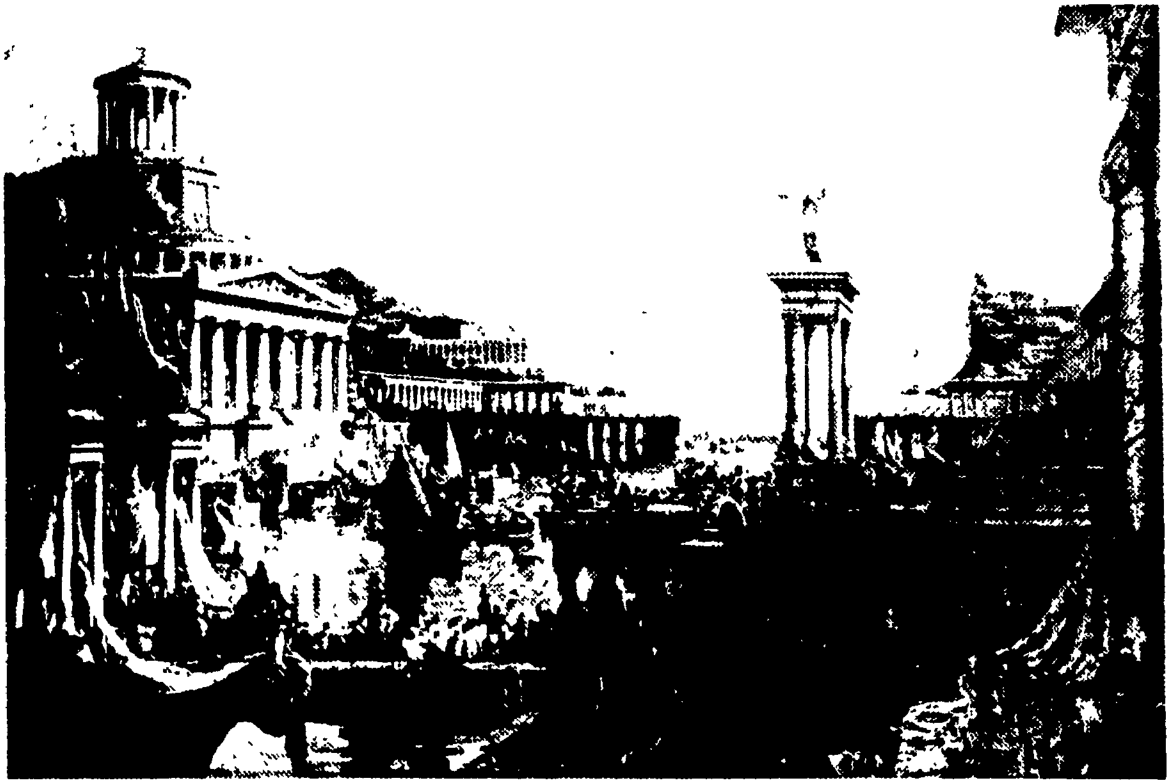


Figure 2.6. "The Course of Empire; The Consummation of Empire" by Thomas Cole, 1836 (Powell, *Thomas Cole*, 1990).

Park cemeteries during this period were not entirely public. They were often funded by private interests and only to those with a higher income were admitted. In addition, these park cemeteries were often located too far from the city to make them accessible to many urban dwellers who could benefit from an excursion to nature. In turn, urban reformers sought to create large public spaces within the city for the enjoyment and benefit of all. The influence of these early park cemetery designs was significant in providing a design vocabulary for the great urban parks that followed.

Olmsted and the Parks

The influence of cemeteries on the design and layout of parks that followed was significant as was Downing's influence on the Park movement in general. Equating the need for parks in urban areas with the basic beliefs and values of the Green Republic, Downing wrote:

> "It is only necessary for one of the three cities which first opened cemeteries, to set the example, and the thing once fairly seen, it becomes universal. The true policy for the republics, is to foster the taste for great public libraries, sculpture and picture galleries, parks and gardens, which *all* may enjoy, since our institutions wisely forbid the growth of private fortunes sufficient to achieve these desirable results in any other way."[16]

Building on the idea that nature was inherently superior to the city, urban reformers sought to bring nature to the city in the Parks movement. Easy access to open space was institutionalized as a fundamental right of all citizenry in the Parks movement during the 1850s. The crowding and congestion of the expanding cities invariably led to urban sprawl without sufficient space for parks or open space.[17] The central squares, such as those in Philadelphia and New Haven, proved to be inadequate for the people that had settled there. The town-planners, aware of the need for open space had not been able to anticipate the growth in population during the 19th century fueled, in part, by a large number of immigrants.[18]

In response, William Cullen Bryant, writing in the *New York Evening Post*, proposed a site for a large urban park in New York for the general good of the public. The notion of a park to be owned and held in trust by the public was the turning point for the Parks movement in America and that, having gained acceptance, would forever change the American urban landscape. Land was assembled during the 1850s and a 770 acre site was opened to a competition for an urban park, to be called Central Park (Fig.9).

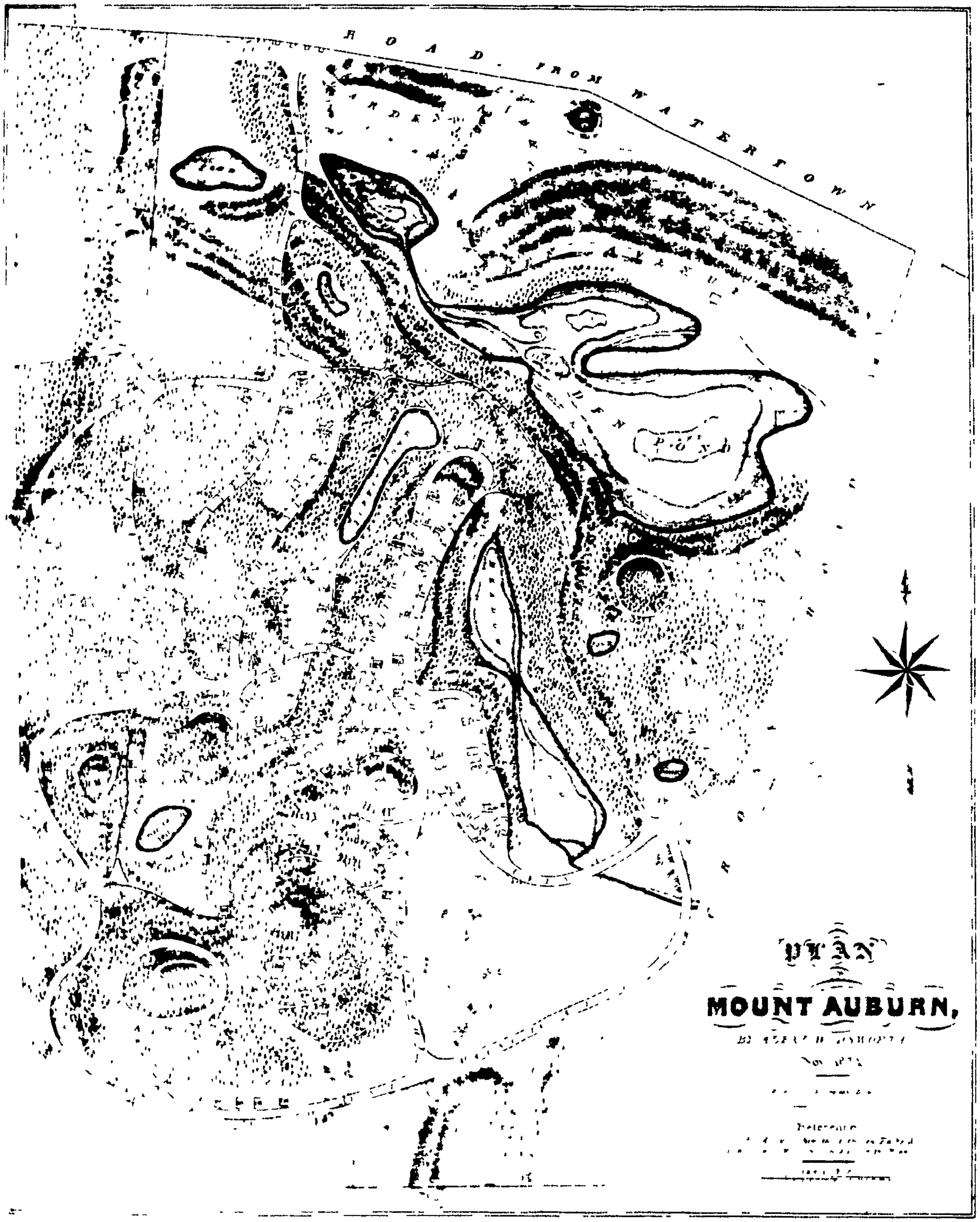
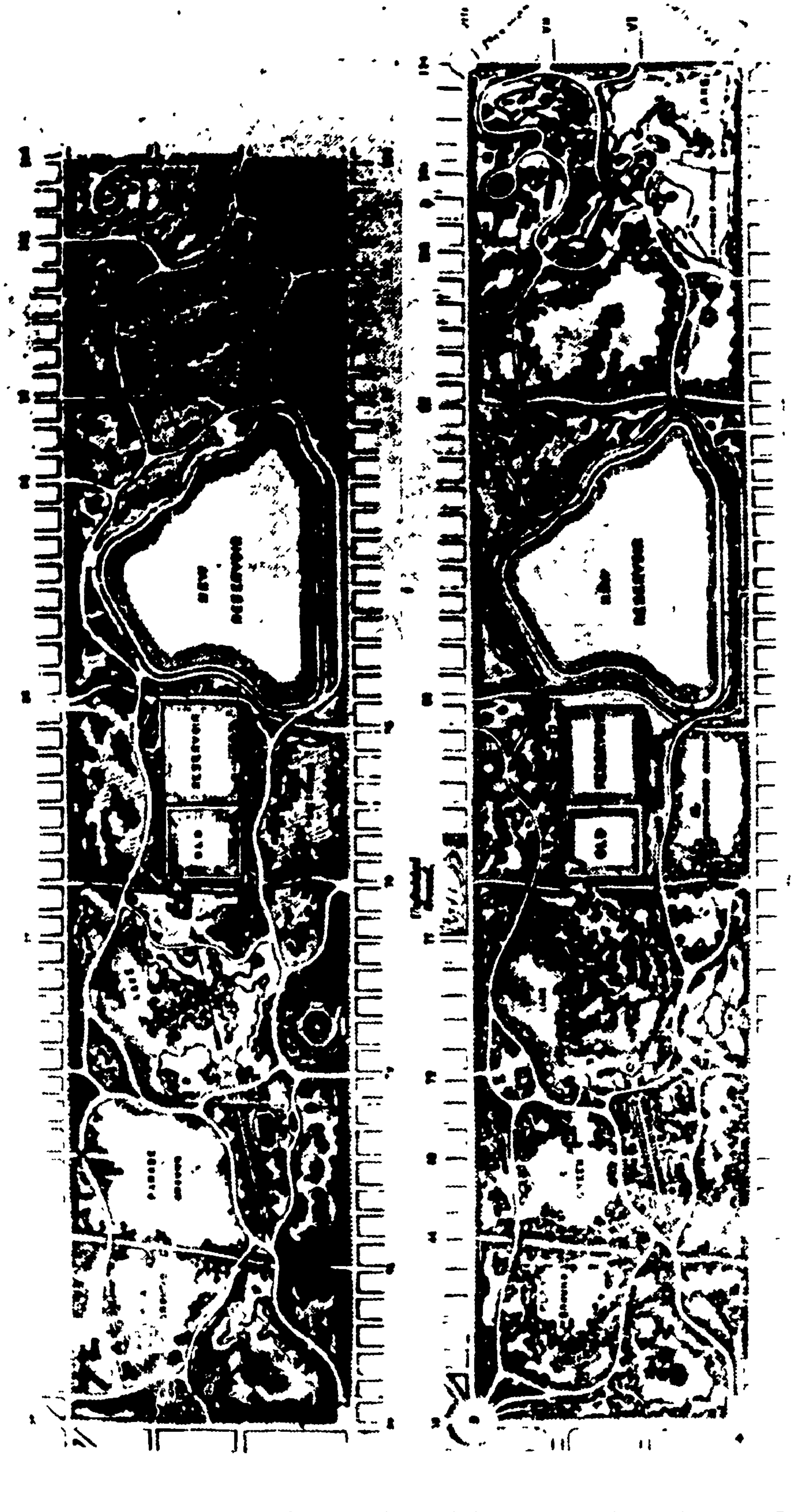

ROAD FROM WATERTOWN
POND
PLAN
MOUNT AUBURN,

Figure 2.8. The plan of Mt. Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1831 (Rep
The Making of Urban America, 1965).

The competition for Central Park was won by Fredrick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux. Both men were well versed in the Romantic landscape tradition of England which they sought to incorporate in their design for Central Park. The design was considered innovative in that it was able to accommodate a number of urban functions, such as a water reservoir and vehicular cross traffic, while remaining an urban oasis.[19] Moreover, it embraced the natural qualities of the site in a "naturalistic" design. The use of the natural rock outcroppings and topography was difficult to support, as the program grew to consider almost any activity associated with a park setting. But Olmsted and Vaux succeeded in retaining their specified design. The formal elements of the park were limited and served to tie together and enhance both the natural setting and a civic program (Figs.10a,b). From many vantage points, the urban qualities were subordinated to allow sweeping views of natural scenery in a rural setting. Olmsted believed that these natural vistas contributed to the psychological and social well-being of the urban dwellers. Central Park's significance may well lie in the fact that it was emulated, over a very short period of time, in many of America's major cities.[20] Many of these parks were designed by Olmsted and Vaux, or by Olmsted and others. Before Central Park, there were no public parks in urban America, nor was there a landscape architecture profession

Prospect Park in Brooklyn, New York, was another significant park designed by Olmsted and Vaux (Fig.11). It was similar in program to Central Park, but incorporated a number of 'Paxtonesque' design ideas including a ring of suburban villas on adjacent land. Olmsted and Vaux proposed a better system of transportation to get people to the park, and most importantly, they proposed a system of connected parks. These were to be pedestrian oriented and have a scenic quality of their own. Like the parks, the parkways would contribute to the civilization of urbanity through the further incorporation of nature The idea of creating a continuous green space through the city, that was much less formal than the boulevards, had few precedents.

The parkway, as a civic design element, was to become one of the most influential achievements in American city planning.[21] In Boston, Olmsted's work , along with Charles Eliot's, was conceived and executed shortly after the Parks Commission was established in 1875. The intent was to to preserve environmentally sensitive lands and provide a series of public open spaces through Boston for the enjoyment of all. By 1877, Olmsted had made a proposal to create a park out of the lowland marshes of the Back Bay (Fig.12). Additional lands were purchased over the next few years and a park system was established. A decade later, while Eliot was concerned with the park system, enough land had been assembled to create a parkway through Boston, from the Common in the heart of the city, to Franklin Park on the outskirts.(Fig 13).



Figures 2.9a,b. Central Park, New York. The original and revised plans by Olmsted and Vaux (Chadwick, *The Park and the Town*, 1966).

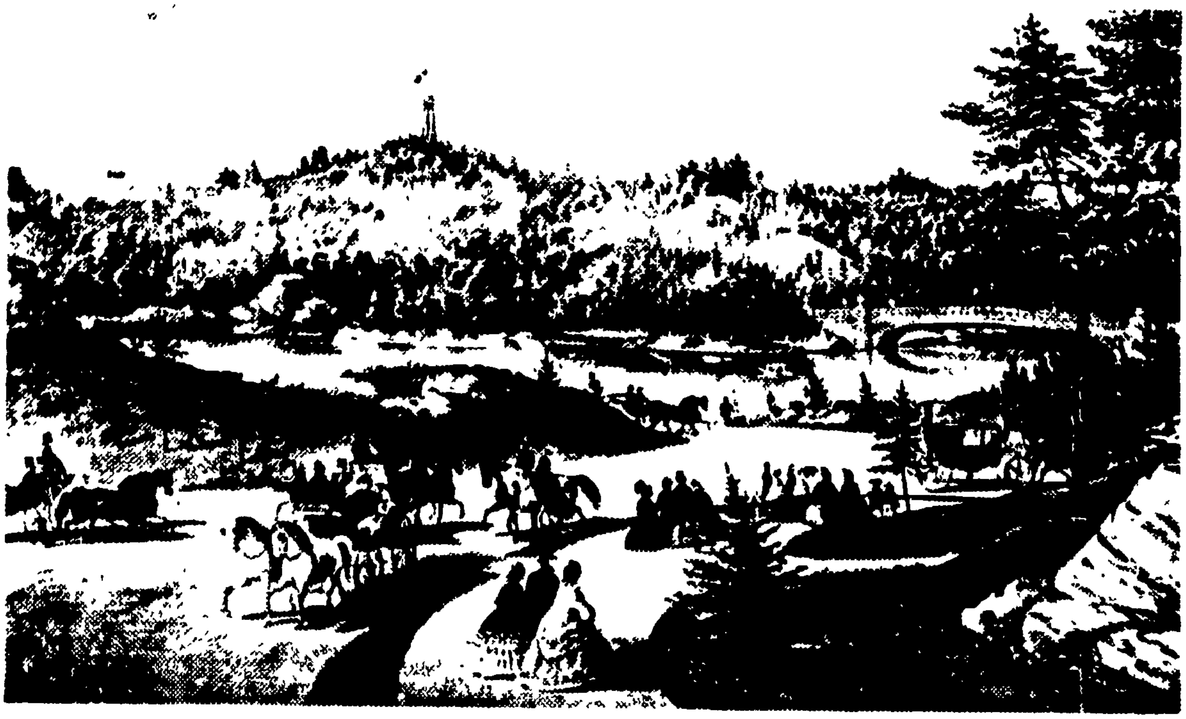
Olmsted was also involved in the creation of America's largest urban park on the shores of the Schuylkill River in Philadelphia. Fairmount Park was some 3,500 acres when first established in 1868. The vast size was due, in part, to an effort to protect the city's water supply, but it was also to ensure nature's place in the city. In 1904, a formal connection was made to join Fairmount Park to the city hall, thus physically and symbolically linking nature with urbanity. The Arcadian vision, of "rus in urbe", evolved during this period and became a further manifestation of the Arcadian Metropolis

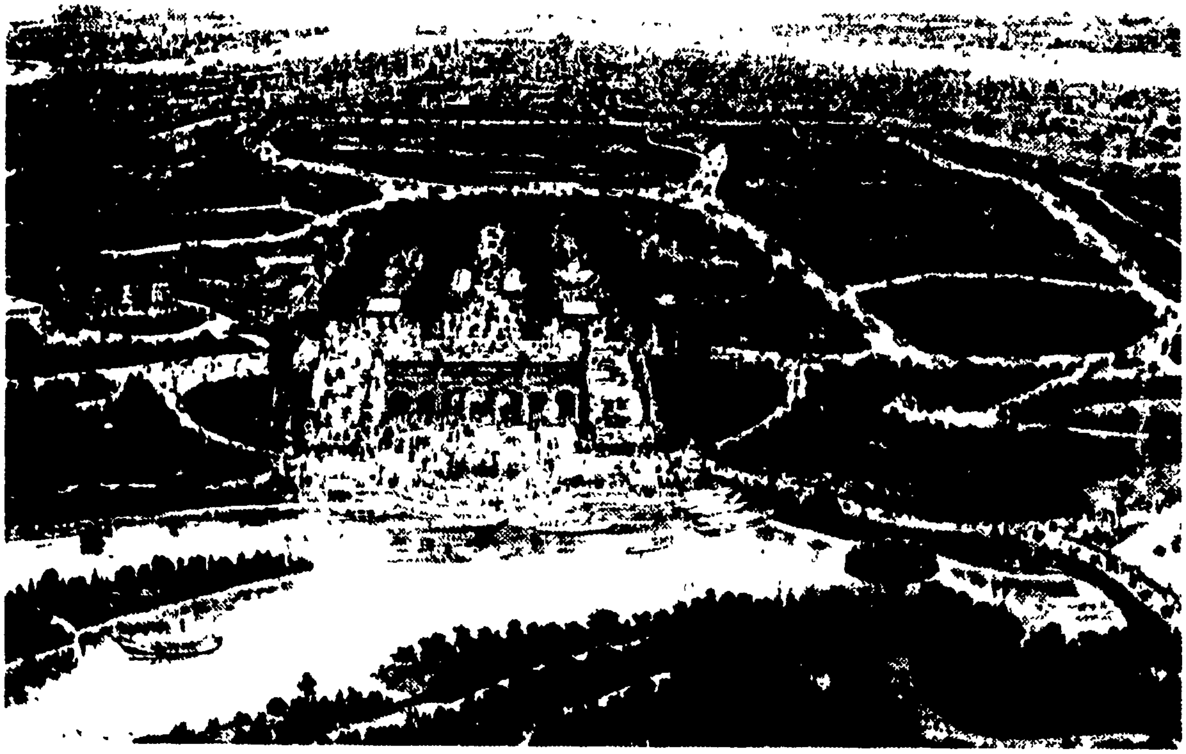
III Exodus to the Suburbs Nature Calls

> As the nineteenth century came to a close, many people, like English sparrows, seemed to thrive on city life. Others returned as failures to the family farm, praising country life; but an increasing number of city dwellers turned "back to nature", rather than "back to the farm", mainly to escape the minor irritants of urban life.[22]

By the end of the 18th century the desire to be close to nature was more Arcadian than agrarian. Nature, was seen as the great spiritual and psychological counterforce to the problems that the city had created. Peter Schmitt suggests in, *Back to Nature: The Arcadian Myth in North America* (1969), that the conflict between nature and the city was ideological, made manifest in the cultural expression of American society. During the early 19th-century people seemed to thrive in cities. "Such folk heartily approved of the opportunities for social and economic success, the educational and religious benefits, and the cultural advantages that accompany urban life."[23] This "back to nature" movement as it became known in the 19th century, was a preoccupation of the rich, but it also became a pastime of the middle class. The result was that some sought nature in the wilderness beyond the city, while others looked for nature in their own backyards. The early commuters who sought nature and later established themselves at the ends of the trolley lines, wished to retain their urban lifestyle while seeking a closer relationship with the greater wilderness beyond the city - in the suburbs (Fig.14):

> American commuters combined Romantic idealism and urban income in a movement that was hardly unsophisticated or anti-intellectual, however much it encouraged "the simple life." A growing literature of country life and natural history written by middle-class intellectuals like John Burroughs, Dallas Sharp, and Liberty Bailey served to guide commuters who extracted the romance of the agrarian tradition, bolstered that romance with their understanding of psychology, and wove, in their own defence, the myth of an Arcadia beyond the trolley line.[24]





Figures 2.10a,b. Arcadian urbanism - a blend of the picturesque and the baroque (Chadwick, *The Park and the Town*, 1966).

Beyond the Trolley Line

The realization of the Arcadian vision in America was ironically made possible by the new forms of transportation developed during the 19th century. The omni-bus, commuter ferry, horse-drawn streetcar, steamboat and locomotive literally transformed the urban landscape in America and reversed established settlement patterns and land uses (Fig.15). People no longer had to live close to their places of work No longer was the walking city a necessity. Separation of residential areas from commercial areas began slowly as did the exodus to the suburbs, however, this was soon to change. Kenneth T. Jackson noted in *Crabgrass Frontier* (1985), that "urban decentralization" began in the early 1830s and that toward the end of the 19th century the suburbs in New York were growing faster than Manhattan.[25] In *The American Garden City and the New Towns Movement* (1986), Carol A. Christensen summarizes the movement to the suburbs by suggesting:

> Except for a minority of wilderness enthusiasts, the American ideal of physical nature has always been one of domesticated, bucolic landscape - a midpoint between barbarous primitivism and decadent civilization. For most of the nineteenth century, "Civilization" was defined by an admixture of nature and settlement. With the new transportation technology, the suburbs came to represent the pastoral middle ground between the chaos of primitive nature and the brutal power of the industrializing city.[26]

Initially, only the wealthy could afford to live beyond the walking city, but as the carriage gave way to the omni-bus and the horse-drawn streetcar the suburbs came within the reach of the middle class The poor in contrast had to remain behind in the city. During this period, Sidney George Fisher, an advocate for these suburbs wrote:

> [The advantages of the suburb] are so obvious that this villa and cottage life has become quite a passion and is producing a complete revolution in our habits. It is dispersing the people of the city over the surrounding country, introducing thus among them, ventilation, cleanliness, space, healthful pursuits, and the influences of natural beauty, the want of which are the sources of so much evil, moral and physical, in large towns.[27]

The introduction of the streetcar brought about dramatic changes along the urban edges. It was becoming quite an acceptable pattern of activity to commute to work in the city and return to the suburbs as a daily routine. The development of the railway extended the boundaries of the suburbs even further. In addition, the commuter railway allowed urban dwellers the opportunity to escape the city to the countryside therefore benefitting both urban and suburban dwellers.

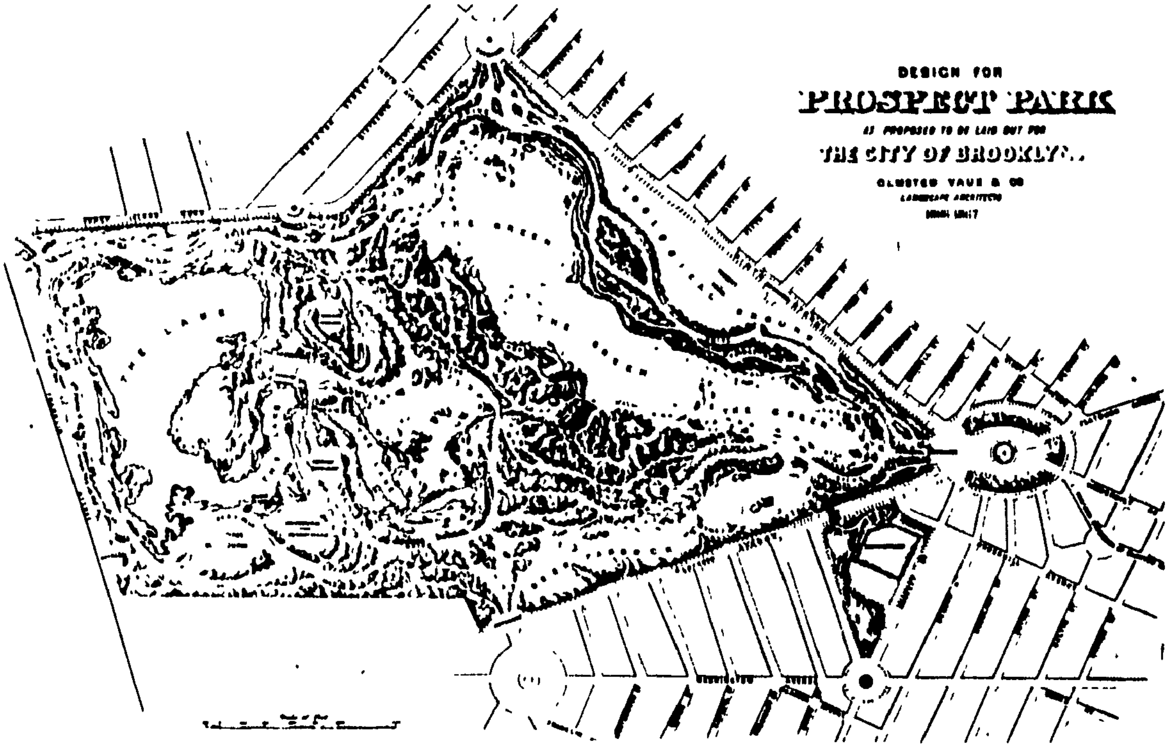

DESIGN FOR
PROSPECT PARK
AS PROPOSED TO BE LAID OUT FOR
THE CITY OF BROOKLYN
OLMSTED VAUX & CO
LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTS

Figure 2.11. Prospect Park and surrounding villas, Brooklyn by Olmsed, Vaux and Co.,1866 (Newton, *Design on the Land*, 1971).

Suburban Ideology

For the many urbanites who made their exodus to the suburbs, a property with a single-family home with a lawn and garden became the ideal. The suburbs, in fact, were to become the national ideal - the Arcadian vision for the masses. The ideal, however, was not so much Arcadian as it was anti-urban. The Arcadian vision pioneered by Jefferson, Thoreau and many others was undermined by 19th-century English suburban ideology which was comprised of Evangelical domestic ideology and the Picturesque landscape tradition.[28] The suburbs were the place to go if you were upwardly socially mobile, aspired to having a family and/or had anti-urban inclinations. As a matter of course, America developed its own suburban ideology most notably through the work of three individuals; Catharine Beecher, Andrew Jackson Downing and Calvert Vaux. Kenneth Jackson identified these as the leading spokespersons for shaping American attitudes toward the suburbs.[29]

Catherine Beecher was to become one of the leading proponents of "domestic ideology" through her books *A Treatise on Domestic Economy* (1843) and the *American Woman's Home* (1869), co-written with her sister Harriet Beecher Stowe:

> On a sunny summer day the kitchen of the Stowe house in Hartford is filled with light. It streams in from southern and eastern exposures onto a perfectly engineered set of counters, sinks, and cupboards. ... Based on a design that was widely disseminated as early as the 1840s by works such as Catharine Beecher's *Treatise on Domestic Economy* and Andrew Jackson Downings's *Cottage Residences*, the house embodied the spirit of what had become an American domestic orthodoxy.[30]

Beecher did not have the benefit of Downing's ideas on house design, however, their similarities were notable (Fig.16). In Beecher's *Treatise*, matters relating to domestic economy were written in detail from the layout of the kitchen to the feeding of infants, with an undercurrent of Evangelical zealousness and Christian morality. Beecher suggested that homemakers were:

> agents in accomplishing the greatest work that was ever committed to human responsibility. It is the building of a glorious temple, whose base shall be coextensive with the bounds of the earth, whose summit shall pierce the skies, whose splendour shall beam on all the lands.[31]

Her explanations of the sanctified home, through the enlightened philosophy of homemaking, emphasized the universality of domestic values as a national ideal particularly appropriate to America. She was thus able to extend the "moral geography" of the American settlement experience from the wilderness to the home.

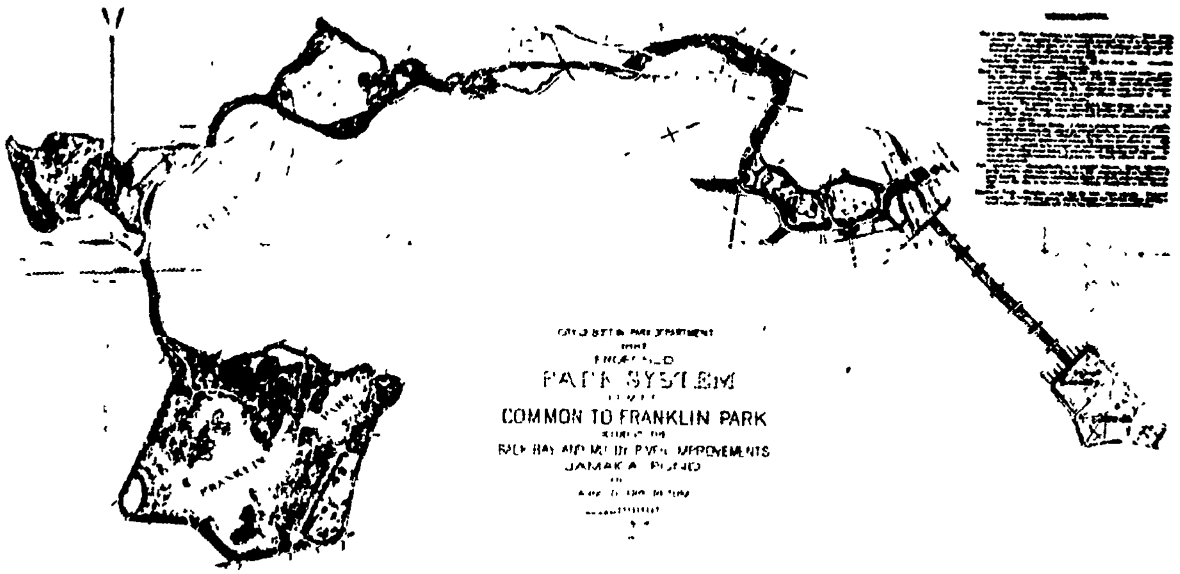

PARK SYSTEM
COMMON TO FRANKLIN PARK
JAMAICA POND
FRANKLIN

Figure 2.13. Ward's Pond in the parkway (Newton, *Design on the Land*, 1971).

Figure 2.12. The Park System from the Common to Franklin Park - nature gaining ground (Newton, *Design on the Land*, 1971).

Romantic Plans

The domestic temples envisioned by Beecher were given form by Andrew Jackson Downing, however, not by any direct association. Downing had a very significant role to play in shaping the suburbs. As a landscape architect his designs for the early suburbs were to influence many others to come. His *Cottage Residences* (1842) served as the basis for the suburban ideal for American domestic architecture.[32] Both his cottage designs and his suburb designs were based on English domestic architecture and on the English Picturesque school, as it was applied to the design of English suburbs (Fig.17). Downing, like Beecher, saw the suburb as a refuge from the city. The home set in nature was superior to a home set in the city. Nature's role was seen as providing a protective cover against the elements of the city.

Downing's influence on the design of the suburbs was most notable in Llewellyn Park created by its founder, Llewellyn S. Haskell with the help of the architect Alexander Jackson Davis and the landscape architects Eugene A. Baumann and Howard Daniels (Fig.18). Haskell was a drug merchant who professed the religious doctrine of the Perfectionists for whom this community was built.[33] It was located some twelve miles out of New York City on the slopes of Orange mountain. By design it incorporated a park, called "the ramble", around which the residences were designed (Fig.19). The plots varied in size from one to twenty acres depending on topography and vegetative features. Because of their generous size, and by design intent, no fences were put up in order to preserve the natural character of the site.[34] Without question, Llewellyn Park was influenced by the Picturesque tradition. Yet, the rugged landscape influenced the site planning as well as the design of the homes to give the overall effect of a unique American suburban landscape.[35]

Calvert Vaux came to America to establish a practise with Downing in 1850 which was to last but two years, to the time of Downing's death. He was well versed in the English picturesque tradition having been born and trained in England. Vaux's *Villas and Cottages* (1847) reflects this training and shows his preference for the English cottage and villa.[36] His influence on the design of the suburbs was attributed to his work with Fredrick Law Olmsted.

Olmsted and Vaux were responsible for the creation of a truly American suburban landscape at Riverside, a suburb outside of Chicago in 1869 (Fig.20). Riverside was located nine miles west of Chicago along the newly established Burlington Railway Line. The land, some 1500 acres, was owned by Emery E. Childs who commissioned Olmsted, Vaux and Company to prepare a design for a model suburban community. Instead of

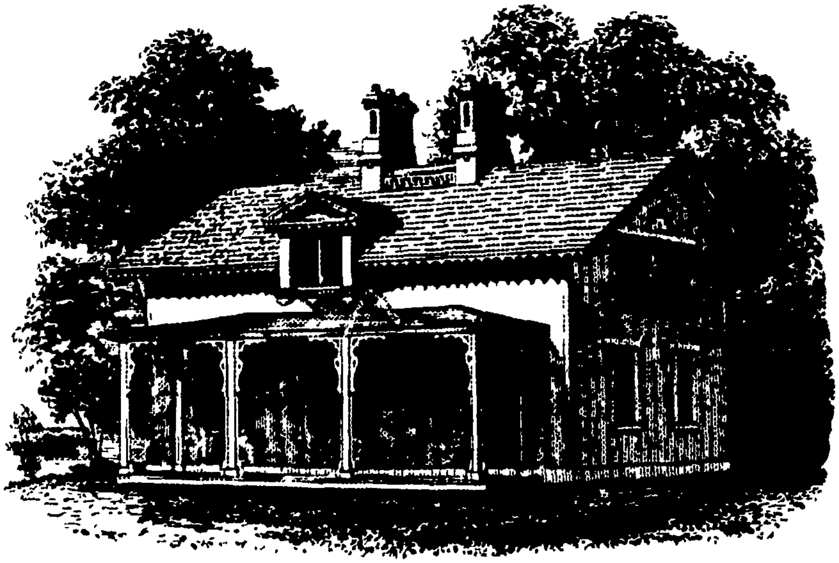


Fig. 3.

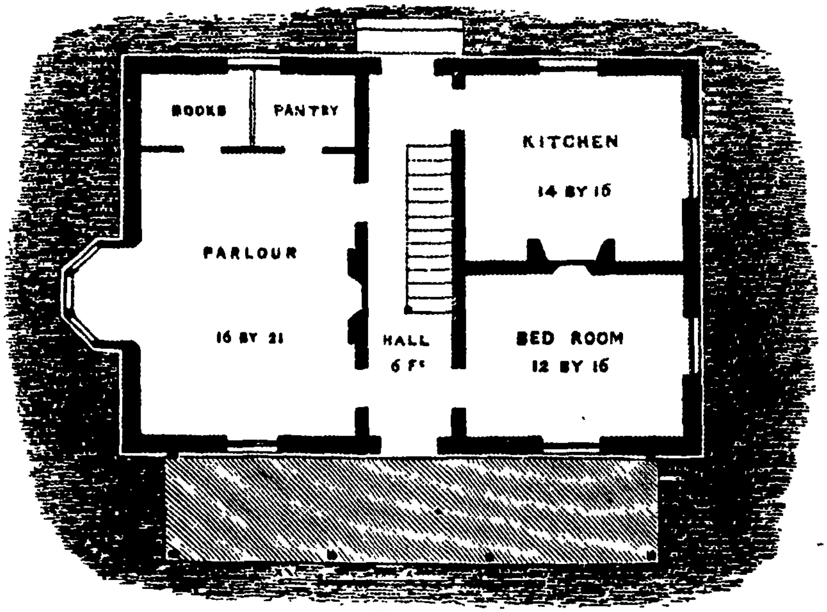

BOOKS
PANTRY
KITCHEN
14 BY 16
PARLOUR
16 BY 21
HALL
6 Ft
BED ROOM
12 BY 16

Fig. 4.

Figures 2.14a,b. A "suburban" cottage design by Downing (Downing,*Cottage Residences*, [1842] 1967).

incorporating the Llewellyn Park model as a design concept, they set out to create an environment that celebrated domesticity and not nature.[37] The design incorporated scenic roads and walkways throughout with small parks along the way to focus residential areas. The roads and walks were tree-lined and spacious with residences placed some thirty feet back. In turn, the front yards were planted to provide a natural screen to the residences. Olmsted and Vaux placed a large open space at the centre of the community with an area set aside for community facilities adjacent to the village centre. A commercial area was established along the railway tracks. The main provision for community recreation was a 160 acre park set along the Des Plaines River. Riverside, was indeed a model suburban community in which nature was tamed to accommodate the domestic ideology of the late 19th century.

However, the Arcadian vision, expressed as a middle landscape between the city and the country was questionable. The exodus to the suburbs that followed, perpetuated the schism between those values associated with the city and those of the country. Of those who abandoned the city for the suburbs Schuyler suggested:

> In their quest for personal security and domestic bliss amidst suburban surroundings, these people made personal decisions that had public implications, ignoring the effect they might have on broader social problems and the quality of urban life. ... Tragically, the nineteenth-century search for an urban compromise failed to bring about a new balance of country and city. To do so the suburb would have to be planned comprehensively, as an integral part of the modern metropolis rather than an escape from it.[38]

To Downing, Olmsted and others, the suburb was a consciously designed community, of public and private places, in which the family could grow amid natural surroundings. The early suburbs were Arcadian in that they symbolically represented a synthetic view of nature and humanity, interpreted in the Romantic style of the period. However, the early suburbs were also anti-Arcadian in that their inhabitants were not able to maintain a synthetic view of humanity. Social problems relating to income, ascribed status, and race as well as the realities of urban growth and change set the "sect of the suburbanites", the American bourgeoisie, apart from the general milieu of the city.[39]

With respect to the changing nature of American settlement patterns, Olmsted believed that new modes of transportation would allow urban "fringe areas" to be settled with parks and open spaces and would provide a healthier environment to live in. At the same time he also believed that, as a result of outward expansion, a more open urban landscape would emerge with more space for parks, tree-lined streets and private gardens, not unlike Penn's "greene country towne", although Olmsted could not rationalize the use

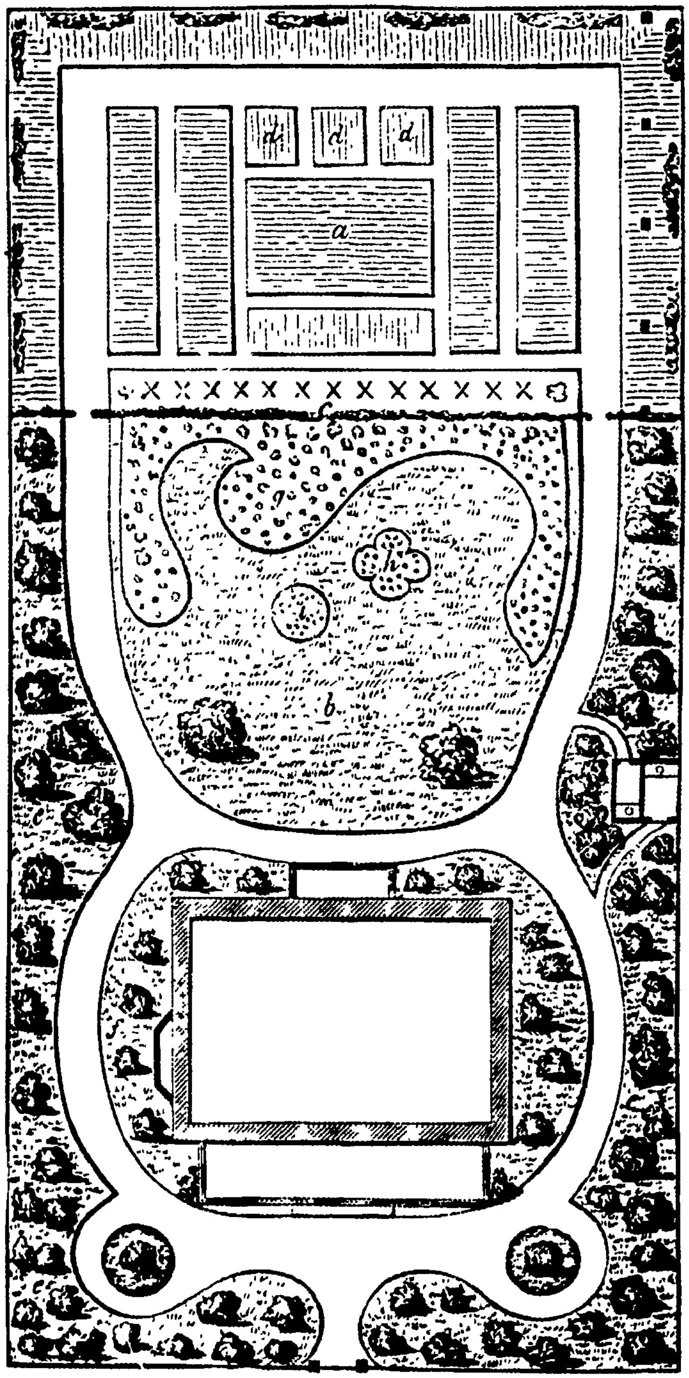


Figure 2.15. A "suburban" landscape design by Downing (Downing,*Cottage Residences*, [1842] 1967).

of the grid-iron pattern to achieve that ideal. The 19th century suburb thus perpetuated two significant ideas that would influence American urbanism from that period onward. One was the socially segregated community and the other the separation of the home from the workplace. To this extent, the suburbs were not able to reconcile a harmonious view between nature and humanity and toward one another.

