PLACES

Attentive Imagination

0 73361 64885 3   01

...CONTENTS.

Attentive Imagination

As I was preparing to write this editorial, I learned that Charles Moore, my mentor, teacher and cherished friend, had died, quietly and unexpectedly. His passing leaves an enormous void in the lives of all those with whom he shared his love of the imagination. Yet, like his favored image of the geode, that chasm is filled with sparkling wonders; with brilliant buildings, passages, courtyards and phrases; with memories of the gifts he so freely bestowed, the gifts of attention, empathy, humor, vision and a special kind of canny wisdom.

Reflecting on the things Charles valued and espoused I realize that much of my understanding of

the mission of *Places* has been informed by his thinking and example. He was obsessively curious about the places around him, always seeking lodes of imaginative energy deposited in buildings, landscapes and ornament. He took inspiration from the care invested by others, not just from the canon of exemplary architecture, but from folk and vernacular structures, from gardens, toys and miniatures. He took special pleasure in finding (and sharing with others) things that embodied particularly apt, intense or even peculiar aspirations that demonstrated diverse visions of human possibility.

This issue begins with passages from *Chambers for a Memory Palace*, a work that Charles and I co-authored and that will be published this summer. The book is cast as an exchange of letters that elaborate on themes we devised for describing how places can be composed. Charles' letter, with its whimsical analogies and unexpected references, reflects both the scope and tone of his imagination. The pair of letters is a call to readers to gather inspiration from things and places they hold dear.

At the heart of this issue is N. John Habraken's eloquent invocation of an attitude towards understanding, elaborating and repairing the texture of the city. Other articles from settings as diverse as a New England town green and a bustling Malaysian city examine the multiple and sometimes unexpected implications of such a charge.

We conclude with reviews of an unusual set of conferences last fall that suggest a growing sense of urgency for recasting our cities in habitable form. These conferences also proceed from concerns about the fabric of the city. But to make places that are truly habitable, we must couple attention to physical and social patterns with the genuinely caring imagination that is necessary to bond people to places. It is this spirit of attention and imagination that Charles embodied and implanted where he could.

— *Donlyn Lyndon*
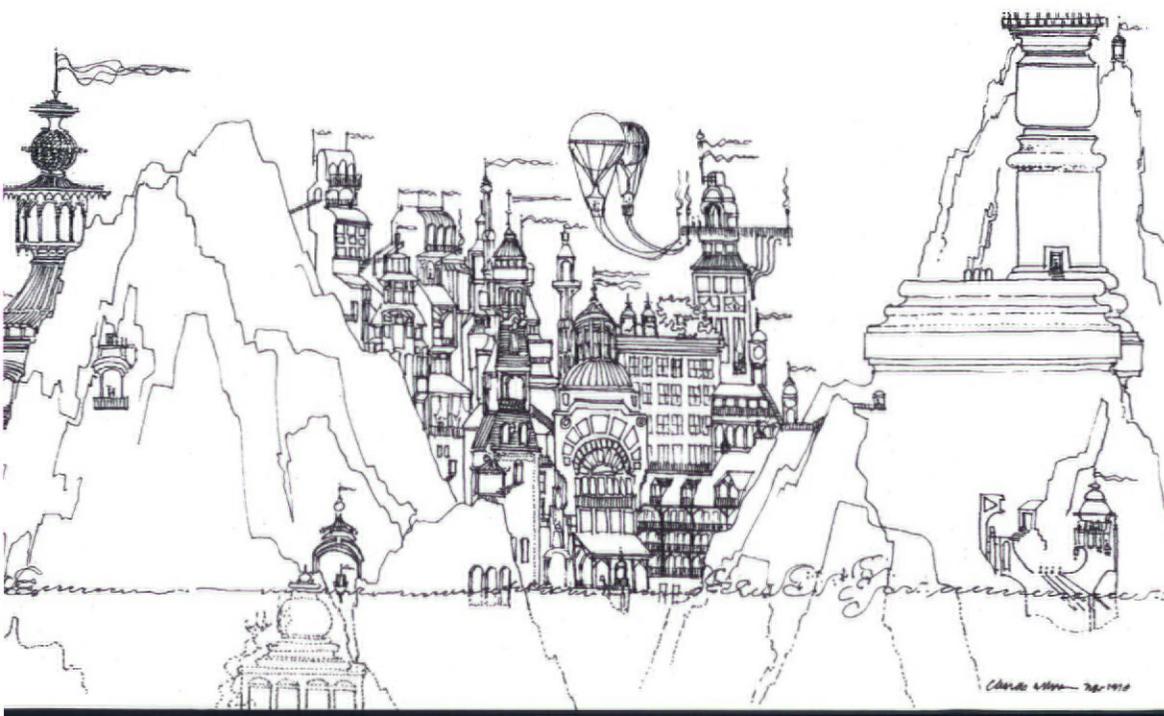
Inspirations.
By Charles W.
Moore.

Images that Motivate

Donlyn Lyndon, Charles W. Moore

Left: Geode diagram, by Charles W. Moore. Right: Chicago Tribune Tower proposal, by Charles W. Moore, John Ruble and Buzz Yudell, from *Late Entries to the Chicago Tribune Tower Competition.* Courtesy Moore Ruble Yudell.

Two images that haunt us are geodes and chocolate sundaes. Geodes are magic stones: rough on the outside, but crystalline within, with sparkling facets around a tiny cavern that the imagination endows with breathtaking dimensions. Geodes have been honored in Russian Easter Eggs and in such buildings as the Alhambra in Granada — rough on the outside, crystalline on the inside. Geodes remind us that the inside of a building doesn't have to be at all like the outside, and that the littlest structure can shelter infinites of space and light.

Dear Don,

One Memory Chamber needs still to be considered: it's tempting to call it the Dream, but more properly modest to speak of Image. Images that Motivate. Architects, like most people, usually have some images they specially cherish: nature like purple mountain majesties or amber waves of grain, or the breadth of the skies (in big sky country) or the mysteries of the forest; or maybe manmade — canyons of steel or the lights of home gleaming through the sycamores.

Some architects have special images that give shape to what they would like to design. Le Corbusier had a powerful image of skyscrapers in a park, a vision he espoused so eloquently that whole cities came to be built that way. You and Bill Turnbull had, I thought, a wonderful image of a reef that you

were going to shape of wrecked cars and sink offshore alongside the piece of San Francisco Embarcadero that you made into a concrete waterfront for relaxing. There was the prospect of underwater lights revealing, while they concealed, intimations of a fragment of a lost Atlantis.

I have an image I try sometimes to turn into buildings; you suggested it once or, rather, gave form to it when you pointed out that my designing a building was like eating an ice cream cone on a hot day, licking frenziedly on the drops that threaten to spill. That calls up an image of a building recollecting a chocolate or even hot fudge sundae: The image is a top-heavy one, of course, of roofs and chimneys and dormers and bays all bigger than the chaste and smaller base on which they tumble and slide. A very few medieval buildings, especially in France, do this as they search upward for light. A seaside village, very compact, built in Malta as a movie set for *Popeye*, did it, though it is more like a banana split. But mostly the chocolate sundae is an image for the future: do not confuse it with mashed potatoes which start the same, heaped to overflowing, but then are made centripetal, by a crater filled with gravy. The mashed potato image does not, I think have the generosity or the potential for surprise that good architectural images require.
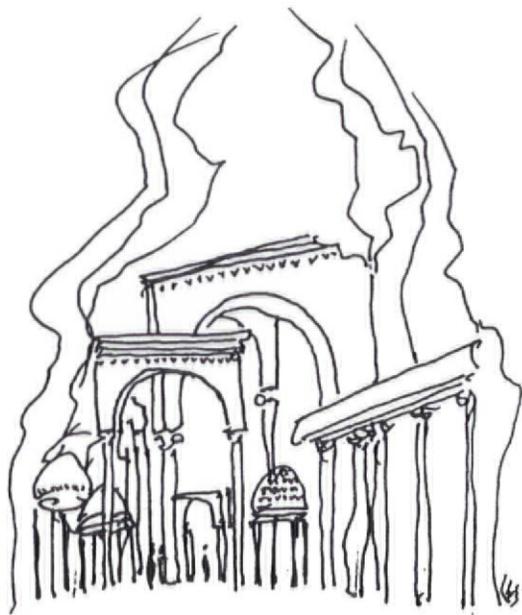
Another image that has for a long time been exciting for me is the geode. Geodes are magic stones rough on the outside but with a crystalline cavern within, with sparkling facets around a tiny space that the imagination endows with breathtaking dimensions. The same magic is found within Russian Easter eggs and in a few buildings, especially the Alhambra in Granada, a rough stone fortress on the outside, with symmetrical gatherings of spaces inside around courtyards of delicate crystalline complexity, some tiled, some made of thousands of plaster shards painted and bathed in light reflected from the surface of splashing fountains.

A gentler geode image is found in canyons or narrow valleys. C. S. Lewis in *Out of the Silent Planet* imagined the inhospitable surface of Mars to be crossed with deep defiles which held enough oxygen to sustain life. Oak trees grow, like the Martians, in little canyons on the California grassy slopes where there is some extra surface water. The sculptor Charles Simon set miniature valleys into the mortar joints of urban walls, suggesting a scale of imagined landscapes within the much

more familiarly scaled bricks and mortar of masonry walls. The power of miniatures plays a part here in concentrating our attention on a special inside (valley or court or mortar joint) very different from the vast bland outside, surprising even and satisfying as it helps give shape to our visions.

People love little things, from toy forts and doll houses to puppet theaters and *bonsai*, to miniature villages and electric trains. Probably their smallness makes us feel bigger than usual, and in better control. The dweller standardly seeks, like Goldilocks among her bears, a middle way, with surrounds neither too big nor too small, but just right. Sometimes, though, as for Alice or Gulliver, there is an advantage to scaling things up, or down, for a new look, a surprise, a convenience, maybe even an insight. Enlist me with Alice and Gulliver. There seems great potency in the world of little things from Disneyland to miniature villages to toy trains. At Disneyland on Main Street the buildings around you are about seven-eighths full size, diminishing on the upper floors to something like five eighths. The visitor therefore, is bigger than usual, and in fuller control. The
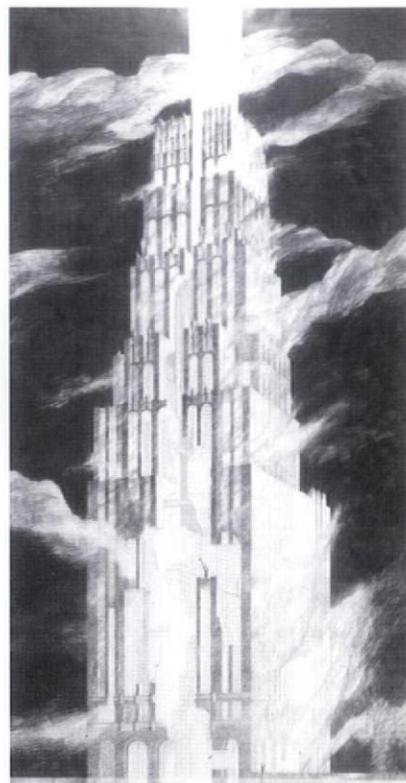
small surrounds aren't small enough to pinch but are small enough to give the visitor the great comfort of feeling supernormally in charge.

Disneyland is exciting and close to full size. But some of the same feeling comes from much smaller settings into which we have to project ourselves. The most seductive I know are in Alexander Girard's Folk Museum in Santa Fe, assembled out of folk art from all over the world in cases large and small. In large cases are river banks lined with boats and mountains of Hispanic and Indian and Victorian houses, and elegant drawing rooms, and Polish churches; small cases exhibit tinier treasures. It's an exotic world, but mostly friendly or at least exciting, as in the bull ring or in devil-bestrewn hell.

Miniatures help lead us into the realm of architectural fairy tales: There needs to be such a genre. Bruno Bettelheim wrote a fascinating book, *The Uses of Enchantment*, which describes the real need for fairy tales for children: to introduce them to evil in carefully measured doses that are real but surmountable, a kind of toxin antitoxin, not trivial or cute as they often become nowadays. Evil is serious, but
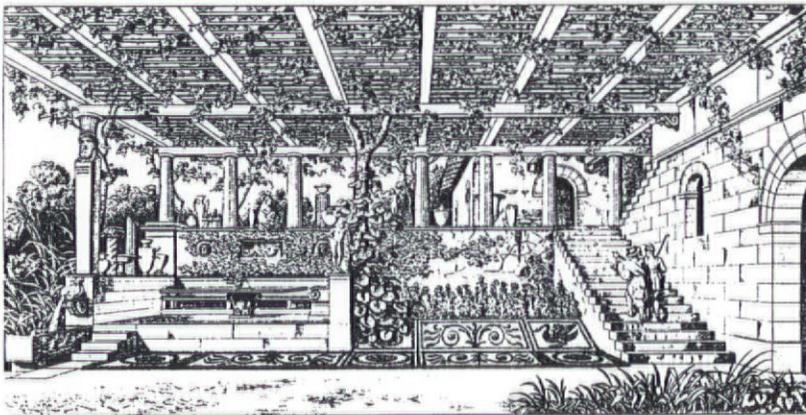
Top: Howard Hughes Biological Laboratory. Designed by Charles W. Moore. Drawing by Donlyn Lyndon. Bottom: Charlottenhof, Potsdam, Germany. Drawing by Karl Friedrich Schinkel.

not invincible. The young hero or heroine in a seesaw struggle can deal with it — and however long they are on their mission, they'll make it home in time for tea.