IV Cities Beautiful but Baroque Imperial Exhibitionism

Anyone visiting Chicago's World Fair of 1893 would have been very impressed by its scale and grandeur. Some, however, may have felt somewhat ill at ease with what they saw, possibly remembering Thomas Cole's allegorical painting, *The Consummation of Empire*, in which Cole had depicted a grandiose classical urban landscape on the shores of the new Republic. Ironically, the idea was to express the fall of humanity from nature by a civilization that had overlooked or forgotten its agrarian past. What was most striking about the Columbian Exposition was its unquestionable likeness to Cole's painting on the fall of the empire (Figs.20a,b). The "White City" as the Columbia Exposition was called, because of its white-washed assemblage of neo-classical and neo-renaissance buildings, represented the wealth and power and culture that the American Republic had achieved on the eve of the 19th century. It was a harmonious grouping of building masses set around a large formal waterway. Adjacent buildings and statuary were grouped axially through the site in the Renaissance manner. The exposition's setting along Lake Michigan also evoked images of great ancient civilizations.[40]

Beyond its questionable architectural aesthetics the Columbia Exposition provided a forum to explore and to express the genuine advancements made in America's cities over the latter half of the 20th-century. Some scholars suggest that the Exposition was the turning point for the later advancements in civic design made by the City Beautiful movement.[41] However, the work carried out by proponents of City Beautiful had its roots in the work undertaken during the period of the Parks Movement established by Olmsted, Eliot and others. William H. Wilson suggested in his book, *The Cities Beautiful Movement* (1989):

> It is now evident that the White City was the focus of a wide variety of nineteenth century advances relating to City Beautiful: sanitation; aesthetics; rationalized urban functions; women's involvement in culture, civic improvement, and urban reform; building design, artistic collaboration; architectural professionalism; and civic spirit.[42]

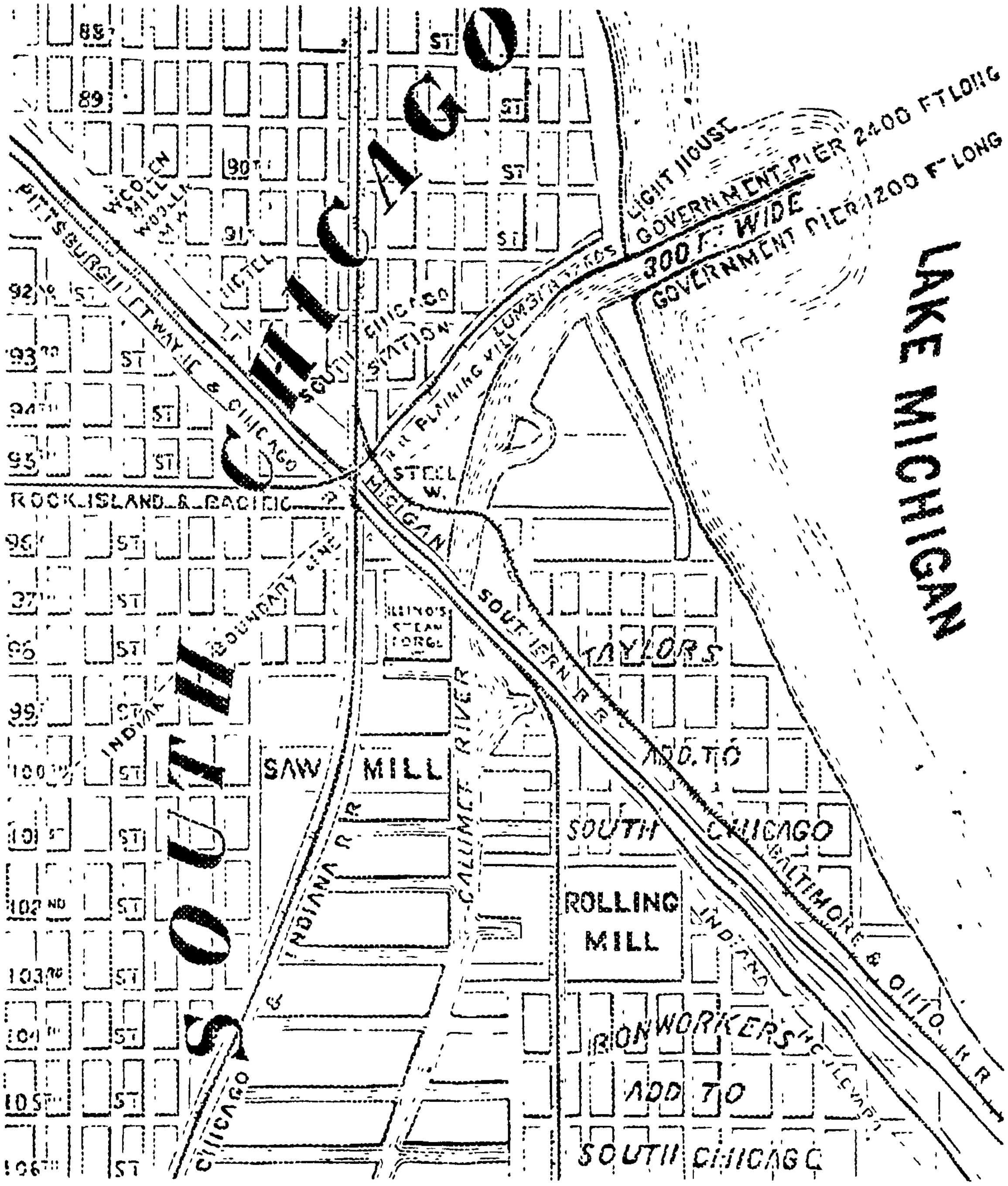

SOUTH CHICAGO
LAKE MICHIGAN
LIGHT HOUSE
GOVERNMENT PIER 2400 FT LONG
300 FT WIDE
GOVERNMENT PIER 1200 FT LONG
PITTSBURGH FT WAYNE & CHICAGO
ROCK ISLAND & PACIFIC
SOUTH CHICAGO STATION
STEEL W.
MICHIGAN SOUTHERN R R
INDIANA BOUNDARY LINE
SAW MILL
CALUMET RIVER
CHICAGO & INDIANA R R
TAYLORS ADD. TO SOUTH CHICAGO
ROLLING MILL
BALTIMORE & OHIO R R
IRONWORKERS ADD TO SOUTH CHICAGO
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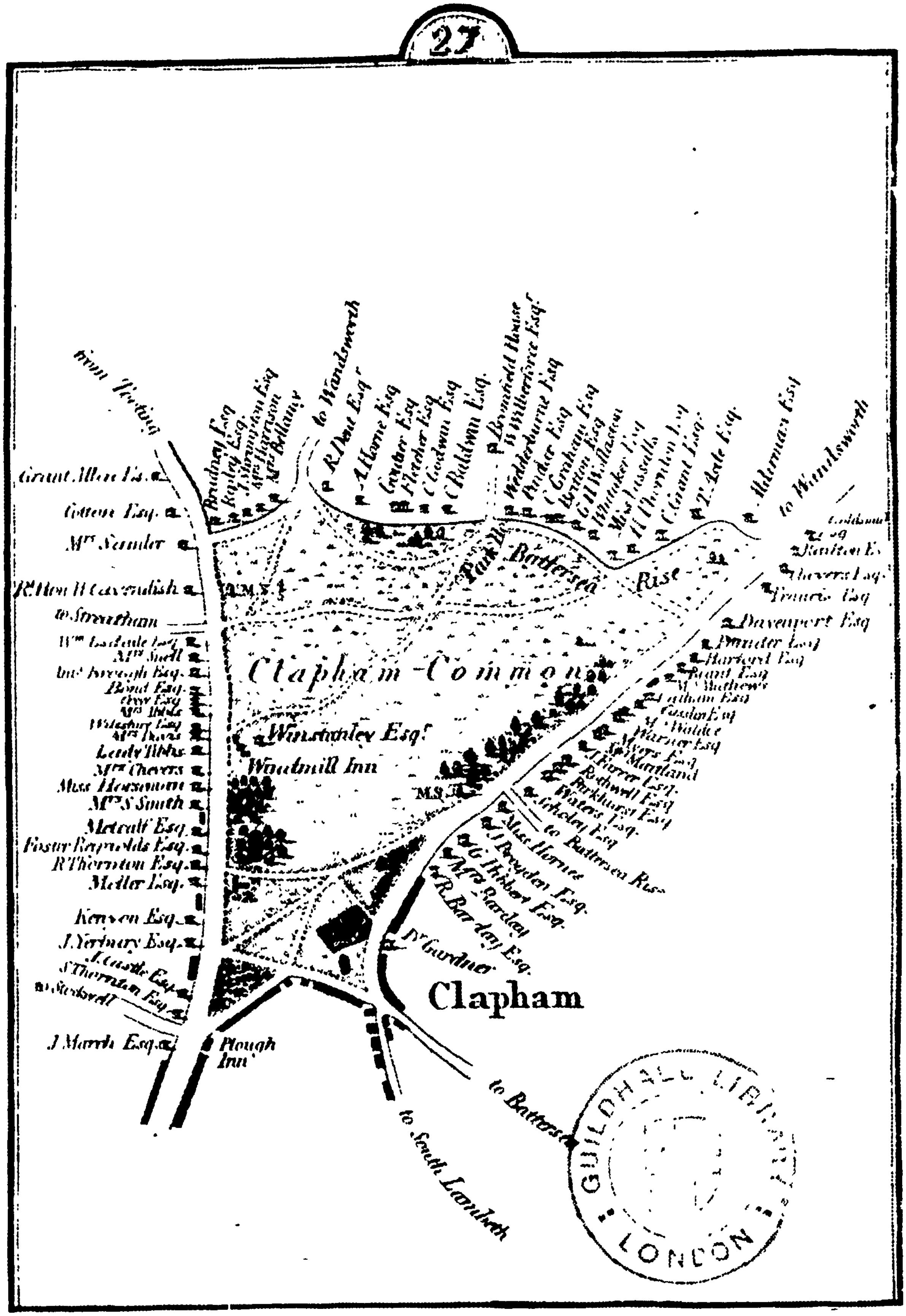
Figure 2.16. The trolley line, the railway and early suburban sprawl, circa 1890 (Stilgoe, *Borderland: Origins of the American Suburb*, 1988).

Urban Ideology

The City Beautiful Movement was synonymous with a civic awakening throughout the country. Urban dwellers from all walks of life and professional background rallied to the cause of improving their own towns and cities. The Arcadian vision had been stirred in the citizenry of the "greene Republic." Before the Columbia Exposition, a number of organizations had formed to continue the work of the Parks Movement . After the event, it became a national phenomenon. As such, it had no spokespersons for the cause, although Charles Mulford Robinson, a young journalist, and Daniel Hudson Burnham, chief architect of the Exposition, became chief public educator and chief civic architect respectively. Robinson's book, *The Improvement of Towns and Cities, or the Practical Basis for Civic Aesthetics* was published in 1901 and immediately became popular. As a result, Robinson wrote a companion volume, *Modern Civic Art, or the City Made Beautiful* (1902) His ideas paralleled those already in the minds of many Europeans who were seeking to revive Renaissance and Baroque ideas of the relationship between building and open space, or as was the case in America, between urbanity and nature. Books such as Camillo Sitte's, *Der Staedtebau nach seinen Kuenstlerischen Grundsaetzen* (1899) and Raymond Unwin's, *Town Planning in Practice* (1909) had a great influence in Europe and America. Burnham acknowledged the German school of planning as influential in his work as well as the French urban theorists.[43] Generally, City Beautiful proponents were reform-minded rather than revolutionary. They understood the dynamics of urban growth as an organic process and the city as an organic entity. As such its growth could be controlled and directed toward a better end.[44] The symbiotic nature of urban growth was given a first hearing during the City Beautiful movement. Olmsted's view of nature's role in civilizing urban society was thus extended to include a broader agenda for social and environmental reform:

> Endorsers of the City Beautiful were late nineteenth or twentieth century people. They believed less in the Olmstedian view of beauty's restorative power and more in the shaping influence of beauty. Darwinism had compromised the old belief in man as a natural creature made in the image of God, who shared some of God's attributes and who required a beautified, naturalistic reprieve from his imprisonment in the artificial city. Man became remote from his Creator, more manipulable and malleable, a being conditioned by his environment. Therefore the the whole urban environment and and the entire human experience within it were critical to the City Beautiful movement.[45]

L'Enfant's plan for Washington, D.C. established the Arcadian vision for urbanity at a grand scale based on the baroque designs of the French. Other cities including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from Tooting
to Wandsworth
Grant Allen Esq
Cotton Esq
Mrs Sander
Rt Hon H Cavendish
to Streatham
Mrs Snell
Lady Tibbs
Mrs S Smith
Metcalf Esq
Foster Reynolds Esq
R Thornton Esq
Meller Esq
Kenyon Esq
J Yerbury Esq
J Castle Esq
S Thornton Esq
to Stockwell
J Marsh Esq
Plough Inn
Clapham Common
Winstanley Esq
Windmill Inn
M.S.
R Dent Esq
A Hame Esq
Fletcher Esq
C Godwin Esq
C Baldwin Esq
Broomfield House
W Wilberforce Esq
Wedderburne Esq
Pinder Esq
C Graham Esq
Britton Esq
Whitaker Esq
Miss Vassalls
H Thornton Esq
C Grant Esq
Alderman Esq
to Wandsworth
Park Rd
Battersea Rise
Davenport Esq
Hartford Esq
Waters Esq
to Battersea Rise
Miss Hornes
J Bowden Esq
G Hibbert Esq
Mrs Barclay
R Barclay Esq
Dr Gardner
Clapham
to Battersea
to South Lambeth
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Figure 2.17. A prototypical suburban landscape, Clapham Common, England, 1800 (Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia*, 1987).

Buffalo, Detroit, Indianapolis and Madison, along with dozens of other lesser known cities were laid out according to similar design principles long before Chicago's World Fair.[46] The influence of the baroque landscape was given new life and new meaning in the City Beautiful Movement.

Civic designers sought to include nature as a fundamental ingredient in reshaping their cities. "Reverence for natural Beauty and for naturalistic constructivism, its urban counterpart, stood first in the order of City Beautiful aesthetics."[47] Building on civic design concepts developed by Olmsted, Eliot and others, they established new parks and parkways (park systems), boulevards and civic nodes. Undeveloped natural areas, such as marginal lands, were left in their natural state without needlessly reconstructing them into more formal entities. Waterfronts and rivers were reconsidered as vital natural assets. The influence of the City Beautiful Movement was felt throughout the country from Harrisburg to San Francisco.

Daniel Burnham had been invited to look at San Francisco in 1902 and to make recommendations for improving its civic design. He proposed to cut through the entire grid-iron urban fabric with a network of diagonally placed boulevards and streets and a series of parks, squares and ovals to terminate or accentuate the overall design (Fig.21) The Baroque geometry cut through the grid-iron urban fabric outward to the uncharted wilderness. Nature, in turn, was allowed to enter the "artificial city of man". In addition, Burnham proposed that the city acquire additional parklands, both inside and outside the city limits, for the future well-being of its citizenry.[48]

In Chicago, Burnham carried out similar work in a continuation of the lakefront parkway prepared in 1896 by Olmsted some three years after the Columbia Exposition (Figs.22). The Chicago plan that he submitted in 1909 was considered by many to be his greatest achievement and one of the greatest planning efforts in America.[49] It was, by comparison, more comprehensive and executed with much more attention to detail. It too included large diagonal boulevards, parks, parkways , a sweeping arc through the city, and grand civic spaces. The plan also discussed the regional implications for Chicago's growth. "The plan dealt with the need for improved rapid transit, the possibilities for control of outlying subdivisions, requirements for railroad line and terminal relocation and consolidation, and other features not normally covered in the planning reports of today."[50] The overall intent was to give Chicago, San Francisco, and other cities he had made proposals for, a sense of civic grandeur and purpose in the green Republic. More significantly was the concept that the strong geometric order of the Baroque could be extended, not only out to nature, but across the country and eventually linked to the nation's capital. While this concept was never considered, it would be highly plausible to

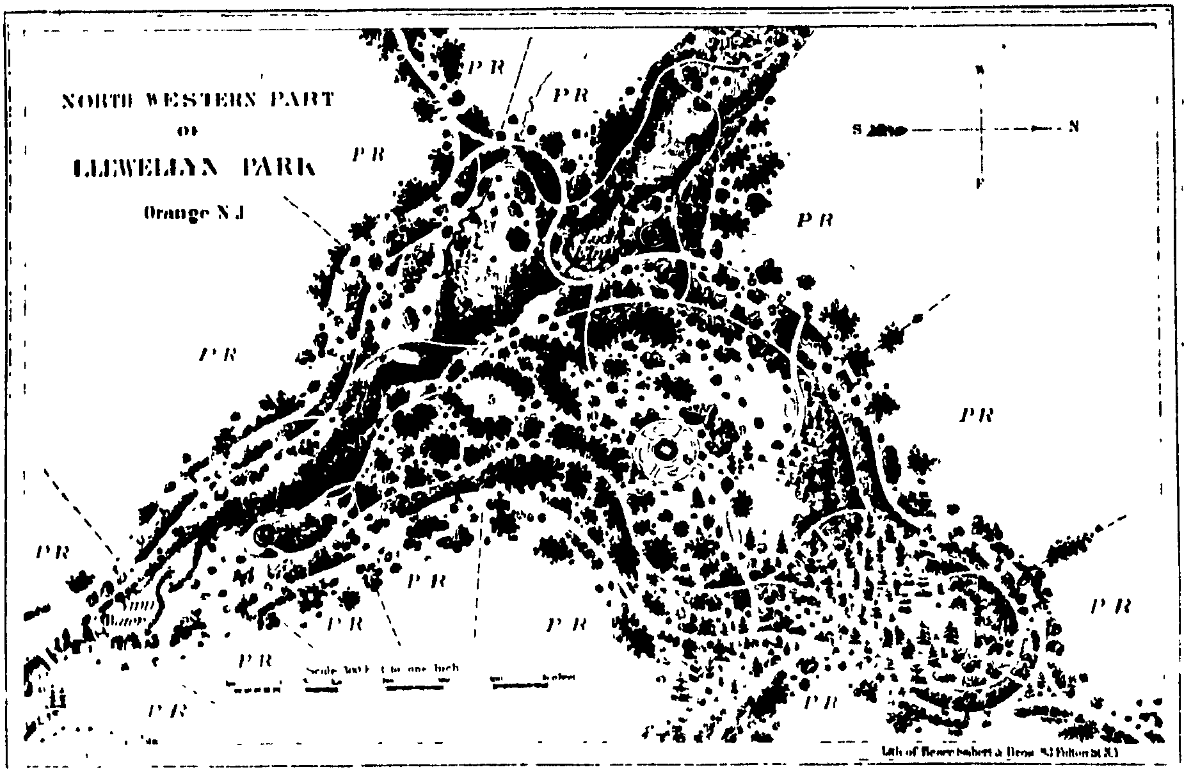
NORTH WESTERN PART
OF
LLEWELLYN PARK
Orange N.J
P R
S
N

Figure 2.18. Plan of a portion of Llewellyn Park in Orange, New Jersey: 1859 (Reps, *The Making of Urban America*, 1965).

think that Burnham, along with other reformers of the period, was trying to civilize the Jeffersonian landscape - to reconcile the grid and the garden by employing the cosmic geometry of the Baroque.

The urban reformers of the 19th century believed that urban growth was coincident with nature. This was a uniquely American societal goal with moral and spiritual implications. The growth of the suburbs and the Parks and Cities Beautiful Movements was evidence of their attempt to address the changing nature of the Arcadian Metropolis. "Not only in park planning and suburban development did the urban-pastoral impulse make itself felt. It also infused its idealism into the urban reform of the Progressive Era, particularly in the emphasis on improving the city."[51] The civic pride that had captured a nation at the turn of the century was no less than an attempt to redress the Arcadian vision at a time when urbanity and civility were on the brink of decline, foreshadowed in Cole's allegorical paintings. That pride was rooted in the very ideals that had played a prominent role in the earliest settlement patterns of Massachusetts Bay onward. The Arcadian vision was able to reconcile the conflicting ideologies of urban growth and the myth of the garden, "a faith in progressive development and a commitment to an unchanging order."[52]

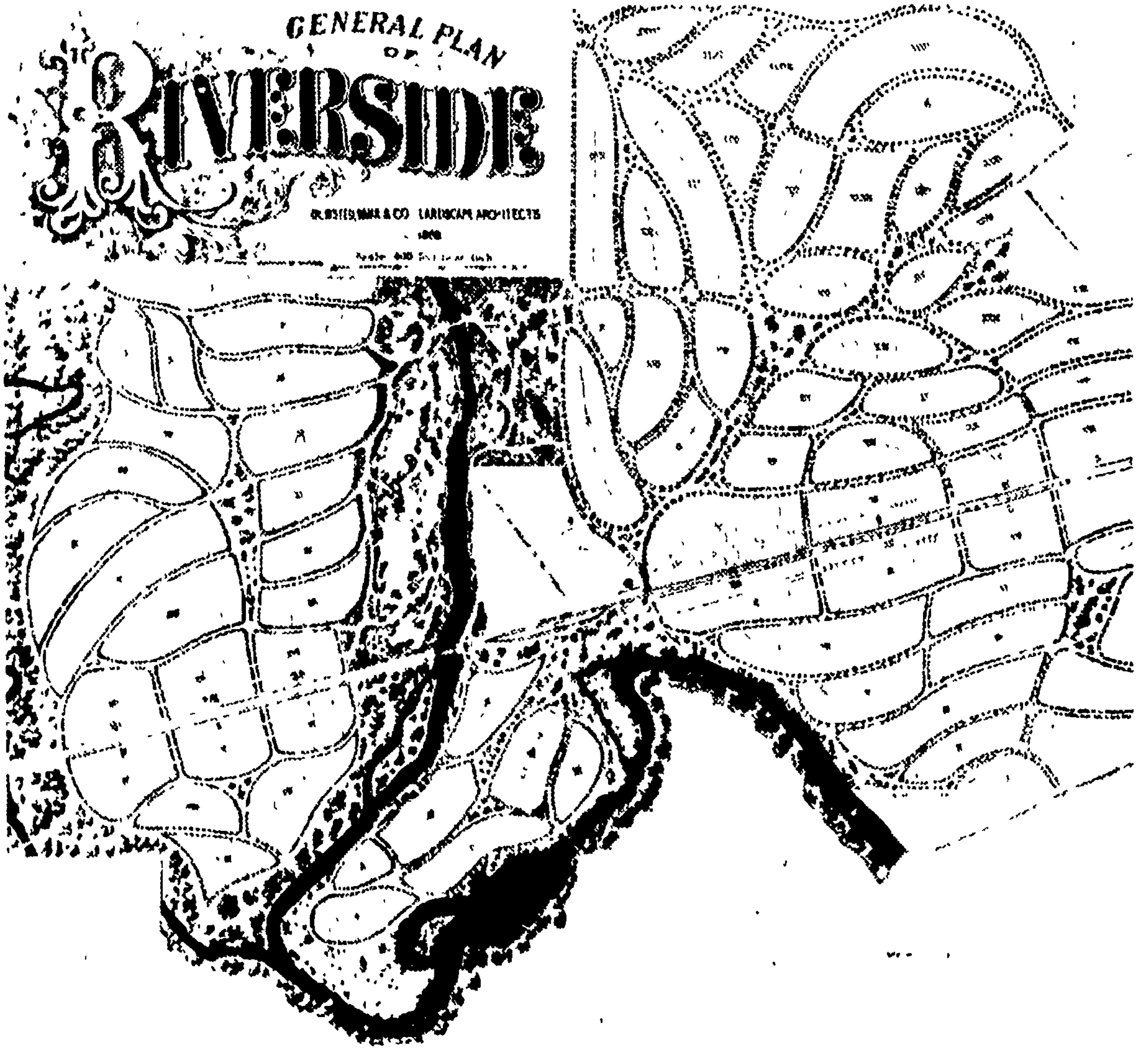
GENERAL PLAN
OF
RIVERSIDE
OLMSTED, VAUX & CO. LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTS

Figure 2.19. The suburban vision for America by Olmsted, Vaux and Company (Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia*, 1987).

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[2] David Schuyler. *The New Urban Landscape: The Redefinition of City Form in Nineteenth-Century America.* Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1986, p.27.

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[4] Ralph Waldo Emerson, quoted in Norman Cohn. *The Pursuit of the Millennium.* New York: Heinemann, 1962, p.215.

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[14] Andrew Jackson Downing, quoted in Reps, *The Making of Urban America*, p.325.

[15] John W. Reps. *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965, p.326.

[16] Andrew Jackson Downing. *Landscape Architecture and Rural Architecture.* New York: Dover Inc., [1865] 1991, p.159.

[17] Ibid., *The New Urban Landscape*, p.4.

[18] Ibid., *The Making of Urban America*, p.330.

[19] Ibid., *The Making of Urban America*, p.338.

[20] Ibid., *The Making of Urban America*, p.340.

[21] Ibid., *The Park and the Town*, p.192.

[22] Ibid., *Back to Nature*, p.3.

[23] Ibid., *Back to Nature*, p.3.

[24] Ibid., *Back to Nature*,, p.5.

[25] Kenneth T. Jackson. *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1985, p.78.

[26] Carol A. Christensen. *The American Garden City and the New Towns Movement.* Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1986, p.29.

[27] Ibid., *The New Urban Landscape*, , p.152.

[28] Robert Fishman. *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia.* New York: Basic Books Inc., 1987, p.121.

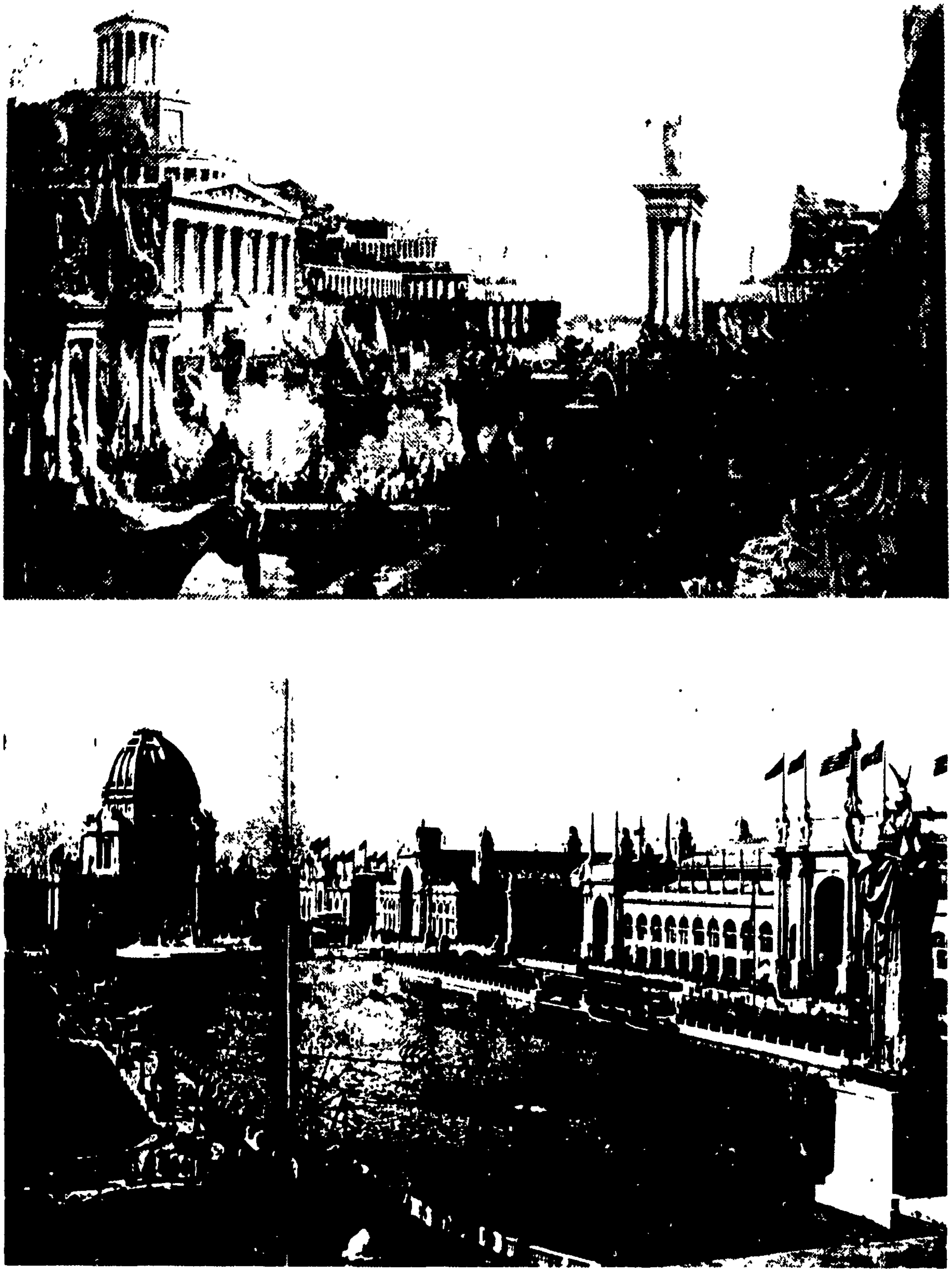
[29] Ibid., *Crabgrass Frontier*, p.61.

[30] Kathryn K. Sklar. *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973, p.159.

[31] Catharine Beecher, quoted in Sklar, *Catharine Beecher*, p.160.

[32] Ibid., *Bourgeois Utopias*, p.132.

[33] Ibid., *The Making of Urban America*, p.339.



Figures 2.20a,b. Consummation of the Empire and the Columbia Exhibition - foreshadowing a less than prosperous future (Powell, *Thomas Cole*, 1990; (Newton, *Design on the Land*, 1971).

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[34] Ibid., *The Making of Urban America*, p.340.
[35] Ibid., *Bourgeois Utopias*, p.124.
[36] Ibid., *Bourgeois Utopias*, p.124.
[37] Ibid., *Bourgeois Utopias*, p.126.
[38] Ibid., *The New Urban Landscape*, p.166.
[39] Ibid., *Bourgeois Utopias*, p.128.
[40] Ibid., *The Making of Urban America*, pp.497-502.
[41] Ibid., *The New Urban Landscape*, p.189.
[42] William H. Wilson.*The City Beautiful Movement*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1989, p.60.
[43] Ibid., *The Park and the Town*, p.213.
[44] Ibid., *The City Beautiful Movement*, p.44.
[45] Ibid., *The City Beautiful Movement*,, p.45.
[46] Ibid., *The Making of Urban America*, p.325.
[47] Ibid., *The City Beautiful Movement*, p.80.
[48] Ibid., *The Making of Urban America*, p.516.
[49] Ibid., *The Making of Urban America*, p.517.
[50] Ibid., *The Making of Urban America*, p.519.
[51] Ibid., *Pastoral Cities*, p.173.
[52] Ibid., *Pastoral Cities*, p.174.

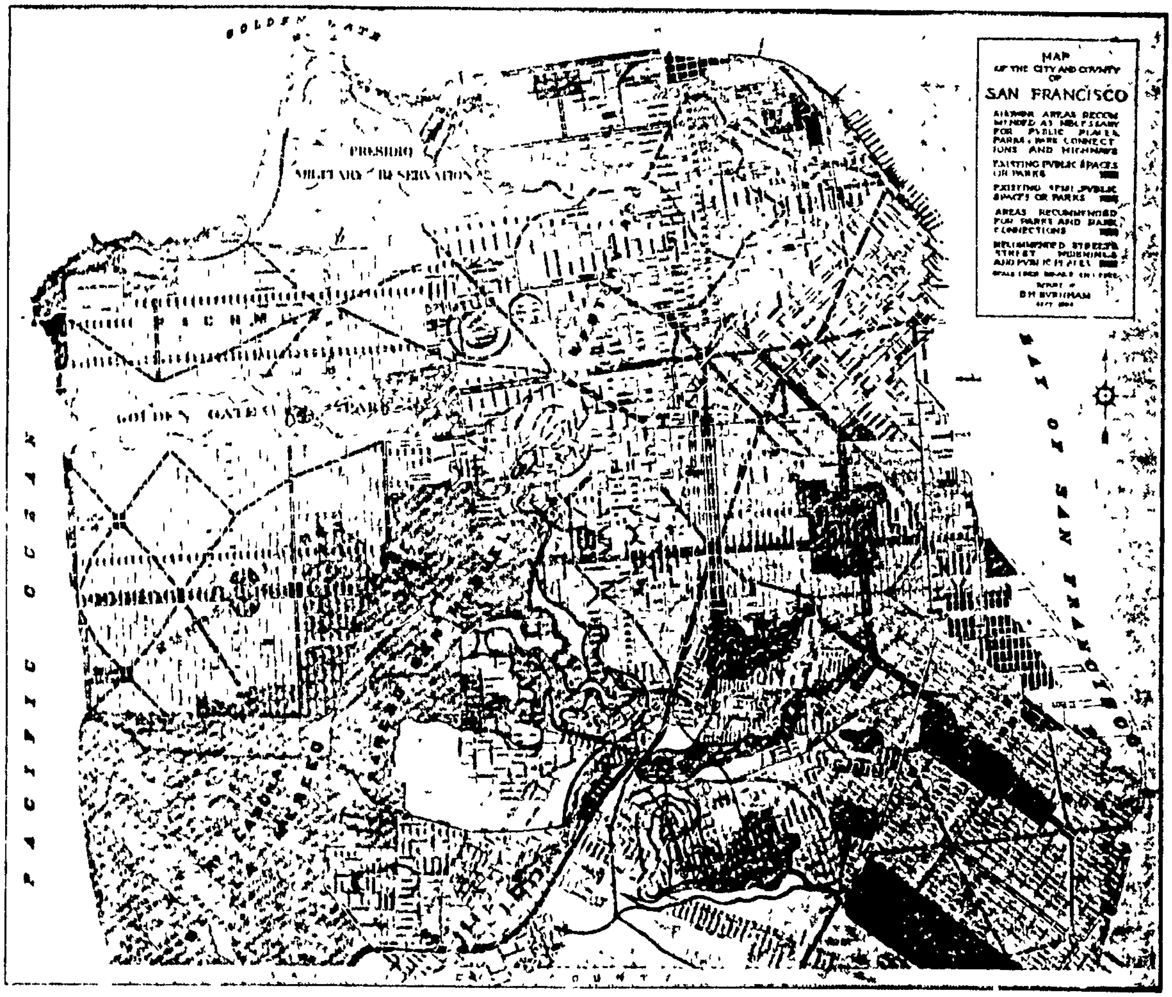

GOLDEN GATE
PRESIDIO
MILITARY RESERVATION
RICHMOND
GOLDEN GATE PARK
PACIFIC OCEAN
BAY OF SAN FRANCISCO
SAN MATEO COUNTY
MAP
OF THE CITY AND COUNTY
OF
SAN FRANCISCO
EXISTING PUBLIC SPACES OR PARKS
AREAS RECOMMENDED FOR PARKS AND PARK CONNECTIONS
D. H. BURNHAM

Figure 2.21. The Burham plan for San Franscisco, 1905 - urban reform with nature (Reps, *The Making of Urban America*, 1965).

CHAPTER THREE

FLIGHT FROM ARCADIA: AMERICAN URBANISM TO THE LATE TWENTIETH CENTURY

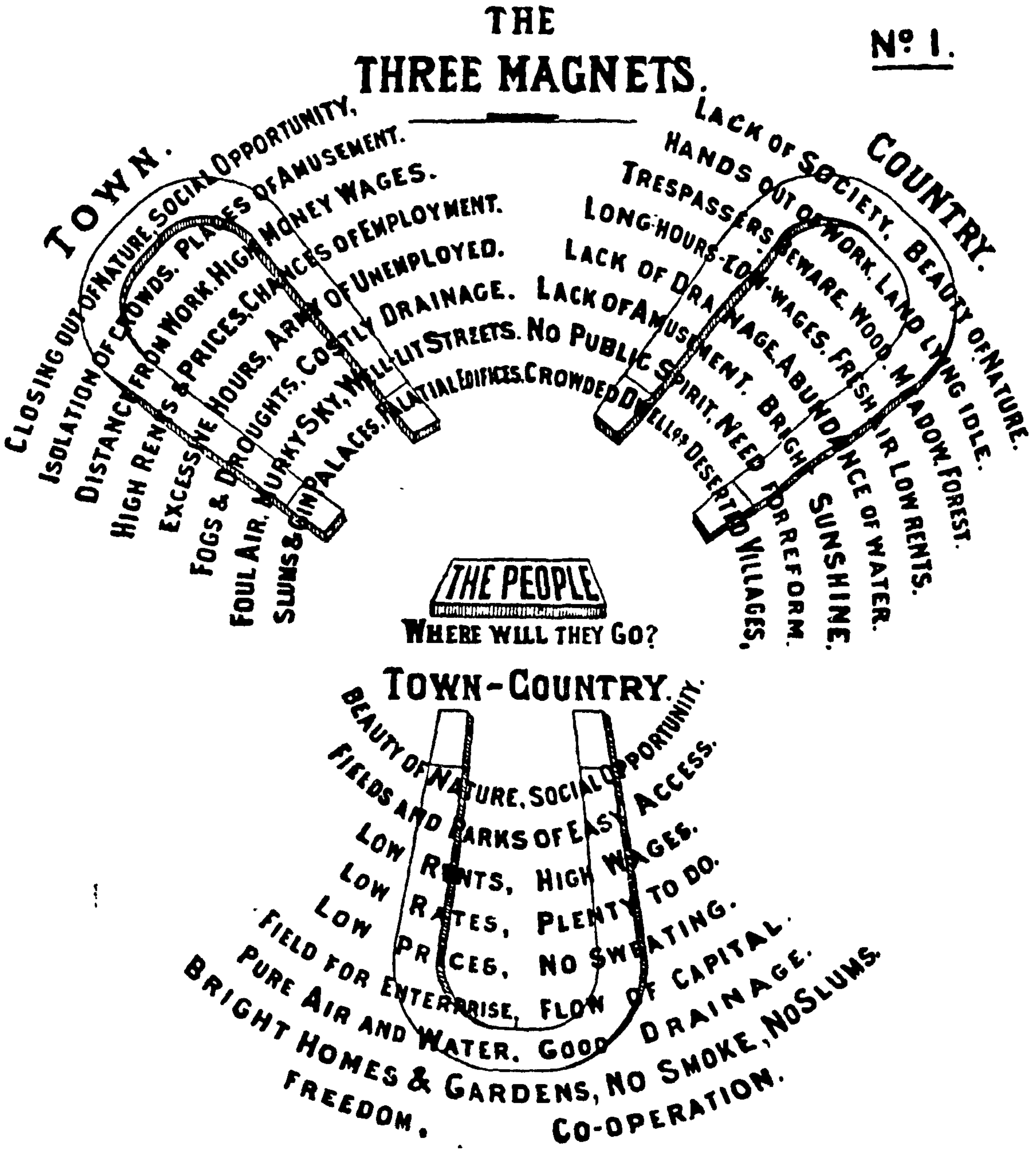
I Of Towns and Suburbs

Ebenezer Howard's Legacy

> The next morning as I went up to the City from Stamford Hill, I realized, as never before, the splendid possibilities of a new civilization based on service to the community and not on self-interest, at present the dominant motive. Then I determined to take such part as I could, however small it might be, in helping to bring a new civilization into being.[1]
>
> Ebenezer Howard

The Garden City Movement embraced the newly discovered social consciousness of the late 19th century in reaction to the stifling forces of industrialization The movement sought to define a new economic, political and philosophical order, and correspondingly, to define an ideal urban form for an industrial society. Ebenezer Howard's concept of the Garden City was first published in *To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Reform* (1898) and re-issued with minor changes as *Garden Cities of To-morrow* . The text, fueled by the socialist/reformist ideas of James Silk Buckingham, Edward Gibbon Wakefield and Robert Owens, was also a summary of his self-discovered convictions.[2] Howard was influenced in his early adulthood by visits to America. There he gained a wider outlook on the religious and social questions facing industrial society, in part through his association with the Quakers. Dugald MacFadyen suggested in a biographical sketch titled, *Sir Ebenezer Howard and the New Town Planning Movement* (1975), that Howard was "Americanized" to a great extent in the tradition of Emerson and Whitman.[3] While visiting in America, Howard read Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* (1888), in which the author described the whole of America organized on co-operative principles By his own admission, Howard was profoundly influenced by Bellamy, particularly in the context of his American experience. Buckingham's *National Evils and Practical Remedies* (1849) also influenced Howard's Garden City in which Buckingham had proposed a model community by the integration of agriculture and industry and the introduction of financial equity for its inhabitants.[4] Although diagrammatic, the Garden City resembled Ledoux's plan for Chaux and, more accurately, Robert Owen's plan for Pemberton

Howard believed in the benefits of the city as well as those of the country, and that these benefits could be joined in a new vision of urbanity (Fig 1). He saw a "Town magnet" which drew people to the city for employment, culture and social advancement and


THE THREE MAGNETS.
Nº 1.
TOWN.
CLOSING OUT OF NATURE. SOCIAL OPPORTUNITY.
ISOLATION OF CROWDS. PLACES OF AMUSEMENT.
DISTANCE FROM WORK. HIGH MONEY WAGES.
HIGH RENTS & PRICES. CHANCES OF EMPLOYMENT.
EXCESSIVE HOURS. ARMY OF UNEMPLOYED.
FOGS & DROUGHTS. COSTLY DRAINAGE.
FOUL AIR. MURKY SKY. WELL-LIT STREETS.
SLUMS & GIN PALACES. PALATIAL EDIFICES.
COUNTRY.
LACK OF SOCIETY. BEAUTY OF NATURE.
HANDS OUT OF WORK. LAND LYING IDLE.
TRESPASSERS BEWARE. WOOD. MEADOW. FOREST.
LONG HOURS - LOW WAGES. FRESH AIR. LOW RENTS.
LACK OF DRAINAGE. ABUNDANCE OF WATER.
LACK OF AMUSEMENT. BRIGHT SUNSHINE.
NO PUBLIC SPIRIT. NEED FOR REFORM.
CROWDED DWELLINGS. DESERTED VILLAGES.
THE PEOPLE
WHERE WILL THEY GO?
TOWN-COUNTRY.
BEAUTY OF NATURE. SOCIAL OPPORTUNITY.
FIELDS AND PARKS OF EASY ACCESS.
LOW RENTS, HIGH WAGES.
LOW RATES, PLENTY TO DO.
LOW PRICES, NO SWEATING.
FIELD FOR ENTERPRISE, FLOW OF CAPITAL.
PURE AIR AND WATER, GOOD DRAINAGE.
BRIGHT HOMES & GARDENS, NO SMOKE, NO SLUMS.
FREEDOM. CO-OPERATION.

THE THREE MAGNETS

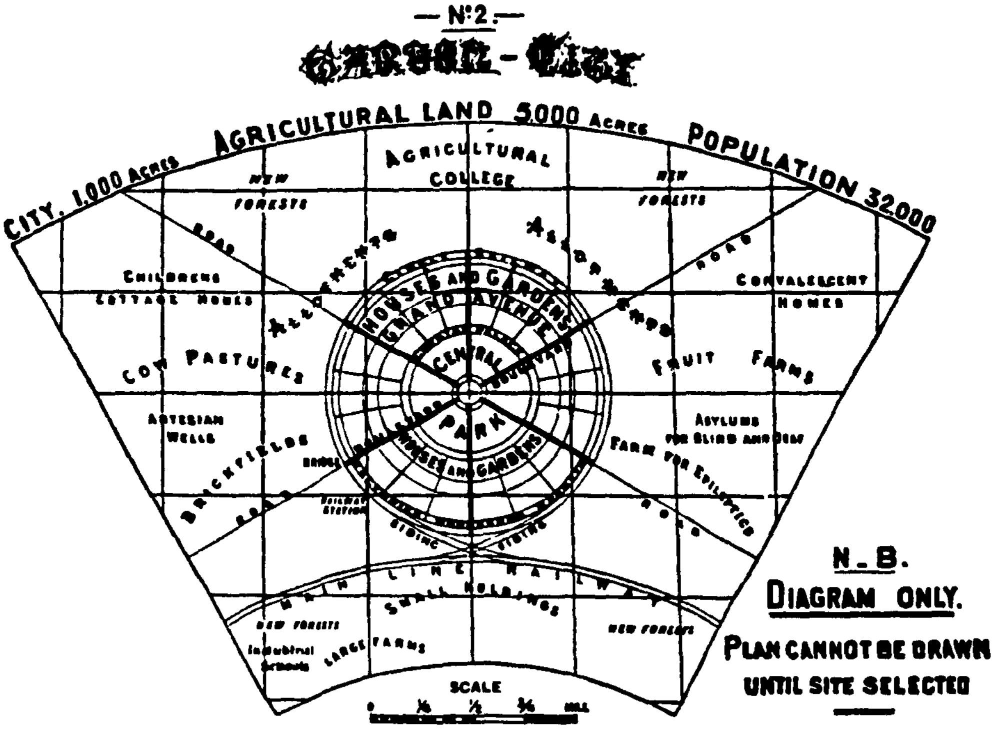
Figure 3.1. Howard's synthetic view of nature and urbanity (Howard, *Garden Cities of To-morrow*. ed. F.J. Osborn, [1898] 1965).

a "Country magnet" which drew people to the country for the restoring properties of nature. Howard suggested that these could be combined as a "Town-Country magnet". "But neither the Town magnet nor the Country magnet represents the full plan and purpose of nature. Human society and the beauty of nature are meant to be enjoyed together The two magnets must be made one."[5] His proposal for, "a marriage between town and country," posited a synthetic view of nature and humanity in a new urban-rural synthesis (Figs.2a,b) It also embraced the Christian ideals first made evident by the Puritans in their quest to establish a New Jerusalem some three centuries earlier Similarly for Howard, the city was an imagined ideal, yet to be established. The city was "the symbol of society of mutual help and friendly co-operation ... between man and man " The country was an Edenic garden from which humanity drew its sustenance It was "the symbol of God's love and care for man. All that we are and all that we have comes from it "[6]

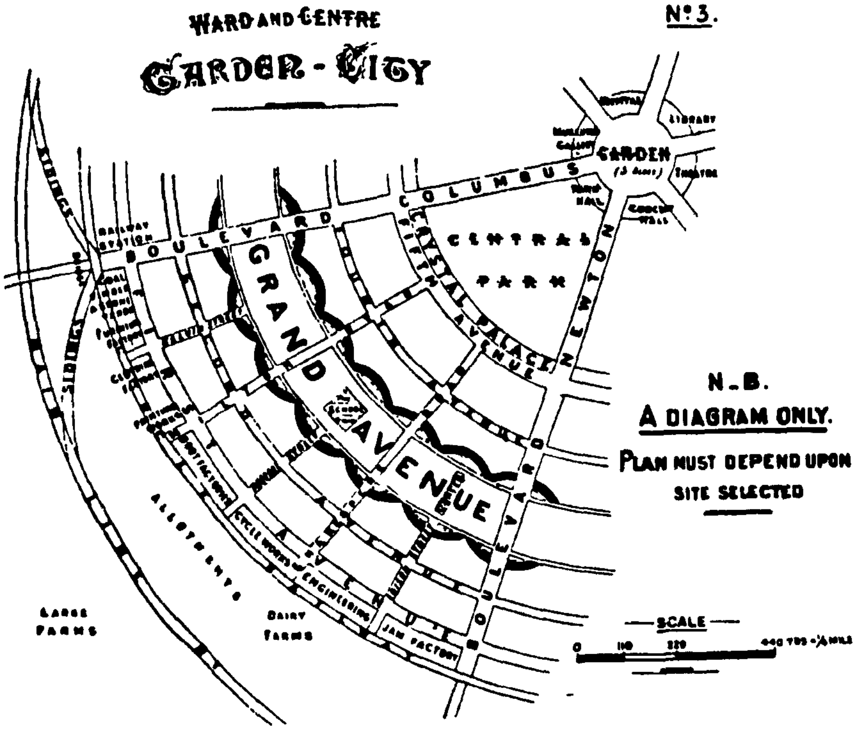
Still, Howard did not have a simplistic view of the world He understood, as best as reason could assert, that humanity was part of the greater whole of nature Humanity would therefore be served best by acting on ecological principles Lewis Mumford suggested in *The City in History* :

> [Howard] brought to the city the essential biological criteria of dynamic equilibrium and organic balance: balance as between city and country in a larger ecological pattern, and balance between the varied functions of the city: above all, balance through the positive control of growth in the limitation in area, number, and density of occupation, and the practice of reproduction (colonization) when the community was threatened by such an undue increase in size as would lead to lapse of function.[7]

The Garden City incorporated the organic concept of the inherent limits of growth for an organism or organization. As such, it was limited in land area and number of inhabitants, organized to accommodate all civic and urban functions including administration, industry, business, education, religious institutions and the production of food To further express the "marriage of town and country" he included private gardens and public open spaces linked to a surrounding agricultural and natural "greenbelt " The greenbelt served to provide a healthy environment, to bring visual coherence and identity to the town, as well as to separate the Garden City from adjacent towns. The Garden City was considered to be a self-sustaining community in which the welfare of the inhabitants was dependent on the environment of which they were a part In this context, Howard was very concerned about the social welfare of all, believing that to realize societal reform, one should be afforded the opportunity to commune both with nature and with one's fellow.