I spent a springtime in Rome once looking for architectural fairy tales, and I found many: places, for instance, where the uncertain edge brushes up against the sheltered middle, as if a fresh breeze were blowing from a far off and mysterious place, as at the Aqua Paola, where formal openings in the facade give directly onto wild gardens just behind. It's not evil that we are overcoming here, but mass — or the presence of solidity, maybe, as an expression of reality. This absence of mass can be taken as an equivalent of the absence of size — the basis for images that unsettle and freshen our perceptions.

You, Don, have pointed out that over the years I have depended increasingly on a design strategy that focuses on picking out a small part of each design to lavish attention on, relieving the rest of the design for more functional requirements. A case in point is the Howard Hughes biological laboratories at the University of California in San Diego, which is mostly laboratories carefully planned for light, filtered air, fume hoods and circulation, but without at first a particular focus.

That left it to a courtyard in the center and an adjoining little tropical seminar building, which is shuttered for real air to blow in and out, to figure strongly in the place. That courtyard is a favored miniature. It looks, even, like a dazzling drawing of an early nineteenth century garden court at Charlettenhoff, in Potsdam, of Karl Friedrich Schinkel's, which gave me a head start on its details. Some of the scientists who were to use the space had occupied labs in the nearby Salk Institute (so their standards were very high).

I have been struck by your discussions of Kahn's reversal in his design of his served and servant spaces at the Salk to make the labs the servant spaces and the little offices and the towers, skewed to the sea view, the figural (though small) served spaces. I realize that we had followed a parallel track next door, twenty-five years later, to focus on the figure and carefully relax the ground. It seems to me that one of the most perplexing tasks of the maturing — or aging — architect is how to focus a not increasing amount of energy on a widening field of work. Focusing on miniatures is one effective way of keeping the focus at all.

— *Charles*

Reef for the San
Francisco Embarcadero.
Drawing by Donlyn Lyndon.

Dear Charles,

I'm pleased that you recalled, in this regard, the reef that Bill Turnbull and I had planned just off the edge of San Francisco's Embarcadero. Its purpose was to provide for the urbanized bay-shore a miniaturized version of incessant surf-action such as that outside your condominium at the Sea Ranch. By creating an irregular disruption to the gentle swells of the bay it would have induced, at high tide, a turbulence of intertwining swirls, endlessly changing yet always roughly predictable. At low tide the turbulence would have increased, splashing around the forms of the reef, itself revealed as a repository of surprising sculpted elements, replete with pockets of still water and murky associations with the deep.

There is one difficulty, though, with your memory of the image — it was never intended to be made of wrecked autos. Now I will admit that they would have made shapes interesting enough for the water to curl around, and that they would have had the advantage of rusting, changing and fusing over time, and that they might have lent a certain macabre charm to the image; but we intended to make the reef of concrete, with walls, steps, pools and bronze and ceramic sculpture — items that would certainly become suitably layered with algae, but that would have the capacity still to capture moments of hopefulness.

It's curious that you should have remembered it in the likeness of wrecked cars; perhaps it fused in your memory with the junk sculptures in the Berkeley mud flats, then on the opposite side of the bay, that I wrote about long ago, citing them as evidence of our generation's will to make some sort of free verse sense out of the global situation into which we had, in the fifties, been thrust. Now that our generation is at least partly responsible for the mess, free verse seems less hopeful, unfettered entrepreneurs appear as likely to destroy as to create, the romance with "collisions," so beloved in current critical discourse, is far less compelling.

To suppose that our reef could ever have made the tidal lapping of the bay become anything nearly as suggestive as the splendor of those surf-surrounded rocks outside the condo requires a considerable leap of faith. Yet it seems a suitable reason to return once again to the image — maybe dream is the better word — of creating places that have the qualities that characterize that surf-filled cove: deep history, exhilarating presence, fundamental lawfulness, cyclical change, sparkling light and infinitely surprising detail. It's an image we've admired there, in Chinese landscape paintings and in thousands of variants on the beach, in the forest, in vernacular cities and in the finest monuments of the baroque. And it's a dream worth pursuing in consort with nature and like-minded folk.

— *Donlyn*

Cultivating the Field: About an Attitude When Making Architecture

N. John Habraken

In the year 1748 Giambattista Nolli engraved a map of Rome. It shows not only streets and squares but also the interior of major buildings. The black mass out of which these public spaces are carved contains not only the ordinary buildings but also their courtyards and gardens. The public spaces and the monumental buildings are what architecture is about. But the map also shows how the white and the black are inseparable. The one defines the other.

The wholeness of the urban fabric is the subject of my essay. I invite you to set aside the oppositions we so easily make: between architecture and vernacular, between monument and common building, between the large and the small, between the important and the unimportant. Let us consider the continuity of buildings and space — space covered and open, buildings of all kinds. This seamless continuous whole I call the "built field."

Nolli shows Rome's monuments as rooted in the black mass of the common fabric like plants rooted in the soil. But in the modern city the common fabric is no longer self-evident. All of the built field is a professional product now. Where the everyday world used to be the context for architecture, it has now become the subject of architecture. The ordinary today has become elusive, perhaps more precious than the extraordinary.

For too long architects have been preoccupied with the singular, individual statement. If we knew how to cultivate the ordinary, the field would be well. When the field is well, monuments will appear like flowers appear on a healthy tree.

Details of Nolli's map of Rome, showing the Piazza Navona and the Parthenon. Giambattista Nolli, Pianta Grande di Roma, 1748.
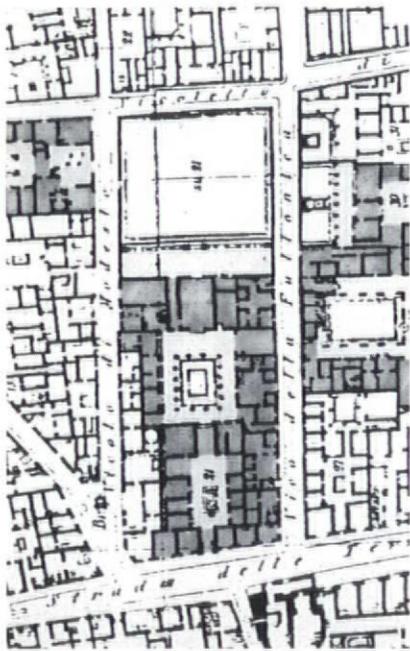
Detail of map in Overbeck,
Pompeii (Leipsig, 1866).
Four houses are highlighted
to show the range of types.

Properties of the Field

Built fields have bloomed for millennia all over the world. While there is a wide variety of forms and structures, all historic fields seem to share certain properties that are still valid in our day and age. To explain those I will present a few examples.