— Nº2 —
GARDEN - CITY
AGRICULTURAL LAND 5000 ACRES
CITY, 1000 ACRES
POPULATION 32,000
NEW FORESTS
AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE
NEW FORESTS
CHILDRENS COTTAGE HOMES
CONVALESCENT HOMES
ALLOTMENTS
ALLOTMENTS
HOUSES AND GARDENS
GRAND AVENUE
CENTRAL PARK
COW PASTURES
FRUIT FARMS
ARTESIAN WELLS
ASYLUMS FOR BLIND AND DEAF
BRICKFIELDS
FARM FOR EPILEPTICS
ROAD
RAILWAY STATION
SIDING
MAIN LINE RAILWAY
SMALL HOLDINGS
NEW FORESTS
INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS
LARGE FARMS
NEW FORESTS
SCALE
0 ¼ ½ ¾ MILE
N.B.
DIAGRAM ONLY.
PLAN CANNOT BE DRAWN UNTIL SITE SELECTED

GARDEN CITY AND RURAL BELT


WARD AND CENTRE
GARDEN - CITY
Nº 3.
SIDINGS
RAILWAY STATION
BOULEVARD
COLUMBUS
GARDEN (5 Acres)
LIBRARY
THEATRE
HOSPITAL
TOWN HALL
CONCERT HALL
CENTRAL PARK
CRYSTAL PALACE
FIFTH AVENUE
NEWTON
GRAND AVENUE
SCHOOL
BOULEVARD
CLOTHING FACTORY
FURNITURE FACTORY
CYCLE WORKS
ENGINEERING
JAM FACTORY
ALLOTMENTS
LARGE FARMS
DAIRY FARMS
N.B.
A DIAGRAM ONLY.
PLAN MUST DEPEND UPON SITE SELECTED
SCALE
0 110 220 440 YDS ¼ MILE

WARD AND CENTRE OF GARDEN CITY

Figures 3.2a,b. The Garden City concept explained (Howard, *Garden Cities of To-morrow*. ed. F.J. Osborn, [1898] 1965).

While the plan for Howard's Garden City was never more than a conceptual diagram, the programmatic content for his self-sustaining community served as the basis for the ideal town in the New Town movement. Many English new towns including Letchworth (1904) and Welwyn (1908) by Parker and Unwin (Figs.3a,b), followed the Garden City program explicitly. Others, such as Sunnyside Gardens (1926) and Radburn (1928) in America, designed by Stein and Wright, only partially addressed Howard's agenda. Needless to say, the influence of Howard's Garden City on urban settlement patterns in Europe and in America was unprecedented.

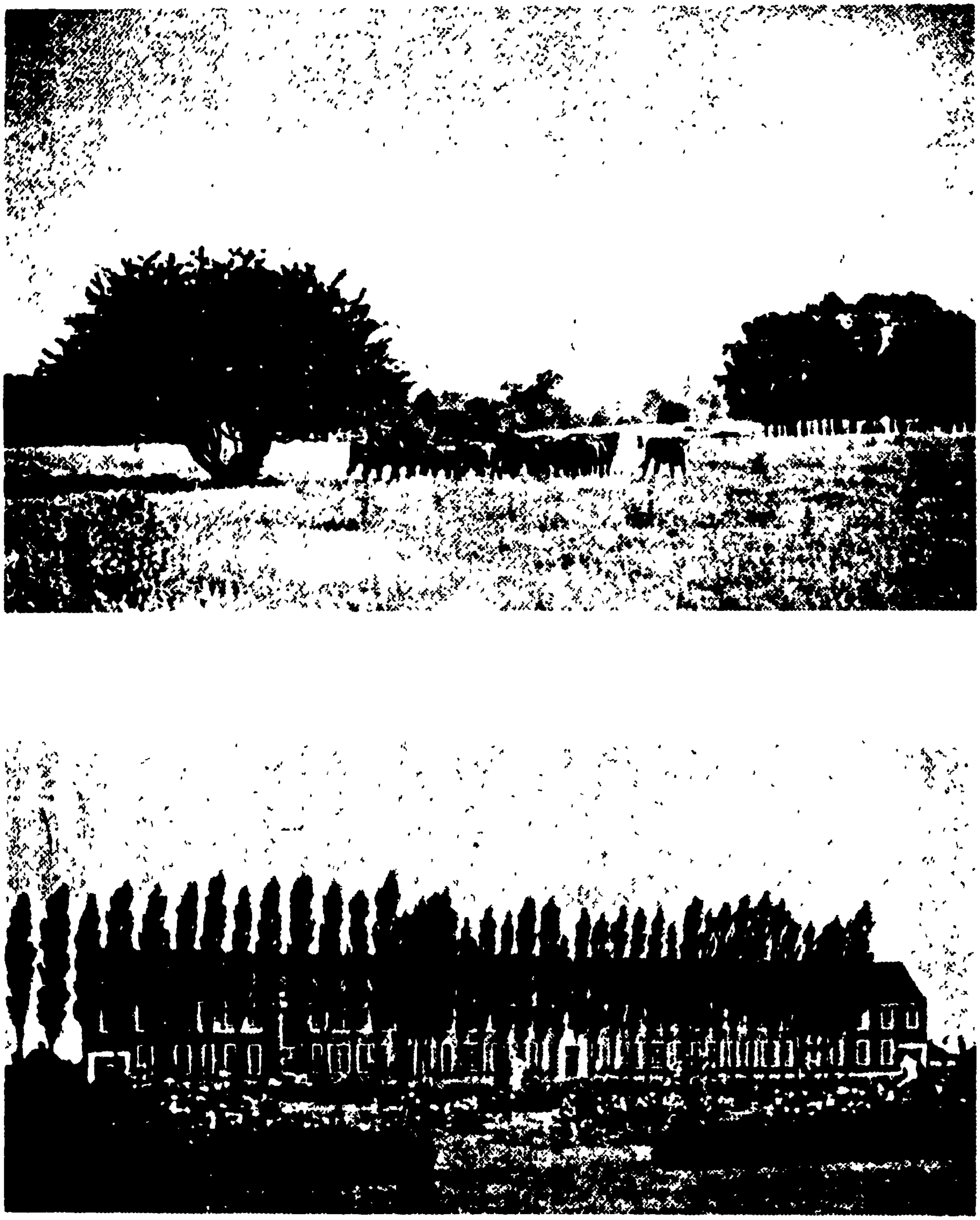
Mumford believed that the influence of Howard's proposal lay in the fact that Howard never promoted a specific image of the city or a particular planning approach, which made the idea inherently flexible:

> The specific forms of such a city would be a resultant of the landscape and the climate, the industries and the technological facilities available, and above all, the arts of the builders and the inhabitants: as for the ideal elements, he expressed them almost as mathematical abstractions.[8]

Ebenezer Howard's Garden City was a synthesis of all the best the city could offer and the country could provide. It was a synthesis of over two millennia of social, economic, political, environmental and town-planning thought as the Western world embraced the 20th century. Above all, the Garden City provided a synthetic view of nature and urbanity, and helped to further the notion of the Arcadian vision through the 20th century.

The Radburn Idea

Clarence Stein, having returned from Britain as a disciple of Ebenezer Howard and Raymond Unwin, set out to design a Garden City outside of New York City in 1923. Convinced of the concept, he put forward a design for a city of 25,000 inhabitants on one square mile of land with the financial support of the developer, Alexander M. Bing. (Figs.4a,b,c). Post World War I economics never allowed the plan to materialize but Howard's ideas, as well as those of the New Towns Movement, were embraced by a newly formed group called the Regional Planning Association of America. The RPAA was established in the early 1920s to address the future welfare of the city and the country. Members included Lewis Mumford, Clarence Stein, Henry Wright, Benton Mackaye, Catherine Bauer Wurster, Edith Elmer Wood, Alexander Bing, Stuart Chase, Frederick Ackerman and Clarence Perry. They believed that the Garden City concept could work and



Figures 3.3a,b. The Garden City made manifest at Letchworth - the agricultural belt and the town square (MacFadyen, *Sir Ebenezer Howard and the New Town Planning Movement*, 1970).

they gave it their support, with the financial help of Bing, by establishing the City Housing Corporation.[9]

The first project designed by Stein and Wright and built by the CHC was Sunnyside Gardens in New York City (1926). It incorporated a number of significant planning and design ideas made evident in the early Garden Cities in England (Figs.5a,b). Among these was the need to incorporate and preserve open spaces "for recreation, for light, for healthful living, and for more spacious and beautiful living."[10] Stein and Wright incorporated Raymond Unwin's idea of "nothing gained by overcrowding" and were able to achieve reasonable urban densities without sacrificing open space. As a result, the automobile was given marginal status and garages were built along the edges of the development. A goal of the C.H.C. was to create communities for people with different socio-economic backgrounds. Another goal was to create cost-efficient planning and design strategies for middle and lower income people. Sunnyside Gardens thus became a laboratory in which to work out better housing and block plans as well as new construction techniques.

Some of the lessons learned in Sunnyside Gardens were applied at Radburn, New Jersey, the second project undertaken by Stein and Wright. The "Radburn Idea", as it became known, was based on the idea of promoting a park-like setting for a residential community and, in so doing, eliminate automobile traffic from the public realm. (In 1928 there were 21,308,159 automobiles registered as compared with 5 in 1895).[11] To achieve both objectives, automobile and pedestrian routes were separated. Individual units were accessed from service lanes to the back and roadways to the front were eliminated altogether. Instead, the roadway areas became "parkways" which were joined through the development. To further increase the open space needs, the housing units were grouped and clustered into "superblock" arrangements. Radburn was an early attempt to reconcile the perceived need for open space for its inhabitants, provide space for the automobile and create a sense of community in its configuration (Figs.6). In those respects, it was successful. Unlike the Greenbelt Towns that followed, Radburn fell fundamentally short of being a Garden City in that it was unable to provide a greenbelt or provide an economic base to sustain its inhabitants. In addition, with the Depression that followed its inception, Radburn was never completed. When development did resume, the Radburn plan was abandoned and replaced by conventional suburban development, particularly in the post-war era (Figs.7a,b).

Carol Christensen suggested in *The American Garden City and the New Towns Movement* that Radburn typified American attitudes and values as these related to the settlement patterns of the early 20th century:

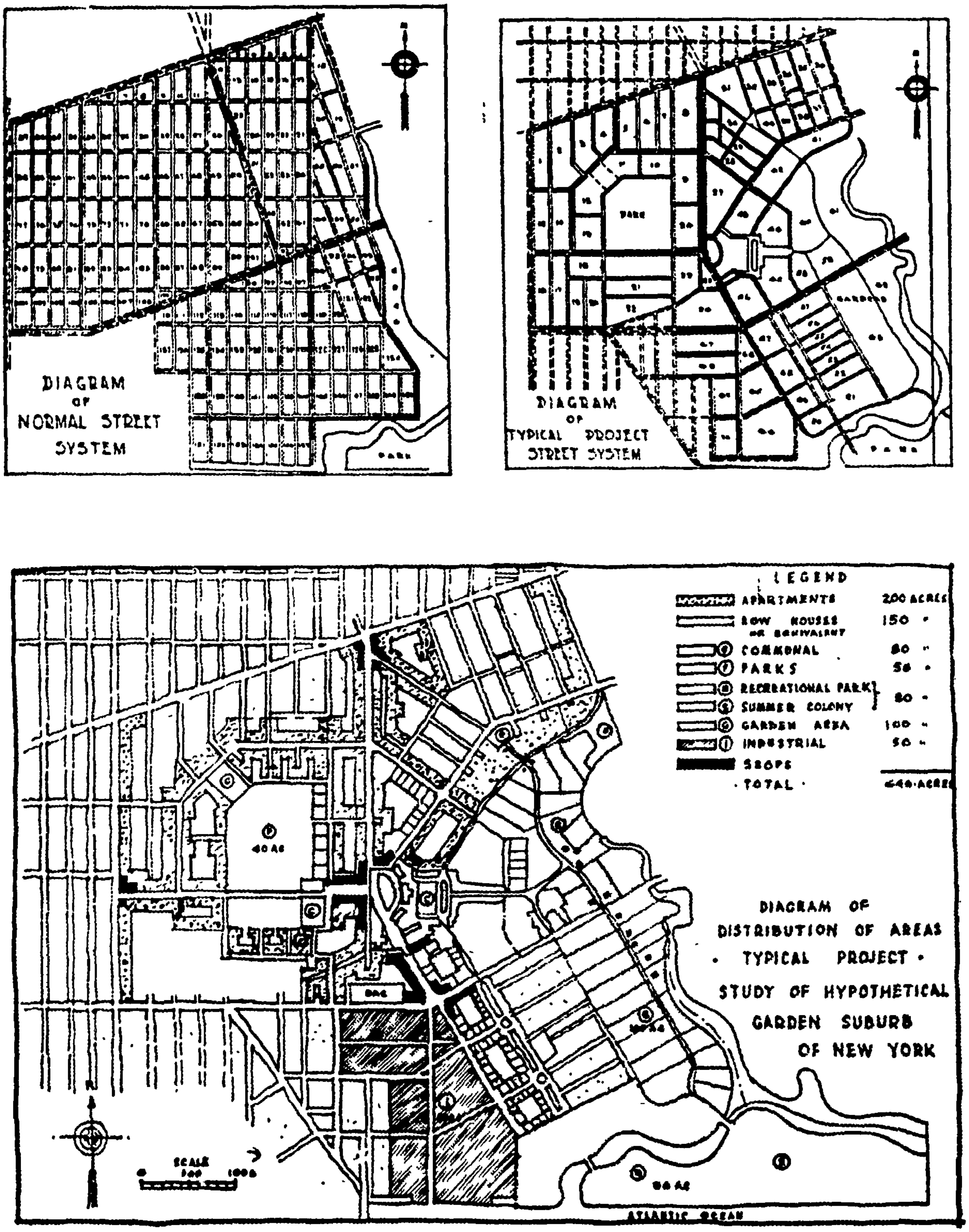


DIAGRAM OF NORMAL STREET SYSTEM
PARK
DIAGRAM OF TYPICAL PROJECT STREET SYSTEM
PARK
GARDENS
PARK
LEGEND
APARTMENTS 200 ACRES
ROW HOUSES OR EQUIVALENT 150 "
COMMUNAL 80 "
PARKS 56 "
RECREATIONAL PARK
SUMMER COLONY 80 "
GARDEN AREA 100 "
INDUSTRIAL 50 "
SHOPS
TOTAL 640 ACRES
40 AC
DIAGRAM OF DISTRIBUTION OF AREAS
TYPICAL PROJECT
STUDY OF HYPOTHETICAL GARDEN SUBURB OF NEW YORK
SCALE
ATLANTIC OCEAN

Figure 3.4a,b,c. The Garden City concept in America by Clarence Stein, 1923 (Stein, *Toward New Towns for America*, 1957).

> In any plan what is omitted speaks as profoundly as what is included. Both reveal fundamental values and conceptions of reality. So it is with Radburn. In the absence of political institutions, coupled with the prominence given physical nature, we see the arcadian premises underlying the "Radburn Idea". The city's center has always spoken to what a civilization has most valued. The temple, the palace, the court, the market, the bank, and the skyscraper are symbols of the culture in which they appeared. In Radburn this sacred place is held by no human artifact, but by physical nature.[12]

American efforts to realize the Garden City concept were influenced by 19th-century reformers as well as by a long-standing distrust for the city and a strong belief in the benefits of nature. Indeed, nature was seen as the basis upon which to build these new communities. Consequently, the American version of the Garden City movement, and the new towns that emerged from this renewed impetus, resulted in new towns that diminished the importance of the social and political institutions that characterized Howard's Garden City ideal. Instead, these "natural communities" emphasized the individual, the family, and nature. Social interaction, was based on the interaction of like-minded individuals in a setting that incorporated an abundance of nature in the form of gardens, open spaces, fields and forests. The Greenbelt Towns were, in part, an attempt to redress that situation with varying degrees of success.

The Greenback Program

The Greenbelt Towns built during the Depression in the 1930s most closely resembled Ebenezer Howard's Garden City concept. For this reason alone they are more significant then other towns and suburbs built during the early 20th century. These towns expressed the Arcadian vision for nature and for community already made evident in suburban developments such as Riverside, Chicago and Forest Hills, Long Island (Fig.8). The Greenbelt Towns were noteworthy experiments in social and economic reform, a claim many other projects could not make at the time.

The Greenbelt Towns were undertaken as public works under President Franklin Roosevelt's "New Deal". In 1935, Roosevelt combined a number of agricultural and conservation programs into a new agency, the Resettlement Administration. It was headed by Rexford Guy Tugwell, a long-standing proponent of Howard's Garden City ideals. Within this agency, he set up a division called the Suburban Resettlement program. Under this jurisdiction he brought in a team of architects, landscape architects and planners whom he paired up and assigned the design of four new greenbelt towns (originally nineteen were to be planned).[13] These included Greenbelt near Washington D.C., Greendale near

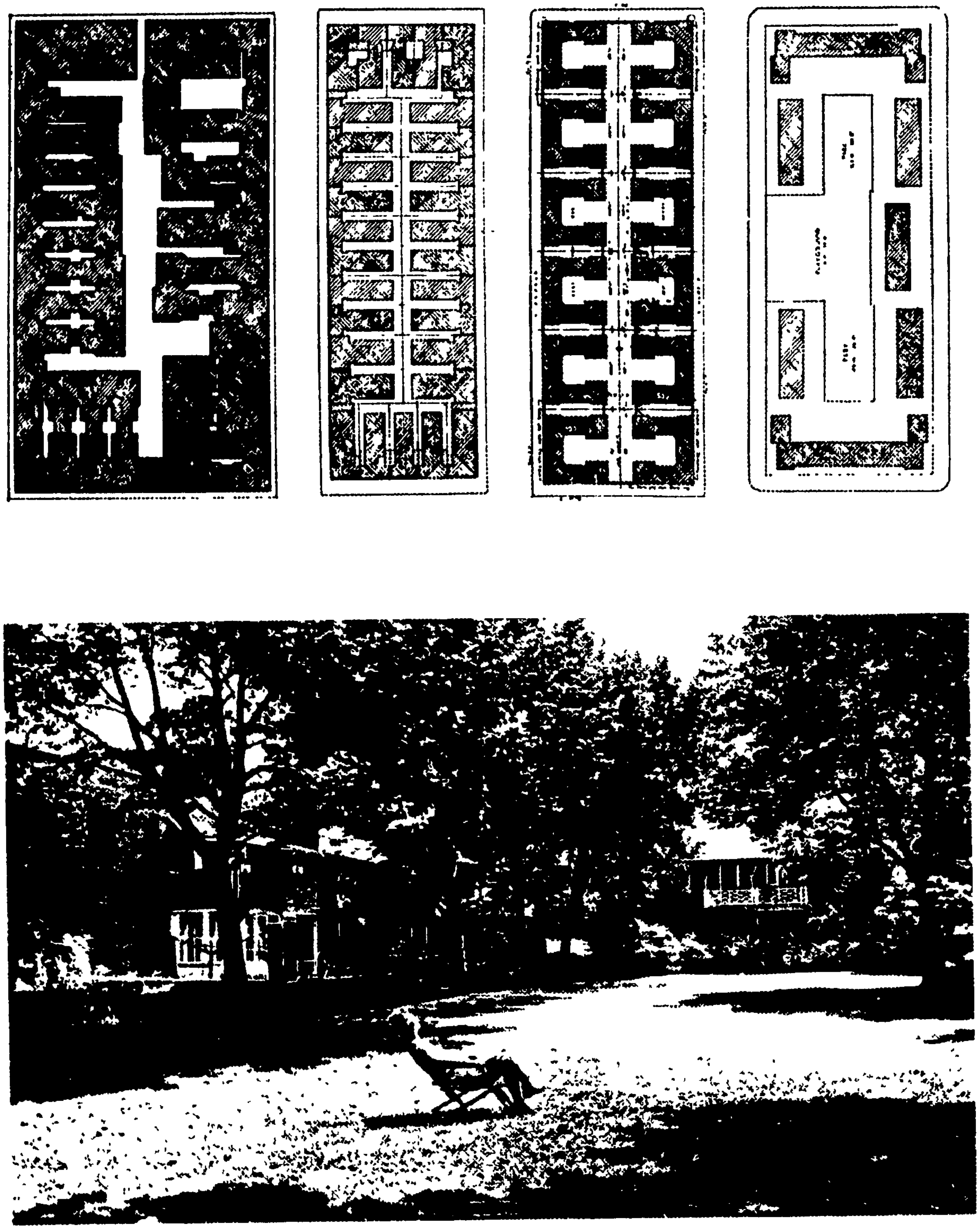


Figure 3.5a,b. Sunnyside, New York and the urban-pastoral by Stein and Wright, 1928 - urban tenaments compared to the open plan of Sunnyside to the right and the resulting open space (Stein, *Toward New Towns for America*, 1957).

Milwaukee, Strong Greenhills near Cincinnati and Greenbrook near Bound Brook, which was never built. They were designed to accommodate lower income families. Yet unlike most low income housing which was going up through urban America, these communities provided residency as well as a form of citizenship to a community with all of the attendant political privileges.

The planners of the Greenbelt Towns sought to restore a form of community life predating the industrial era in America. Their idea of the pre-industrial village (or town) was to serve as a model for their planning strategy in the Greenbelt Towns (Fig.9). The pre-industrial village was compact and limited in size by the distance a person could walk. The village typically was built around a town centre with a "common" for civic, religious and commercial uses. The surrounding topography determined its disposition and form. The Greenbelt Towns incorporated rapid transit systems to serve these towns and were designed to accommodate the automobile as well. Greendale, more than the others, resembled the early American village with its colonial architecture, free-standing houses and fenced yards. The other greenbelt towns incorporated higher density housing types, including the rowhouse type and the terraced garden apartment type.[14]

Greenbelt was to become the most influential example because of its proximity to Washington, D.C.. The government acquired some 2000 acres of land for the town and set aside an additional 5000 acres for a greenbelt. Greenbelt was beautifully situated amid a woodland setting and adjacent to a lake. The woodlands were retained where possible and became part of the town aesthetic. The town was located centrally on a long crescent-shaped plateau (Fig.10a). The town was divided into five superblocks, in the Radburn tradition, by a series of concentric roads leading to the town centre. The town centre was the heart of the community and included several shops, a supermarket, a bank, post office, theatre, auto service, municipal service and police and fire station (Fig.10b). Adjacent to the centre and located in green open spaces, were the swimming pool, library and community school. A pedestrian system linked all the community facilities and the residential areas. The superblocks were composed largely of rowhouses that fronted onto a common green and had limited access by automobile. Each residential unit had a private garden and access to the park spaces but unlike other greenbelt towns lacked a large central open space.[15] In many respects, Greenbelt was representative of Howard's "Town-Country magnet", including its actual shape, in that it loosely met the accepted definition of a Garden City:

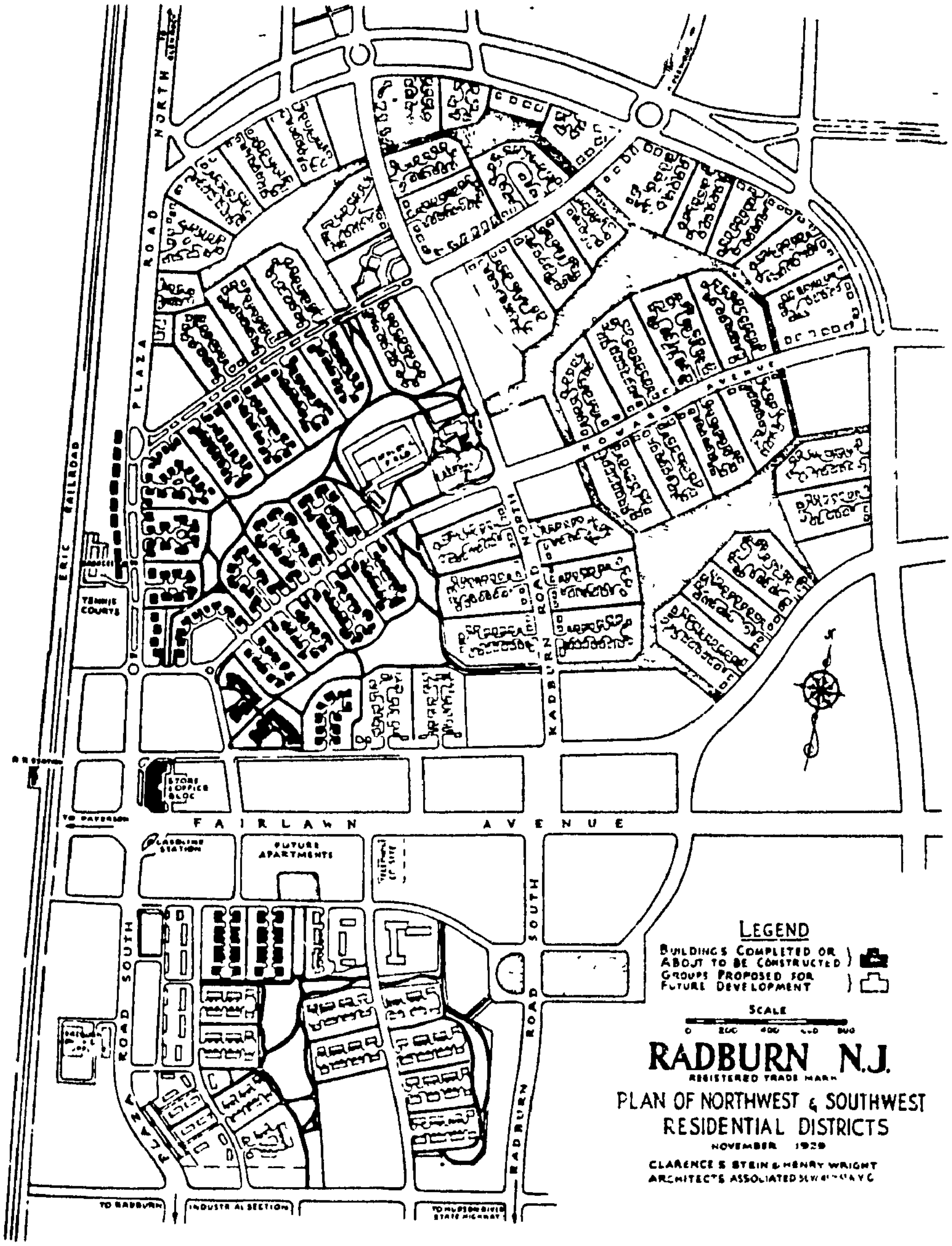

NORTH PLAZA ROAD
ERIE RAILROAD
TENNIS COURTS
R R STATION
STORE & OFFICE BLDG
TO PATERSON
FAIRLAWN AVENUE
GASOLINE STATION
FUTURE APARTMENTS
RADBURN ROAD NORTH
HOWARD AVENUE
SOUTH PLAZA ROAD
RADBURN ROAD SOUTH
TO RADBURN
INDUSTRIAL SECTION
LEGEND
BUILDINGS COMPLETED OR ABOUT TO BE CONSTRUCTED
GROUPS PROPOSED FOR FUTURE DEVELOPMENT
SCALE
0
200
400
800
RADBURN N.J.
REGISTERED TRADE MARK
PLAN OF NORTHWEST & SOUTHWEST RESIDENTIAL DISTRICTS
NOVEMBER 1929
CLARENCE S STEIN & HENRY WRIGHT
ARCHITECTS ASSOCIATED

Figure 3.6. Radburn, New Jersey and the suburban-pastoral by Stein and Wright, 1929 (Stein, *Toward New Towns for America*, 1957).

> A garden city is a town planned for industry and healthy living, of a size that makes possible a full measure of social life, but no larger, surrounded by a permanent rural belt, the whole of the land being in public ownership, or held in trust for the community.[16]

In terms of industry, Greenbelt had little and most of its inhabitants had to travel to work by automobile or by transit. In terms of healthy living, the natural setting was most favourable. Many of the amenities the town providedwere within walking distance and helped to provide a good social setting for community interaction. Unfortunately, Greenbelt, like the other new towns, was eventually transformed due to the inextricable forces of suburban growth. In 1941, only four years after its completion, 1000 additional dwelling units were 'tacked on' to Greenbelt to accommodate a growing housing shortage for "defence housing".

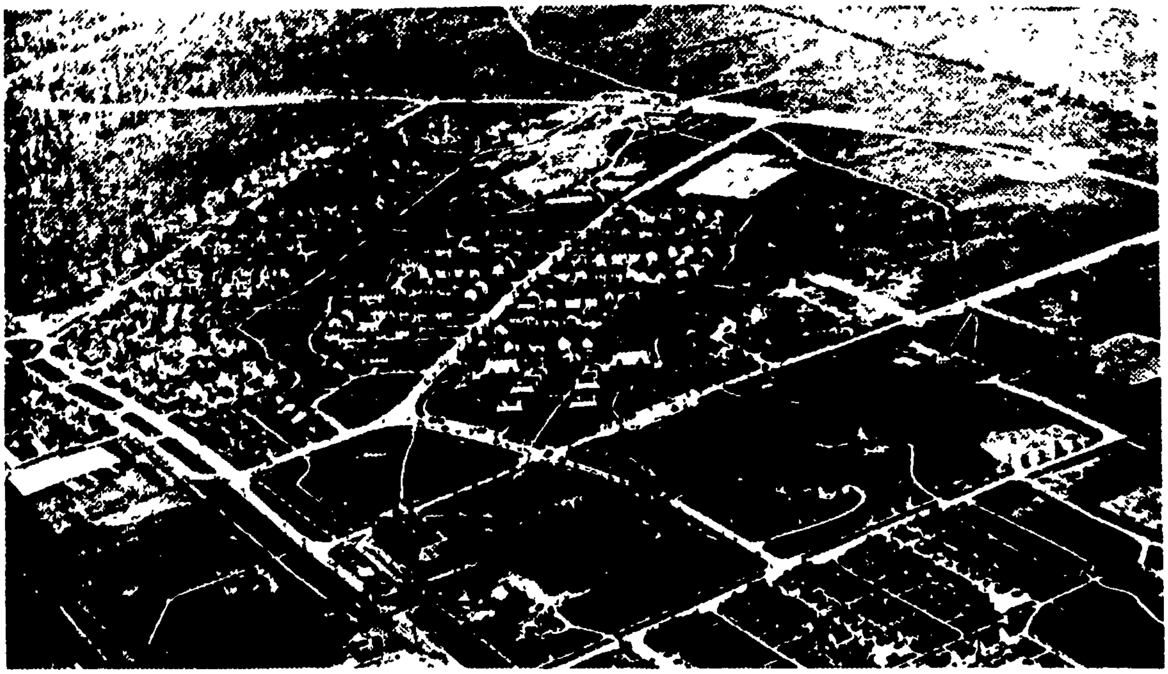
The pressures of development in the post-war era led to the demise of the surrounding greenbelt lands. Eventually, the Greenbelt Towns were to change hands from public to private ownership and in so doing, lost the levels of care and maintenance to which these communities had become accustomed .[17] Still, the Greenbelt Towns retained their character to the extent that they are discernible as testaments to the Arcadian vision.

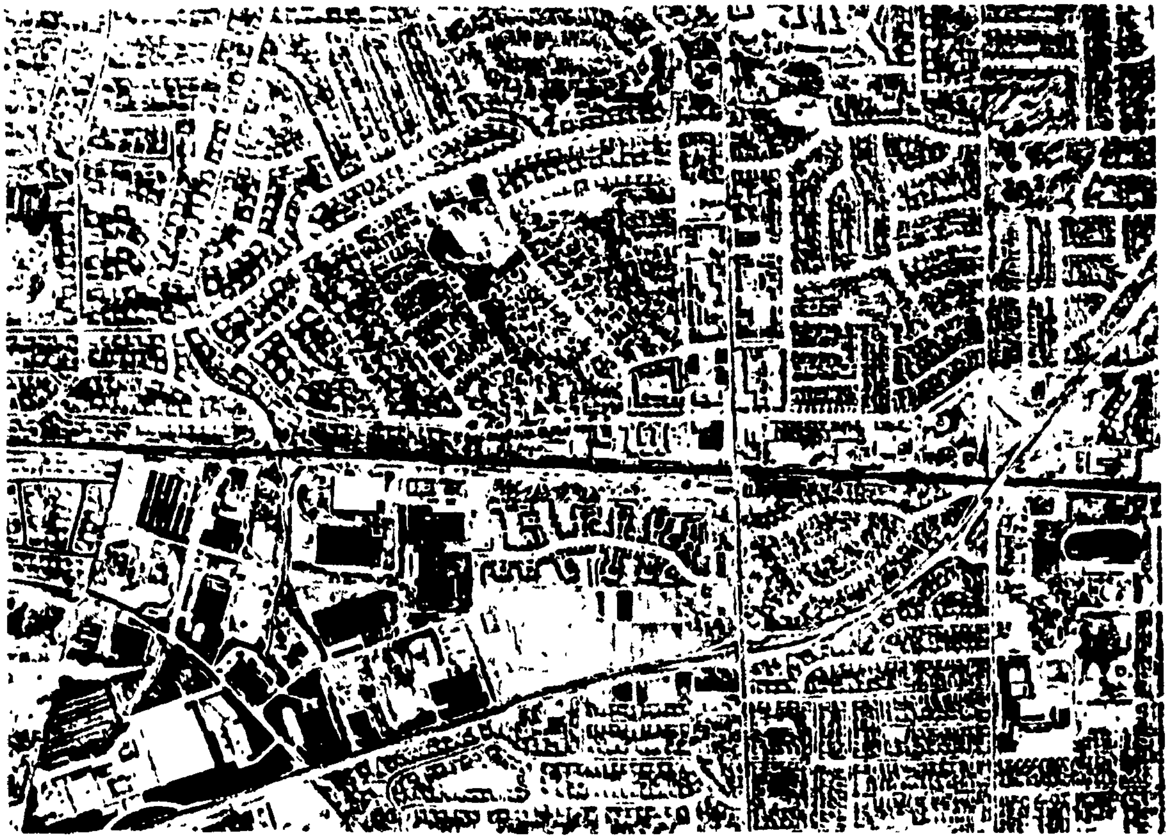
John Nolen's Contribution

John Nolen's influence on new town and community design in America cannot go unstated. His work was conceived and realized through the early 20th century to World War II and, in many ways, was built on the work of Howard and the New Towns Movement. A self described "town and city planner" and pioneer in modern American planning, Nolen designed and built numerous new towns and communities throughout the United States:

> Nolen championed planning based on the close observation and fundamental respect for human and natural conditions, needs and potential instead of on abstract, mechanical or egotistic concepts. ... Above all, he was the professions prime advocate and practitioner of comprehensively planned development based on social, economic, political, environmental, aesthetic and regional considerations.[18]

Clearly, Nolen's contribution to American urbanism was significant and his claim to greatness lay in his vision of humanity's determined place on the landscape. His vision was very much an Arcadian vision, endeavouring to promote a balance between the evolving needs of society and of nature.





Figures 3.7a,b. Radburn in 1940 and today - from the pastoral to the suburban (Stein, *Toward New Towns for America*, 1957 and; Rowe, *Making the Middle Landscape*, 1991).

Nolen's Florida new towns exemplified his planning and design intentions. Of these, Clewiston and Venice were particularly noteworthy. Clewiston was originally planned in the 1920s for a private developer with governmental support but remained, like so many other new towns and communities in America, a private undertaking (Figs 11a,b) The notion of creating new towns for settlement seemed entirely justified in Nolen's mind. Typically, these new towns addressed three primary goals: "First to provide habitat in areas newly opened for settlement; second, to meet modern requirements and standards and thirdly, to limit the size of cities so that they don't outstrip human capacity to organize and govern".[19]

Clewiston, planned for 10,000 inhabitants, incorporated centralized commercial and civic areas and compact and well-defined residential neighbourhoods with a variety of housing types. The street and open space network had a baroque geometry overlaid on a grid, appropriate in scale to a small town. Because of its waterfront location, the civic space extended to a public waterfront. Clewiston also had distinct town boundaries and was surrounded by an agricultural belt. A highway project and a canal were proposed to ensure economic stability, even in difficult times. The plan for Clewiston was considered significant, in that it sought to establish an environmental fit with the surrounding landscape while providing a balanced economic and social infrastructure. The plan for Clewiston was added to in 1929 and 1936 but retained its morphological consistency.[20]

The Nolen plan for Venice, on the Gulf Coast, was another successful new town planned during the 1920s. Venice was a part of a 30,000 acre land sale to the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and was originally planned as a retirement community with a focus on recreational opportunities. Nolen also incorporated a regional plan which included a regional centre for agriculture and industrial enterprise.[21] In effect, Nolen made two plans, one of the new town and one of the region it was a part of (Figs.12a,b). By searching for a fit between the needs of the inhabitants and their environment, he stood apart from most others of his day. Like Howard's ideas, Nolen's civic designs were a synthesis of many significant planning and design ideas that sought to reflect an urban-pastoral tradition that had already been established in American urbanism for some two centuries.

Families in Space

> As it turned out under the impact of the present religion and myth of the machine, mass Suburbia has done away with most of the freedoms and delights that the original disciples of Rousseau sought to find through their exodus from the city. Instead of centering attention on the child in the garden, we now have the image of 'Families in Space'.[22]
>
> Lewis Mumford

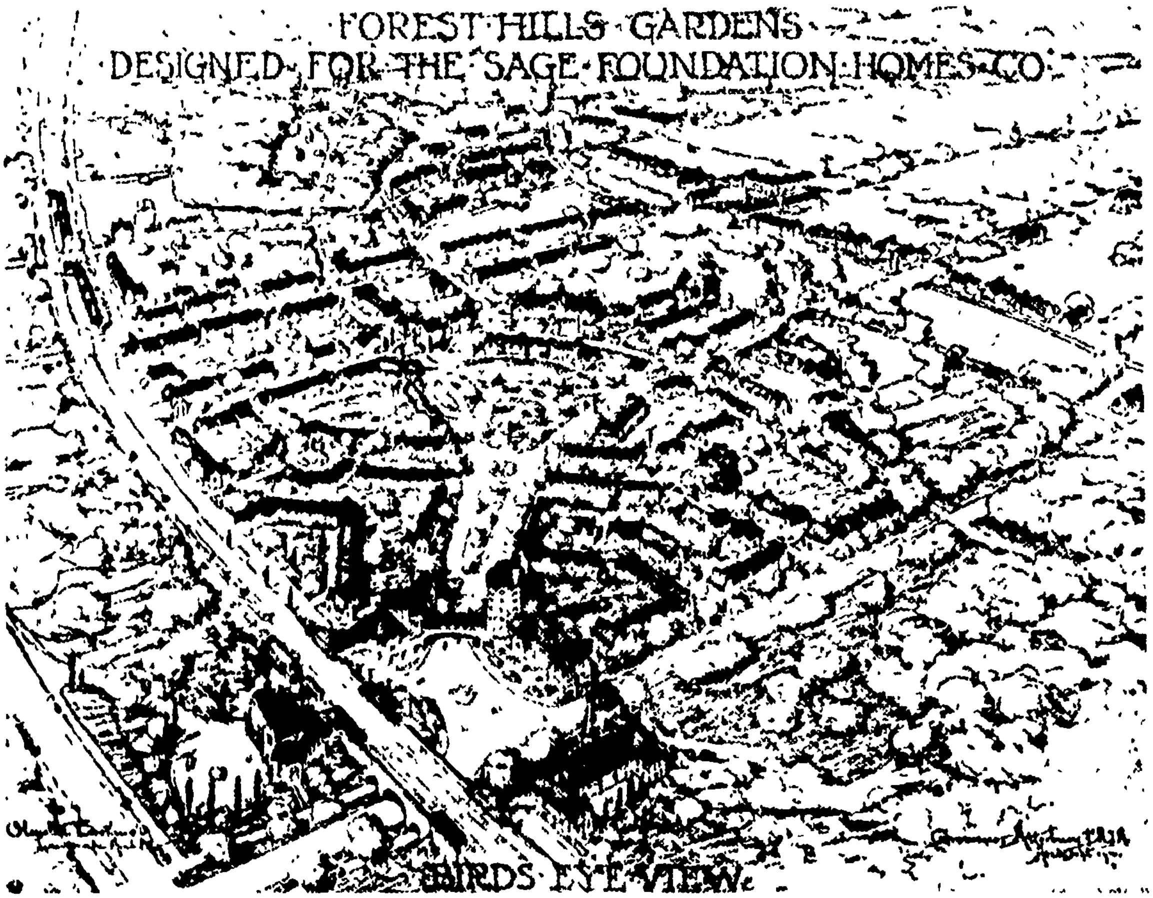

FOREST HILLS GARDENS
DESIGNED FOR THE SAGE FOUNDATION HOMES CO
BIRDS EYE VIEW

Figure 3.8. Forest Hills Gardens and the suburban-pastoral, 1923 (Newton, *Design on the Land*, 1971).

Railroad suburbs and Garden Cities aside, the Arcadian vision was made manifest most tellingly in the automobile suburbs which began their assault on the American landscape from the 1920s onward (Fig.13). Suburban growth or urban decentralization began during the post World War I period, lasting to the Depression years with a recorded 1 million housing starts in 1925.[23] No longer limited by distances established by the railroad stop, the horse and carriage or the pedestrian, communities began to spread across the countryside at an unprecedented rate. The suburbs, more than a century old, became the "Arcadia for the masses", in no small part because of the automobile and the advancements made in technology. Following the Great Depression and World War II another period of suburban growth took place. During the 1950s, this growth was unprecedented, both in scope and in scale. "As central cities stagnated or declined in both population and industry, growth was channeled almost exclusively to the peripheries. Between 1950 and 1970 American central cities grew by 10 million people, their suburbs by 85 million."[24]

Among the many suburbs planned during this period, those planned and built by Levitt and Sons, known as "Levittowns", were to become a classic suburban prototype (Fig.14a). The typical Levitt house, a modified Cape Cod bungalow, became the classic suburban home for domestic-minded families. The Levittown communities built on Long Island, New York; in Bucks County, Pennsylvania; and Burlington County, New Jersey were examples of the Garden City idea at its mercenary extreme. Levittown, New York (1947), was originally planned to provide housing for returning veterans, but the demand generated by a growing middle-class set on home ownership was so great, that the planned 2000 dwelling unit community grew to 15,000 in a town of 60,000 (Fig.14b). The technology of mass-production and standardization of components advanced by Levitt and Sons allowed individual dwelling unit costs to be drastically reduced.[25] The house as a commodity, within reach of most potential home buyers, became a reality in the 1950s Houses were now affordable, thanks to the pioneering efforts of Abraham Levitt, not to mention the G.I. Bill and the Federal Housing Association home-ownership programs; hence the expression "more house for the money "

The popularity of Levittown was captured in the words of one potential Levittowner when he remarked that, "I'd work like a dog for the rest of my life if only I could live here."[26] And while this community grew without a master plan, it was more than a housing project. The houses were grouped around "village greens" which included shops and recreational amenities. Provision was also made for schools and churches

The Levittowns that followed were based on a planned community called Landia, which was never built because of the Korean War. It was designed by Alfred S. Levitt

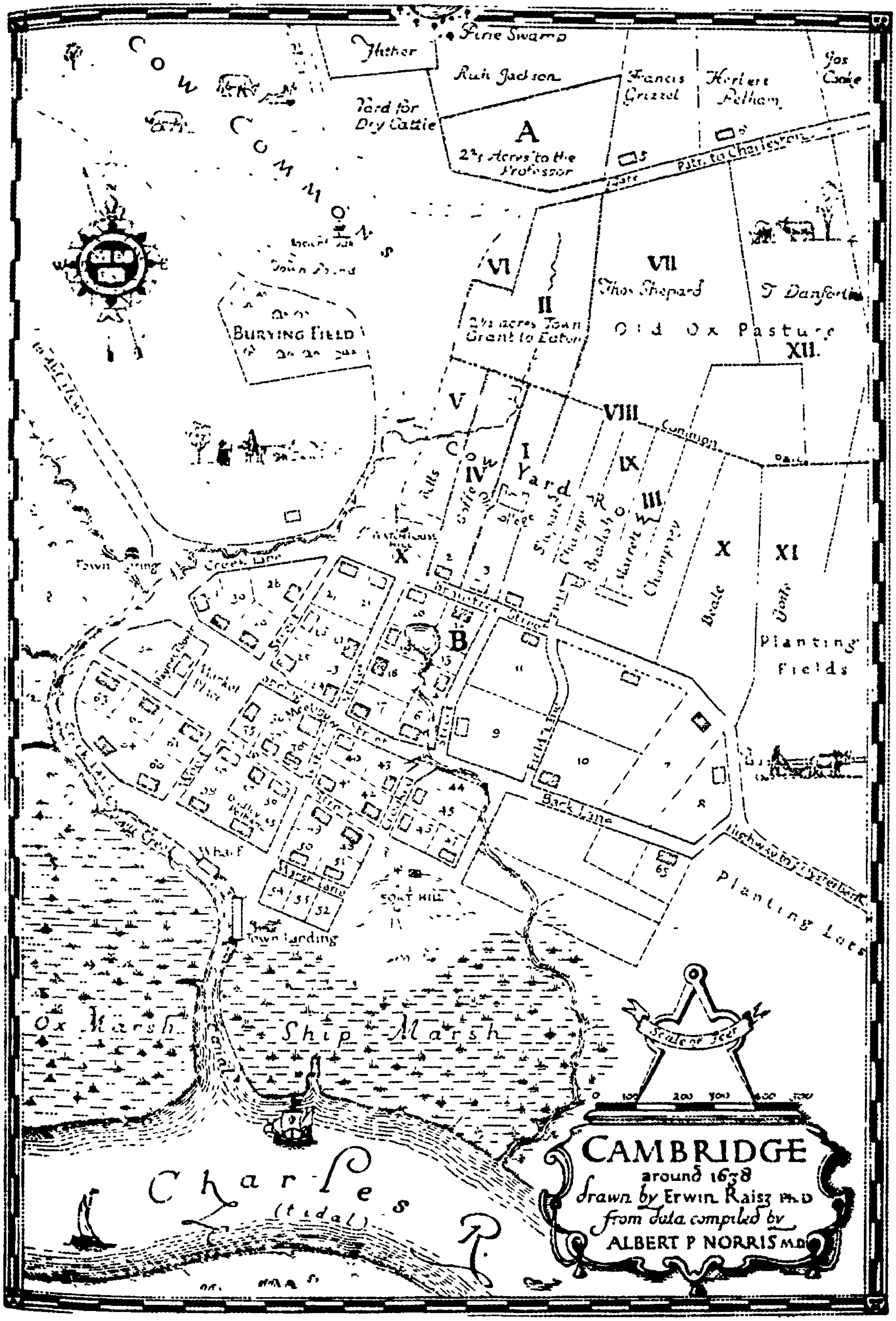

Pine Swamp
Ithier
Rich Jackson
Francis Grizzel
Herbert Pelham
Jos Cooke
Yard for Dry Cattie
A
2¾ Acres to the Professor
Path to Charlestown
Gate
Cow Commons
Burying Field
VI
VII
Thos Shepard
T Danforth
II
2½ acres Town Grant to Eaton
Old Ox Pasture
XII.
V
VIII
Common
Gate
Cow Yard Row
I
IV
IX
III
College
X
XI
Beale
Planting Fields
Town Spring
Creek Lane
Braintree Street
B
Market Place
Back Lane
Highway to Watertown
Planting Lots
Wharf
Marsh Lane
Fort Hill
Town Landing
Ox Marsh
Ship Marsh
Charles (tidal) R.
Scale of Feet
0
100
200
300
400
500
CAMBRIDGE
around 1638
drawn by Erwin Raisz PH.D
from data compiled by
ALBERT P NORRIS M.D

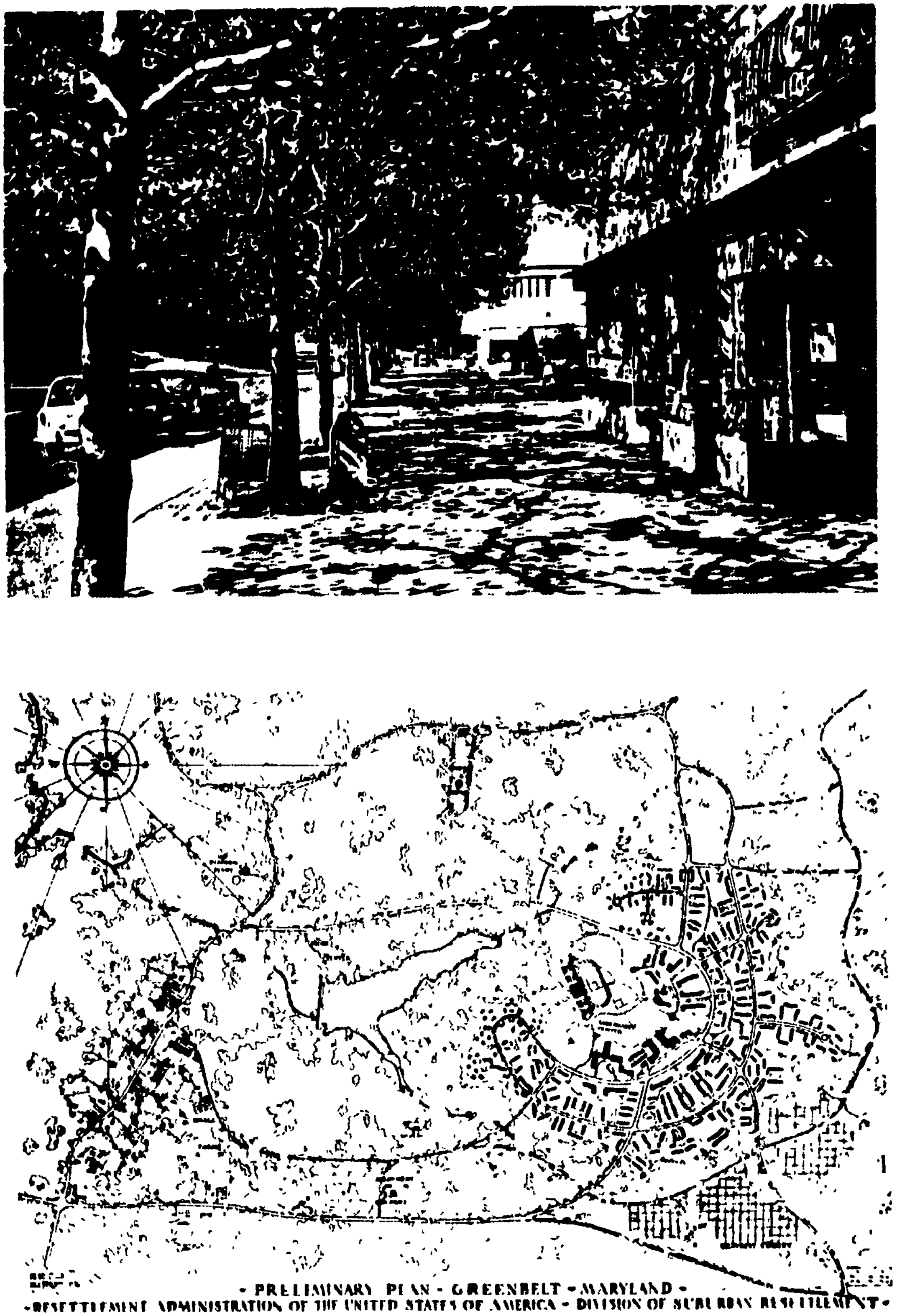
Figure 3.9. Cambridge, Massachusetts as typological precedent (Fries, *The Urban Idea in Colonial America*. 1977).

who, as an architect, was greatly influenced by the RPAA and Clarence Stein's work. Landia was a planned community for 6,500 inhabitants on one square mile of land. The program included not only residential, but commercial, industrial, educational, and recreational facilities. Moreover, Levitt was able to include many of the ideas that had been established in Radburn, in the Greenbelt Towns, and other related projects. The "Neighborhood Unit" plan advanced by Thomas Perry was incorporated as the basic unit of measurement to determine the size and spatial arrangement of the community [27] Landia was more a community than a housing project, however, the fact that it was never built in the postwar era was evidence of the changing nature of the suburbs.

Today, the Levittowns appear to be well-considered in terms of providing communities in nature. Their significance was not in their design, as much as that they provided many lower-income families the opportunity to own a home in the suburbs and to commune with nature. The Levittowns made the suburbs accessible to the masses, a trend that has continued to the present day. The Levittowns could be considered to represent the end of a suburban tradition beginning in America in the mid 19th century. The suburban expansion from the 1950s onward certainly signalled a new form of settlement, referred to today as 'Suburbia.' The Jeffersonian dream of the "green Republic" was to become most tangible during this period, as a national goal but not as envisioned by Jefferson. He had intended that the power associated with cities would shift to the country as a symbolic expression of the democratic ideal, of rural virtue and of America's unique place in nature's garden. To imagine that this power would eventually shift from the city to suburbia would have been as confounding to Jefferson in the 18th-century as it has been for many people today.

A Garden for People to Grow In

After the Greenbelt Towns program ran its course in the 1930s, no major new towns were attempted until governmental support was given in the early 1960s. In the interim, America continued its fascination with the suburbs. It had become evident that post-war suburban growth was creating problems and placing great stress on metropolitan regions in many unforeseen ways. "Growth had become a giant machine operating out of control, creating endless expanses of development that foreclosed forever the original vision of a community of homes set in a verdant environment."[28] In response to these growing problems, the United States Congress passed the New Communities Act (1968). It outlined the means by which the private sector could receive loan guarantees of twenty or more million dollars to build new towns if they met certain criteria. Among the most important were:


• PRELIMINARY PLAN - GREENBELT • MARYLAND •
•RESETTLEMENT ADMINISTRATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA • DIVISION OF SUBURBAN RESETTLEMENT•

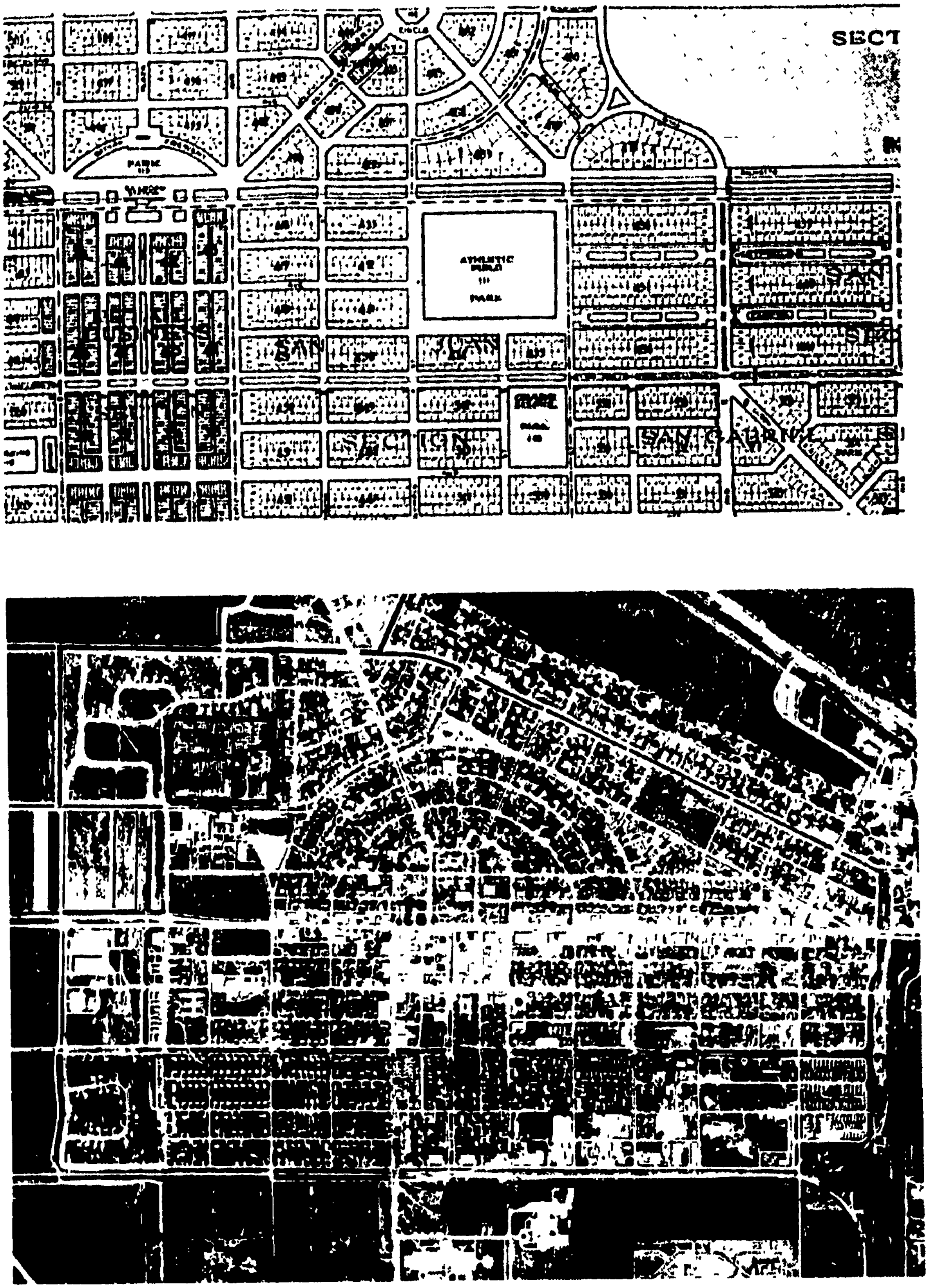
Figures 3.10a,b. Greenbelt, Maryland by Stein et al - Cambridge reconsidered (Stein, *Toward New Towns for America*, 1957).

> (a) A new community must include most, if not all, of the basic activities normally associated with a city or town: housing, education, cultural facilities, commerce, transportation, industry and recreation.
> (b) It must combine these varying activities in a balanced and harmonious whole, with a view to creating an environment that is an attractive place to live, work and shop.
> (c) It must have a favourable impact upon the growth and development of the area within which it is located in terms of conserving land, minimizing transportation problems, extending the range of housing choices for all who live or in the future may live in the area, promoting needed economic development, and creating new job opportunities.
> (d) It must be designed for the fullest possible range of people and families of different compositions and incomes and must be open to members of all national, ethnic and racial groups.[29]

New towns built with the support of the NCA included Reston, Virginia; Columbia, Maryland; Lake Havasu City, Arizona; and Irvine Ranch, California. Of these, Columbia most closely resembled Howard's Garden City ideals. It was largely the idea of James Rouse, who together with Connecticut General Life Insurance, created a contemporary alternative to the ubiquitous suburban sprawl that was increasingly changing the face of urban America. Rouse's philosophical orientation, as well as the ideas that shaped Columbia, were inspired by Clarence Stein and members of the RPAA.[30] He shared the Arcadian vision that proximity to nature was beneficial for moral character and in fact, it depended on it. He sought to provide an alternative to the traditional city while retaining and expressing the values of contemporary society in a natural setting.

Beginning in the 1950s, a sizable literature was produced in which Suburbia was increasingly criticized. Books such as David Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd* (1950) and William Whyte's *The Organization Man* (1956) typified the academic assault. People who lived in the post-war suburbs were depicted as conformist, shallow, materialistic and socially bankrupt. Claims of personal conformity and monotony extended to the suburban landscape itself, not only to the residential environments but to the commercial establishments as well.[31] Collectively, "suburban sprawl" was considered to be as bad as "urban slums" were at the turn-of-the-century. Long-standing anti-urban sentiments were being replaced with anti-suburban sentiments. By the late 1960s, anti-suburban sentiments became nothing short of an ideology, reinforced by the work of social scientists, economists and environmentalists who collectively spoke of Suburbia's failings.

Rouse wanted to create an alternative both to the city and Suburbia. Columbia was to be the alternative to a "despoiled Eden" by combining "the best of both worlds", as Ebenezer Howard would say. Columbia was, in Rouse's mind, America's great opportunity to re-create the Arcadian vision. Rouse's planning philosophy endeavoured to


SECT
PARK
ATHLETIC FIELD
PARK
SAN
SAN
SECTION
SAN GABRIEL
PARK

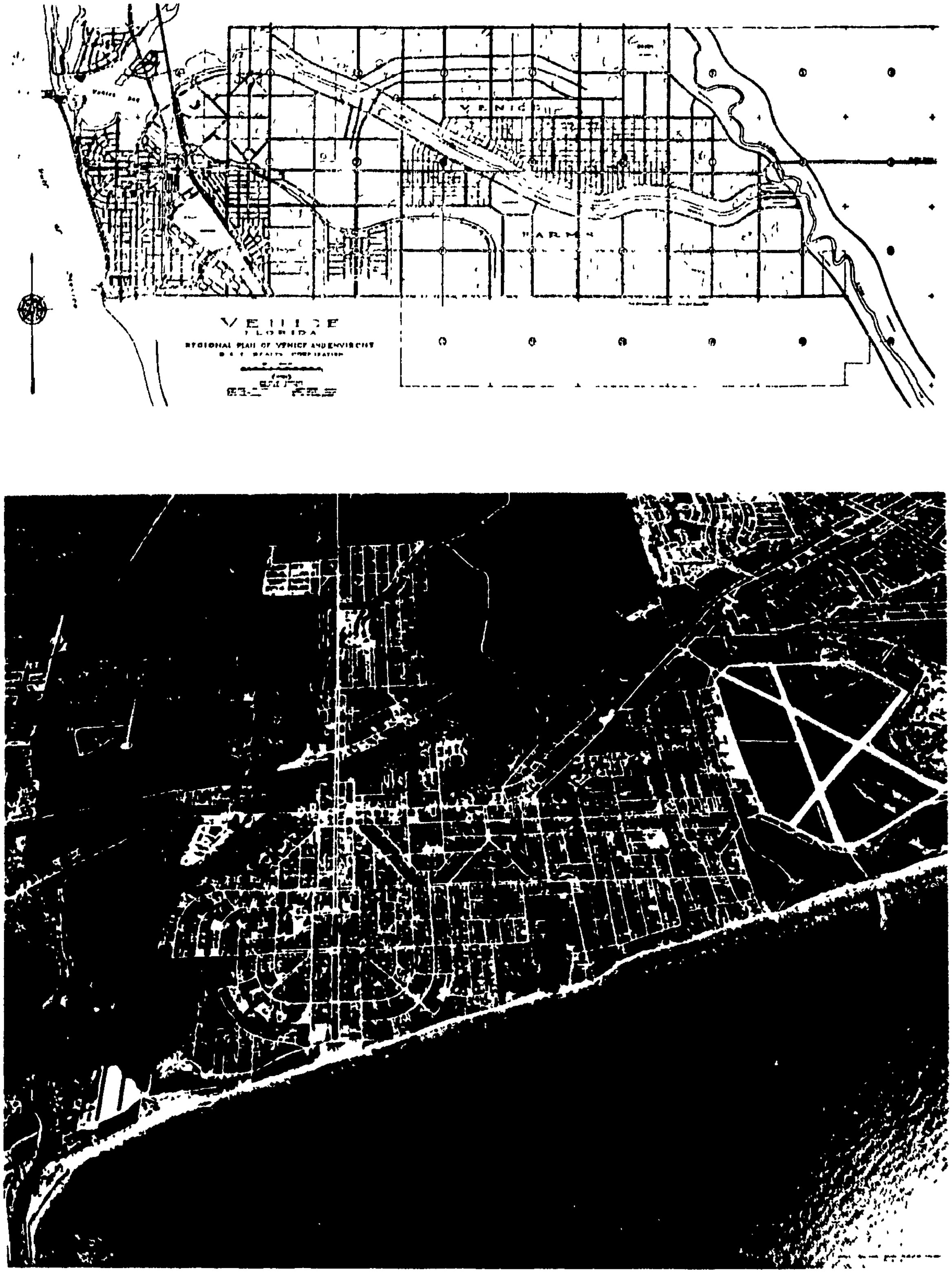
Figures 3.11a,b. Clewiston, Florida by John Nolen, 1925 and today (Lejeune, *The New City*, 1991).

address social issues vis-a-vis an Arcadian setting. One of his goals was "to provide the best possible environment for the growth of people." This was only possible in the context of a nurturing community. The large urban centres and the endless suburbs could not help the individual grow. Both individualism and autonomy were associated with nature, with rural settings and with small towns - neither the city nor the suburb provided these rights. Columbia was planned accordingly. Rouse suggested:

> People grow best in small communities where the institutions, which are the dominant forces in our lives, are within the scale of their comprehension and within reach of their sense of responsibility and capacity to manage. A broader range of friendships and relationships occurs in a village or small town than in a city; there is a greater sense of responsibility for one's neighbor and a greater sense of support of one's fellow man. I believe that self-reliance is promoted, that relationship to nature - to the out of doors - to the freer forms of recreation and human activity is encouraged in a small community.[32]

He was able to assemble over 14,000 acres of land to build a city in which nature would play a dominant role both visually and physically. The city itself was set into nature, subordinating its functions to allow physical nature to be the primary form maker. "Choice locations for various activities such as schools, industry, low and high-density housing and lake sites were virtually dictated by the land and the critical economics of 'proper usage', that is, in harmony with nature."[33] By design, the housing was clustered to form internal parks which were linked through the community with formal and informal open spaces (Figs.15a,b). Artificial lakes, golf courses and other recreational landscapes, such as a hunting preserve, were also integrated into the city. Over 2300 acres of forested land were dedicated as permanent open space while downtown Columbia was surrounded by a 40 acre oak forest and a 32 acre lake.

Columbia has been considered by many to be a remarkable achievement. Its success has not come about without certain short-comings. Instead of creating a mixed community comprised of people with varying socio-economic and racial backgrounds, Columbia attracted upwardly-mobile and educated people. This was because the industrial activity that was created for Columbia depended primarily on high-technology fields. As a result, Columbia has become one of the most educated, affluent, and leisured communities in America today.[34]


VENICE
FLORIDA
REGIONAL PLAN OF VENICE AND ENVIRONS
VENICE
FARMS

Figures 3.12a,b. The region matrix of Venice, Florida by John Nolen, 1925 and today (Lejeune, *The New City*, 1991).

III Suburbia's Visionaries

Patterns of urban and suburban growth during the 20th century owe much to the ideas developed through the Garden Cities Movement as it was interpreted in America. Ebenezer Howard had a tremendous influence on the planning and design of many communities, whether garden suburbs or complete new towns. The influence of Frank Lloyd Wright and his European counterpart, Le Corbusier, has not been considered in the same light. The growth of suburbia, or more accurately, the process of urban decentralization (associated today with the "edge city", "techno-burb",and "perimeter-centre"), was given new impetus in the urban visions of Wright and Le Corbusier. Their visions were entirely different, the one responding to a uniquely American heritage, the other responding to the needs of western society. Both visions helped to create the contemporary suburban landscape in America - a combination of decentralized urbanity and towers in the open landscape. Their visions were Arcadian, in that both architects created cities in which nature played a dominant role and social harmony between people was corequisite to a new urban order. Like Howard, both men believed in the redemptive power of nature as well as the technological advancements of the early 20th century, as a means of transforming society They also believed that a balance could be struck between the country and the city - to promote individual freedom, to enjoy nature and to live in harmony with nature and humanity.

F.L.W's Organic Grid City

> Try to live ... deep in nature. Be native as trees to the wood, as grass to the floor of the valley. Only then can the democratic spirit of man, individual, rise out of the confusion of communal life in the city to a creative civilization on the ground.[35]
>
> Frank Lloyd Wright

Wright proposed a vision for a city without a centre in which every individual was given a home and a piece of land measuring no less than an acre. Called Broadacre City, it represented, in Wright's mind, the salvation to urbanity.(Fig.16a) Urban decentralization was the guiding concept for Wright's Broadacre City. He believed that the city was not a healthy place to live - that it was as obsolete as the horse and carriage. The automobile offered possibilities for creating new communities based on an entirely different measure of the city. In the traditional town, distance was measured by how far a person could walk in fifteen minutes. In Wright's proposal, the distance travelled by an automobile at sixty

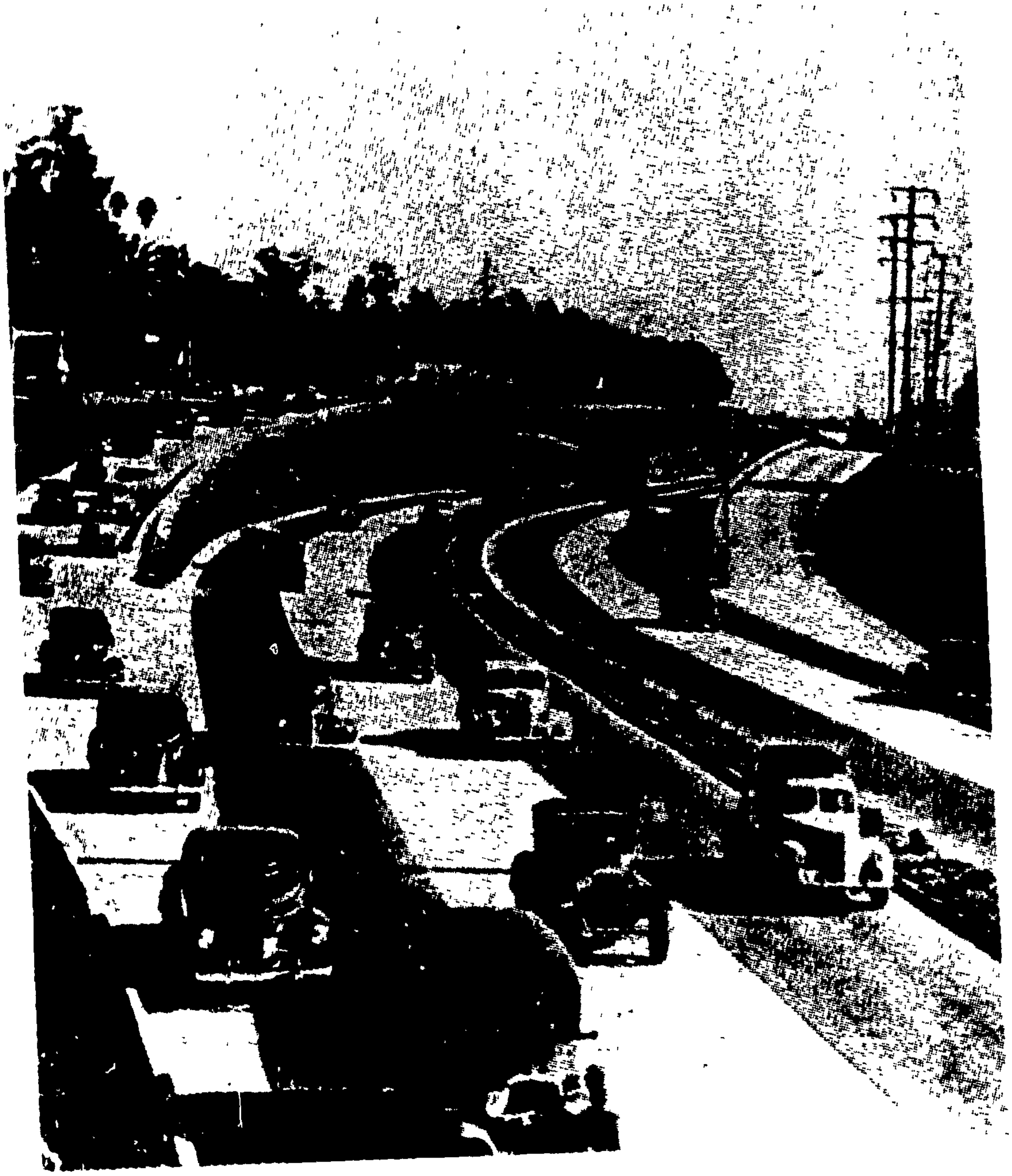


Figure 3.13. Mechanization takes command of the landscape in postwar America (Rowe, *Making the Middle Landscape*, 1991).

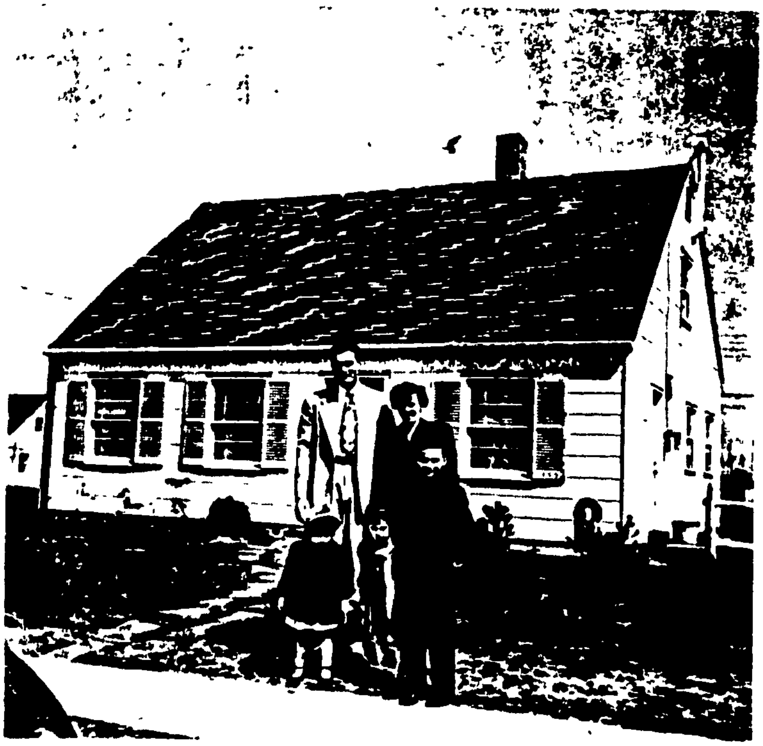
miles per hour in fifteen minutes became the measure for the new city. With the help of the automobile, time and space took on another dimension by which to measure urbanity.

Wright believed strongly in the Jeffersonian democratic ideal. The "National Survey", which was realized in Jefferson's time, served as the symbolic and physical link for Wright's vision of the democratic city. These men held similar views on the negative impacts of urbanity on American society and the positive effects that physical nature, i.e. the land, could have on society. Their views were almost two centuries apart. As Robert Fishman suggested in *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century* (1977):

> Wright's essential insight was that decentralization, if taken to its logical extreme, could create the material conditions for a nation of independent farmers and proprietors. If properly planned, cities could spread across the countryside and still not loose their cohesion or efficiency. The diffusion of population would create conditions for the universal ownership of land. The world of concentrated wealth and power would be replaced by one in which the means of production would be widely held. The most advanced technology thus pointed the way for a revival of the democratic hopes of the eighteenth-century: Edison and Ford would resurrect Jefferson. ... Broadacre City was thus a juxtaposition of the past and the future: the ideal of Jeffersonian democracy given new meaning in terms of the technology of the future.[36]

Socially, Wright believed that land ownership was the key to creating a just society. Each person should be entitled to whatever land was needed for his or her enterprise and not more. Wright was a student of Henry George, whose classic *Progress and Poverty* (1879) had greatly influenced Wright's views on social reform. He believed in an equitable distribution of land that would eliminate poverty and restore the rights of the individual. The land played a critical role in Broadacre City. Wright conceived the landscape as a mosaic of homesteads, which would cover the countryside (Figs.16b,c). Wright believed a city could be one hundred miles long without a recognizable centre. For him, the centre of Broadacre City was the homestead itself and the basic unit in society, the family. The family, as a moral and economic unit, could look after its needs for production, education, culture and, in so doing, recapture what the institutions had taken away. A family-oriented economy would become the universal norm.[37]

Wright's domestic architecture reflected this fundamental belief in reintegrating the individual with the land. The "Usonian House" was planned and designed to be an integral part of the environment. With an "open plan" extending to the surrounding landscape and centred by the hearth, Wright's houses reflected a respect for nature and the individual. Beyond the house, the family would be charged with working the land on their homestead in order to establish independence from exploitative elements in society. Through these



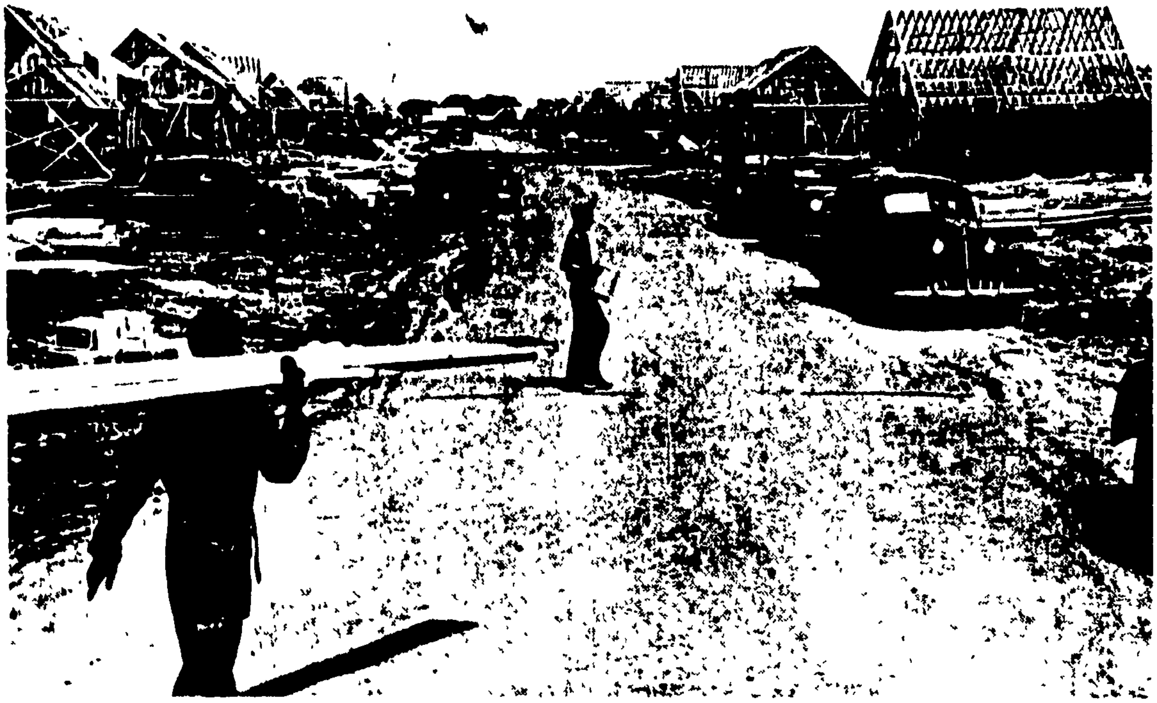


Figure 3.14a,b. Levittowners in Levittown - the postwar suburban prototype (Rowe, *Making the Middle Landscape*, 1991).

measures, Wright sought to establish an "organic" society, based on the romantic ideal of achieving a reconciliation between man and nature, "an organic order in which every living thing has a place and shape all its own, and yet contributes to the harmony of the whole."[38]

Wright's proposal suggested a decentralization of commercial, industrial, cultural and civic functions, thereby breaking down the monopolizing effects created by placing them in proximity to one another. He proposed a variety of activity nodes along the vast grid-iron road system. Gas stations, complete with convenience outlets and restaurants, were to be provided at most intersections. The roadside market was to be an important meeting place, where the citizens of Broadacre City would gather to exchange goods and ideas forged by the new natural economic order. Industry would be decentralized as well, so as not to make too great impact on the landscape. Instead of creating large cultural centres, he sought to create community centres, accessible by automobile in the Broadacre landscape. These centres could include a golf course, a racetrack, a zoo, an aquarium, a planetarium, an art gallery, theaters and/or restaurants. As Fishman points out, they were really entertainment centres where a variety of benign recreational activities could be pursued without any political agenda.[39]

Wright's proposal for Broadacre City was met critically when it was published in *The Disappearing City* (1932). It was viewed as utopian and naive, both politically and socially, and somewhat presumptuous.[40] The housing reformer, Catherine Bauer, wrote in *The Nation* (1932), that Broadacre City was inadequate, primarily because it was utopian and failed to meet the social needs of contemporary society. The concept of relying on the automobile as the "major form-maker", only aggravated existing problems of isolation and fragmentation. "Exchanging slaves for machines does not transform a feudal society into a modern Utopia." [41] Anthony Alofsin summarized Bauer's position in "Broadacre City", in *Center* by noting:

> She squarely identified the scheme as utopian and therefore inadequate. These inadequacies revolved around several premises: that the concept was based on intensive use of the automobile, which did not in fact eliminate factors of time and space; there was much isolation between factories and schools, skyscrapers and apartment buildings; a distinction between rich and poor residents would be maintained; and the minimal communal facilities of shopping centres and clubs were grouped around the gas station. The result was a failure to reconcile the incompatibility of such values as community and solitude, nature and civilization, individual liberty and mutual support. The countryside could not be divided into settlements and still be called countryside.[42]

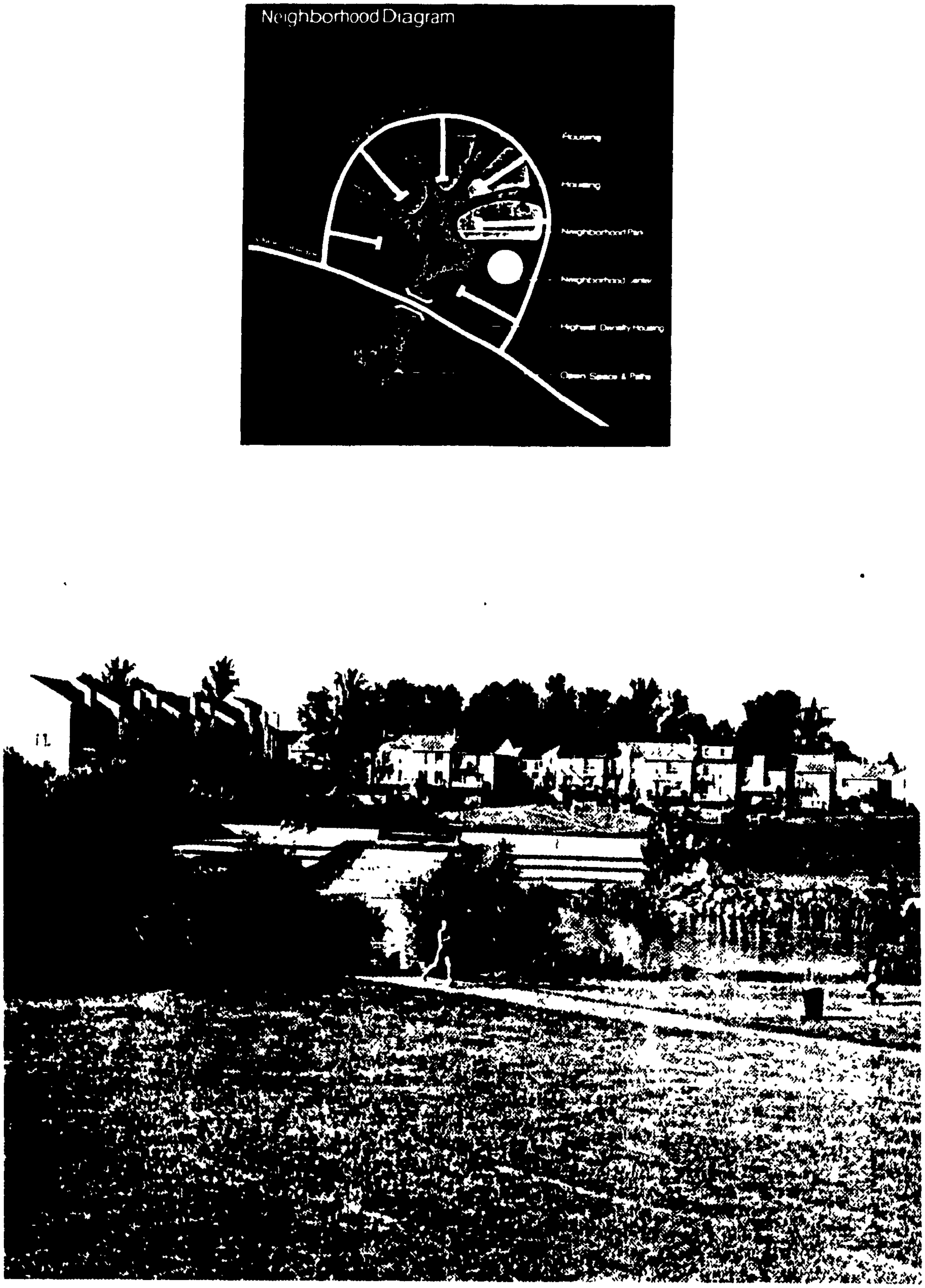

Neighborhood Diagram
Housing
Housing
Neighborhood Park
Neighborhood Center
Highest Density Housing
Open Space & Paths

Figure 3.15. Columbia, Maryland by Rouse et al - nature and community reconsidered (Christensen, *The American Garden City and the New Towns Movement*, 1986).

Among others, Broadacre City was considered visionary, idealistic and inspired. Wright's vision, was actually more utopian than it was Arcadian and though it was never built, Broadacre City served as the ultimate model for suburbia as we know it today

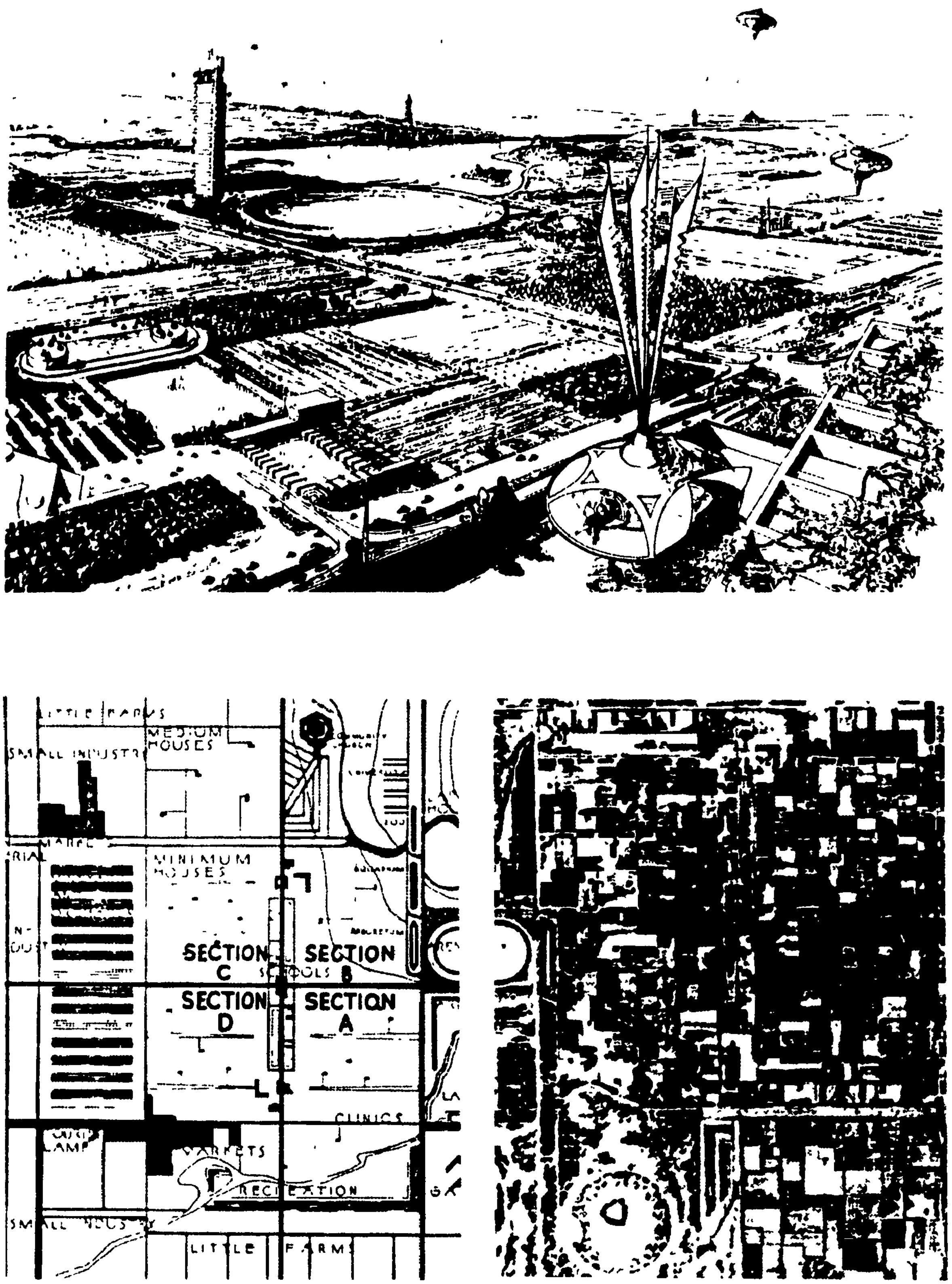
Towers in the Green

There is a oneness between the works of nature and the works of the human spirit.[43]
Le Corbusier

The Modern Movement influenced the design of suburbia in altogether different ways. With the visionary help of Le Corbusier's "Ville Contemporaine" (1922) and his later "Ville Radieuse" (1935) schemes, the theoretical declarations for modern architecture and urban planning were made evident by the Congress Internationale de Architecture Moderne (CIAM). The goal of Le Corbusier's grand plans was directed toward creating a new form of urbanity in concert with a new social order. Le Corbusier, unlike Wright, had no intention of taking the city to the country, but favoured bringing nature to the city.