Types and patterns. First, we see the same types and patterns deployed consistently across a field. Indeed, we recognize a field by the types and patterns it holds.

In Pompeii, for instance, the same type comes in an extraordinary range of interpretations. The small house may not have as many rooms as the large one, but room size is fairly constant in all interpretations. A house may not have the full range of yards offered by the type, no peristyle, perhaps, and no garden, but each house has its atrium, each its own gate to the street. There is great dignity in the fact that all citizens, regardless of economic status, inhabit houses of a same type.[1]

Where a type comprises a number of similar elements combined into an organic whole, patterns are deployments of specific elements in the same relation across the field. Usually the elements forming patterns are either larger than the house, such as streets and squares, or smaller than the house, such as rooms and atria. In the example of Pompeii we see cell-like spaces opened to the streets. These are shops, workplaces, eating places. The artisan or shopkeeper may live in the mezzanine above. These spaces form continuous strings along the streets, almost independent of the houses behind them. From such primary patterns fields are woven.

Venice is another example of a beautiful and complex field. The Gothic palaces of Venice are discrete, freestanding volumes several floors high. The type shows the interior hall facing the canal to catch the breeze, rooms aligned on both sides. These halls, repeated across the field, create a pattern seen in plan as well as in the facades. The facades align to make long elaborate walls. Rooftops and chimneys add another layer. As in most historic fields, public space is minimized and thus intensified. Alleys and streets are narrower than the private yards, narrower even than rooms, but all is of a scale and contributes to a unified, fine-grained tissue.

Left: Facades of Gothic palaces along the Canal
Grande, Venice. Photo by N. John Habraken.
Right: Part of the Gothic tissue of Venice, with second
floor plans of representative pallazzi colored. Map
from Paolo Maretto, *L'Edilzia Gotico Veneziana*,
(Venice: Filippi Editore).

The Venetian fabric, consisting of water, land and buildings, combines different infrastructures. In this respect it precedes the modern urban structure. The network of canals, itself hierarchical, is meshed with the equally hierarchical network of streets and alleys radiating from squares and connected by bridges.

Bird's-eye view of Venice by Jacopo De'Barbari, 1500.
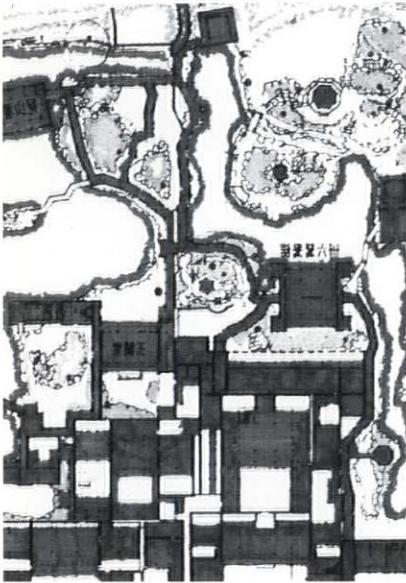
Zhou Zheng estate and garden.
From Liu Dun-Zhen, *Zu Chou Classic
Gardens* (Beijing: Architectural
Industrial Press).

The spatial hierarchy of Tunis.
Streets and courtyards are colored.
From Association Sauvegarde de la
Medina, Tunis, 1968.

Hierarchy. Each built field has its own way to make a hierarchical form.

The Tunis courtyard house type belongs to the Middle Eastern tradition, within which it has its own characteristics. The field is very complex yet highly ordered. Rooms cluster around courtyards, houses cluster around a dead-end ways that open to streets. Streets, in turn, may have their own gates facing major arteries. In the Middle Eastern field hierarchy is elaborate and highly sophisticated.[2]

Hierarchy is found in all fields. It assures flexibility and adaptability. Rooms are rearranged within the houses. Houses change themselves, either by building in their own lots or by trading territories with neighbors. All this happens without disturbing the higher-level organization of alleys and streets.

Once we are on the level of public space we likewise find a hierarchy of alleys, residential streets, major streets and so on. This hierarchical organization preserves the health of a built field by allowing improvement and adaptation on each level with minimal disturbance of the larger context.

The hierarchy of the form is a hierarchy of interventions, starting with the room as the smallest cell of the living fabric all the way up to the major public spaces. Everything changes and adapts on its own level, in its own time. In this way complex built fields stay fresh and alive over centuries.

Intensification. The hierarchical nature of the field makes it grow denser and richer over time. There is a continuous process of intensification in living built fields.

We find this illustrated by the estate of a merchant clan in Soochow, China. The estate is a field by itself, and like all fields it is not a single creation but a collage of many interventions. When we try to define its structure, we find the pavilions to be the major elements. Pavilions form courtyards. A string of courtyards makes a house, which is separated from other houses by narrow service alleys. Pavilions also spill over into the garden, which is linked with the hills and the ponds by covered paths and curved bridges. The trees inhabit the hills and sometimes invade the courtyards; rocks inhabit the ponds. It is all artful and at the same time organic.

The field is never a single design but a cultivation. How many discreet acts are needed to cultivate a field? Who will claim recognition for the final result? There is no final result. The field is always in flux, never designed, always being designed.

Systematization. The student of built fields cannot escape the fact that these complex and ever changing forms were always built in a systematic way. We find a consistent technology: the same parts, in the same relations, are combined over and over again. But the combinations are always different; depending on site, size, use and plain personal preference. This produces endless variation.

The systemic properties of historic fields teach us that systems make variation possible; indeed, they are a precondition for variation and adaptation over time.

The Power of the Built Field

The field is not only a form but also people taking action. Rooms are redecorated and newly equipped; houses are built, extended and taken down again; streets are widened or realigned; new infrastructure is inserted. Historic fields are fine grained and wonderfully adaptable because powers of inhabitation operate on all levels.[3]

The tremendous powers of generation a healthy field can have are demonstrated by the well-known seventeenth-century extension of Amsterdam. It has two distinct parts, one built for the rich merchants along the major concentric canals, the other a separate neighborhood laid out for artisans and craftsmen. These two parts are

topologically identical, not only to one another but also to the medieval field of the old city core.

In all three cases we find major canals running parallel to each other and connected by secondary canals. The canals are lined by trees, streets and houses. The streets are connected by bridges and shorter perpendicular streets with back streets that run parallel to the major canals.

In the medieval core this hierarchy emerged piecemeal; it follows the meandering course of the dikes alongside the river. In the extension it is done with geometrical precision: first in a concentric sweep around the old core and in a monumental fashion, then orthogonal in more modest dimensions. So we find there was no innovation but growth and transformation of what was already known into something much more extensive.