His Ville Contemporaine (1922) was designed for some three million inhabitants, based on the idea that the traditional city could not accommodate the new social order and the advancements made in technology (Figs.17a,b). Commerce and administration would characterize social output through the efforts of industrial production. The city was, therefore, designed to accommodate the administrative and commercial functions at the centre in vertical towers, along with transportation and cultural facilities. The administrators and the social elite were to be housed in the city centre in towers similar to the office buildings. The workers and those engaged in industrial production were to be housed in satellite communities at the periphery of the city (which Le Corbusier referred to as Garden Cities).[44] The overall design stressed unity through its symmetrical spatial arrangement. It should be noted that, in spite of its strong symmetry, the Ville Contemporaine was perceived very differently at ground level. Only fifteen percent of the Ville Contemporaine was covered by buildings and roads. Some eighty-five percent of the city was to be designated as green space, composed of walkways, gardens, parks and forested areas. Le Corbusier created a vertical city by introducing high-density towers and apartment blocks, but more importantly he created a "green city" by freeing the ground plane from sprawling tenement blocks.[45]

Le Corbusier held the view that work and leisure could not be reconciled as Wright had suggested in his plan for Broadacre City. He believed that the worker would have to be engaged in production at least eight hours a day to help realize a new social order. He


LITTLE FARMS
SMALL INDUSTRY
MEDIUM HOUSES
MINIMUM HOUSES
SECTION C
SCHOOLS
SECTION B
SECTION D
SECTION A
CLINICS
MARKETS
RECREATION
SMALL INDUSTRY
LITTLE FARMS

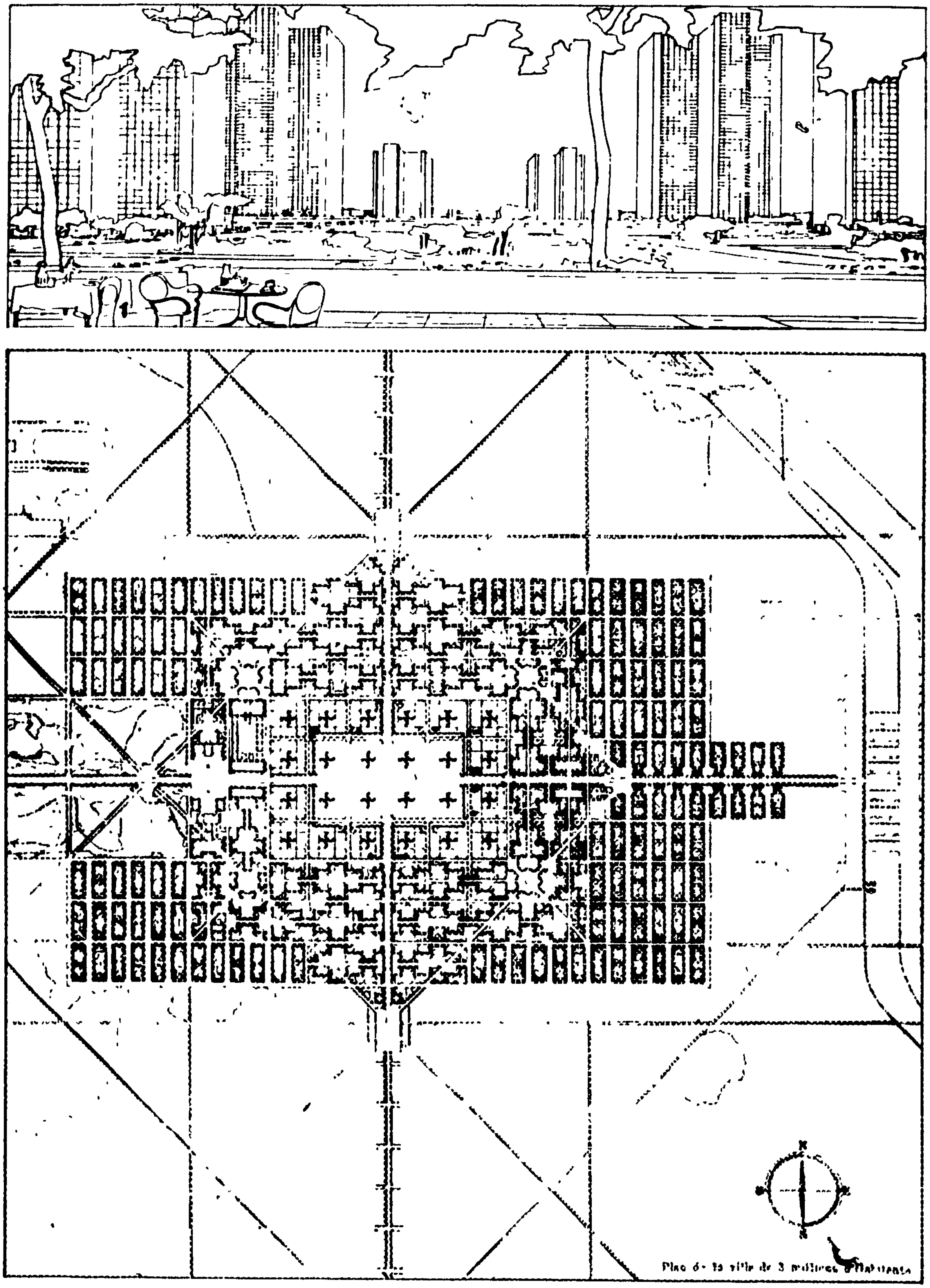
Figures 3.16a,b,c. Broadacre City by Frank Lloyd Wright, 1929 to 1958 - the ultimate model for Suburbia (Alofsin, "Broadacre City", *Center*, 1989).

sought to create a leisure realm in which the worker could enjoy his or her time away from work. This was accomplished by providing the worker with housing in a healthy, natural environment. His apartment designs included garden terraces, roof top gardens and were situated in a natural setting. Fishman summarized Le Corbusier rather optimistically by noting:

> The contemporary city is thus a city of leisure as well as order, a city of meditation as well as production. To the man at work, the city is one great organization; after work he sees it from an entirely different perspective. His family life exists outside the hierarchy of authority. Le Corbusier designed each independent home, a site of abundance and love. Outside is the garden of delights, the Green City, the realm of art and play. The apartments and their surroundings form a coherent environment, a world of individual fulfillment and creation.[46]

Le Corbusier's Ville Radieuse scheme differed from Ville Contemporaine primarily in its socio-political orientation and spatial distribution of urban functions. The residential areas were located toward the centre of the city while the administrative / commercial functions and the industrial / productive functions were located at either end of a great axis. The centre of the Ville Radieuse was given over to an expansive park-like setting. Large greenbelts helped to separate the various urban functions. In his revised scheme, nature and not humanity was to dominate the future urban metropolis .

In Europe, his ideas were implemented in postwar reconstruction efforts, while in America, his ideas helped to shape the face of the modern metropolis. By the 1960s, American suburban growth patterns were changing dramatically. Commercial centres, as well as administrative and production centres, were establishing themselves outside the city centres on new tracts of undeveloped land. The only connection these areas had with the city was through a newly created highway infrastructure. These new commercial centres, composed of retail malls, industrial parks and business centres, bore a strong resemblance to Le Corbusier's vision in plan - a city of distinct zones of activity, separated by nature and bound together by a vast highway infrastructure, albeit on less formal terms. Ironically, Le Corbusier was never able to see his contemporary city realized, although his ideas greatly influenced the notion of the Arcadian metropolis through the late 20th century in Suburbia.


Plan de la ville de 3 millions d'habitants

Figures 3.17a,b. Contemporary City by Le Corbusier, 1922 - a modernist Arcadian vision (Fishman, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century*, 1977).

III The Final Frontier Not Country, Not City

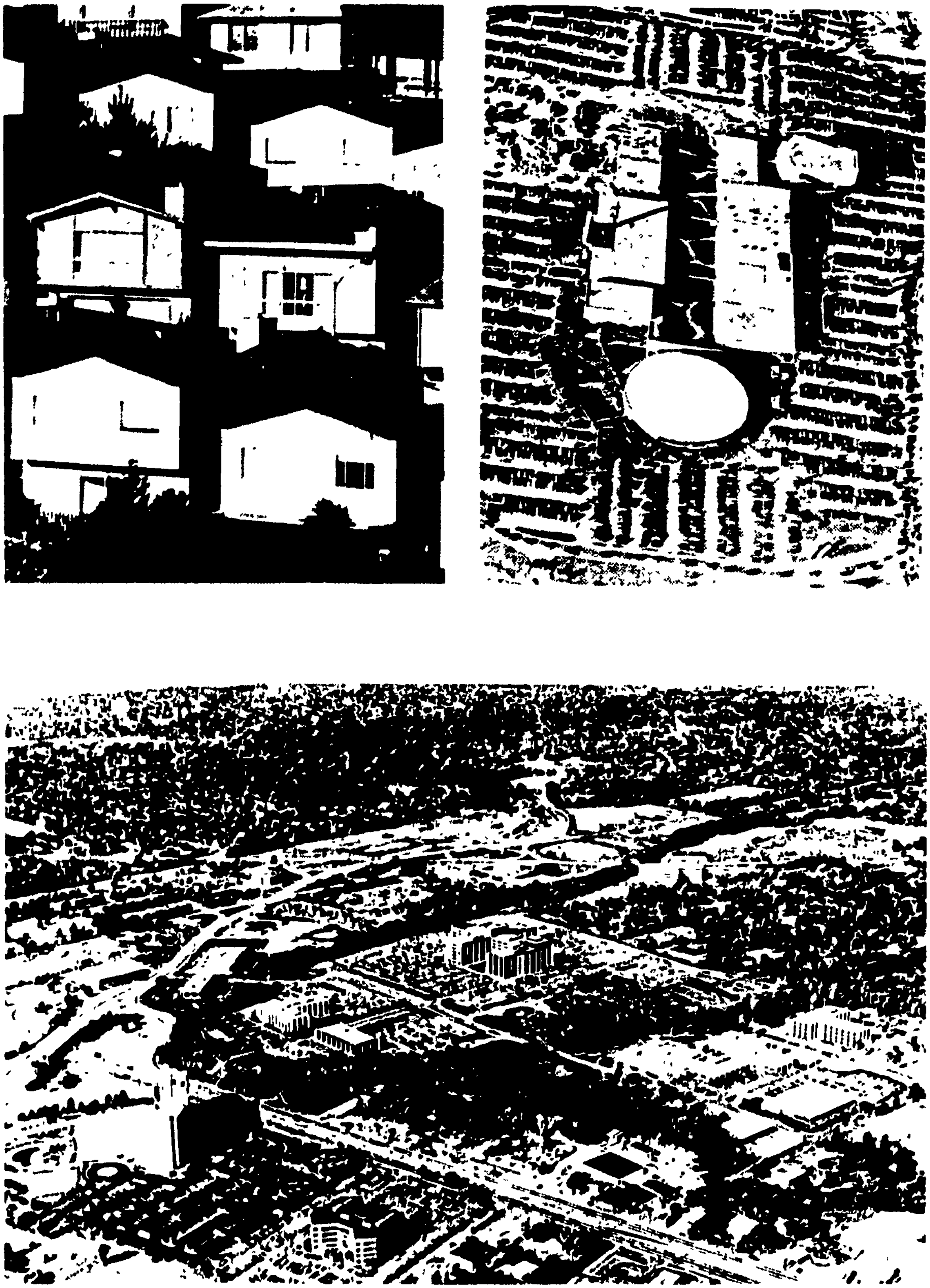
> The modern vision of the city in the garden has not yet evolved as Ebenezer Howard, Le Corbusier and Wright had hoped through displacement, replacement, or absorption of the central city, but has come to pass as a new peripheral Eden coexistent with the central city. [47]

It appears that in our collective efforts to express the Arcadian vision, conceived as an urban-pastoral synthesis, we have lost the will, or the capacity, to create a meaningful landscape - one that can accommodate both nature and humanity. The urban-pastoral synthesis, made evident in Suburbia of today, is the antithesis of the Arcadian vision because it is based on humanity's ascendency over nature and one's fellow.

By definition, contemporary Suburbia is an urban agglomeration typically situated outside the city proper, having grown out of a suburban landscape or along a highway interchange on land once under agriculture (Fig.18a). The older suburban fabric has been transformed to include a variety of commercial functions that were traditionally associated with a city's urban core. One can now live, work and play within the new suburban landscape - and never leave it (Figs.18b,c). In scale, these new urban agglomerations resemble Broadacre City or the Ville Radieuse in that the measure of the city is not the pedestrian but the automobile. Sidewalks have been replaced by footpaths and roadways have been elevated to allow the landscape to remain continuous. In form, Suburbia resembles these modernist utopian visions, a combination of towers and residences set into a rural or natural landscape.

Living on the Edge

Apologists for Suburbia, of which there are a growing number, suggest that this middle landscape is a rational construct based on the advancements made in an increasingly technologically-oriented society. Of the work of the more important apologists on the subject, Joel Garreau's *Edge City: Life on the New Frontier* (1991) and Peter Rowe's *Making a Middle Landscape* (1991) stand out as noteworthy. There is a growing body of literature, particularly in the planning and design journals, that suggests that Suburbia is a viable and tenable form of urban development, one that mirrors the changing values of contemporary society. Indeed, some even suggest that this new urban landscape is in many ways a utopian realization, founded on the prophetic visions of Frank Lloyd Wright's *Broadacre City* and Le Corbusier's *Radiant City*. Peter Rowe suggests in *Making a Middle Landscape* (1991), that it can be likened to a "modern pastoralism", a



Figures 3.18a,b,c. Suburbia today - blurring the Arcadian vision (Rowe, *Making the Middle Landscape*, 1991 and; Fishman, *Bourgeois Utopias*, 1987).

new synthesis between long held pastoral values and the more recent awareness of technology.[48]

Both Garreau and Rowe give compelling evidence of the contemporary suburban landscape. Garreau refers to contemporary Suburbia as "edge-city", while Rowe adopts Leo Marx's term, "middle landscape". Others, such as Robert Fishman, refer to this landscape as a "techno-burb". Stephen Kieran and James Timberlake call it a "perimeter centre". The traditional term for this landscape was "urban sprawl", but clearly there is something different about this landscape. Generally, these terms refer to a specific location and, to some extent, their function. The term, middle landscape, is appropriate in that it denotes both an immaterial vision (ironic as such) and a material construct, a physical place. Suburbia, however defined, appears to be chaotic and disorienting, particularly for the newly initiated, as Garreau states (with overtones of *Bladerunner*):

> If Edge City still gives some people the creeps, it is partially because it confounds expectations. Traditional downtown urbanites recoil because a place blown out by the automobile scale is not what they think of as "city." ... Why are these tall buildings so far apart? Why are they juxtaposed, apparently higgledy-piggledy, among the malls and strip shopping centers and fast-food joints and self-service gas stations? ... At the same time, Edge City does not meet the expectations of traditional suburbanites either. Few who bought into the idea of quarter acre tranquility ever expected to take a winding turn and suddenly be confronted with a 150 foot colossus looming over the trees, red aircraft-warning beacons flashing, its towering glass reflecting not the moon, but the sodium vapor of the parking lot lights. [49]

Suburbia is not visually or functionally coherent when held up to traditional urban and rural settings and has no discernible morphology, as it is composed largely of individual tracts of land bound together by a network of service roads and related infrastructure. These tracts of land are referred to as "land bays" by Kieran and Timberlake, who go on to suggest that these development parcels are symbolic of privatized gardens of Eden. In turn, these "privatized gardens" are connected by a "network of green-veiled roadways".[50]

Suburbia is largely a private affair, held in trust not by the people who live there, but by the corporations that own most of the land. In most instances, Suburbia does not even have a civic branch or a mayoral office. Consequently, or more correctly stated, inconsequently, it has no particular civic spatial order. Garreau's perception of Suburbia, and those who inhabit it, is questionable. However, he posits some compelling evidence that would have one believe that contemporary Suburbia is indeed the "crucible of America's urban future" and those who choose to live there are pioneers in the new urban wilderness:

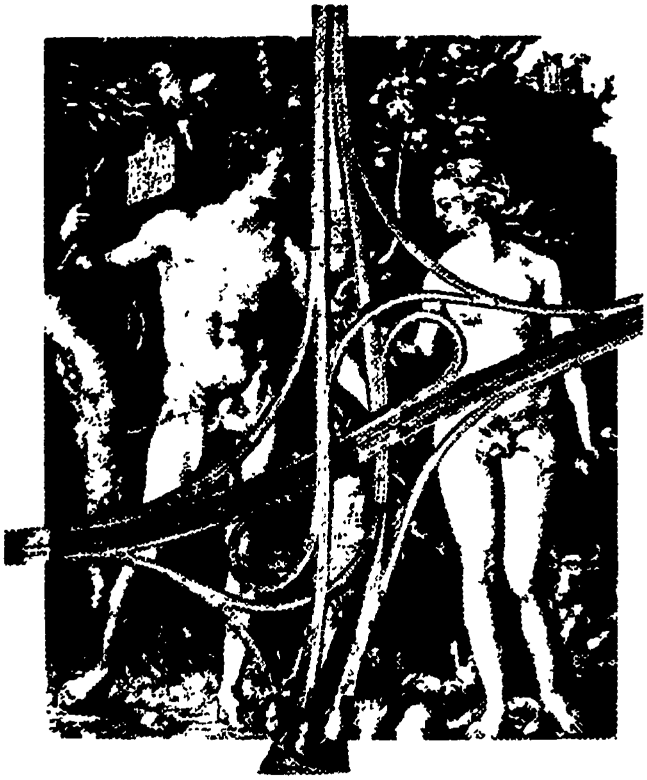


Figure 3.19. "Eden made accessible" (Kieran and Timberlake, "Paradise Regained", *Architecture*, 1991).

Figures 3.20a,b. The final frontier, then and now (Kieran and Timberlake, "Paradise Regained", *Architecture*, 1991).

> Edge Cities are the culmination of a generation of individual American value decisions about the best ways to work, shop and play - about how to create home. ... By any quantifiable standard, they have already proved to be astoundingly efficient places to make one's fame and fortune. ... As real estate markets, they have made an entire generation of homeowners and speculators rich. As bazaars, they are anchored by some of the most luxurious shopping in the world. ... Edge Cities acculturate immigrants, provide daycare,and promise safety. They offer an improvement in per capita fuel efficiency over the old suburbia-downtown arrangement, since they move everything closer to the homes of the middle class [51]

Suburbia does provide for societal needs but it is questionable as to where, given that the public realm has been reduced to the shopping mall galleria and neighbourhood parks. One can imagine that daycare centres are provided for people to use while shopping and that security guards are stationed throughout a mall to ensure that all who enter conform to status quo consumer behavior. The drive to work may require less fuel than to drive to a city centre, however, the entire infrastructure must also be considered in the overall energy equation. The per capita energy expenditure in the middle landscape of suburbia compared to a traditional urban setting seems entirely perverse. It is estimated that a suburban single family home requires 4 times more infrastructure than an urban duplex - 4 times more streets, sidewalks, sewers, streetlights and 4 times more services such as street cleaning, school bus routes and police patrols. It is estimated that direct and indirect energy consumption is 2000% greater for a suburban household compared with an urban household.[52]

Arguably, Suburbia is a pluralistic landscape of accommodation, but it is neither pluralistic nor accommodating in its conception . In fact, it is a corporate landscape where decisions for the many have been made by the few. Suburbia may appear diverse structurally and aesthetically, however, great efforts have been made to attract a particular social strata, one that accepts the status quo of an automobile-oriented consumer culture. It is difficult to believe that the majority of Amencans actually live, work and play in these places and that American society aspires to reside in this middle landscape.

Garreau suggests that Suburbia is the very stuff America is made of, that it represents the Arcadian vision of the late 20th century. Echoing these thoughts, Kieran and Timberlake refer to it as "city in the garden" and "paradise regained" (Fig.19). Garreau goes on to quote from Leo Marx's *The Machine in the Garden*

> Regenerative power is located in the natural terrain: access to the undefiled, bountiful, sublime Nature is what accounts for the virtue and special good for Americans. It enables them to design a community in the image of the garden, an ideal fusion of nature with art. The landscape thus becomes the symbolic repository of value of all kinds - economic, political, aesthetic, religious .... A strong urge to

> believe in the rural myth along with an awareness of industrialization as counterforce to the myth - since 1844, this motif appears everywhere in American writing ... It is a complex distinctively American form.[53]

The Suburbia that Garreau supports can hardly be described as "an ideal infusion of nature with art". Furthermore, this "complex distinctively American form" is given expression in the middle landscape, but not as Marx would lead us to understand. Marx made a case for a complex form of synthesis between nature and urbanity as a historically defined societal goal peculiar to the American people. Similar to Garreau, Rowe empathizes with Marx's observations, suggesting that Suburbia can be considered in terms of "a rural-urban synthesis ... between the age-old pastoral perspective and the modern technical temperament".[54] Rowe qualifies this thought by rewording Marx's insight, " the potential pandemonium of a technological onslaught on the environment can be restrained by moving toward arcadian simplicity, whereas a rustic resistance to progress can be counteracted by creative technical reasoning".[55]

Suburbia, in its current state, is untenable as a sustainable urban form when these issues actually inform our understanding of what this landscape represents (Figs.20a,b). Clearly one does not have to be a Marxist, in the political sense, to understand its raison d'etre. Suburbia is perhaps economically viable today, based on the speculative interests of developers, real estate companies and corporations. However, the short term interests of the few cannot possibly sustain the welfare of the many. Suburbia is not socially, politically or environmentally viable when considered as a long term urban/environmental form.

What appears to elude some apologists for Suburbia is the fact that acting upon the landscape requires a moral orientation toward nature and humanity. Rowe gives evidence that this was, up to one point in our collective history, inextricable. The Arcadian vision is not bound to a particular aesthetic form (although there are typological precedents) but it does recognize nature as a significant form determinant. It also recognizes that the consequences of our actions must benefit the environment, the individual, and society.

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[1] Ebenezer Howard, quoted in MacFadyen, *Sir Ebenezer Howard and the New Town Planning Movement.* Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1970, p.21.

[2] Lewis Mumford, quoted in an introductory essay to *Ebenezer Howard. Garden Cities of To-morrow.* ed. F.J.Osborn. London: Faber and Faber, [1898] 1965, p.29.

[3] MacFadyen, Donald. *Sir Ebenezer Howard and the New Town Planning Movement.* Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1970, p.10-12

[4] Lewis Mumford, quoted in ibid., *Garden Cities of To-morrow*, p.33.

[5] Ibid., Howard, *Garden Cities of To-morrow*, p.48.

[6] Ibid., Howard, *Garden Cities of To-morrow*, p.49.

[7] Lewis Mumford. The City in History. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1961, p.519.

[8] Ibid., The City in History, p.520.

[9] Norman T. Newton. *Design on the Land: The Development of Landscape Architecture.* Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press, 1971, p.489.

[10] Clarence S. Stein. *Toward New Towns for America.* New York: Reinhold Publishing Corp., 1957, p.24.

[11] Ibid., *Toward New Towns for America*, p.46.

[12] Carol A. Christensen. *The American Garden City and the New Towns Movement.* Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1986, p.68.

[13] Ibid., *Design on the Land*, p.503.

[14] Ibid., *Toward New Towns for America*, p.110.

[15] Ibid., *Toward New Towns for America*, p.101-160.

[16] Ibid., *Toward New Towns for America*, , p.113.

[17] Ibid., *Design on the Land*, p.506.

[18] John Hancock. "John Nolen: New Towns in Florida (1922-1929)," *The New City: Foundations*. ed. Lejeune, Jean-Francois. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1991., p.70.

[19] John Nolen, quoted in Hancock, "John Nolen: New Towns in Florida (1922-1929)," *The New City*, p.74.

[20] Ibid., "New Towns in Florida (1922-1929)," *The New City*, p.71.

[21] Ibid., "New Towns in Florida (1922-1929)," *The New City*, p 77

[22] Ibid., *The City in History*, p.511.

[23] Peter G. Rowe. *Making the Middle Landscape*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1991, p.4.

[24] Robert Fishman. *Bourgeois Utopias: The Rise and Fall of Suburbia.* New York: Basic Books Inc., 1987, p.182.

[25] Ibid., *The American Garden City and New Towns Movement*, p.96.

[26] Ibid., *The American Garden City and New Towns Movement*, p.95.

[27] Ibid., *The American Garden City and New Towns Movement*, p.96-100.

[28] Ibid., *Bourgeois Utopias*, p.179.

[29] Ibid., *The American Garden City and New Towns Movement*, p.107.

[30] Ibid., *The American Garden City and New Towns Movement*, p.111.

[31] Ibid., *Making a Middle Landscape*, p.51.

[32] James Rouse, quoted in Gurney Breckenfield, *Columbia and the New Cities*. New York: Ives Washburn, 1971, p.175.

[33] Ibid., *The American Garden City and New Towns Movement*, p.113.

[34] Ibid., *The American Garden City and New Towns Movement*, p.123.

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[35] Frank Lloyd Wright. *The Living City*. New York: Horizon Press, 1958, p.87.

[36] Robert Fishman. *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century: Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1977., p.123.

[37] Ibid., *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century*, p.127.

[38] Ibid., *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century*, p.133.

[39] Ibid., *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century*, p.135.

[40] Anthony Alofsin. "Broadacre City: The Reception of a Modernist Vision, 1932-1988," *Center*. vol.5, 1989, p.14.

[41] Catherine Bauer paraphrased in Alofsin, "Broadacre City," *Center*, p.15.

[42] Ibid., "Broadacre City," *Center*, p.16.

[43] Le Corbusier. *Looking at City Planning*. ed. Eleanor Levieux. New York: Grossman Publishers, 1971, p.71.

[44] Le Corbusier, quoted in *City and Country in America*. ed. David R.Weimer. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1962, p.265.

[45] Ibid., *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century*, p.202.

[46] Ibid., *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century*, p.204.

[47] Stephen Kiernen and James Timberlake. "Paradise Regained". *Architecture*. December 1991, p.49.

[48] Ibid., *Making a Middle Landscape*, p.232.

[49] Joel Garreau. "Cities on the Edge", *Architecture*. December 1991, p.46.

[50] Joel Garreau. *Edge City: Life On the New Frontier*. New York: Doubleday, 1991, p.34.

[51] Ibid., "Cities on the Edge," *Architecture*, p.46.

[52] D'Mour, David. *Sustainable Development and the Canadian Housing Sector*. Montreal: McGill University, School of Urban Planning, 1990, p.146.

[53] Marx, Leo. *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

[54] Ibid., *Making a Middle Landscape*, p.215.

[55] Ibid., *Making a Middle Landscape*, p.215.

CHAPTER FOUR

ARCADIA REVISITED: NEW COMMUNITIES FOR AMERICA

I Regaining the Middle Ground Rediscovering Urbanity

The renewed potential for the physical manifestation of the Arcadian vision can best be understood through the "new communities" that were planned and built during the 20th century. Reid Ewing suggests in, "The Evolution of New Community Planning Concepts", (1990) that the emergence of new communities in America during the 20th century can be traced to distinct eras and regions. These include:

> Greenbelt Towns (and Radburn) of the 20s and 30s; Florida's "Master Suburbs" of the 20s; Midwestern Communities of the 40s and 50s; Florida Communities of the 50s; Eastern-Style New Towns of the 60s; California-Style New Communities of the 60s; HUD New Communities of the 70s.[1]

The new communities that are making their way into the mainstream of suburban planning and design today are based, in part, on the ideological and practical success of these earlier towns and communities. They are based on the precedent of traditional town plans of the 18th and 19th centuries but are modified to include recent urban realities, most notably, the automobile. Today's new communities are a reaction to the unbridled growth of the suburbs and the perceived environmental, economic and social problems that Suburbia has created in the postwar years.

Among these traditional town planners, Andres Duany, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk and Peter Calthorpe stand out as leaders in the crusade to find a meaningful alternative to contemporary planning practises and Suburbia. There is a growing number of planning and design professions that would call themselves traditional planners, i.e. post-modern town planners. The number of traditional new towns and communities under construction and/or in the planning stages across America has also been on the increase. It is obvious that these traditional town planners have struck a chord deep within the popular psyche. Just as the early suburban visionaries sought to find a meaningful alternative to the city in the late 19th and early 20th-centuries, these post-modern visionaries are seeking to make a meaningful alternative to Suburbia. It is the contemporary search for the middle landscape - for Arcadia.

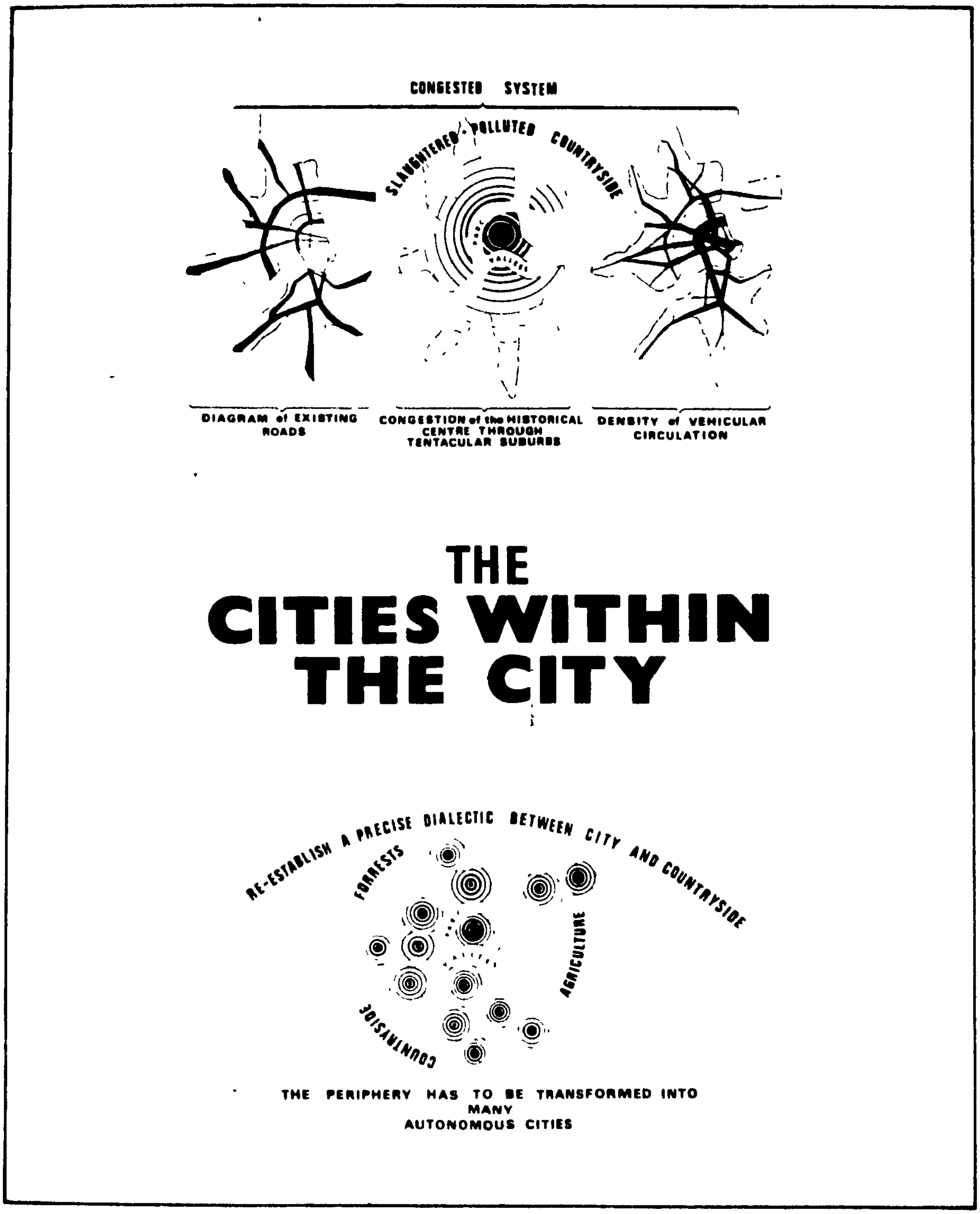

CONGESTED SYSTEM
SLAUGHTERED - POLLUTED COUNTRYSIDE
DIAGRAM of EXISTING ROADS
CONGESTION of the HISTORICAL CENTRE THROUGH TENTACULAR SUBURBS
DENSITY of VEHICULAR CIRCULATION
THE CITIES WITHIN THE CITY
RE-ESTABLISH A PRECISE DIALECTIC BETWEEN CITY AND COUNTRYSIDE
FORRESTS
AGRICULTURE
COUNTRYSIDE
THE PERIPHERY HAS TO BE TRANSFORMED INTO MANY AUTONOMOUS CITIES

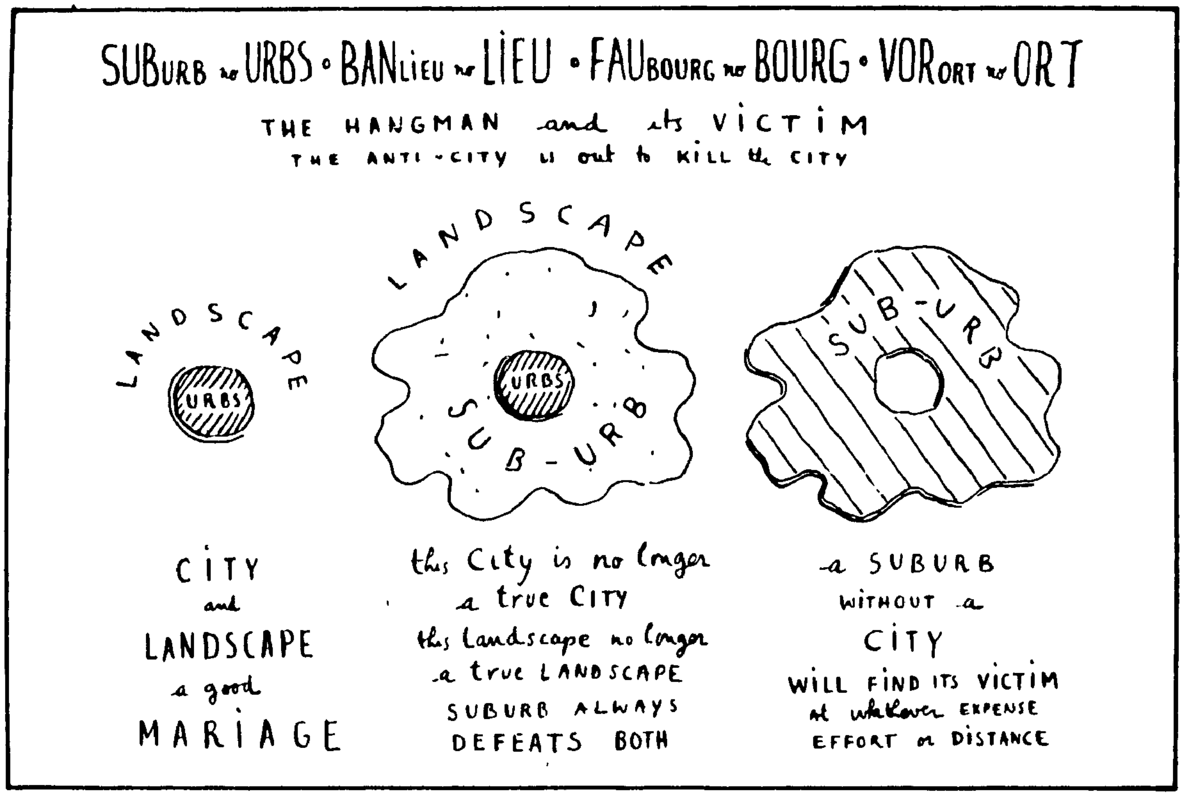
Figure 4.1. Leon Krier's critique of, and proposal for, urbanity (Krier, *Leon Krier*, ed. Porphyrios, 1984).

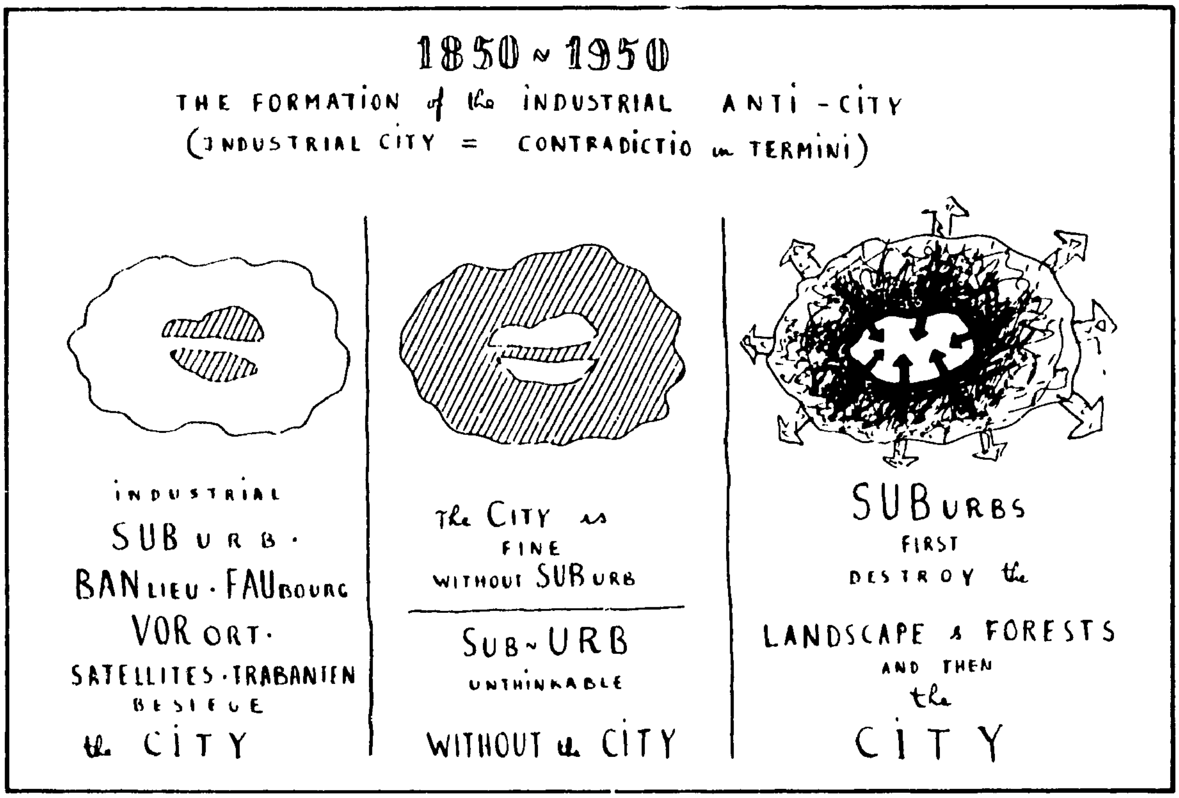
II Post-Suburbia's Visionary Krier's Communities vs Zones

> Against the global destruction of the city and countryside that we are witnessing, we propose a global philosophical, political and technical project of reconstruction. One cannot destroy the city without also destroying the countryside. The reconstruction of the territory must be defined in a strict physical and legal separation of city and countryside. First of all we must drastically reduce the built perimeters of the city and precisely redefine rural land in order to establish clearly what is city and what is countryside.
>
> Leon Krier

Leon Krier has had considerable impact on the recent trends in new town and community planning in Europe, and in America. Just as Ebenezer Howard influenced the new towns and communities of the 1920s and 1930s, and Le Corbusier influenced Suburbia of the 1960s and 1970s, Leon Krier has influenced the recent movement toward new towns and communities in the 1980s and 1990s. Unlike his predecessors, Krier has little respect for the American urban and suburban landscape, focussing instead on the European city and its history. Once a committed ideologue of the left, Krier denounced the American city as a product of the industrial / capitalist venture. His critique of the American city, following that of the European city, is based on the well-founded idea that American urbanism has evolved most directly from the Modernist planning principles outlined in CIAM's Charter of Athens and in the visionary work of Le Corbusier and others. Krier posits that the 20th-century city, the "functional city of zones," has proven to be a problem of irreconcilable proportions and that the only alternative is a radical shift to traditional town planning principles found in the pre-industrial city (Figs. 1a,b). He suggests that this is only possible if society in general, and architects and planners in particular, engage in a social and political struggle of resistance and counter-proposals against the Modernist city. Krier's view of American urbanism suggests that Suburbia has destroyed the city and the countryside by distributing various urban functions across the landscape. The pastoral ideal that Krier envisions includes a clear distinction between the city and the country. The early American settlement experience, envisioned as an urban-rural synthesis, sought to provide a balance between that which belongs to the city and that which belongs to the countryside. This is not entirely antithetical to Krier, however, the more recent attempts to strike that balance in Suburbia has fueled his scathing critique of American urbanism (Figs.2a,b).

Krier's critique of the Modernist functionally zoned city is countered with the concept of "communities versus zones". This idea has found great appeal among traditional town planners in America. The concept itself is not new, nor is it Krier's. The idea of creating communities instead of zones was introduced by Eliel Saarinen in his book,


SUBurb ~ URBS · BANlieu ~ LIEU · FAUbourg ~ BOURG · VORort ~ ORT
THE HANGMAN and its VICTIM
THE ANTI-CITY is out to KILL the CITY
LANDSCAPE
URBS
LANDSCAPE
URBS
SUB-URB
SUB-URB
CITY and LANDSCAPE a good MARIAGE
this City is no longer a true CITY this Landscape no longer a true LANDSCAPE SUBURB ALWAYS DEFEATS BOTH
a SUBURB WITHOUT a CITY WILL FIND ITS VICTIM at whatever EXPENSE EFFORT or DISTANCE


1850 ~ 1950
THE FORMATION of the INDUSTRIAL ANTI-CITY
(INDUSTRIAL CITY = CONTRADICTIO in TERMINI)
INDUSTRIAL SUBURB · BANlieu · FAUbourg VORort · SATELLITES · TRABANTEN BESIEGE the CITY
The CITY is FINE WITHOUT SUBurb
SUB-URB UNTHINKABLE WITHOUT the CITY
SUBurbs FIRST DESTROY the LANDSCAPE & FORESTS AND THEN the CITY

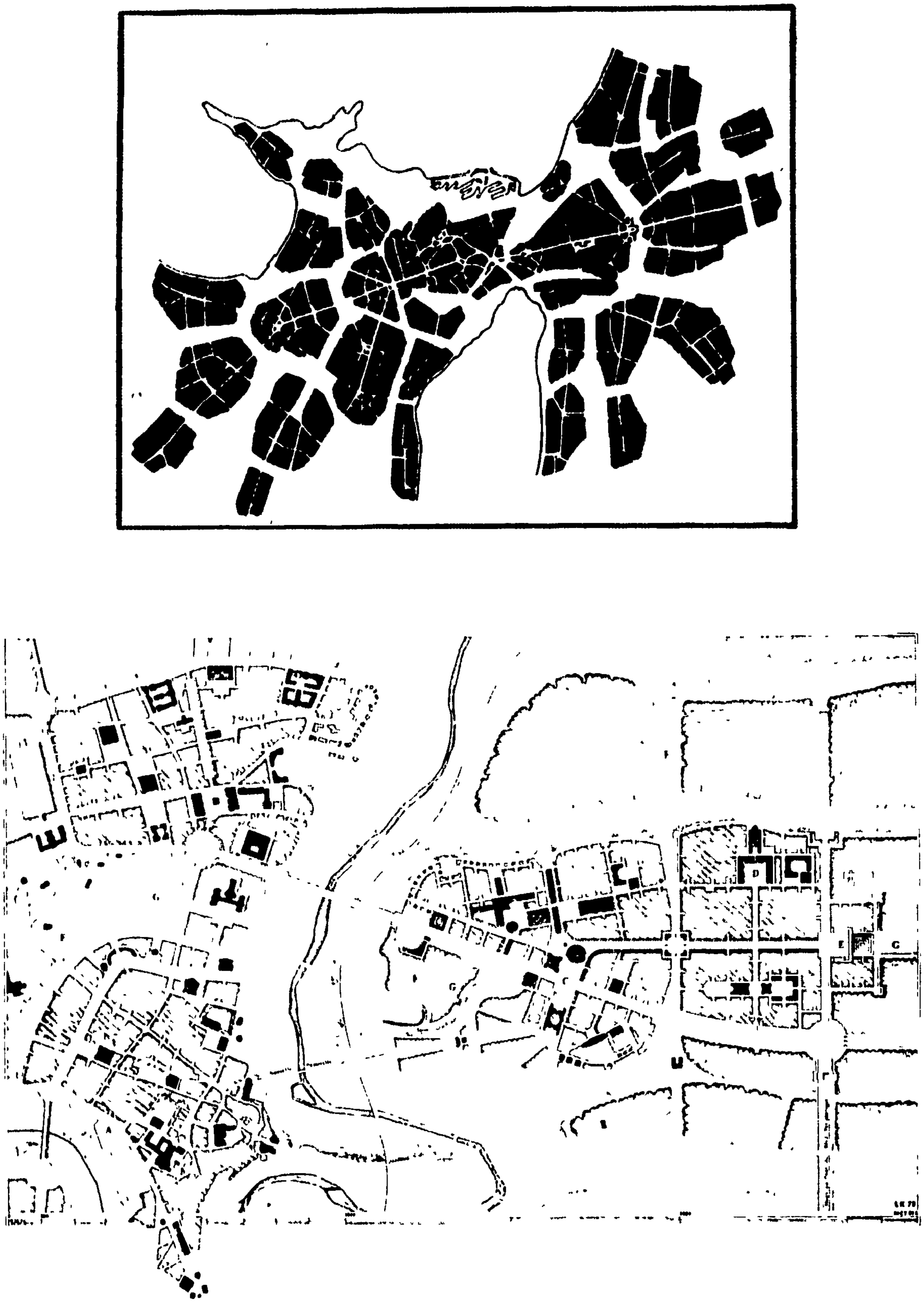
Figures 4.2a,b. Leon Krier's critique of Suburbia (Krier, *Leon Krier*, ed. Porphyrios, 1984).

The City: Its Growth, Its Decay, Its Future (1943). Saarinen's proposal grew out of the recognition that the modern metropolis could not grow at its unprecedented scale without a great deal of social, economic and environmental stress, and without a great deal of urban decay. The only way to ameliorate urban decay, Saarinen suggested, would be for a city to grow at a reduced scale. He proposed a model for "organic decentralization." The term, urban decay, was interpreted by Saarinen to include urban processes that resulted in wasted time, energy, human resources, materials and so on. He was looking for an holistic approach, one that today, would be referred to as "sustainable".[3]

> We are faced with two basic tendencies of organic decentralization - concentration of the individual's living and working conditions, and decentralization of the city's various activity groups. The individual's everyday life includes such activities as home life, work inside or outside of the home, procurement of necessary supplies, child and adult education, and physical and mental development ... it is a sensible thing that they be concentrated as much as possible within a certain area so as to eliminate the compulsory use of mechanical means of communication. Such an arrangement is logical; it is practical; it is time saving; and, above all, it is human. Such an arrangement, though, is nothing new.[4]

Krier has used this concept of organic decentralization to generate a very similar urban vision referred to as a "Federation of Quarters" (Figs.3a,b). Krier believes that the pre-industrial city alone can provide the necessary answers for urban and suburban growth through an architecture of resistance - one dedicated to restoring an architecture and an urban form that is socially rather than technologically motivated. Krier's principles include a return to pedestrian-oriented settlements complete with public plazas and squares with mixed-use buildings integrated with residential areas along tree-lined streets Each Quarter would have its own centre as well as its own physical limits. The Quarter would integrate the functions of urban life as these relate to its citizenry, including dwelling, working and leisure activities within an area of 30 hectares (75 acres). The total number of inhabitants could not exceed 15,000. These settlements, or Quarters, would replace current zoning practices and the automobile would be given a secondary role in determining the overall urban form.[5]

Krier's critics suggest that his work has little relevancy in North America. However, it is interesting to note how many recent projects including some new communities resemble his vision (Figs.4a,b). The projects discussed below resemble Krier's own work, spatially and formally and to some extent, ideologically. Duane and Plater-Zyberk have worked with Krier, who even wrote the post-script to *Towns and Town-making Principles* (1991). Krier's influence in America has been significant, having



Figures 4.3a,b. Saarinen's "organic decentralization", 1913, and Krier's "communities vs zones", 1978 (Saarinen, The City, 1943 and; Krier, *Leon Krier*, ed. Porphyrios, 1984).

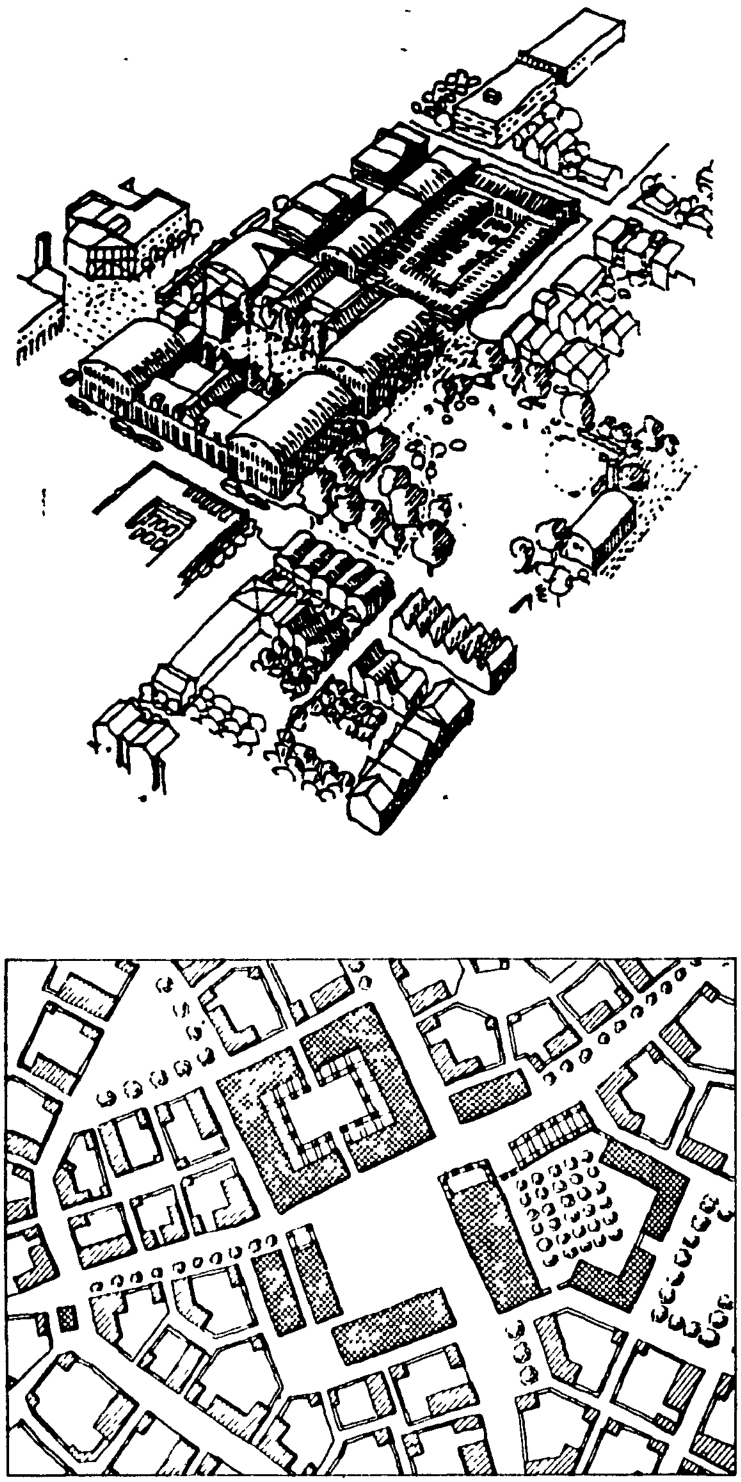
laid the ideological basis of the new communities that are ultimately more environmentally, economically, and socially responsive than recent suburban growth.

Still, Krier's critique of American urbanism has been limited to a somewhat simplistic interpretation. He has correctly observed the nature of Suburbia and its limitations as an urban/environmental form, but has overlooked the ideological premises from which American urbanism proceeded. Not unlike European cities, American cities have an urban tradition, based on shared typological and morphological precedents (precisely those Krier believes must be considered in his reconstruction agenda). Yet he has not been willing to recognize these nor their ideological origins. In his critique of the American City, he has failed to understand the dialectic role of nature and urbanity expressed in the complementary concepts of "rus in urbe" and "urbe in rus" (Figs.5a,b). Had Krier understood these concepts and the notion of the Arcadian vision, he might have expressed his vision of American urbanity in a more favourable light (Figs.6a,b).

III The Traditionalists — Duane & Plater-Zyberk's TNDs

Arguably, Suburbia is a result, in physical terms, of an arbitrary and pervasive set of postwar planning and zoning ordinances that have limited viable alternatives - ones that take into account the more pressing environmental and social concerns facing contemporary society. In this respect, Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk have developed a significant alternative through their integrated planning and design approach. After years of frustrating experience with suburban development and limited zoning ordinances, they developed a planning and design code of their own.

The traditional neighbourhood they promote, Traditional Neighbourhood Development or TND, incorporates many of the ideas of Ebenezer Howard's Garden City approach with the aesthetic overtones of Sir Raymond Unwin's civic design sensibility and the American planning logic of John Nolen. Critics suggest that one only need to look at a traditional New England town to understand what this group has in mind for the suburbs. Their most celebrated project to date, Seaside, Florida (1984), is an example of traditional planning and design applied to a new resort community. Loosely based on the design of neighbouring communities, Seaside is more rigorous in its planning and design methodology (Fig.7a). It is a microcosm of an inherently complex organic entity, the community. As such, Duane and Plater-Zyberk have developed a civic code which allows them to take stock of the community in its physical manifestation and to divide it into its constituent parts. The code addresses both the public and private realms- the streets and



Figures 4.4a,b. Calthorpe's "pedestrian pocket", 1989, and Krier's plan for Ping Nord, 1983 (Krier, *Leon Krier*, ed. Porphyrios, 1984).

squares, the civic, commercial, recreational and residential areas. Each component of the plan is described in detail, in written and graphic form, to ensure the implementation of the town design (Fig.7b).

Since Seaside, Duane and Plater-Zyberk have planned over thirty new towns and communities following their own planning and design philosophy. While recognizing the aesthetic premises from which their work proceeds, they are very aware of the environmental, economic, social, and political relevance of their work. The TND's statement of intent is very idealistic in its social mandate:

> Traditional neighborhoods achieve certain social objectives ... By bringing most of the needs of daily living within walking distance, the elderly and the young gain independence of movement ... By providing a full range of housing types and workplaces, age and economic class are integrated and the bonds of an authentic community are formed ... By promoting suitable civic buildings, democratic initiatives are encouraged and the organic evolution of society is secured.[6]

Their more recent work embraces the inherent complexity of site, context and program through a code that translates environmental, economic and social objectives into planning and design criteria. Their Avalon Park project is an example in which concerns for family size and unit mix are included within the broader context of a regional plan (Fig.8). It has an organic nature to it and recognizes the inherent limitations of the landscape of which the proposed towns and villages are a part. This sought-after balance between the needs of the inhabitants and those of the environment, is revealed in a region of communities. The towns and villages display order, yet, the order is a local order, one that could not be easily repeated elsewhere.

> Avalon Park is a design on a regional scale. Four towns and six villages are organized on the mile-square Jeffersonian grid that is distorted by the Econlockhatchee River and its adjacent wetlands. More that half the site is reserved for the river estuaries, wetlands, and retention ponds which are incorporated into greenbelts between the towns and villages; smaller wetlands and hammocks are incorporated within neighborhood parks. Villages and towns are composed of three or four neighborhoods. Each neighborhood is planned with the radius of a five-minute walk and each one provides basic services such as a child care facility, a general store, and a meeting hall.[7]

In some respects, Avalon Park resembles Penn's Philadelphia, or Nolen's plan for Venice, Florida, not in its physical form but in its ideological premise, which emphasizes an urban landscape set into a regional plan.

Critics complain that Duane and Plater-Zyberk rely too much on traditional forms of urban development and avoid embracing the values inherent in contemporary society.

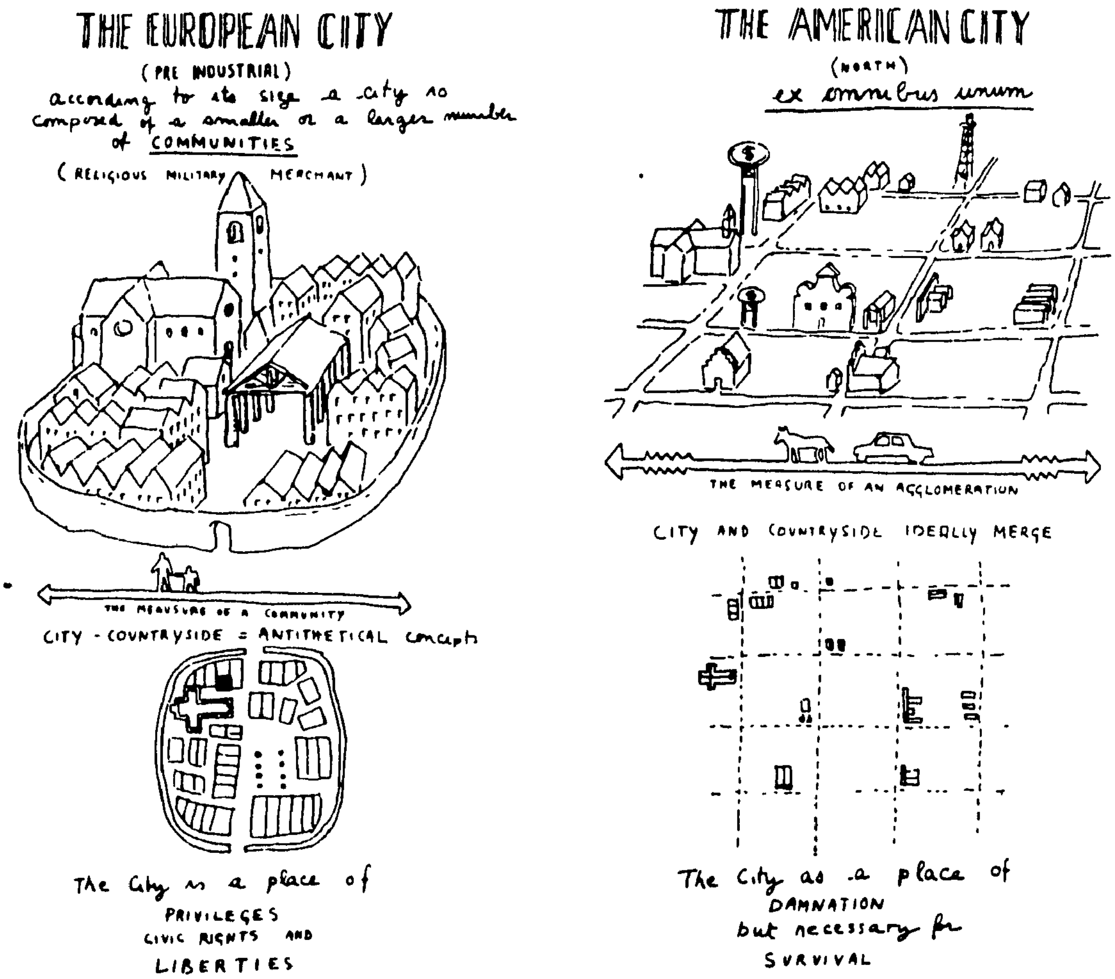

THE EUROPEAN CITY
(PRE INDUSTRIAL)
according to its size a city is composed of a smaller or a larger number of COMMUNITIES
(RELIGIOUS MILITARY MERCHANT)
THE MEASURE OF A COMMUNITY
CITY - COUNTRYSIDE = ANTITHETICAL concepts
The City as a place of
PRIVILEGES
CIVIC RIGHTS AND
LIBERTIES
THE AMERICAN CITY
(NORTH)
ex omnibus unum
THE MEASURE OF AN AGGLOMERATION
CITY AND COUNTRYSIDE IDEALLY MERGE
The City as a place of
DAMNATION
but necessary for
SURVIVAL

Figure 4.5. Krier's view of European and American urbanity (Krier, *Leon Krier*, ed. Porphyrios, 1984).

While recognizing the aesthetic premises from which their work proceeds, it is more than a return to nostalgic landscapes. In their defence, Patrick Pinnell notes that their aesthetic premises as well as the complexities of their designs are too often confused with the romantic traditional building typologies that grace their project renderings. At a philosophical level Pinnell suggests, with reference to Seaside:

> There is not only a theory of urbanism at work at Seaside, but a way of thinking about the world - an Aristotelian preference for providing models rather than Platonic, absolute types. For Aristotle, types existed only as they materialized in individual instances, and every new instance subtly shifted the centre of the type.[8]

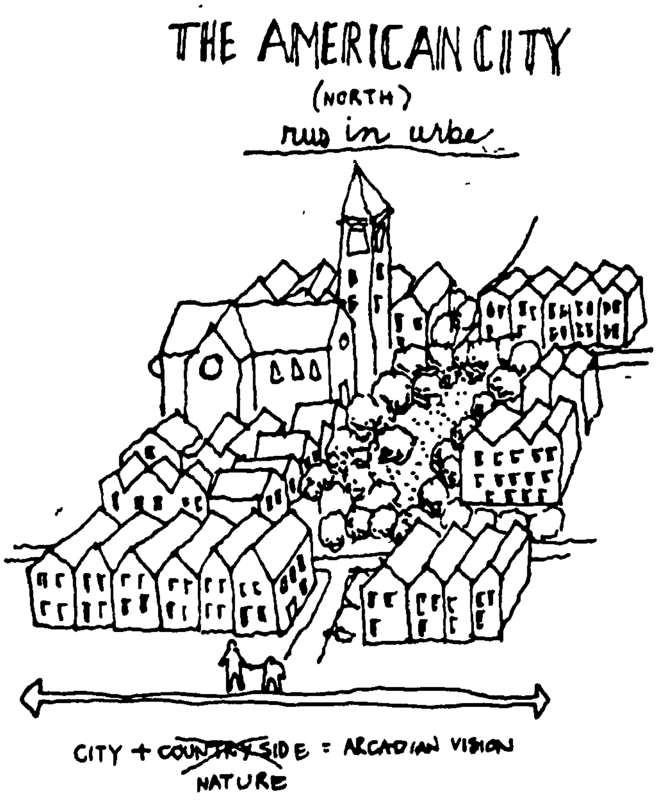
The Aristotelian view relies on an organic interpretation of the world, and he was among the first, to understand the world in terms of:

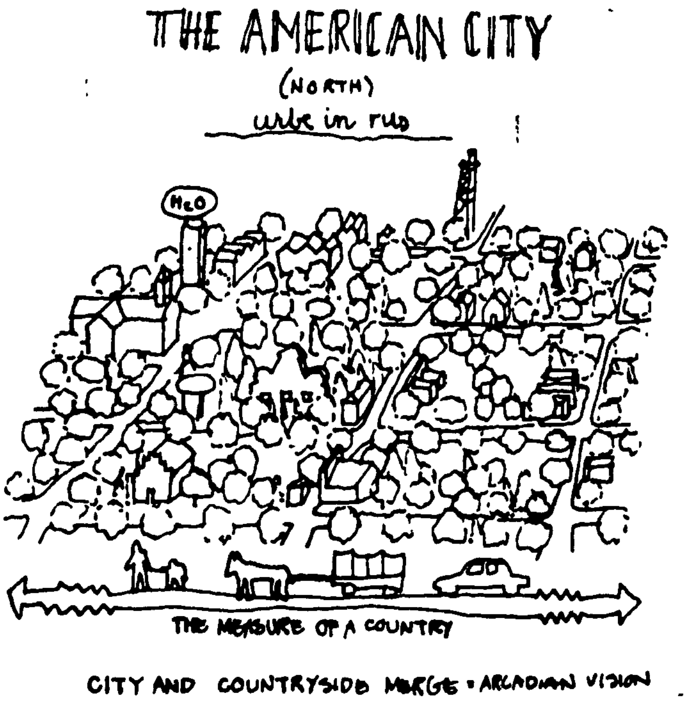
> ... creative forces pushing toward growth and a series of stages moving toward identifiable adult end points. It also demanded thinking in terms of the holistic unity of external and internal factors in conceptualizing both the character of those adult ends, and the behavior of the parts of an organism moving toward those ends.[9]

Arguably, Aristotle, has little to do with the speculative development practises that characterize contemporary urban and suburban growth, but with the environmental movement, new communities and town planning have gained momentum over the last three decades. Clearly, the work of Duane and Plater-Zyberk can be seen as an effort to counter the contemporary materialist interpretation of the world. Their work challenges American society to consider its past in forming a vision of the future, one that can only be described as Arcadian.

The Pedestrian Pocket

The work of a group of west coast academics and practising architects has led to the formation of the Pedestrian Pocket planning approach as another alternative to Suburbia. These include, Peter Calthorpe, Dan Solomon, Mark Mack, and Doug Kelbough, editor of *The Pedestrian Pocket Book* (1991). Bemused by the staggering neglect of planners and architects alike to provide a meaningful alternative to contemporary suburban sprawl, they have launched a counter-proposal. The Pedestrian Pocket does not necessarily replace Suburbia, but rather augments it. It differs fundamentally from the TND approach, which relies heavily on private sector investment, by relying on public monies to secure land and to provide an infrastructure which includes a light rail transit line. Conceived as a satellite town, the Pedestrian Pocket is pedestrian-oriented, much like Leon Krier's town planning,


THE AMERICAN CITY
(NORTH)
rus in urbe
CITY + ~~COUNTRY~~SIDE = ARCADIAN VISION
NATURE


THE AMERICAN CITY
(NORTH)
urbe in rus
H2O
THE MEASURE OF A COUNTRY
CITY AND COUNTRYSIDE MERGE = ARCADIAN VISION

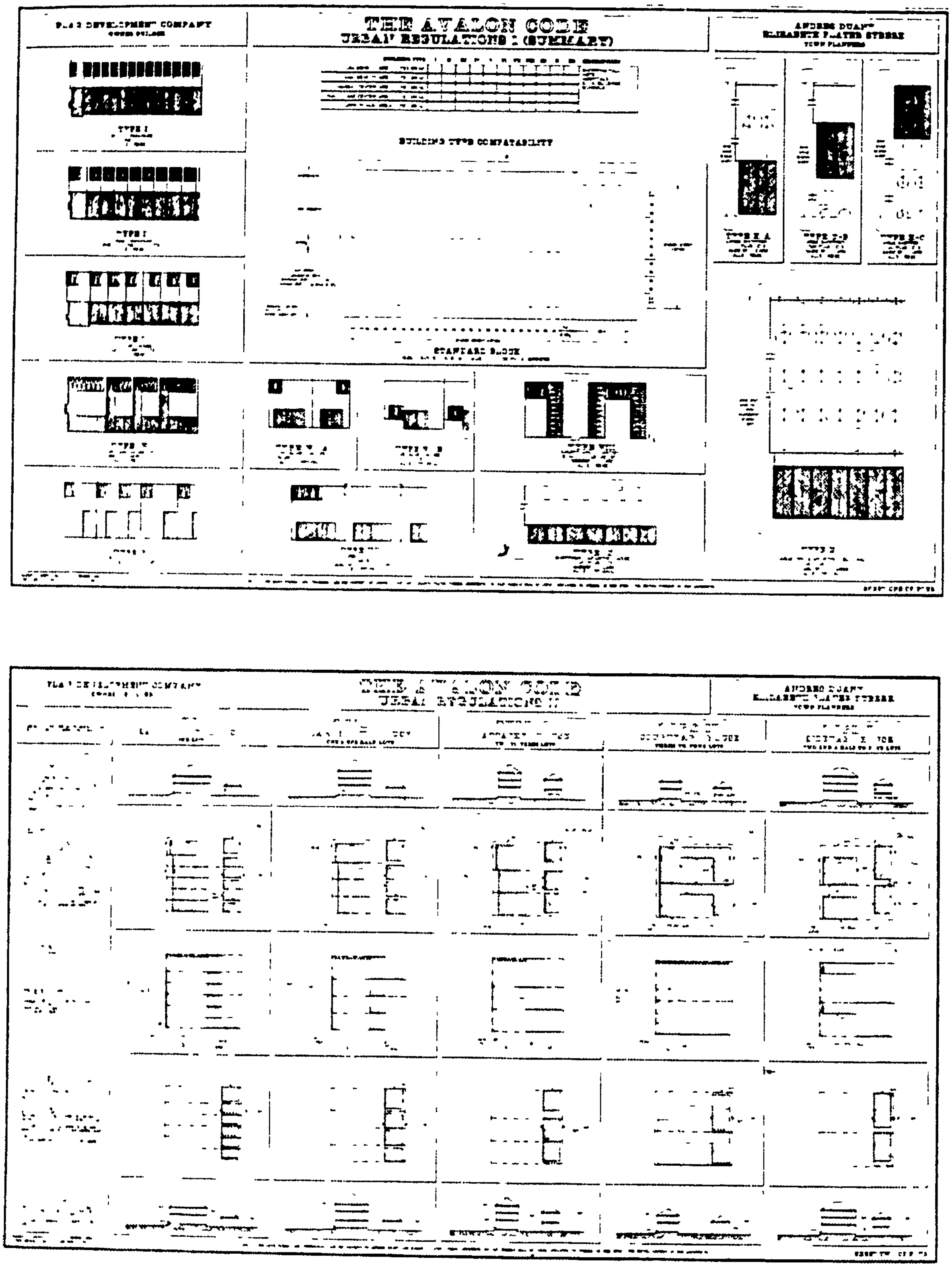
Figures 4.6a,b. American urbanism reconsidered - "rus in urbe" and "urbe in rus" (Epp, after Krier, 1992).

with mixed-use facilities, integrated higher density housing toward the civic and commercial centre and limited automobile access (Figs.9a,b). The Pedestrian Pocket is serviced by a light rail transit system with a central transit stop within a quarter mile walking radius. The plan also addresses the housing needs of the non-traditional families. Individual and community gardens as well as landscape preservation areas are included. Although distinctly urban in character, it is linked to similar communities and centres by a light rail line but it is also rural in that these communities are tied into a regional matrix. The Pedestrian Pocket is an alternative to urban sprawl. By building in a compact manner the rural landscape can be preserved. It provides an alternative community-oriented settlement of 50 to 100 acres in size. In series, aggregated along a light-rail transit system, these Pedestrian Pockets would form a network of communities providing a variety of work-place opportunities, recognizing that not everyone could live and work within the same Pedestrian Pocket.

Calthorpe's TODs

Peter Calthorpe, associated with the Pedestrian Pocket approach has been able to promote a similar strategy for suburban development called the "Transit-Oriented Development" or (TOD). His argument is premised on the fact that the automobile has become the major form determinant of our cities, towns, and communities at the expense of the people who live there. Environmentally, the automobile has created smog, gridlock and has significantly reduced the amount of farmland. Socially, it has segregated, "old from young, home from job and store, rich from poor, and owner from renter. It has come to dominate the public realm."[10] Economically, it has put considerable strain on the public purse to maintain costly highways and roads. Commuting by automobile has also taxed the average resident in other ways, by requiring residents to spend many hours in their automobile commuting instead of getting on with more rewarding activities. Calthorpe suggests that pedestrian, bicycle and public transit systems be introduced in communities to reduce the use of the automobile:

> Given the social, economic, and environmental forces of our time, some new synthesis of these three systems is necessary. The problem is to introduce the needs of the pedestrian and transit into the automobile-dominated regions of our metropolitan areas, not to return to the fiction of small-town America or try to absorb a disproportionate percentage of growth in our urban centers. Those centers will grow strong if their suburban areas deliver transit riders rather than cars to the core and if their internal development favors the pedestrian."[11]


THE AVALON CODE
URBAN REGULATIONS I (SUMMARY)
ANDRES DUANY
ELIZABETH PLATER ZYBERK
TOWN PLANNERS
BUILDING TYPE COMPATABILITY
STANDARD BLOCK
THE AVALON CODE
URBAN REGULATIONS II
ANDRES DUANY
ELIZABETH PLATER ZYBERK
TOWN PLANNERS

Figures 4.7a,b. The DPZ code (Duany and Plater-Zyberk. *Towns and Town Making Principles*. eds. Krieger and Lennertz, 1991).

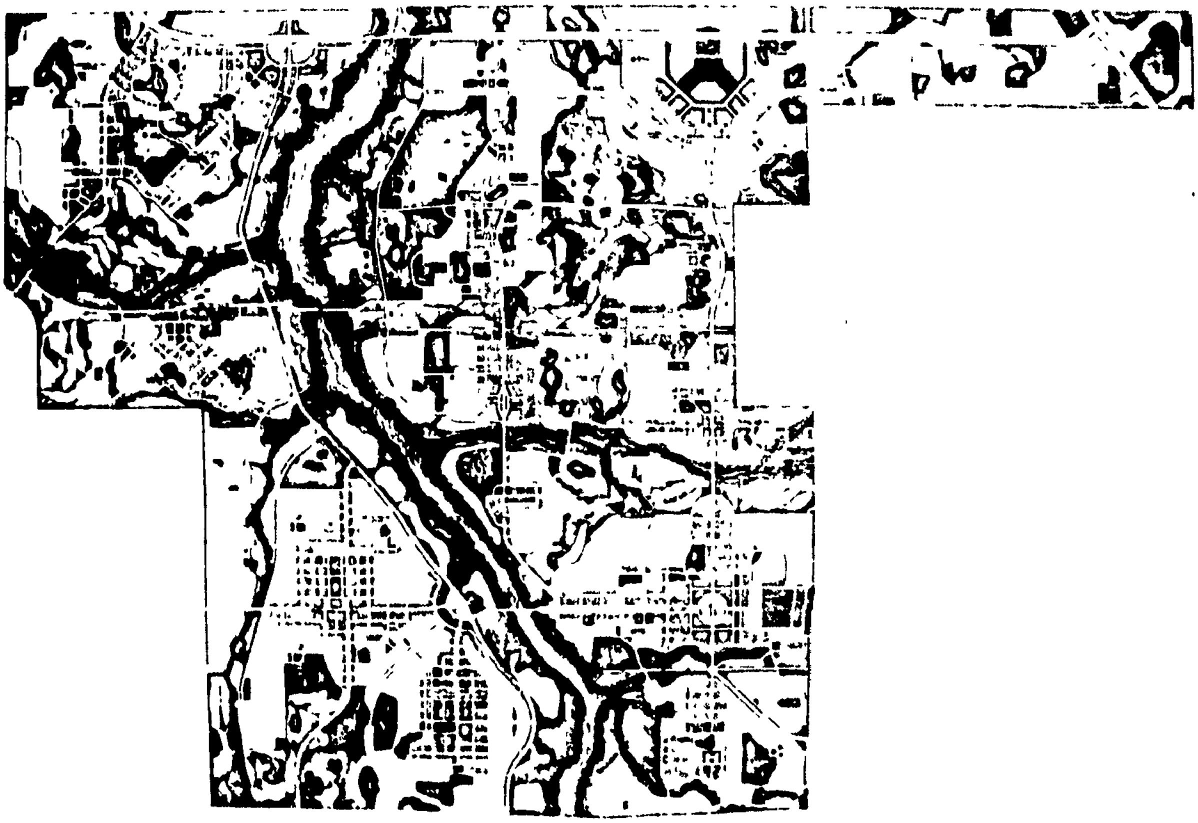
The solution Calthorpe envisions is based on the urban form vocabulary of the Pedestrian Pocket, albeit on a much larger scale. He is currently preparing a plan for a transit-oriented community near Sacramento, California. Together with planning and landscape architecture consultants, Calthorpe has prepared a plan for a $500 million, 1000 acre alternative to Suburbia called, Laguna West (Fig.10a) The site for this transit-oriented new town is some twelve miles north of Sacramento. Set on "a treeless expanse of exhausted farmland", Laguna West will contain 2000 residents and 700 workers, of its 5000 population, within a third-mile of a light-rail station. It will be built in stages, beginning with a 100 acre town centre (Fig.10b). Laguna West can grow in stages, with a secured infrastructure which accommodates transportation options that support, rather than undermine the community in physical and social terms. Critics are only too quick to level criticism at the new town plan suggesting that, by limiting automobile access, the planners and developers are limiting the viability of the project. However, both the planners and the developer believe that needs and attitudes will change in the next decade and they will be ready to adapt to it when that happens. In the meantime, a commuter station and town hall located adjacent to the village green are being built.[12]

III Sustainable Urbanity The Difficult Whole

> Just as the stability, cultural typology, and spatial pattern of our landscapes have changed, so have its forms, uses, and control. These changes can be seen most clearly by looking at the most popular landscapes, rather than at landscapes traditionally important or landscapes that fit conventional esthetic or social values.[13]

The growing numbers of traditional urban landscapes are somewhat difficult to consider in terms of a contemporary alternative to Suburbia. Projects such as Seaside demonstrate a pre-occupation with nostalgia rather than reality. Still, projects such as Avalon Park and Laguna West suggest that a more complex vision of reality is beginning to emerge that supports a synthetic view of nature and humanity. Social, environmental and economic concerns are being addressed in these and other projects across the American urban landscape.

There appears to be hope in spite of our limited inability to create a meaningful alternative to Suburbia. Today, there is growing evidence of a synthetic view of nature and urbanity expressed in the form of a sustainable landscape. Sustainable development, as a contemporary interpretation of the Arcadian vision, suggests positive change that does not



Figures 4.8a,b. Avalon Park by DPZ, 1989 - a region of communities [note scale in relation to Seaside] (Duany and Plater-Zyberk. *Towns and Town Making Principles*. eds. Krieger and Lennertz, 1991).

undermine the ecological and social systems upon which communities and society are dependent. It implies a holistic view of humanity and its determined place. This notion is given further consideration by Trevor Hancock in his model for sustainable development. He proposes a broader interpretation of sustainability in relation to the environment, the economy and the community (Fig.11). Furthermore:

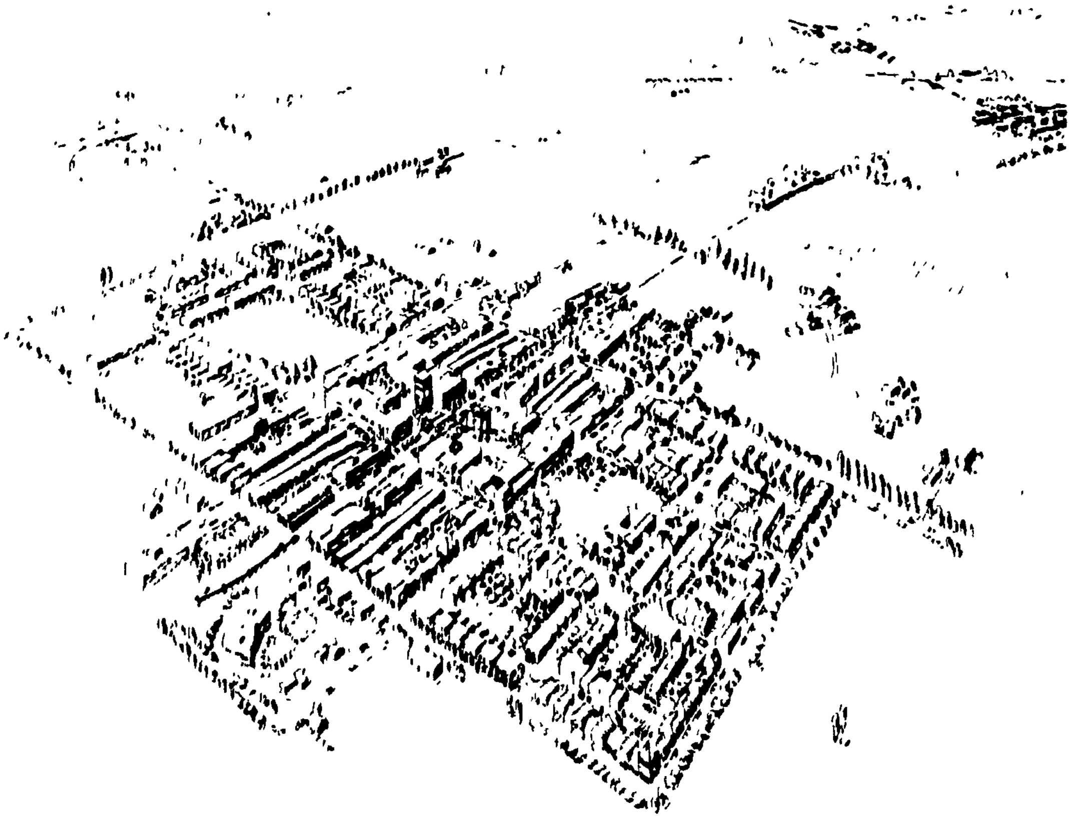
> Sustainable urban development might be defined as a process of change in the built environment which fosters economic development while conserving resources and promoting the health of the individual, the community and the ecosystem, recognizing that in terms of sustainability as in other matters, the urban region cannot be separated from the region of which it is a part.[14]

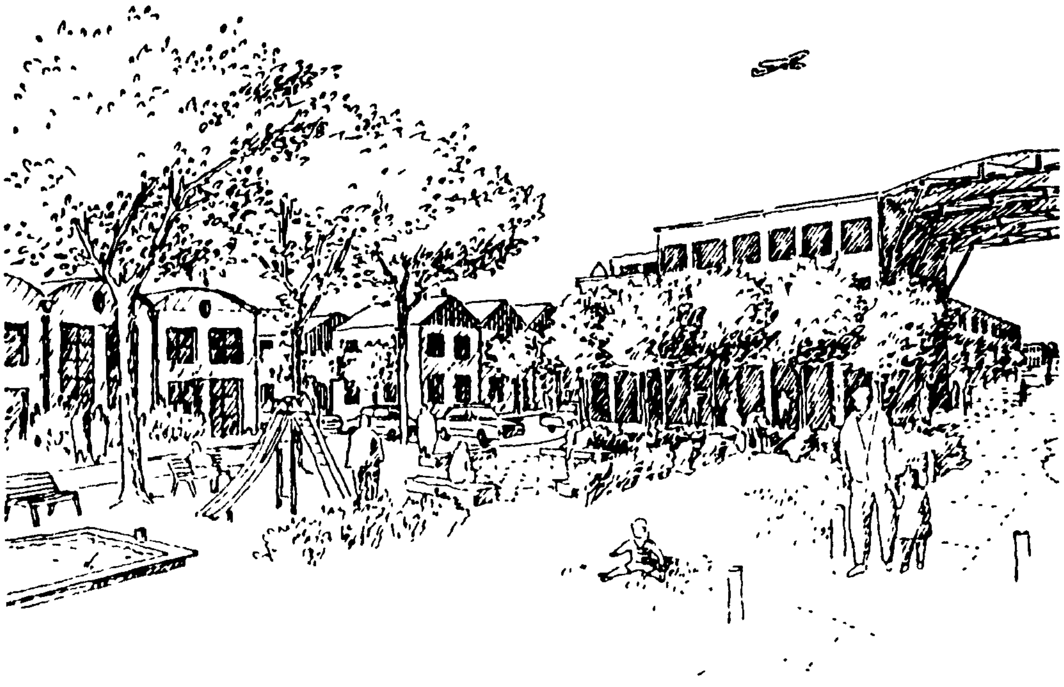
The work of Sim Van der Ryn and Peter Calthorpe et al bravely embraces the notion of sustainability as the central concept to providing an alternative to urban and suburban growth. In their published work, *Sustainable Communities: Toward a New Design Synthesis for Cities, Suburbs and Towns* (1986) the authors argue that further outward expansion of our cities should be countered. It is based on the the idea that western civilization is going through a transition, similar in scale to the transition from the agricultural to the machine-age, toward a new age. The machine-age brought us the automobile which made the ever expanding megalopolises possible[16]

> Sustainable communities will result from a third technological transition, presumably of the same scale as the other two, in which the limits of this explosive expansion are accepted on a societal basis, and new principles of "appropriate" technology, ecological harmony, and social scale will determine urban form.[17]

The means and the ends differ radically from conventional solutions, proposing instead to incorporate planning and design principles that are inherently sustainable. The resulting urban and suburban form will not change dramatically, although more compact forms of urban development will undoubtedly proceed from this third technological transition. Instead, urban and suburban areas will be used more intensively and productively In this respect, there is no ideal form that precedes such a new synthesis The basis for this transition is rooted in the Arcadian notion that a balance must be established between nature and urbanity and that both are requisite to our future well-being In principle, the authors suggest that sustainability implies:

> that the use of energy and materials in an urban area be in balance with what the region can supply continuously through natural processes such as photosynthesis, biological decomposition and the biochemical processes that support life...





Figures 4.9a,b. The Pedestrian pocket by Calthorpe et al, 1989 - the urban-pastoral reconsidered (Kelbough, ed., *The Pedestrian Pocket Book*, 1989).

> The immediate implications of this principle are a vastly reduced energy budget for cities, and a smaller, more compact urban pattern interspersed with productive areas to collect energy, grow crops of food, fiber and energy and recycle waste.[18]

Two sustainable community design strategies are examined below. The first supports the central premises of sustainable urbanity by recycling an air force base The second strategy endeavours to tackle the mind-numbing problem of urban and suburban sprawl by restructuring and intensifying it.

Recycling Used Landscapes

Creating a new context for sustainable development is the strategy employed by recycling the Hamilton Air Force Base some 22 kilometres north of San Francisco. (Fig.12) The Marin Solar Village plan embraced many of the issues that the communities of the future will have to address and serves as an important example to follow. The plan recognizes that a community cannot be based on technical and economic issues alone, and responds to the following assumptions:

1. Solar village as a concept particularly appeals to a large number of people looking to live in a place whose design and development they can participate.
2. The development process must satisfy accepted tests of economic feasibility, but may incorporate progressive financing techniques.
3. The plan does not require major life-style changes.
4. The plan can be carried out without government subsidy.[19]

The plan covers approximately 500 acres of a 1500 acre site and includes 1900 dwellings at about 4 units per acre in 5 neighbourhoods. All dwellings have a south facing prospect with private gardens and terraces. Neighbourhoods are bound together by a network of pedestrian and bicycle paths. Vehicular access is limited, although no home is more than 300 feet from the car. Over 1.5 million square feet of office and light industrial space are provided in existing and new buildings. Most of the site is kept "green", including 50 acres for intensive agriculture and 42 acres for parks and open space. Services include on-site sewage treatment and on-site waste disposal with methane gas recovery. An internal minibus transit system ties the employment centre, the village centre, the schools and neighbourhoods together. Water runoff is stored in ponds for summer irrigation. The proposed plan reduces overall energy use by 45%, compared to a suburban development of the same density.[20] After years of planning and design work, not to mention legal work, Marin Solar Village has been rejected by civic authorities, by a narrow margin, because it does not conform to community by-laws.

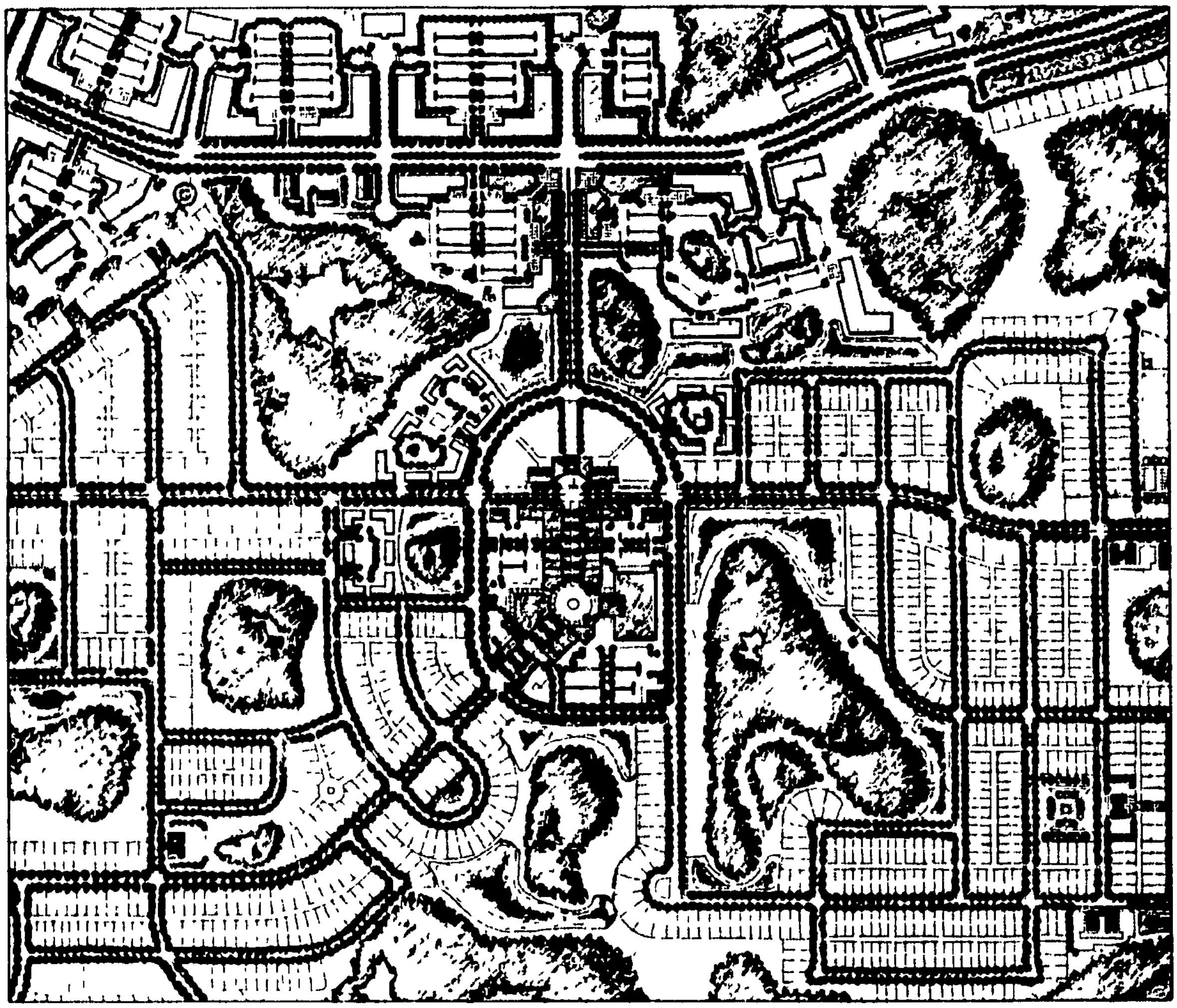


Figure 4.10. Laguna West, California by Calthorpe, 1992 (Leccesse,"Next Stop Transit Friendly Towns", *Landscape Architecture*, July 1990).

Urbanizing Suburbia

It has been noted that sustainable communities will not necessarily become a part of the built environment as separate entities. The utopian notion of designing a self-sufficient, autonomous community is commendable. However, sustainability, in principle, calls for stewardship of the existing built environment before attempting to use more of the limited land resource. Recent efforts to restructure and densify the existing urban and suburban landscape has gained an audience. And while the challenges to carry out such an agenda seem impossible, complicated by existing land use practices and zoning by-laws, examples of sustainability in existing contexts are growing in number. Clearly, the call is to planners and architects to deal with the existing suburban condition, which is home to over 50% of America's population. The evidence that people are still heading for the contemporary suburban landscape of America suggests that it requires our most serious attention.

Garreau suggests that the contemporary suburban landscape is not as bad as it appears on the surface. He believes that America has undergone a period of economic, technological and social transformation which has been made evident most tellingly in Suburbia. The edge city, he envisions, is only in its infancy and that it is going to go through a period of maturation over the next decade and into the 21st-century.[21] However, Garreau and others are at a loss to suggest how this may happen and what urban form it may yet take.

Jonathan Barnett, the noted American urban designer and educator, has tried to give evidence of how Suburbia may go through a series of changes toward a more sustainable form. In his article, "Accidental Cities: The Deadly Grip of Outmoded Zoning," (1992) Barnett argues that contemporary suburbia has come about quite accidentally. Gradual growth in suburban residential areas, as well as along arterial roads and highway interchanges, has resulted in an urban landscape that is difficult to understand, use and plan. As this growth takes place, the instruments governing these changes have not been able to respond adequately. Hence, "the deadly grip of outmoded zoning."[22] As he goes on to explain:

> Many suburban localities did not adopt zoning until the 1950s or '60s, but zoning advocates were so anxious to create some kind of land-use controls that they did not stop to ask whether the established zoning concepts they were adopting might belong to the street-car age and not to the present. Cities and towns gave up on the streetcar much too easily, but are now locked into development patterns made possible only by the automobile; and the dispersal of downtown activities into suburban and rural areas was not anticipated by most zoning ordinances. It is depressing to contemplate how much bad development has been caused by faulty public policies.[23]

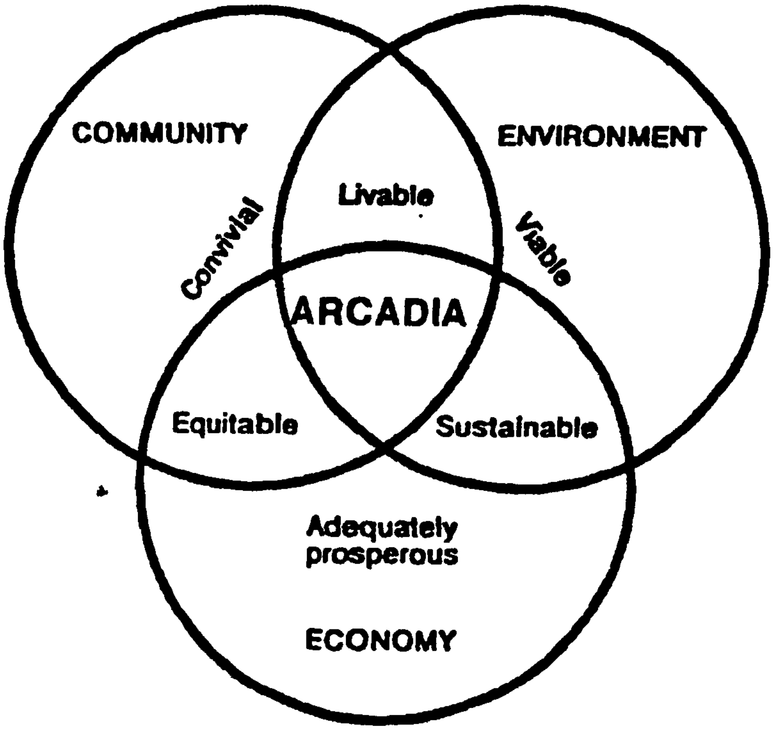

COMMUNITY
ENVIRONMENT
Livable
Convivial
Viable
ARCADIA
Equitable
Sustainable
Adequately prosperous
ECONOMY

Figure 4.11. The "sustainability mandela (Epp after Hancock, 19920.