This explains why, remarkably, there is no evidence of anything we would call design in the modern sense of the word. Minutes of the meetings of the municipal government have been preserved. It turns out that the city's defense had priority; initial plans were for ramparts and fortresses around the growing city. Only in a later stage were surveyors instructed to lay out streets and canals in the terrain within the new walls. Without doubt the layout of canals and streets was the subject of deliberation, but no drawings have been preserved and there is no record of any discussion as to what the new extension should look like or of alternative concepts.[4]

Historians have praised Amsterdam's seventeenth-century extension as an early example of true urban design. There definitely was nothing haphazard about the process. But it was not designed in the modern sense of the word. There was no need for design because everybody knew what the new city would be like.

A built field is not just a complex form but an image shared by its inhabitants and builders. When the image is shared, then hierarchy, type, patterns and a multitude of details are self-evident and need not be discussed. From the beginning all energy is channeled in the same direction; everyone can partake in the creation.

The Professionalization of the Built Field

In the first half of this century a new class of professionals — bureaucrats, politicians, technologists and architects — emerged to make a new and dynamic world in its entirety. For the first time the everyday environment in its full physical complexity was seen as a subject for architecture. Any building, no matter how humble, could be worth architectural attention.

The professionalization of the built field is perhaps the single most important issue to study when we seek to understand the Modern period in architecture and urbanization. We can see the results of the professional claim, and these lead to a conclusion of crucial importance: the process of professionalization went hand in hand with a gradual coarsening of the built field.

Amsterdam again is a good example. The Amsterdam South extension, designed by Hendrick Petrus Berlage and executed between 1920 and 1940, is the result of remarkable cooperation among professionals, between architects and the municipal bureaucracy and among architects themselves. The power of their work lies in the way architectural qualities — individual invention, exuberant expression and richness of detail — never became goals by themselves but were always put to the service of the field.[5]

Nevertheless, we also see how in this admirable built field the projects become larger; a whole city block could now be a single intervention. Behind the well-designed

Uniformity can be found in history any time design is centralized. In most cases uniformity is found in monumental architecture to express centralized power. The repetition of long rows of sphinxes in Egyptian architecture or of identical columns and capitals in Roman and Greek architecture had nothing to do with industrial production but were the result of extraordinary discipline imposed on skilled workers.

The extent to which European mass housing schemes of the 1950s and '60s were the result of a particular culture of centralized thinking is illustrated by comparison with the growth of the Sekesui company in Japan. While European reconstruction after the war continued an already highly institutionalized housing process, Sekesui started operations in postwar Japan on the assumption that people want individual houses, not apartments. It organized building technology to produce single houses in large numbers, all custom designed, using not only industrial prefabrication but also a good logistics and service organization. Sekesui housing produced about 60,000 units each year in the late 1980s.
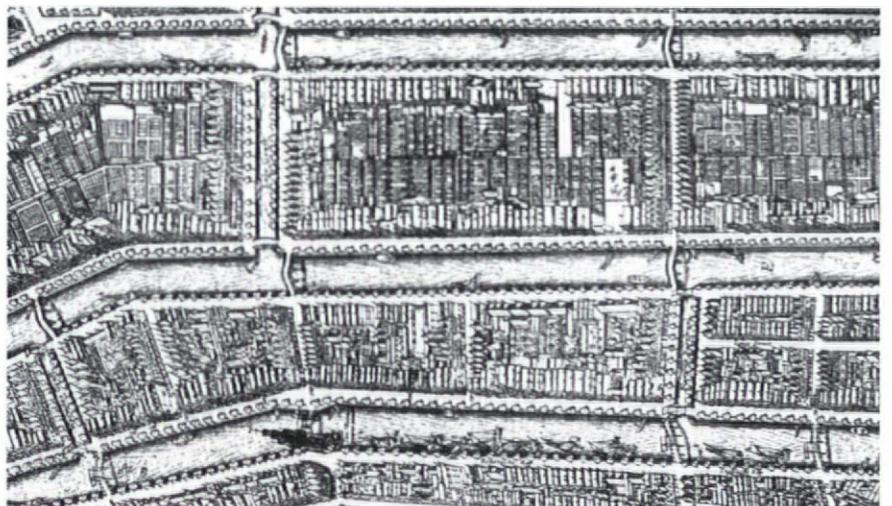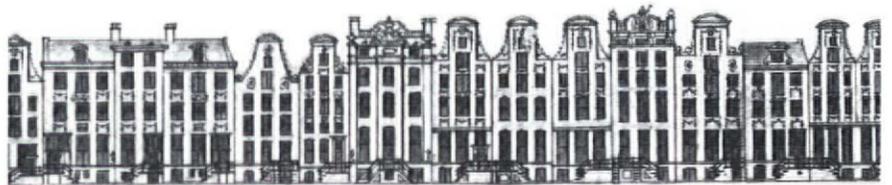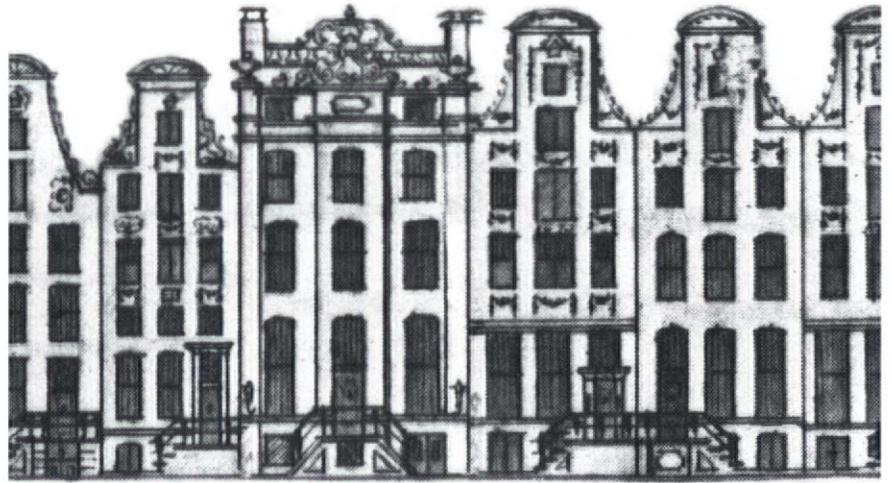
Top and center: Elevations of the seventeenth-century canal facades in Amsterdam. From Caspar Philips, *Grachtenboek, 1768-1771* (Amsterdam: Stadsdrukkerij, 1962).
Bottom: Part of the seventeenth-century extension of Amsterdam. Detail of map by Balthasar Florisz, ca. 1650.

facades a much coarser and uniform fabric was hidden. This took its toll while the years went by; presently Amsterdam South is being renovated at great cost. What is the product of large-scale intervention must be maintained by large-scale intervention. Meanwhile the seventeenth-century city goes on living and renewing itself, house by house, as it has done over the centuries.

The next stage takes place after World War II. With freestanding blocks floating in space we have arrived at the truly modernist city. Its coarseness is apparent when we consider the field and organic whole and ask ourselves what constitutes the living cell. In Amsterdam's seventeenth-century field that cell is the canal house. In the modern city the cell is a freestanding apartment block floating in space and full of identical and inflexible apartments. A hectare of the new field has far fewer living cells than a hectare of the historic field.