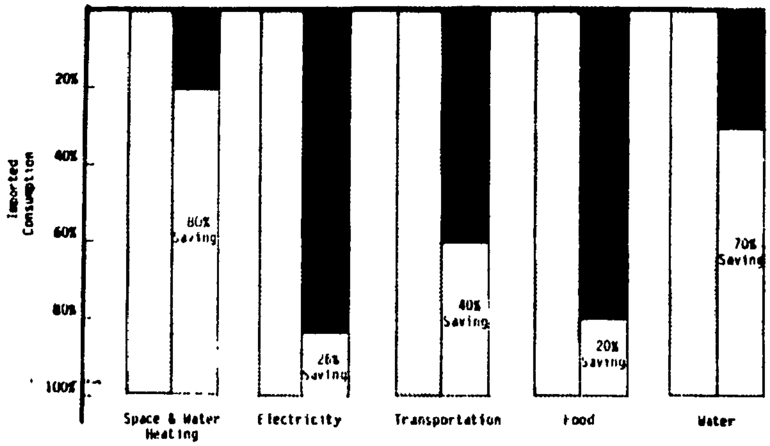
Of course, zoning ordinances and codes can be revised, as indeed they are in many cities and communities across America. The question today is not why rewrite the zoning ordinances and codes but how, and to what end? Barnett makes some modest suggestions. As an example, he relies on a set of drawings prepared by the Regional Plan Association of New York, through which he discusses the origins and the development of typical urban sprawl and what can be done about it (Figs.13a,b,c). It is the responsibilty of planners to provide the necessary zoning ordinances, based on performance criteria that address restructuring, infill and densification strategies for contemporary suburbia. More specifically, these strategies include: creating more compact regional centres; reducing and centralizing commercial zoning; sharing parking facilities; rethinking conventional suburban building typologies; and densifying the strip.[24] The problems facing contemporary suburbia today have all been generated by America's automobile dependency. The solutions that will bring about positive change will be those that reduce that dependency.

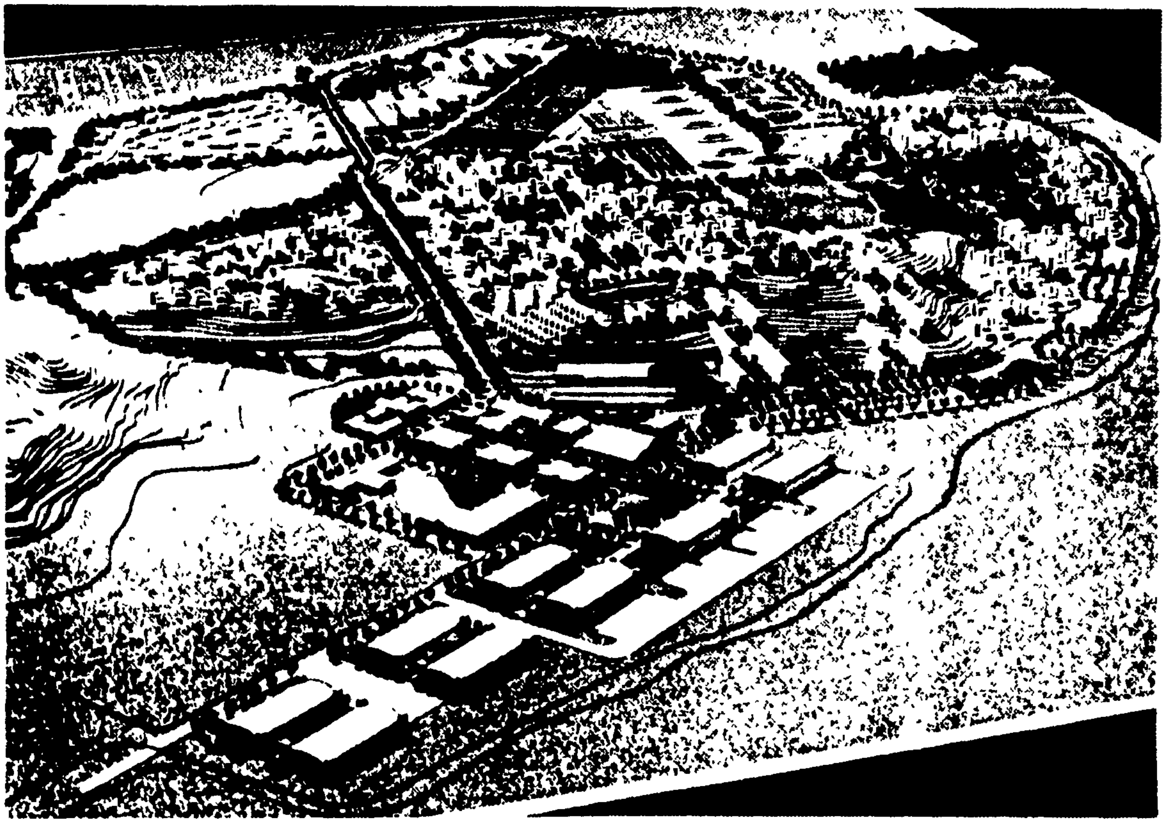
By creating more compact regional centres, distances between places of activity are reduced. This allows for a more coherent form of development, for a reduced infrastructure, and conservation of the land resource. It also allows for public transit options because places of activity are organized. Pedestrian means of access are also increased.

Commercial activity in particular must be centralized, as the chief agent of sprawl today. Office and retail space could be brought together to form the central business area, as opposed to the typical pattern of dispersal through the suburban fabric. This would reduce the area dramatically. The parking requirements for individual activities could be relaxed as parking areas are shared. Different peak-hour parking requirements would allow for this.

Conventional suburban building typologies, such as the mall, could be reconsidered to include other uses and be designed in a manner sympathetic to an exterior public realm. The proposal for a mixed use centre by Duane and Plater-Zyberk for Avalon Park attempts to do just that by relating to the community street pattern on one side while addressing the parking needs of the mall on the other. While this is a compromise solution, it is a significant step forward from the typical mall landscape (Figs.14a,b).

Barnett also suggest that the traditional commercial strip be reconsidered. In many cases, it is a product of revisionist zoning practices which have resulted in unbalanced and visually incoherent areas of predominantly commercial activity. The intent would be to rezone the strip to allow for a greater variety of uses. Rezoning the land would allow for a wide range of infill projects including a finer grained street network, parking garages, higher density housing, additional commercial activity and recreational amenities. In

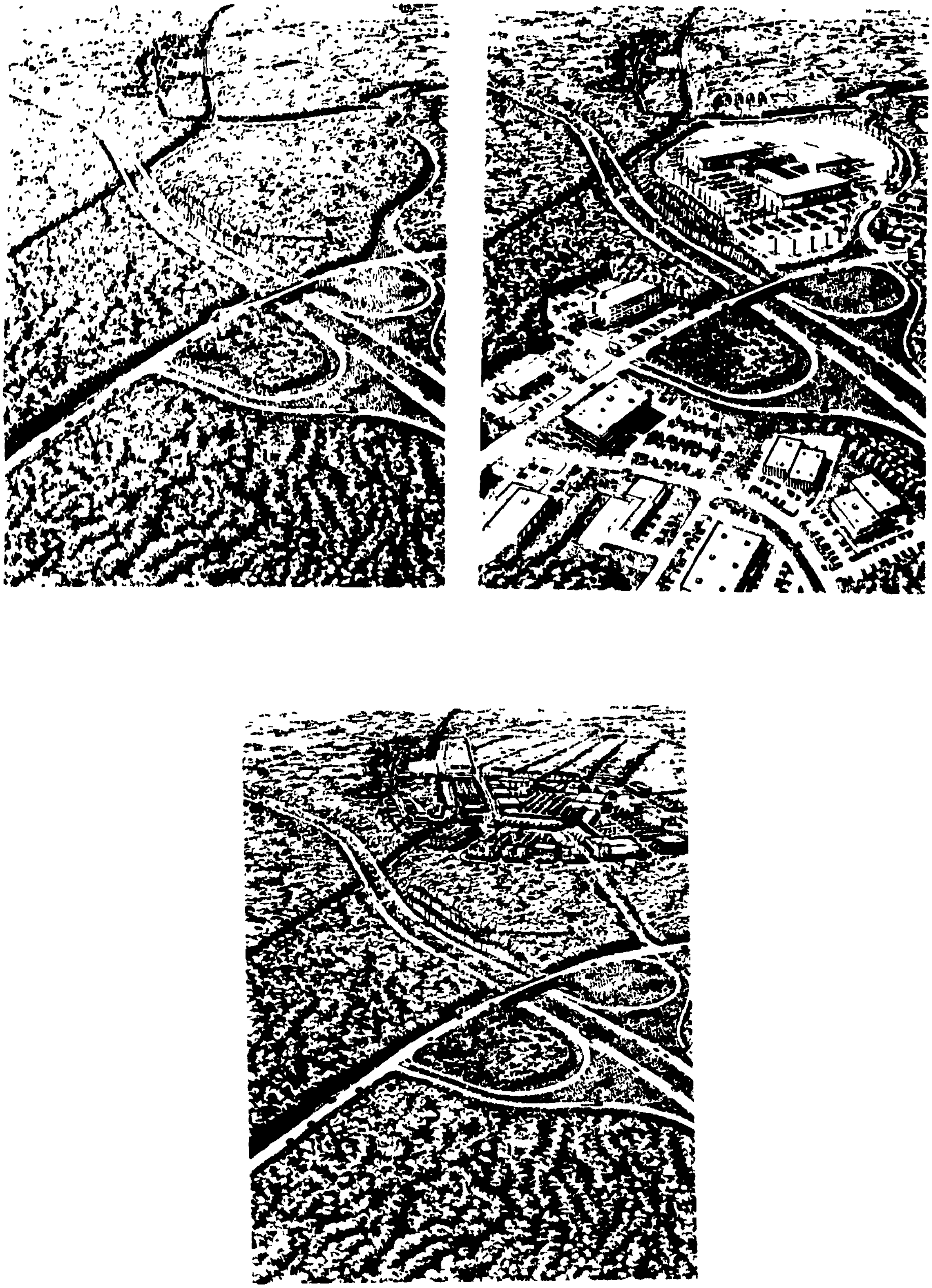




Figures 4.12a,b. Projected energy and resources savings over conventional development in the sustainable community of Marin Solar Village by Calthorpe and Van der Ryn, 1979 (Calthorpe and Van der Ryn, Sustainable Communities, 1986).

Pinellas Park, Florida, a plan has been proposed by Barnett et al. An existing shopping centre has been redesigned as a civic and commercial centre, retaining important commercial areas while introducing a street and block pattern.

As noted, these are preliminary proposals for intensifying activity in contemporary Suburbia. Much more needs to be done. Joseph Paul Kleihues, chairman of the recent International Building Exhibition in Berlin noted that, "everything that exists [in the urban fabric] needs intensification." If this could be the case for Berlin then very surely it must be the case for Suburbia.



Figures 4.13a,b,c. The highway interchange and suburban growth reconsidered - toward a new urban-pastoral (Barnett, "Accidental Cities", *Architectural Record*, 1992).

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[1] Reid Ewing. "The Evolution of New Community Planning Concepts", *Urban Land*. June 1990, p.12.

[2] Leon Krier. *Houses, Palaces, Cities*. ed. Demetri Porphrios. London: AD Editions Ltd., 1984, p.30.

[3] Eduard Epp. *A Typological Approach to Understanding Urban Residential Districts: Toward a Rationalist Theory of Urban Space and Form*. MLA Thesis. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1987. p.53.

[4] Eliel Saarinen. *The City*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, [1943] 1965. p.207.

[5] Ibid., *A Typological Approach to Understanding Urban Residential Districts*, pp.57-61.

[6] Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk, quoted in Daralice D Boles, "Re-ordering theSuburbs", *Progressive Architecture*. May 1989,p.84.

[7] Andres Duany and Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk. *Towns and Town Making Principles*. eds. A. Krieger and W. Lennertz. New York; Rizzoli, 1991, p.88.

[8] Ibid., *Towns and Town-Making Principles*, p.105.

[9] David R. Hill. "America's Disorganized Organicists", *Journal of Planning Literature*. vol.7, no.1, p.4

[10] Peter Calthorpe. "The Post-Suburban Environment", *Progressive Architecture*. March 1991, p.79.

[11] Ibid., "The Post-Suburban Environment," *PA*, p.79.

[12] Michael Lecesse. "Next Stop Transit Friendly Towns", *Landscape Architecture*. vol. 80, no. 6, July 1990, p.49.

[13] Robert Riley. "Speculations on the New American Landscape," *Landscape*. vol.24, no.2, 1980, p.5.

[14] Mark Roseland. *Toward Sustainable Communities. A Resource Book for Municipal and Local Governments*. Ottawa: National Round Table on the Environment and the Economy, 1992, p.4.

[16] Sym Van Der Ryn and Peter Calthorpe. *Sustainable Communities: A New Design Synthesis for Cities, Suburbs and Towns*. San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1986, p.8.

[17] Ibid.,"America's Disorganized Organicists", *Journal of Planning Literature*. , p.13.

[18] Ibid., *Sustainable Communities*, p.13.

[19] Ibid., *Sustainable Communities*, p.62.

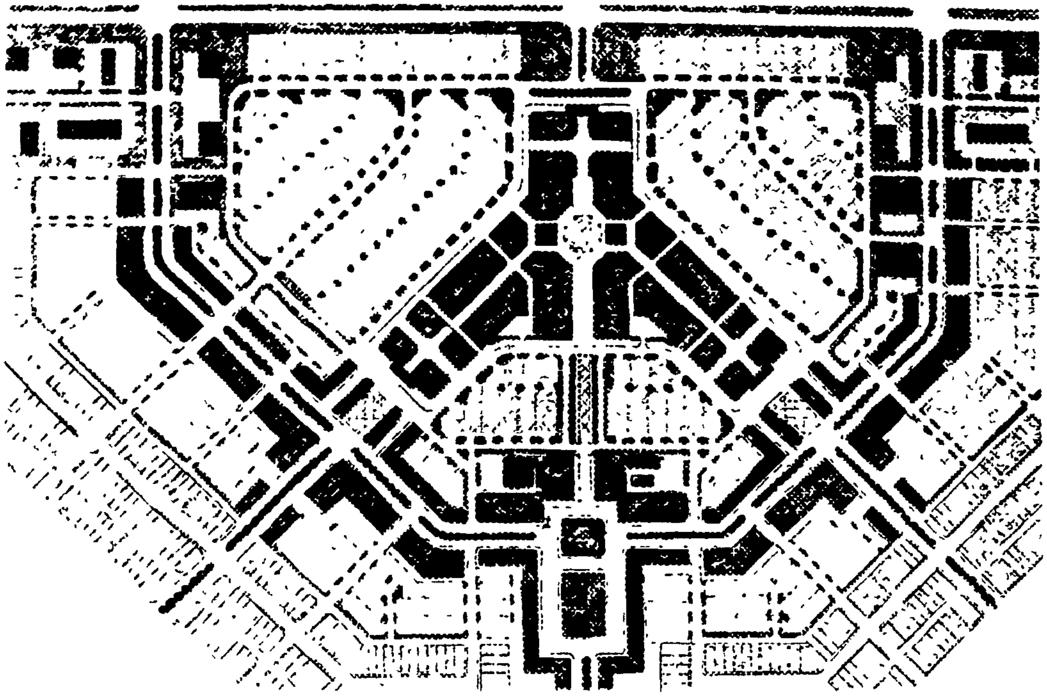
[20] Ibid., *Sustainable Communities*, pp.65-72.

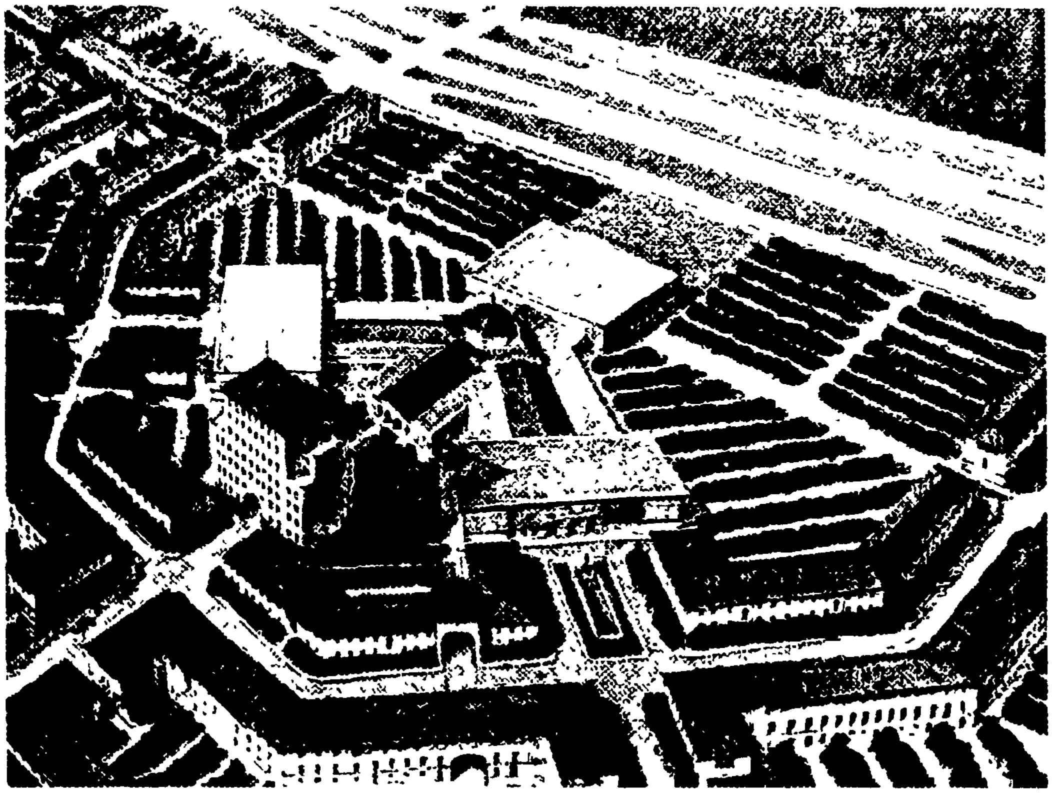
[21] Joel Garreau. *Edge City: Life On the New Frontier*. New York: Doubleday, 1991, p.168.

[22] Jonathan Barnett. "Accidental Cities", *Architectural Record*, February 1992, p.96.

[23] Ibid., "Accidental Cities," *AR*, p.96.

[24] Ibid., "Accidental Cities," *AR*, p.98.





Figures 4.14a,b. A plan for a town centre incorporating a "regional" mall (Barnett, "Accidental Cities", *Architectural Record*, 1992).

CHAPTER FIVE

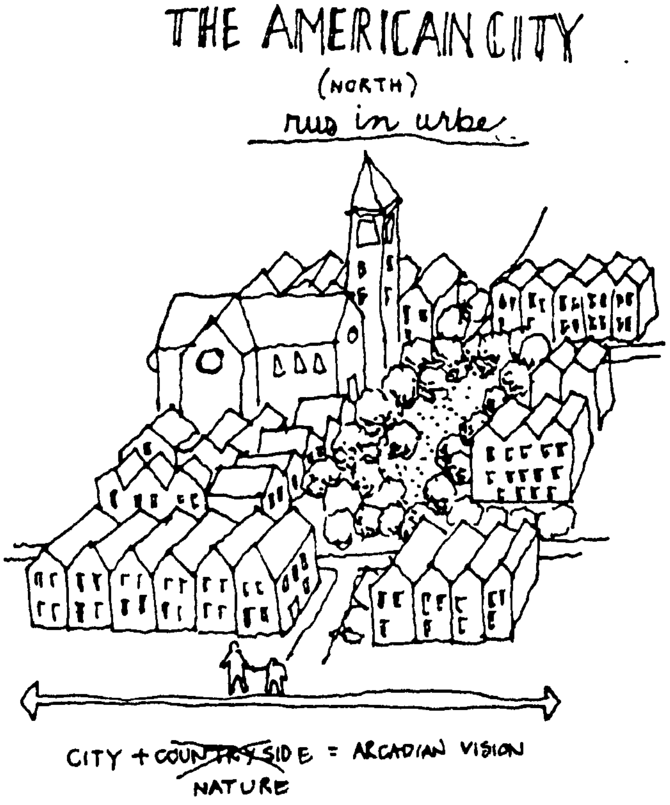
THE ARCADIAN METROPOLIS: AMERICAN URBANISM IN THE POST-INDUSTRIAL AGE

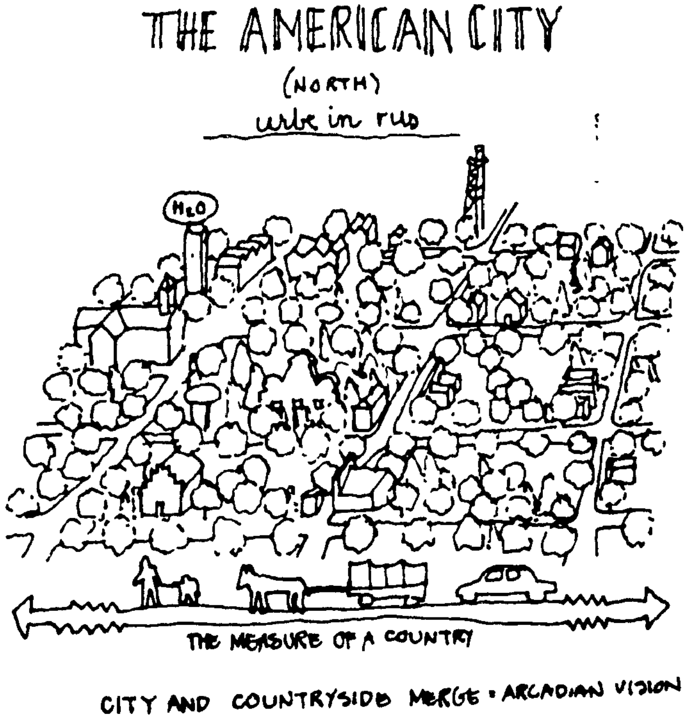
> To change the situation we require new symbols of possibility, and although the creation of those symbols is in some measure the responsibility of artists, it is in greater measure the responsibility of society. The machine's sudden entrance into the garden presents a problem that ultimately belongs not to art but to politics.[1]
>
> Leo Marx

I Arcadia: Past, Present and Future Ideology and Typomorphology

To understand American urbanism today requires one to take stock of the "ideals" and the settlement "types" that have characterized and informed the American urban experience. The Arcadian vision itself has been subject to change and interpretation in the settlement experience, paradoxically perhaps, trying to accommodate both nature and humanity. The preceding historical examination of these ideals and types suggests that a common ground, a middle landscape, has been the central goal of the American settlement experience. The dialectic between nature and urbanity have been expressed in the form of the American city, located geographically between "urbe in rus" and "rus in urbe" (Figs.1a,b).

From the earliest settlement experience onward the middle landscape has shifted, both ideologically and spatially. Still, there exists a dialectic relationship between nature and urbanity that has sought to establish a balance, which has sustained our individual and collective view of the American city. The earliest settlements suggested that that balance was artificially imposed. Overwhelmed by the wilderness experience, the earliest settlers sought refuge from nature in compact fortifications and villages. The psychological well being of these early settlers precluded any meaningful interaction with the land but to withdraw from it. However, the sensibility of a grand purpose, albeit divine, was engrained in the collective psyche of the American people from the time of the earliest settlers onward. Arguably, this notion of a grand purpose has survived and has been reinterpreted, in more recent times, in terms of secular holistic world view in the American tradition of "organic thought".


THE AMERICAN CITY
(NORTH)
rus in urbe
CITY + ~~COUNTRYSIDE~~ = ARCADIAN VISION
NATURE


THE AMERICAN CITY
(NORTH)
urbe in rus
H₂O
THE MEASURE OF A COUNTRY
CITY AND COUNTRYSIDE MERGE = ARCADIAN VISION

Figures 5.1a,b. The Arcadian vision made manifest in America - "rus in urbe" and "urbe in rus" (Epp, after Krier, 1992).

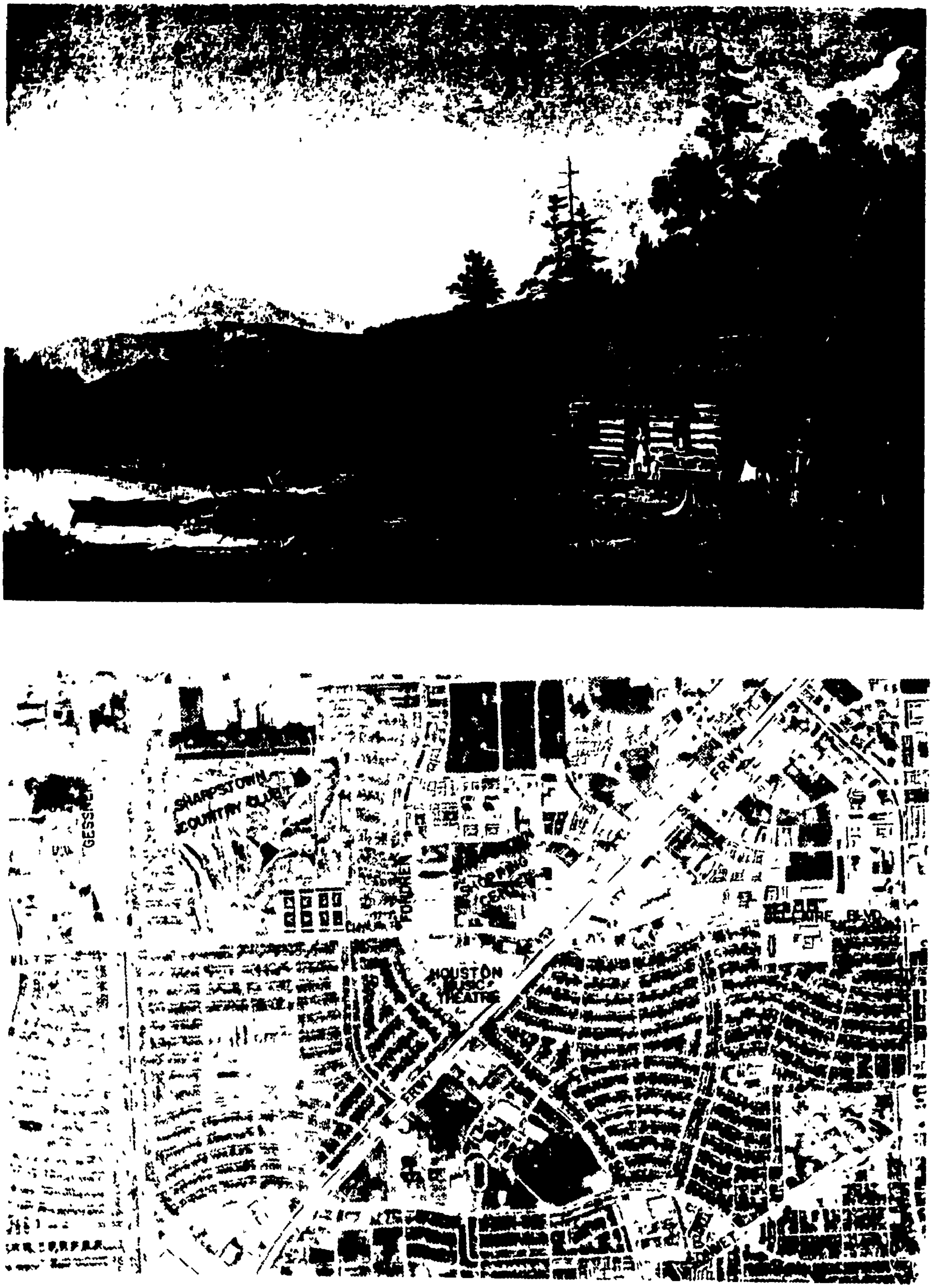
The Organic Metaphor

Through the 20th century, the organic school of thought has gained a wide audience. As suggested, this school of thought gives evidence of the Arcadian vision made manifest in the American settlement experience, both at a philosophical and practical level Organic philosophy is a result, in part, of a renewed interest in the environment in the latter half of the 20th century, although its intellectual origins can be traced to the reform movements of the late 19th century and arguably to Aristotle Many thinkers have contributed to this understanding including Fredrick Law Olmsted, Ebenezer Howard, Lewis Mumford, Frank Lloyd Wright, Murray Bookchin, Theodore Rozak, Ian McCarg and others. Conceptually, it can be separated from other major philosophies:

> It is different from most religions in its belief that life forces are more basic than spiritual forces. It is different from materialism because of its belief that matter-in motion is just the beginning of life's development, not its end. It differs from idealism in the belief that the end point of human development is a rich diversification of material, social, ego, and peak experiences, not a maturation line of matter-in-motion to an intellectual contact with the pure and abstract rational 'forms'. ... It is too concerned with the likelihood of seemingly small decisions tearing radically into the entire fabric of life and ecosystems over time to trust the pragmatist's narrow standard of short-term workability as a basis for conduct.

To be true to itself, organic philosophy must accept aspects of these other schools of thought to remain credible. Major tenets of this school include ideas of "a romantic attitude, a biological similitude, vitalism, holistic unity, diversity, and humanistic developmentalism."[3] The physical manifestations of these tenets are fairly diverse Concensus suggests that the city must take into account the region that it is a part of and the fact that urban growth must not exceed the city's capacity to sustain itself The scale of the city and the region is measured in terms of the community. The community, which is based on the notion of shared values or needs, extends beyond the human community formed by socio-economic and political processes to include the biological community, formed by natural processes of selection, ecological transition and diversity The human community and the natural community is linked as a mutually beneficial understanding of our raison d'etre.

The Arcadian vision expressed in the settlement patterns of America shares a common typological and morphological vocabulary The formal and spatial attributes have been closely linked to organic planning and design. Kevin Lynch suggested, in *A Theory of Good City Form* (1981), that these ideas are associated with specific typological and morphological characteristics and related activities:


SHARPSTOWN COUNTRY CLUB
GESSNER
FONDREN
SHOPPING CENTER
HOUSTON MUSIC THEATRE
FRWY
FRWY
BELLAIRE BLVD

Figures 5.2a,b. "Home in the Woods" and "Suburbs in Rure" (Powell, *Thomas Cole*, 1990, and: (Rowe, *Making the Middle Landscape*, 1991).

> Radial patterns; bounded units; greenbelts; focused centres; romantic, anti geometrical layouts, irregularly curving 'organic' shapes; 'natural' materials (that means either traditional materials, or ones close to their unprocessed state); moderate to low density housing; visible proximity to earth, plants, and animals; plentiful open space. ... Human services, craft production, or activities which are traditional, carried on in the open air, or early in the chain of materials processing are more highly valued than large-scale, automated, highly synthetic production.[4]

Without question, these physical forms characterize American urban form, particularly through the 18th and 19th centuries. They also correspond to a specific set of shared societal values including:

> Community, continuity, health, well-functioning, security, 'warmth', and 'balance', the interaction of diverse parts, orderly cycling and recurrent development, intimate scale, and a closeness to the 'natural' (that is the non-human) universe.[5]

These values help to explain the social, environmental and economic origins of American urbanism. Lynch believed that while these values are significant, the organic metaphor is problematic. The urban settlement experience can be likened to an organic mode of thought and action, but only in a limited way. The city is not an organism that can be understood and acted upon from a biological or ecological orientation alone.[6] It is an entity, shaped by complex social, cultural and political forces that operate somewhat autonomously. That fact notwithstanding, the organic model of urbanity has been the most persuasive theoretical construct in planning and design thought in the 20th century. Lynch suggests that concepts such as hierarchy, differentiation, autarchy (self-sufficiency), thresholds of scale, and rate of growth are important to aid our understanding of urbanity But we must recognize the dynamic processes of growth and change as well:

> Cities change continuously, and that change is not just an inevitable progression to maturity. ... Rather than being communities of unthinking organisms which follow an inevitable succession until they strike some iron limit, cities are the product of beings that can learn. Culture both stabilizes and destabilizes the habitat system, and it is not evident that we would want it otherwise.[7]

The great lessons to be learned from the American settlement experience to date suggest that there exists a tradition, characterized by a sense of place, expressed in the Arcadian landscapes of America. Over the last four centuries, American society has changed as has the urban landscape. Yet, many of the values associated with these changes have not. New relationships with the landscape are still being forged. We are not unlike the early settlers and reformers, except that our understanding of the land and our relationship to it

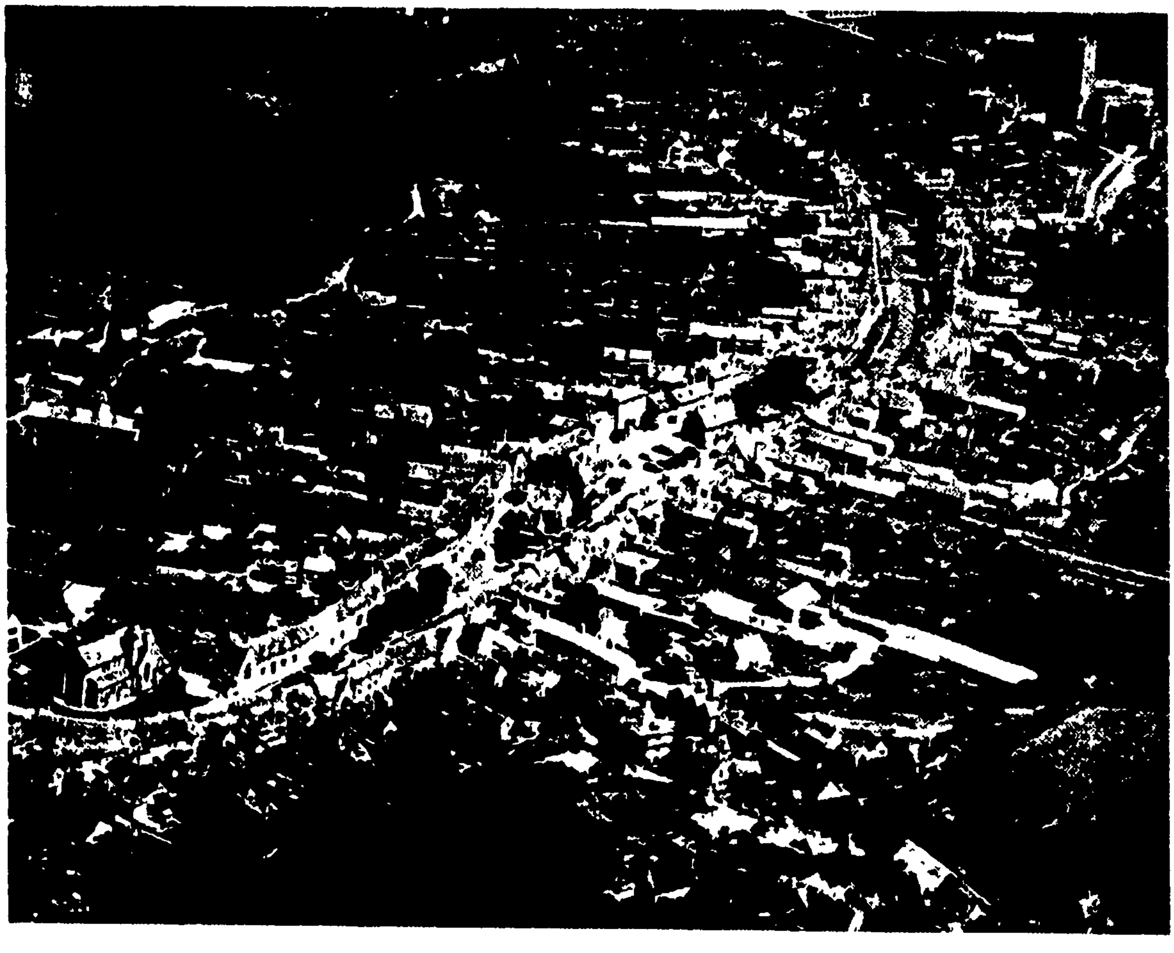


Figure 5.3. A synthetic view - urbanity in nature (Mumford, *The City in History*, 1961).

has changed. For that matter, the world has changed. But these perceptions are relative and temporal in nature. The most pressing problem today is to forge new relationships with the landscape that allow for stability and continuity not only for society but for the environment as well. Arguably, this has not changed either. However, the magnitude of the problem has.

Those enduring relationships with the land, in which humanity has been able to realize its potential, require further consideration. The ideals and the types exist and await reappropriation. However, critics would suggest that a pluralistic society such as America's can no longer establish a meaningful relationship with the land, at least not as a shared ideal. They suggest that the reasons have been made self-evident in the contemporary suburban landscape.[7] Suburbia, and more importantly the values that support it, have offered limited possibilities to date and bring into question its long-term viability. The promises of the post-war suburban landscape, of an organic middle landscape, have had limited success and the search for a definitive expression of the middle landscape - the Arcadian vision - has, as yet, not materialized (Figs.2a,b). However, the persistence of this mode of thought has. To reconcile nature with the city or, more appropriately, to reconcile the city with nature, remains one of the most pressing concerns. The lessons from the past are numerous but their appropriation requires a new interpretation. It cannot be a nostalgic return to the past - it must be a sustainable vision of the future. This will require structural change, not so much in the settlement patterns, but in American society as a whole. The values that support this view of the future must also be shared with those who might not have had the social or economic means to appropriate this vision for themselves.

II A Place Utopia

> Once we can accept that the city is as natural as the farm and as susceptible of conservation and improvement, we work free of those false dichotomies of city and country, artificial and natural, man versus other living things.[8]

Accepting the city as the embodiment of humanity on the one hand, and the region as the embodiment of nature on the other, proponents of the organic school of thought have advanced different spatial priorities on the American landscape. They vary from those who advocate urban decentralization across the region on a national scale, to those who seek a balanced hierarchy of urban and rural settlements of a smaller scale, to those who support

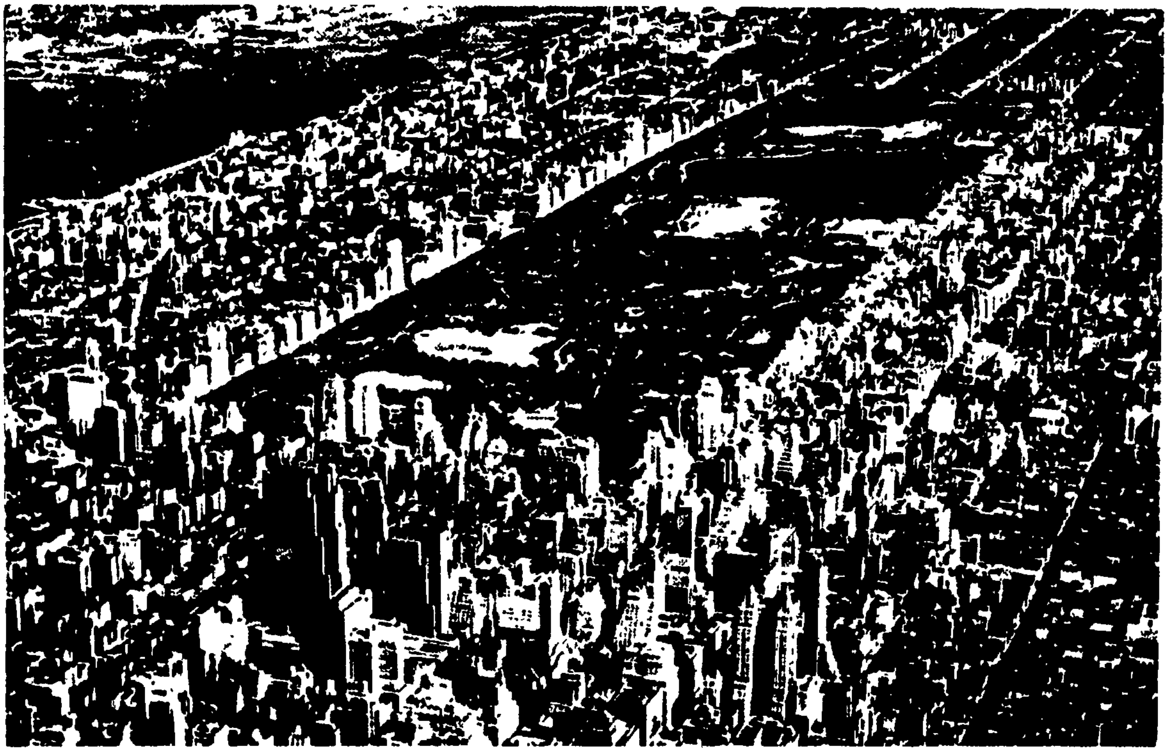


Figure 5.4. A synthetic view - nature in urbanity (Mumford, *The City in History*, 1961).

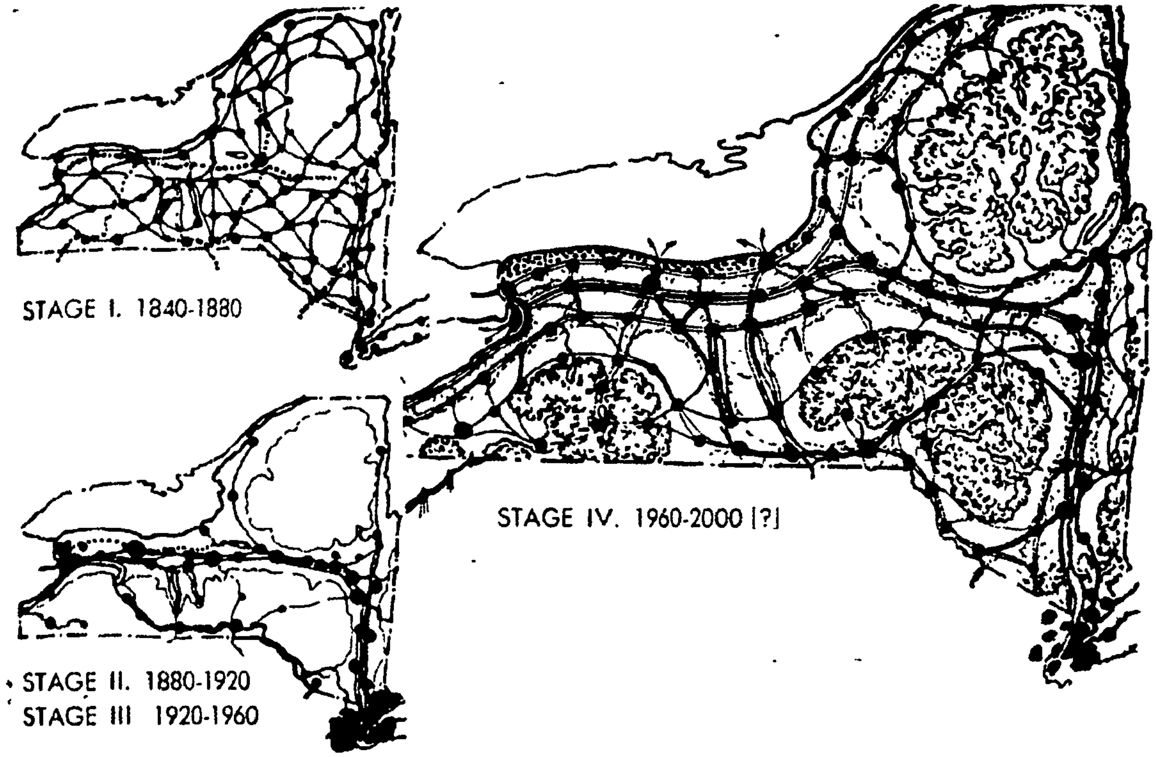
high density urban concentrations with large expanses of countryside and wilderness. These settlement patterns can be codified in terms of their typological and morphological consistencies.

Essentially, three archetypal or ideal Arcadian urban landscapes exist in the American settlement experience. The first, referred to as the "Jeffersonian" type, is dominated, in terms of land area, by nature in a cultivated form. Settlement patterns are diverse, but generally small, set in a rural landscape (Fig.3). The second, referred to as the "organic city" type, is a settlement pattern that, at the other end of the scale, is dominated by urban form. Nature, integral to this settlement type, is both symbolic, expressed in formalized parks and open spaces, and real, expressed in the surrounding countryside and wilderness (Fig.4). The third, referred to as the "city-country" type is conceived as a balanced regional landscape in which city and countryside are held to be equal, in terms of sustainability. Settlement patterns are urban, but limited in size such that the surrounding landscape informs the overall character of the settlement (Fig.5).

These archetypal settlement patterns are distinct, formally and spatially as well as functionally. The related concepts of hierarchy, order, differentiation, thresholds of scale, diversity and autarchy characterize each archetype differently. As a matter of course there are settlement patterns that do not fit into these three ideal urban landscape types. However, the dynamic processes of growth and change can be directed toward transforming these settlement patterns to evolve more closely to these ideal types. The overriding concern is not to limit the rich diversity of settlement patterns, but to provide a planning and design framework that can balance the interests of society with those of the environment and the economy (see models and mechanisms below).

The Rural Landscape

The advocates for a decentralized form of urbanity are many. The ideological references can be linked to the Jeffersonian rural landscape of democracy and the virtuous life of the rural yeoman citizen. It has been and continues to be an anti-urban orientation that emphasizes individual and environmental well-being as a societal goal. The typomorphological implications of this view suggest a low-density landscape of urban fragments and scattered communities in a rural setting across the continent. The connection between the individual and society is realized by the grid-iron road network of the town and range system established by the National Survey. Frank Lloyd Wright was a proponent of urban decentralization. In Broadacre City, Wright focused his ideas on the nature of the individual's settlement, conceived as an autonomous and relatively self-sufficient unit.


STAGE I. 1840-1880
STAGE II. 1880-1920
STAGE III 1920-1960
STAGE IV. 1960-2000 [?]

Figures 5.5a,b. A synthetic view - the middle landscape and the regional grid (Mumford, *The City in History*, 1961).