It is sometimes said that uniformity and repetition are unavoidable because they are the result of modern mass production. But no building technology demands, by itself, the repetition of similar floor plans in one block and similar blocks in a neighborhood. Uniformity in the built field is the result of the centralization of design decisions coupled with centralized project management seeking ever larger projects under the assumption of efficiency. If one party must decide on a hundred dwellings they all will be the same. If a hundred parties each build their own, dwellings all will be different.

The centralization of designing, in turn, has led to a breakdown of the hierarchical organization in the field. As we have seen in the historic examples, hierarchy insures a smooth transition from large-scale design decisions to small-scale decisions and the other way around. In the modern city hierarchy is lost not only in the buildings themselves, where all apartments together are inflexible parts of a single design, but also at the urban scale. No longer is public space designed first, to guide the subsequent deployment of buildings. In the modern way urban design is done by arranging freestanding buildings, an artistic endeavor, but not a structuring one. The result is vulnerable: Without the structuring power of predetermined public space, the alteration of a single building may upset the artistic arrangement of the whole. Because everything stands equal to all else, everything also may impact everything else.

Toward the Fine-Grained Field

It is possible to regard modern housing and urbanism as the product of a period of transition. The monumental freestanding buildings of the early Modern period were seen by many as symbols of a new age. But they were the primitive product of an emerging professionalism operating without much sense of either the nature of the built field or the meaning of the fundamental change that was inflicted on the field.

Over time design professions have become more sophisticated, and we see a reappraisal of historic precedent. The urban block enclosed by streets is being reintroduced, as is the structuring quality of public space. But this return to tradition is largely intuitive and not yet supported by a good understanding of the properties of the field. So far it has been a return to the twenties and thirties; the design may be more sensitive, but the rigidity is still there. The professionally controlled fine-grained field has not yet been achieved.

In order to reintroduce the hierarchical way of working in the modern built field, I have advanced a theory of levels. It holds that the scale of an intervention must match a certain scale of use. Hence interventions cannot be arbitrarily sized, and a hierarchy of design activities must be introduced.[6]

In North America, most people live in suburban environments. Today these are, for all practical purposes, professionally built fields. But the involvement of architects is by no means the rule and when discussing architecture we tend to ignore these places. They are proof of the possibility that professional built fields can be done without architects and that the professional built field can be fine-grained.

Traditional neighborhoods have always been conceived in this way. They are fitted within the higher-level structure of major roads and arteries. The neighborhood design itself would shape public space and allocate lots. Individual houses would be built on those lots and, finally, within each house, furniture and equipment could be modified.

However, if we want to regain the fine-grained nature of the field in large structures, we must introduce a new level distinction. This leads to the support/infill approach I have advocated for so long in housing. The idea is to design and install the individual house unit independently from the building it is part of, thus reestablishing for the dwelling unit the autonomy it has lost in the apartment building.

The concept is universal. Already we see in office buildings and shopping malls how space to be occupied by tenants is left undivided and empty. Tenants will hire their own interior architects to design and outfit their individual territories. The building itself constitutes one level; the units of use inside make another. This may seem a new idea, but it seeks to continue the age-old hierarchical organization of built fields in a context compatible with our time.

There is, obviously, an economical and technological side to all this. The concept of levels is related to the concept of "open building," which seeks to disentangle the many systems in a building (such as partitioning, sewage, electricity and electronics, sanitary equipment and kitchen equipment) to make them less interdependent and therefore easier to install and replace. Years of trial and error have convinced a number of builders and developers in the Netherlands that the open building approach promises increased efficiency and better performance.[7]

The idea that variety and adaptability can be efficient and economically competitive sounds contradictory to those of us trained in the belief that uniformity and efficiency go together. But the more building practice is systematized, the more the many systemic parts can be combined and arranged in different ways without loss of efficiency. To respond to individual user demands, systematization must be pursued aggressively. This means that manufacturing will become increasingly important because it is the industrial entrepreneur who provides the systems that make buildings serve users.

After a century of professionalizing the built field, we are ready to come to grips with its full complexity. In a more sophisticated world there is now a search for variety, adaptability and small-scale response to use. We may conclude that for purely commercial and technical reasons the next quarter century will show a significant shift towards the fine-grained field. This will not be a romantic return to historical forms. In fact, the physical result will be different from anything that has ever been seen before. It will be a levelheaded response to the conditions of the market by means of increased systematization.

An Open Architecture

The practice of open building responding to technical and commercial considerations will result in a more open architecture as well. Large projects will no longer be monolithic; they will offer fine-grained variation and adaptation. We have yet to explore the full architectural potential of the new level of distinction in office buildings, shopping malls and apartment buildings. Schools, hospitals and laboratories could equally well use this approach. Indeed, any institutional building would benefit from the same strategy, as would all manner of mixed-use projects.

It is tempting to speculate about the architectural implications of the fine-grained approach. It does not mean that everything must be small scale. On the contrary, when

Commercial installation of infill systems is expected to begin shortly in the Netherlands. Individual house units will be outfitted by a crew of three in a very short time. All parts of the customized house plan will come in a container, ready for installation, including all technical installations. Infill units are marketed at prices competitive with those of traditional units. The customization and adaptation is an extra offered for current market price by virtue of a more efficient way of working.

At least three other infill systems are under way or in preparation in the Netherlands. As their approaches are different in many ways and respond to different segments of the market, they may reinforce each other in establishing the approach advocated in this essay.

1. Amsterdam's historic core, of medieval origin.

2. Seventeenth-century canals around the core, with part of the smaller-scale Jordaan neighborhood, intended for artisans and small traders.

3. The Berlage extension, 1920s and 30s.

4. The Van Eesteren extension, 1950s.

5. The "Bjlmermeer" extension, 1960s and 70s.

Photos courtesy KLM Aerocarto.

the small scale comes into its own, the large scale will be easier to design. Think of the monumental canals in Amsterdam that hold and guide the rich variation of individual houses alongside. It is more appropriate to see the large-scale, fine-grained project as a small town design than as a big building design.

Being an addition to the built field, open architecture should not only offer flexibility at the small scale but also stress the continuation of a larger fabric; it must invite a merging of public space networks from project to project. Public space would once more become an autonomous structure holding together interventions within a single field.

Open architecture will necessarily reinstate type and pattern as structuring elements. The variation of individual units works best if variation happens within a type. The merging of projects into a coherent whole needs patterns as a means to assure meaningful continuity.

The open architecture of which I am speaking will produce very different kinds of built fields that respond to local and cultural demands. These fields may, in fact, incorporate high-rise and large-scale interventions. But they will, whatever their form, have exactly the same properties we found in the historic fields: type, pattern and hierarchy will structure them; systematization will make them possible; intensification over time, driven by the powers of inhabitation, will enrich them. Above all, these fields will endure because they have the power to renew themselves from day to day.

Sharing

The open architecture that is now emerging stems from a willingness to accept the complexity of the environment, a complexity so great that it cannot be controlled or shaped by a single agent. In the Modern era architects have avoided recognition of this complexity. The strategy has been to simplify in order to get a difficult job done.

The time will soon come, however, when architects will be expected to play their part not by simplifying what is inherently complex but by applying new skills and knowledge that do justice to this complexity. An architect's ability to do this will depend on his or her willingness to share the field with others. The concept of levels calls for interdependence among autonomous designers, each operating on their own level of intervention, accepting what is done on the higher level and structuring what can be done on a lower level.

There need be nothing wrong with a designer wanting to do a chair one day and a city the other. But such a desire for universality should not be confused with total design control. The dynamic, fine-grained built field, as we have seen, is structured by types, patterns and other conventions. These are various ways of sharing, but the Modern tradition rejects them all. Therefore we do not know the power of convention, or how to exchange patterns, or how to cultivate a type.

Yet, convention, pattern and type do not contradict originality and innovation. After all, to say something new, one must first speak a common language. There need be no conflict between the constraints posed by the built field and the creativity and inventiveness of individual designers.

Sharing does not come easily to architects. From where this resistance? From where the obsession with originality and individuality? I believe it is because we never learned to enter into a dialogue with the built field. The Modern tradition is highly self-referential and delocalized and thinks it shameful to accept precedent and borrow from others. When we design we do not speak to the field, but look over our shoulders to our peers elsewhere. There is little peer group prestige in working with the field.

Here I use the term "patterns" in the methodological sense as introduced by Christopher Alexander. Architect Frans van der Werf found patterns very helpful as a way to reach agreements between architect and client and among architects in a joint design process, and to record such agreement.

Reaching agreement is the most important aspect of patterns. They are tools that help us formalize shared images and their "truth" lies not in "scientific research" or universal application, nor in the authority of any designer, but in endorsement by a social body.

It may well be that Christopher Alexander's Pattern Language would have been accepted more widely had he stressed its procedural aspect rather than the qualitative objectivity of the patterns. However, I believe that the profession's reluctance to share and accept from others is the main reason his patterns remain popular in some schools but are not heard from in practice. It may be that Alexander's patterns are more widely used than we think, but in a more covert way.

Our inability to recognize the field has obstructed the development of professional knowledge and left architecture as the only profession without a knowledge base. Knowledge presumes the acceptance of what others have done, when proven useful. It develops best where sharing is perceived as beneficial.

The natural locus of architectural knowledge is the built field. We should study it, not necessarily as something designed but as something to be cultivated. We should seek to understand the nature of patterns and types; we should be able to explain the hierarchical structure of the field; we should know the design methods needed to deal with it; we should share with other professions the systemic organization of all built fields. The built field, in short, should be to architects what the law is to lawyers: It constitutes a domain of knowledge and expertise that, when studied, could pay off in many ways.

Shared knowledge brings a common vocabulary, which allows its practitioners to share information and express understanding in a precise and effective way. In contrast to the engineer, the medical doctor, and the lawyer, architects do not have a professional vocabulary. The language used by architects today seeks to stress what makes us different; it expresses personal meaning and intention. It is a language borrowed from the critic, whose task it is to explain what buildings mean and to describe the impressions they make on observers and users. We encourage our students to explain themselves freely but cannot offer them a vocabulary to address the field with any degree of accuracy or common understanding.

Open architecture breaks new ground because it seeks what we have in common. The avant garde on the other hand, rejects all forms of convergence. It is based on the romantic idea that creativity can only prosper outside the constraints of what is shared. It claims autonomy for the sake of art, but confuses the autonomy of the form, which is real, with the autonomy of the author, which is a fiction. It does not see that invention and originality need to grow from a common field.

Avant-gardism, in its heroic period, has achieved results that still move and inspire us because, at that time, it was utopian and sought to create a new world to inhabit. But now, deprived of its early idealism, it has lost its vigor and has become a liability. Insisting that all sharing must be rejected, the avant-garde attitude keeps us outside the built field; indeed, it makes us unable to see the field as a unifying force. What was a source of creativity and power early in this century has now become an obstacle. What took courage in the beginning now has become an excuse for self-indulgence, a way to escape the realities of the world.

A New Attitude

So here is the dilemma we face: on the one hand the demands of the field, on the other a professional tradition at odds with it.

Sooner or later each of us must choose. There is no such thing as artistic freedom. One can only choose which bondage one prefers. Will it be the avant garde tradition, or will it be the constraints of the built field? Which will be more nourishing?

The built field, we can be sure, will go its way. It will be driven by the nature of the society inhabiting it — an increasingly sophisticated society, combining active and free individuals operating in larger and larger networks, ever more intertwined and interactive. The field will come to reflect those qualities.

Professional expertise will adapt to the fine-grained complexity of the society it serves. Technology based on true systematization will thrive on it. Lawyers will adjust to it. Politicians will soon know how to operate in it. Developers will exploit it.

When I argue that the fine-grained field eludes professional designers, I do not mean that no fine-grained fields are being built.

Much residential construction in the big cities of the developing world is so-called "informal" building. The professional world of designers, planners and bureaucracy is not involved; local craftsmen and small builders are. Manufacturing is heavily involved; all materials (cement, bricks, reinforcement steel, wiring, piping, sanitary equipment) are made, by and large, by capital-intensive industries. Doors, windows and tiles are often made locally by small entrepreneurs.

These informal neighborhoods are not slums but emerging urban fields. They are not only for the poor. Mexico City, Cairo, Istanbul, Djakarta and countless other world cities are growing rapidly in this way. The results are full-fledged urban environments, often with buildings several stories high and laid out along predetermined street plans. The process by which these informal fields come above must be similar to the way London and Paris grew in the nineteenth century, but with a stronger emphasis on industrially manufactured parts.

Bureaucracy finally will learn how to administer it. Will architecture adopt the new attitude needed to work with the built field?

As so often is the case, practice in the real world is ahead of theory and ideology. Today almost anything that can be built is also professionally designed; we are already deeply immersed in the built field. It is just that our self-image has not caught up with it. The new attitude I am speaking of will first manifest itself in practice. It is signs of that attitude that we want to look for.

Look not for buildings, but for coherence among buildings. Do not see an intervention as an autonomous act only, but judge it as a voice in the ongoing dialogue in the field. Look for types, pattern and hierarchies. There will not be a single model to follow because that is not the way fields develop. But as we adjust to a new way of seeing, we will recognize more and more those with whom we share the field, we will not only find a new architecture but also friends and kindred spirits.