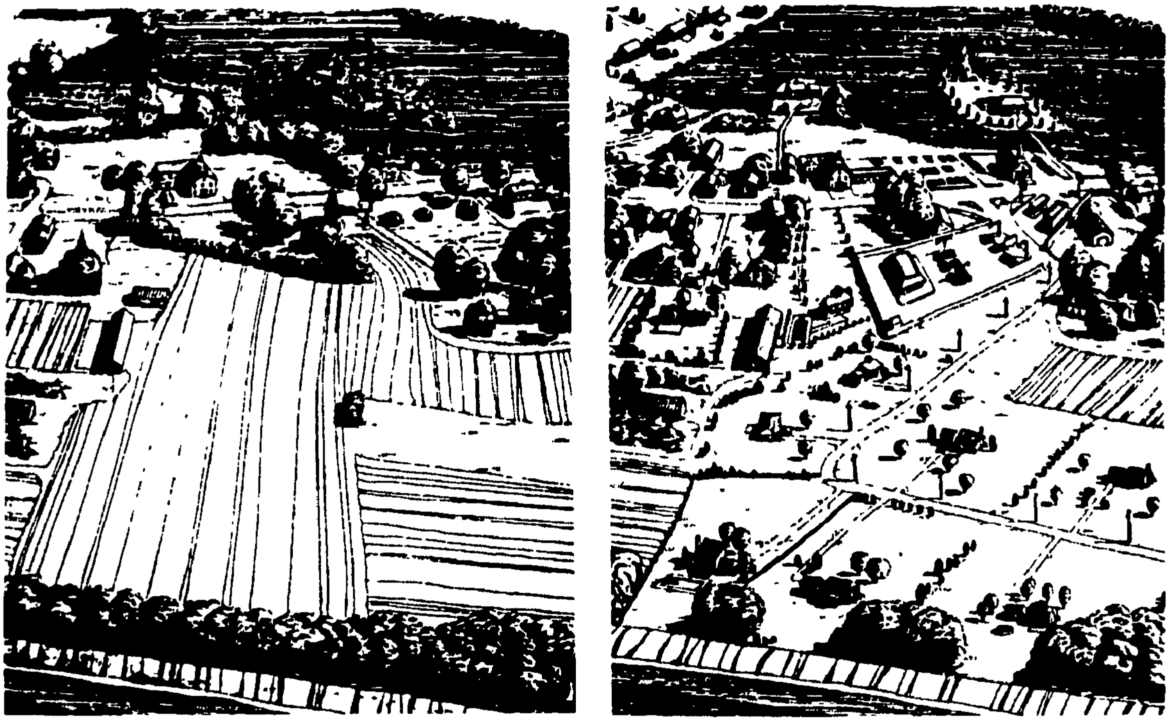
Ideally, each family had enough arable land to provide food, shelter and some employment. Even the home was organic, drawing on the natural materials as well as the immediate physical context for its formal spatial attributes. The notion of self-sufficiency at the scale of the homestead, has indeed been a part of the American settlement experience.

The Jeffersonian landscape was determined by the political will of its inhabitants and not by centralized bureaucratic institutions and technology. Today the rural settlement patterns have changed dramatically as a result of new forces acting on them. The rural landscape must again be considered in terms of the mediating forces of culture and nature, not of economics and political control. Mumford predicted in *The City in History* (1961) that settlement patterns would change as the result of communications technology. He referred to the "invisible city", in which institutional reform, that is empowerment of the rural citizenry, would be made possible as "the metropolitan complex" becomes dematerialized. In addition, the possibility for communicating across vast areas would provide the social and political means to realize a decentralized form of settlement.[11]

The antithesis of this form of settlement is the contemporary suburban landscape of America. Ironically, this form of decentralization has been made possible by highly centralized power structures and the advancements made in transportation and communications technology. The results of this form of decentralization have been devastating on the landscape. The sought after balance between the individual and the land has, with few exceptions, not materialized.

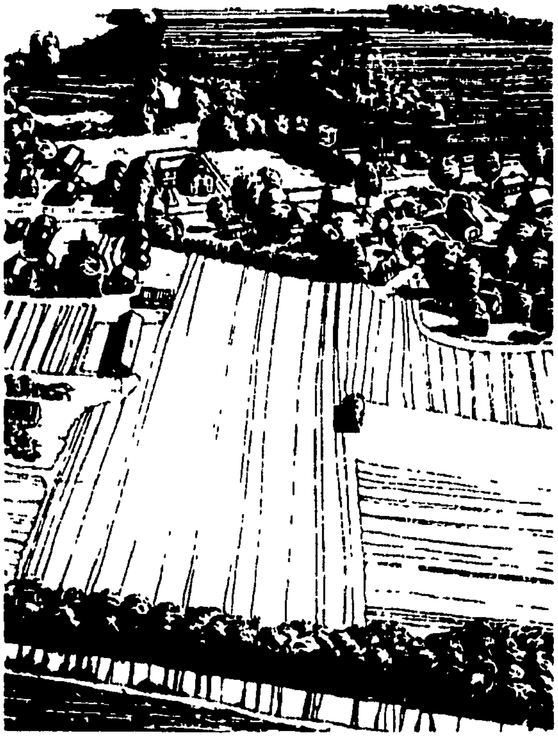
Another form of decentralization was advanced by the social reformers of England, John Ruskin and Robert Owen and their American contemporaries, Murray Bookchin and Theodore Roszak. These social theorists sought to introduce the notion of the community, not the individual, as the basic building block of society. The early efforts of the 19th century reformers were directed toward self-sufficiency and the stewardship of human and natural resources. One manifestation of these ideas was made concrete in New Harmony, Indiana (1825). Theorists like Roszak believed that humanity was comprised of social beings who must rely on one another to realize life's valued experiences, which are ultimately spiritual in origin. Roszak aimed for an ideal of intimate, small, territorial communities spread across the nation in a confederated commonwealth.[16]

The significance of the early settlement patterns lies in their physical relationship with the land and the resources drawn from it.[11] These patterns should be maintained, or be introduced to those areas considered for growth (Figs.6a,b,c). Recent settlement patterns should be reversed in some cases, fields allowed to remain fallow and woodlots to regenerate and spread. The grid has to give. Future settlement patterns should be considered in terms of a sustainable landscape, in which thresholds of scale for a single



Site A Before Development

Site A After Conventional Development



Site A After "Creative Development"

Figures 5.6a,b,c. The rural landscape - toward a sustainable urban form (Roseland, *Toward Sustainable Communities*, 1992).

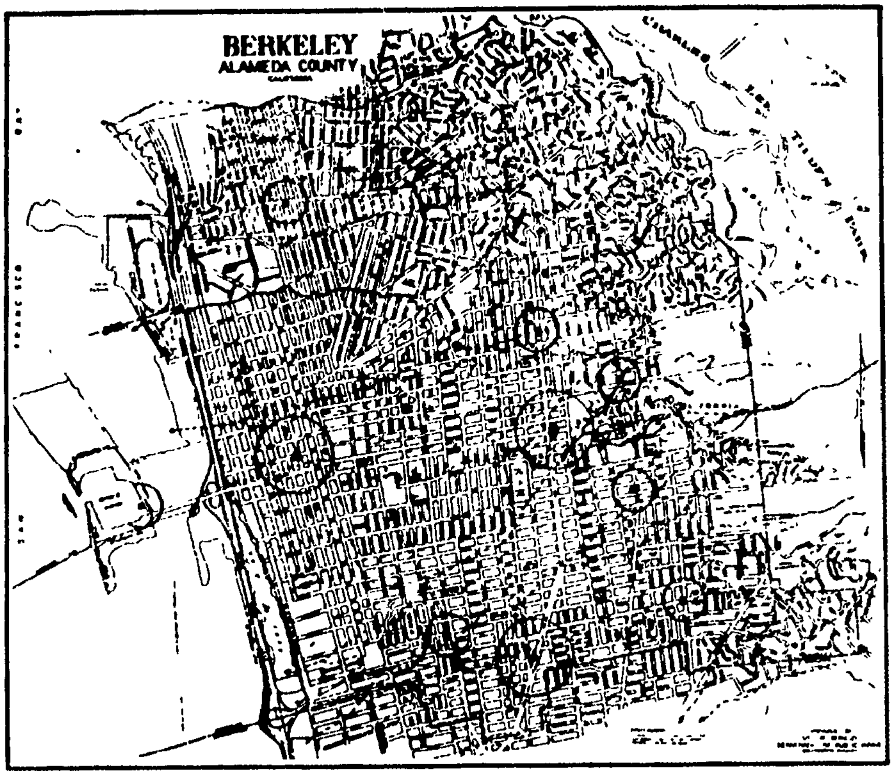
homestead or a small community and their relative self-sufficiency will be the new measure of growth. The rural landscape cannot accommodate existing patterns of suburban sprawl indefinitely. Valuable agricultural land as well as wetlands,woodlots and forests characterize this landscape and should be maintained, or re-established. Urban growth can only be considered in terms of the natural systems it endeavours to support. As a result, urban growth will have to be considered in terms of higher density centres. This form of decentralization seeks a clear distinction between rural and urban settlement patterns - between country and city - with an emphasis on environmental concerns, locally, regionally and globally.

The Urban Landscape

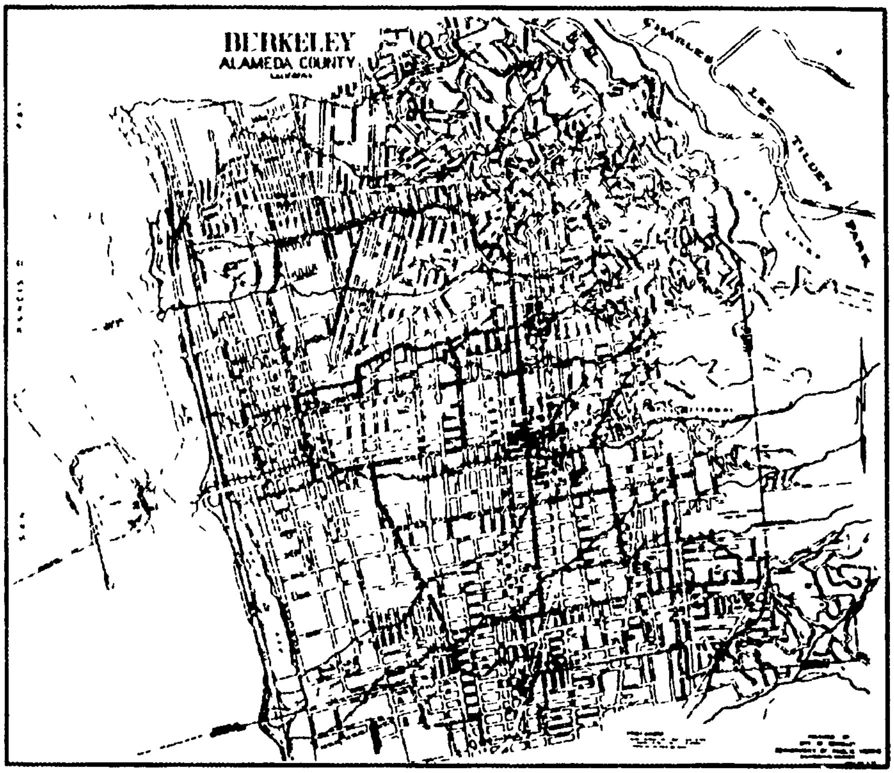
In opposition to those who sought the rural landscape for their spiritual and material well-being, urban reformers of the late 19th and 20th centuries advanced the notion of the Arcadian ideal in the urban settlement patterns of America's cities (Fig.4). These urban reformers include Fredrick Law Olmsted, Daniel Burnham and, more recently, Jane Jacobs among others. They reversed the decentralist thrust of the rural pastoral ideal by presenting a vision of a highly diversified, yet centralized, form of urbanity. Like the decentrists, they believed in a clear distinction between rural and urban settlement patterns.

Olmsted believed that nature must permeate the character of the city. Indeed, the social well-being of its citizenry was directly contingent on the amount of parks and open space available to them. His Central Park project in New York and his later work on the Parkway system in Boston with Charles Eliot established an urban settlement pattern without precedent. Similarly, the earliest settlements typically included dedicated open space in the village or town centre, i.e. the common, which was used for various civic activities. Central Park is analogous to this concept, providing a symbolic and functional green space in an otherwise highly urbanized landscape.

The mediating influence of nature was also recognized in the City Beautiful Movement at the turn of the century. The plan for Chicago by Daniel Burnham sought to reintroduce nature into the city on a grand scale. Aesthetic issues were important to this grass-roots movement. However, the idea of urban beautification had more to do with improving the quality of life in large towns and cities across the country. Social and environmental issues dominated the agendas of local administrators and citizens alike. Concepts like equity, social housing, health issues, public services, creating and maintaining a public realm were all instituted as a result of this movement.[17] It was, therefore, more than an aesthetic movement. Still, L'Enfant's design for the Capital as well


BERKELEY
ALAMEDA COUNTY
CHARLES LEE TILDEN PARK

Berkeley at Present


BERKELEY
ALAMEDA COUNTY
CHARLES LEE TILDEN PARK

Berkeley in 15 to 50 years

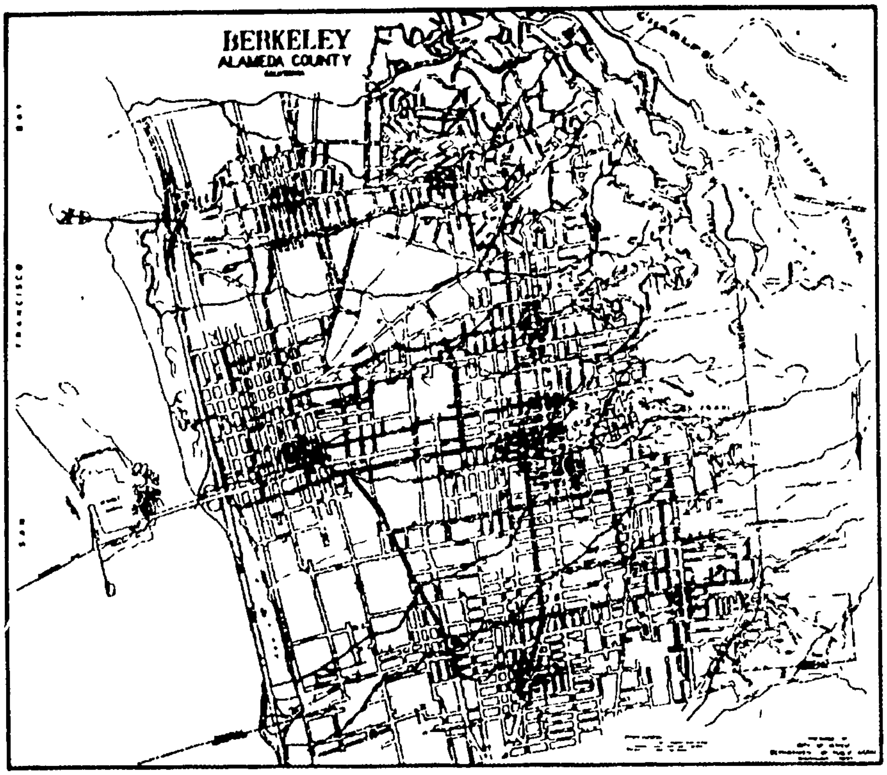
Figures 5.7a,b. The urban landscape - toward a sustainable urban form. The evolution of the organic city (Roseland, *Toward Sustainable Communities*, 1992).

as the work of civic designer, Camillo Sitte, influenced Burnham and others in terms of creating an urban morphology consistent with the ideals of this movement.

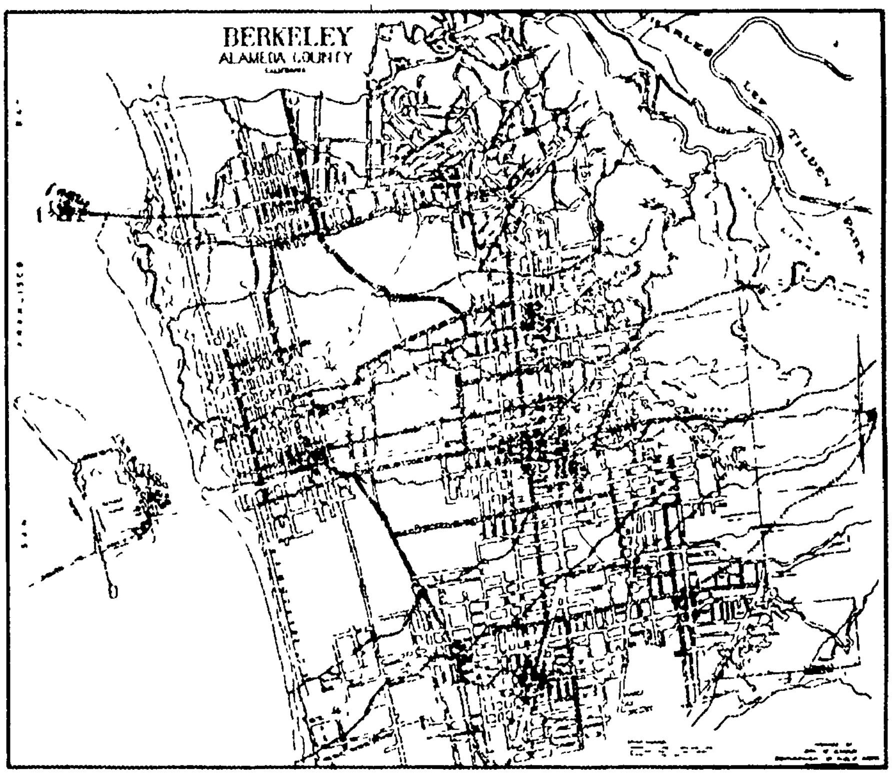
Jane Jacobs' *Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) was a further attempt to address growing anti-urban attitudes in the late 1950s and 1960s. Her defence of large urban settlements was directed at the social diversity of city centres which she contrasted to the ecological concept of biological diversity inherent in wetland communities. Her argument suggests that the inherent diversity in the "primitive" wetland ecosystem has a finer grain and complexity than more mature ecosystems.[13] The ecological analogy not withstanding, Jacobs advanced the idea of economic diversity, above cultural and social issues as the key to a vital and meaningful urban settlement pattern. Social proximity fostered economic initiative and enterprise. New and innovative economic activities could be better nurtured in a socially dynamic urban context than in the suburbs. These initiatives were seen as necessary for the future well-being of the city and the country. Her solution supported an urban form that was based on high-density mixed land-use patterns and of residential activities integrated with commercial and civic activities. These were mediated by the street, which Jacobs saw as the locus of all urban activity and the source for social interaction.

The significance of the 19th-century city and the reforms made during the early 20th century have resulted in a diverse and socially complex urban settlement pattern Many of these reforms addressed the pressing problems of that era and merit further consideration today. Again, the city should take into account the region that it is a part of and that urban growth should not exceed its capacity to sustain itself. The city must take stock of the resources that it routinely draws on for its well-being and define a more accurate vision of self-sufficiency. A conservative estimate indicates that an urban centre requires at least 18 times its actual area to support it.[14]

Urban settlement patterns should be more compact and centralized in large centres to reduce energy consumption and air pollution and increase efficient use of the land and its inherent resources. This will require changes in transportation and land use planning. In some cases, urban areas in decline should be recycled, to make use of existing physical and social infrastructures. In other areas, land should be allowed to return to its natural state as was proposed for Berkeley (Figs.7a,b,c,d).[15] A compact urban infrastructure allows for greater efficiency of human and material resources. In terms of a social infrastructure, the scale of the city should be measured in terms of the community. The community, which is based on the notion of shared values or needs, should be fostered and, in turn, reflect the diversity that characterizes urban living. New neighbourhoods, comprised primarily of housing, should be built at the scale of the pedestrian and include workplaces wherever


BERKELEY
ALAMEDA COUNTY
TILDEN PARK

Berkeley in 25 to 90 years


BERKELEY
ALAMEDA COUNTY
TILDEN PARK

Berkeley in 40 to 125 years

Figures 5.7c,d. The urban landscape - toward a sustainable urban form. The evolution of the organic city (Roseland, *Toward Sustainable Communities*, 1992).

possible. However, the community extends beyond the human community formed by socio-economic and political processes to include the biological community, formed by natural processes of selection, ecological transition and diversity

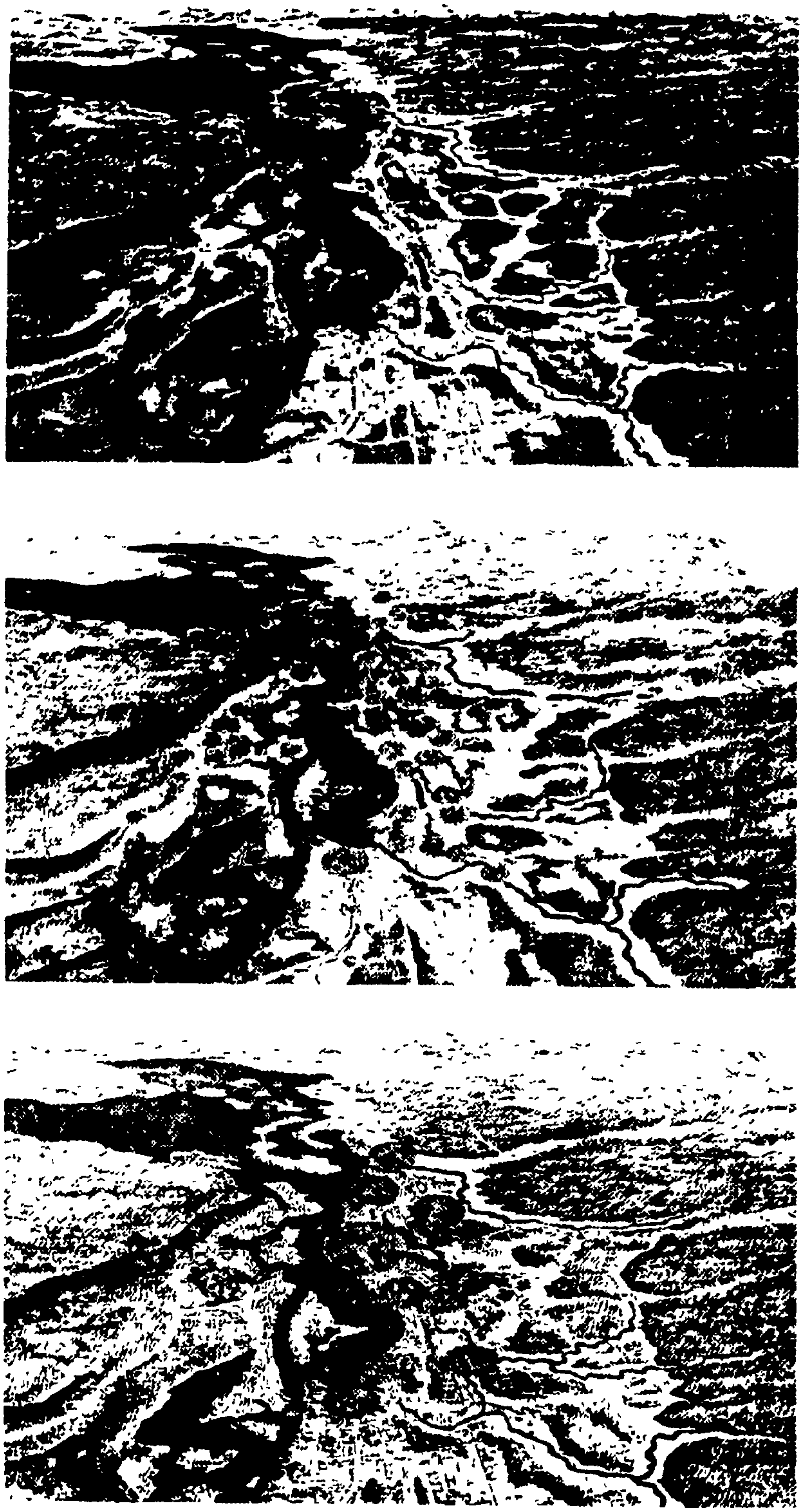
The Middle Landscape

> Imagine an urban countryside, a highly varied but humanized landscape. It is neither urban or rural in the old sense, since houses, workplaces, and places of assembly are set among trees, farms, and streams. Within that extensive countryside, there is a network of small, intensive urban centres. This countryside is as functionally intricate and interdependent as any contemporary city.[16]

The middle landscape described by Kevin Lynch and others is most accurately depicted by the middle school of organic thought of Ebenezer Howard, Clarence Stein, Lewis Mumford and others. Proponents of this view have advocated a balanced hierarchy of urban and rural settlements of a smaller scale, in a regional landscape that is both diverse and accommodating as well as ordered and civil (Fig.5). This view also proposes that individual concerns must be balanced by societal concerns, which are expressed most clearly in urban civilization.

The precedents for this view are linked to the history of human settlement in general but continue to evolve as civilization changes. Mumford believed that urbanity had evolved from the villages to the "polis" city-state, to the metropolitan, and lastly, to the megalopolitan stage, of which the latter two were unsustainable (a theory first advanced by Patrick Geddes). Similarly in America, the evolution of urban settlements has advanced to the megalopolitan era, which historically, as in the case of Rome, led to its own demise. Mumford believed that American society would advance to embrace the polis city state model, in a cycle of organic and ecological growth.[17] Proceeding from the early settlement patterns of New England.this settlement pattern would resemble the polis city state, of well-managed regional urban centres that emphasized ecological and cultural issues

The middle landscape can also be likened to the Garden City concept first advanced by Ebenezer Howard and members of the New Towns Movement. The New Towns in America, based loosely on Howard's model, had a significant impact on the way America perceived its determined place in the landscape in an increasingly industrialized economy. Of these Christensen noted:



Figures 5.8a,b,c. The regional landscape - toward a sustainable urban form. Puget sound at present, in the future under current planning practices, and in the future incorporating "Vision 2020", a plan that proposes compact centres with strong growth boundaries (Roseland, *Toward Sustainable Communities*, 1992).

> Because they [new towns] present positive alternatives to current patterns, because they are holistic, and because they are demonstrations of achievable ends, the new towns can be powerful leaders in directing the culture along new lines This is their potential.[18]

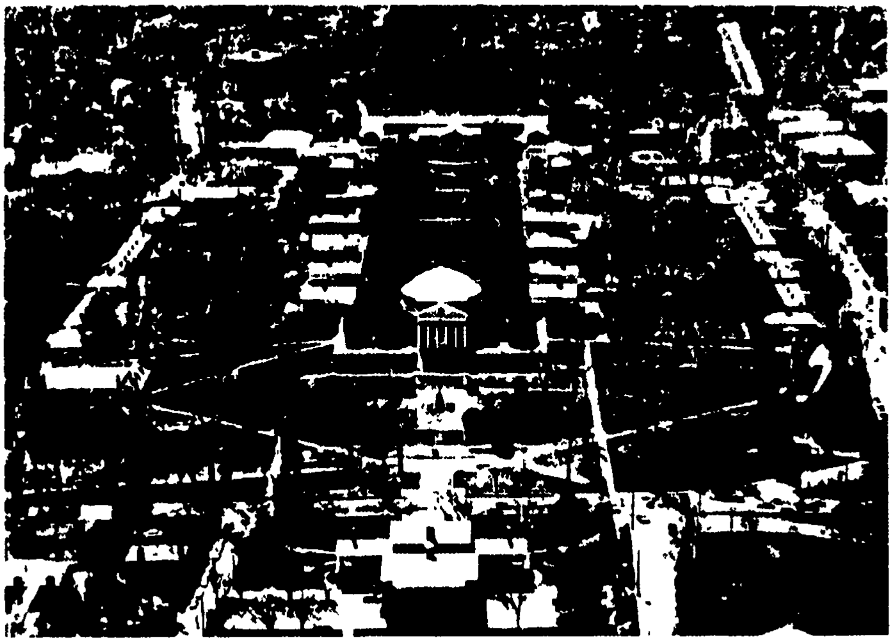
If we are heading into a healthy ecological/cultural cycle into the 21st century, as Mumford predicted, then the Garden City concept has profound validity. Unlike Howard, who advocated a specific size for these new towns, Mumford and others believed that a settlement should not be pre-determined but should be determined in relation to the region which must support that settlement

The notion of the middle landscape, of balanced urban regions extends across the landscape, emphasizing the connectedness of nature and humanity (Figs 8a,b,c) It emphasizes neither a rural nor an urban settlement pattern but exhibits aspects of both. Nature would dominate some areas while urban form would dominate others Above all, the resulting settlement pattern endeavours to promote a sustainable landscape locally, regionally and globally.

III The Critical Agenda — Two Views of the World

The Arcadian vision has taken on a more complex form, expressed in terms of promoting economic, societal and environmental well-being. This vision has resulted in a new awareness of the social and environmental consequences of our collective world view The capitalist/industrial order, established in the 19th century and based on economic well being as a national imperative, has perhaps run its course. The realization that societal and environmental well-being should take precedent, or at least be coincident with economic well-being, has gained a broad audience. The idea of re-structuring society to address these concerns is only in its early stages. Related paradigms are being sought to replace the existing order. American society is slowly adopting an inherently different view of the world from the former capitalist/industrial order, one that emphasizes a movement toward an ecologically minded society. The argument has been made that societal and environmental well-being cannot be advanced within the existing order which is based on a materialist notion of progress.[19] Indeed the very notion of progress is being redefined.

There are two views on this. One, based on the traditional paradigm of progress, holds that accelerating material growth will eventually create a better world for all Industrial society will change, in response to environmental and social issues, but only to maintain the existing order. High technology and material affluence will continue to drive



Figures 5.9a,b. Societal mechanisms in "nature's nation" (Rossi, The Architecture of the City, 1984).

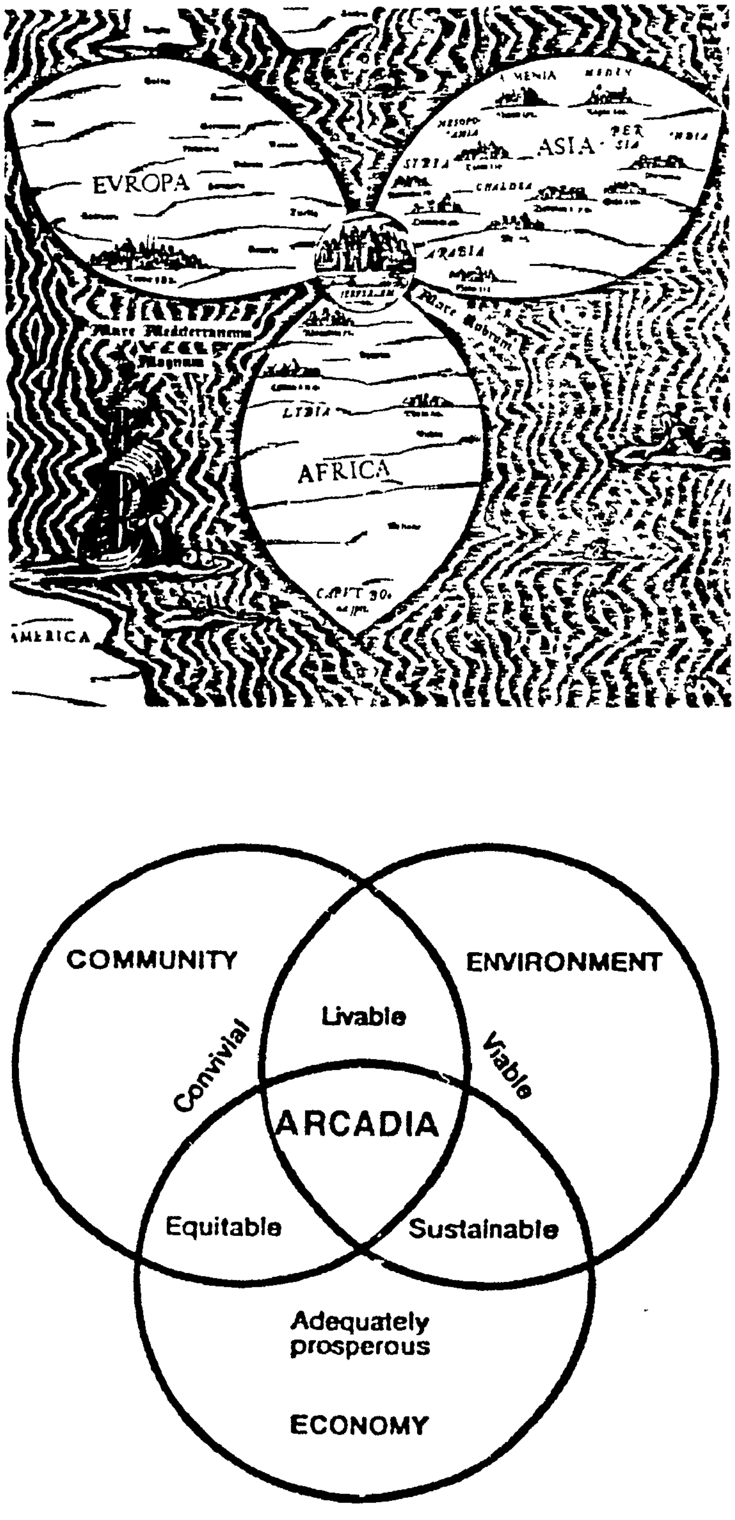
the economy and ensure the long-term stability of America, and the world. The other view holds that we are entering a new period of growth and change, based on the idea that we are already a part of an emerging post-industrial society. The need for a new paradigm is advanced by this view, one that recognizes that economic growth has limits - with social and environmental consequences. Christensen argues that these two views are decidedly different with far-reaching implications on long term objectives of sustainability.[20] These two views can be characterized as "Post-Industrialism-as-a-Service-Society", by Kahn and "Post-Industrialism-as-a-more-Self-Reliant Society" by Marien. The implications of Kahn's view suggest:

> Increasingly sensate (empirical, utilitarian, contractual, hedonistic) cultures; bourgeois and bureaucratic elites; centralization of economic and political power; accumulation of scientific and technical knowledge; institutionalization of technological change, research and innovation; increasing military capability; further westernization and industrialization; increasing affluence and leisure; population growth; urban and suburban sprawl changing to megalopoli; decreasing value of primary and secondary occupations toward tertiary occupations; increasing literacy, 'knowledge' industry and intellectual class; innovative and manipulative social engineering, i.e., rationality increasingly applied to social, political, cultural and economic worlds, and; increasing universality of this multifold trend and increasing tempo of change in all of the above.[21]

Alternatively, the implications of Marien's view suggest:

> Cultural movement toward a synthesis of spiritual and secular, "rational" and "nonrational"; industrial era paradigms questioned, i.e., reductionist models, more use of holistic methods to cope with complexities; institutionalization of technological assessment, emphasis on appropriate technologies; increasing emphasis on self-help, participation, questioning professionals; increased efforts to reverse the trend to militarism in all cultures, development of global peace-keeping structures; increasing effort to limit domination of Western culture and allow survival of indigenous cultures; decreasing material affluence as costs of overdevelopment exceeds benefits, quality of life measures developed; decreasing rate of world population growth; declining urbanization in rich nations and growth of nonmetro areas ; environmental costs included in a new and more holistic measures of "growth" and "progress"; stability or decline in service sector more emphasis on self-reliance, part-time employment, job sharing, small farms or partly self-sufficient homesteads; new occupational categories necessitated; emphasis on human needs-oriented definition of "progress"; serious consideration of preferred alternative futures replacing forecasting; increasing universality of this multifold trend and increasing tempo of change in all of the above.[22]

Both views address changing settlement patterns in terms of increased urbanization. Kahn implicitly supports the idea of further centralization of institutions and services with a more adaptable and responsive infrastructure. The idea of the megalopolis best describes


EVROPA
ASIA
PER SIA
INDIA
SYRIA
CHALDEA
ARABIA
Mare Mediterraneum Magnum
Mare Rubrum
LYBIA
AFRICA
CAPUT BO. sp.
AMERICA
COMMUNITY
ENVIRONMENT
Livable
Convivial
Viable
ARCADIA
Equitable
Sustainable
Adequately prosperous
ECONOMY

Figures 5.10a,b. The Arcadian vision, in sacred and secular forms, of a synthetic view of nature and humanity (Tod and Wheeler, Utopia, 1978, and; Epp, after Hancock, 1992).

this pattern of growth. Marian supports the idea of urban decentralization based on the necessary fragmentation of institutions and services. The idea of the city-country seat best describes this pattern of growth.

The trend toward decentralization has been made most evident in the growing number of edge cities outside of our major urban centres. However, these new suburban centres do not support the notions of growth and change according to either paradigm outlined above. The new spatial order of these settlement patterns appear to support yet another order, namely that of a new middle realm. The edge city, which is a product of individual enterprise, can be interpreted as an early forerunner of a new socio political reality, even if it appears misguided at this point in time. Retail malls aside, there are a growing number of cultural, recreational and commercial functions and institutions that appear to escape easy categorization. These are indeed a product of an evolving society. Optimistically, the edge cities of today are but early evidence of a paradigmatic shift from the capitalist/industrial order. However, the edge city shares a common ground with the late capitalist/industrial order in that it has failed, even in its early stages of growth, to have addressed social and environmental issues. To this end, the Arcadian vision may again provide the basis for positive social and environmental change into the 21st century by providing models for a sustainable and viable urban form.

Of Models and Mechanisms

From the earliest settlements of America in the 17th century to the Garden Cities and suburbs in the 20th century, the American urban settlement experience has relied on models of what constituted good urban space and form. The earliest models were drawn from the European experience including, most notably, the *Laws of the Indies* and perhaps ending with the Garden City concept. These models served as the basis for urbanizing the American landscape. The models themselves, were paradigmatic in that they reflected a particular view of humanity's determined place on the landscape. The Arcadian vision, expressed in the American settlement experience, was particularly significant because it inherently supported the idea that specific settlement patterns have been generators for societal and environmental reform.

The "mechanisms" that advanced the urban settlement experience in America were primarily those brought with the early settlers (Figs.9a,b). These mechanisms could be defined as the means with which a particular individual or group advanced their individual and societal well-being, that is, those fostered in an institutional setting. The early cultural, social and political mechanisms were the church and the community hall (often the same building) and the school. As settlements became larger, the needs of the settlers were met with related small-scale commercial functions. Only later did the civic hall and various governmental buildings become significant to the emerging settlement patterns Exceptions not withstanding, the mechanisms that provided the moral, social and economic support were all community-centred institutions. These allowed for the full participation of the community at the level of the individual . The early institutions were ideological and authoritarian by todays standards, however, they provided the early settlers with a shared vision of their determined place on the landscape. These mechanisms were advanced as American society evolved. During the mid 19th century, with the progress made in industrial production, these mechanisms alone could not serve the individual's or the community's needs and new mechanisms and institutional structures became part of the settlement experience. As a result, new institutions were created that addressed economic concerns over cultural, social, political and even environmental concerns. These have prevailed.

The argument has been introduced that the capitalist/industrial order, and its attendant values are being addressed from a radically different point of view. A view that stresses cultural, social, political and environmental well-being. It represents a countershift, away from the existing order, to a view that emphasizes qualitative rather than quantitative values of growth and change. It recognizes the needs of the individual and those of the community as well as the mechanisms that allow those values to be realized. As such, this view shares similar mechanisms with those of the earlier settlement experience. This view also shares similarities with traditional models for realizing good urban form today. It would be naive to suggest a return to a former state of being, as though we could venture back in time. However, there is growing evidence that supports the view that a countershift from the capitalist/industrial order will necessitate American society to rethink progress and determine at what point in its history it lost sight of its determined place as an expression of its individual and collective values.

To this end, the models outlined in the preceding section are an attempt to provide a meaningful basis from which to proceed. The Arcadian archetypal models of rural decentralization, of urban diversity and of balanced urban regions provide further insight on how to realize meaningful urban growth. This notion is based on the fact that the American settlement experience has a tradition of seeking appropriate visions of urbanity to guide its growth. And while traditional models have to be "re-invented" to be viable into the 21st century, the mechanisms will also have to be reconsidered. Indeed, the mechanisms, which allow our society to function in one form or another will require fundamental change. The critical mechanisms that need to be addressed are those that govern our economic, social and environmental well-being.

The economic restructuring of society should reflect the trend toward a decentralized economy. The economic power structures, which were centralized in the capitalist/ industrial order, are changing to accommodate secondary and tertiary economies, reflecting a trend from national to regional and local economic autonomy With this, local communities are changing. Decentralized economies permit a community to become more self-reliant and self-determining with significant social implications

> In the new decentrist social paradigm, there can be no exceptional cities with the misfits and problems of urban-industrial society relegated to others to contend with ... Thus the purpose of production, as well as its scale, is a social issue in the new paradigm. ... Proponents of this view argue the importance of work beyond the provision of products and services for consumption and emphasize its essential role in realizing one's humanity and in building community among men and women.

The consequences of this trend suggest localized institutions that are representative of the community's material and human resources. Beginning perhaps with the town hall, institutional form could again become the basic building block of a diverse and hierarchical community structure. In addition, the workplace should be reconsidered to include technologies fitting to the locale and to the region However, this can happen only gradually because the nature of the workplace will be changing significantly over the next decade. The resulting land use patterns suggest localized workplaces, with commercial and light industrial activity integrated into the community structure as well

The environmental agenda facing society today is much more complex and sophisticated than it was some two decades ago The settlement patterns of the future should advance the holistic view of sustainability, of a broader ecological view, and not simply that of a landscape ethic.

> The city can also be imagined as an ecosystem. Such a concept provides a tool to understand the complex relations between human activities and the environment, and how communities can organize their activities to meet human needs and benefit the environment. .. We can also see how these activities can be reorganized and reintegrated with natural processes to increase the efficiency of resource use [human and material], the recycling of wastes, and the conservation of energy [1]

The environment today includes both natural and human systems, hence its complexity. The implications of this view suggest more comprehensive conservation measures and preservation of agricultural land, integrated land use planning (denser patterns of settlement in some areas, none at all in other areas), efforts to safeguard water and air (reduced consumption of fossil fuels, i.e. less automobile dependence), greater self-reliance on renewable energy sources and reduced consumption and waste The community structure must go through a period of "greening."[25] The emerging institutions would include recycling centres, local energy plants, food production centres, and localized transit stations to name but a few. Some of these new institutional forms would respond to established cultural patterns and others to environmental patterns in terms of the overall community structure Urban settlement patterns would grow, according to cultural as well as natural forces Large urban settlements may decline in population and once busy industrial areas may be reclaimed permanently by the processes of natural succession.[26]

The social agenda for restructuring society would require a new definition of community with an emphasis on accommodating all of its citizenry. Equity and justice should guide this effort. The institutional reforms touched on above, should play a greater role in this process The implications of this view suggest a greater emphasis on individual autonomy and self-actualization. Citizens with modest income, those who are physically disadvantaged, single parent families as well as extended families should be able to integrate into the community through the provision of a greater range of housing options. Related services such as childcare facilities, adult learning centres and recreation and health-care facilities need to addressed within the context of a diverse community as well.

The mechanisms necessary to realize economic, environmental and social reform should support the related aims of creating a sustainable urban and rural landscape. And while institutional reform is necessary in all aspects of society, efforts should be made by individual citizens and community groups in order to realize these goals. To the notion of "think globally, act locally" we should add "think locally, act locally". Therefore, institutional reform must begin at home.

Re•Inventing the Arcadian Vision

> There is a certain sadness in the fact that western civilization seems to have become locked into an economic system that demands constantly increasing material growth, whilst neglecting spiritual and moral growth. We seem addicted to wanting more and more things for more and more people, insisting upon quantity rather than quality, and therefore destroying the very quality that makes life worthwhile. ... We need to free ourselves from an ethos that always demands material answers, when the root causes of our difficulties are moral and spiritual[27]

The Arcadian Vision first expressed by the Hellenist and Judeo-Christian writers has survived in Western thought in secular and sacred form as an ideological reference of considerable import The Arcadian vision endeavours to give evidence of the idea that nature should be respected and that humanity's purpose can best be understood through nature. As well, the moral foundation of the Arcadian vision remains as a basis for human conduct and action on our environment and toward one another Sustainable development, as a contemporary interpretation of the Arcadian vision suggests positive change that does not undermine the ecological and social systems upon which communities and society are dependent. It implies a holistic view of humanity and its determined place As such, it offers a philosophical and a practical framework to proceed upon to realize meaningful urban and suburban growth (Figs. 10a,b)

The archetypal distinctions between city and country offer important clues on how to proceed, however, new definitions of what constitutes meaningful or appropriate urban form would also have to be explored It is troubling to see how those shared symbols of a particular social order have been misappropriated in the recent evolution of American urbanity Those symbols which provided coherence and common meaning in defining humanity's place in "nature's nation" have been eroded both in physical and spiritual terms To this end, the Arcadian vision can serve as an ideological reference toward a normative discourse on the future well-being of American urbanity and society However, with economic growth and societal well-being still being measured in quantitative rather than qualitative terms, sustainable alternatives may only appear slowly

A new awareness of the implications of sustainability must become part of the planning and design professions raison d'etre However, meaningful growth does not coincide with unbounded growth as Suburbia gives evidence to Sustainability implies an optimum relationship and size in terms of urban development coinciding with human and natural development. The human body stops to grow, a tree reaches a natural height, a prairie forest reaches a mature state, but what about the city? "Old school" economists and urban theorists posit that optimum relationships do not exist for cities, sub divisions, markets, economic enterprise and institutions, and that urban growth is not, by necessity, bounded.[25] Today, there is a shared recognition of an emerging set of values in post industrial society and a growing conviction that we cannot continue to realize conventional patterns of urban growth using economic and planning models that are half a century old.

Suburbia of today is not sustainable in its current form and will require critical reconsideration. Apologists for this form of urbanity should be among the first to speak of its inherent limitations rather than to justify its existence on aesthetic terms and conditions. Suburbia is far from representing "paradise regained" It is the antithesis of the Arcadian vision made manifest on the American landscape. Alternatively, it has been shown that traditional patterns of urban growth in the American settlement experience reflect Arcadian premises in that they give evidence for a synthetic view of nature and urbanity. Traditional urban typologies can inform our efforts to create sustainable urban landscapes that are socially just, physically beautiful and environmentally sound. However, their appropriation must be examined more closely in light of today's pressing social, economic, and environmental concerns. And lastly, the planning and design professions, in particular, must embrace a broader and more sustainable vision of the Earth we inhabit.

> What we have lost in the last generation is the assurance and with it the capacity - or the temerity - to contrive utopias. It is of no use trying to resurrect the vanished forms, beautiful though they may have been: their historical justification is gone. All that we can now do is to produce landscapes for unpredictable men where the free and democratic intercourse of the Jeffersonian landscape can somehow be combined with the intense self-awareness of the solitary Romantic. The existential landscape, without absolutes, without prototypes, devoted to change and mobility and the free confrontation of men, is already taking form around us.. It has vitality but it is neither physically beautiful or socially just. Our own American past has an invaluable lesson to teach us: a coherent, workable landscape evolves where there is a coherent definition not of man but of man's relation to the world and his fellow man.[14]

To this end, the Arcadian vision clearly points the way.

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