Therefore

Notes

1. Pompeii's street-side shops and workplaces, called tabernae, have been described in Axel Boethius, *The Domestic Architecture of the Imperial Age and Its Importance for Medieval Town Building* (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 1960). See chapter four, "The Golden Houses of Nero."

2. My information comes from Jamal Akbar, who studied this neighborhood and discusses its territorial transformations in his book *Crisis in the Built Environment: The Case of the Muslim City* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988).

3. The phrase "powers of inhabitation" I borrow from Donlyn Lyndon, who, I believe, first coined it. It expresses very well what controls the form and makes built fields live.

4. A detailed history of the process leading to the new extension is given in L. Jansen, *De Derde Vergroting van Amsterdam* (The Third Extension of Amsterdam) (Amsterdam: Amstelodanum, 1960). This publication is the 52nd yearbook of the Amstelodanum society.

5. A good source for the history of the Amsterdam South scheme and the way cooperation was organized is the catalogue for the exhibition held to commemorate the first presentation of Berlage's plan 75 years ago, republished by the Amsterdam municipal archives in 1992.

6. For a brief exposition of the concept of levels, see my paper "The Uses of Levels," UNESCO Regional Seminar on Shelter for the Homeless, Seoul, 1988. A more rigidly systematic description is given in *Control Hierarchies in Complex Artefacts*, proceedings of the 1987 Conference on Planning and Design in Architecture, International Congress on Planning and Design Theory, published by the American Society of Mechanical Engineers.

7. The Open Building Foundation is a non-profit organization that researches and develops the technical and organizational base of open building practice. It has a small research component at Delft Technical University. For information: Open Building Foundation, De Vries van Heyst Plantsoen 2, 1628RZ Delft, The Netherlands.

Study the built field;
it will be there without you,
but you can contribute to it.

Study the field as a living organism.
It has no form, but it has structure.
Find its structure and form will come.
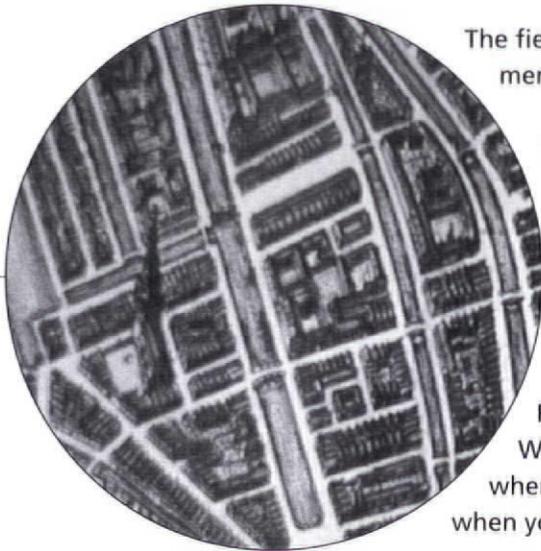
The field has continuity,
merge with it and others will join you.

Because the field has continuity no job is large or small;
all you do is adding to the field.

Nobody builds alone:
When you do something large, leave the small to others.
When you do something small, enhance the large.

Respond to those before you:
When you find structure, inhabit it;
when you find type, play with it;
when you find patterns, seek to continue them.

Be hospitable to those after you;
give structure as well as form.

The more you seek to continue what was done by others already,
the more you will be recognized for it,
the more others will continue what you did.

Cooperate:
When you can borrow from others, borrow, and praise them for it.
When you can steal from others, steal, and admit it freely.
No matter what you do, your work will be your own.

Avoid style: leave it to the critics and historians.
Choose method: It is what you share with your peers.

Forget self expression, it is a delusion.
Whatever you do will be recognized by others as your expression;
don't give it a thought.
Do what the field needs.

Medieval core of Amsterdam. Detail from map by Dancker Danckerts, 1662.

Thomson's City: Mid-Nineteenth Century Glasgow

John McKean

Few architects inevitably stamp their mark on a city's image, transforming it by their interventions. In the changing kaleidoscope of the city of Glasgow, there is no stronger individual than Alexander Thomson (1813 - 1875). It is not that he built the most. There have been others who designed as much and more. It is not just that his works stand out as figures against the grainy urban ground of the city. It is, on the other hand, that nobody was better able, first, to understand the actuality of the form of the city (and therefore its image) and then, through his skill, to make that form clearer and stronger. Thomson's buildings help articulate that city form, which itself, then, becomes more clearly embedded in the *imago urbis*.

Thomson's forms are exuberant, forceful, astonishingly original. But they are always vigorously embedded in his city, memorable in that they make the city more memorable. There are as many virtuoso architects who did not do this, indeed, who shouted their individuality in contrast to their context so loudly that such was impossible.[1] Each of these architects adds to the crystallization of the city's *imaginaire collectif*, but Thomson's value as a lens through which to view Glasgow is in his reinforcement of the city's identity. I will exemplify this argument by discussing five of his buildings, but first the context of urban Glasgow must be outlined.

The city's form, at least for a century up to 1914, was characterized most obviously by two things: first, in plan, the dominating gridiron layout of much of its center, and second, in built reality, the sense that it was a city almost entirely of walls — largely four stories high, surrounding back-courts and enclosing streets — within which virtually the whole population lived.

Opposite page, top: The gridiron that dominates the center of Glasgow.
Opposite page, inset: Queen's Cross, a typically sharp corner in the city of four-story tenements. Here Thomson simply repairs and punctuates the street form. Photo by John McKean.

Illustrations courtesy John McKean, unless otherwise indicated.
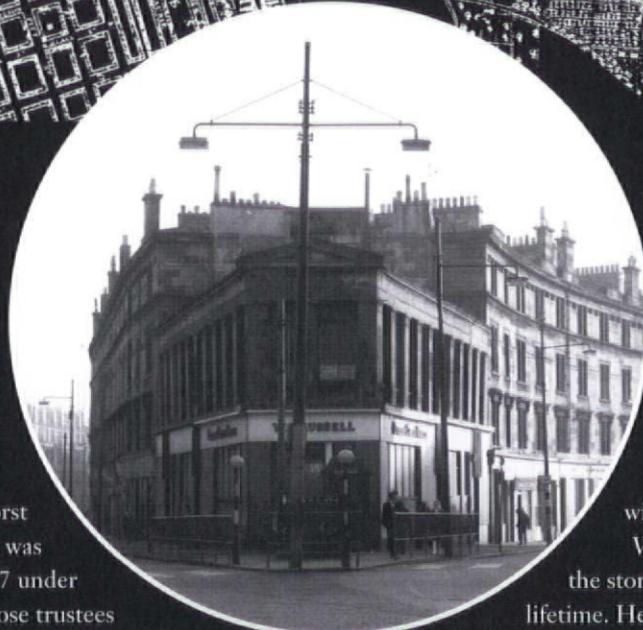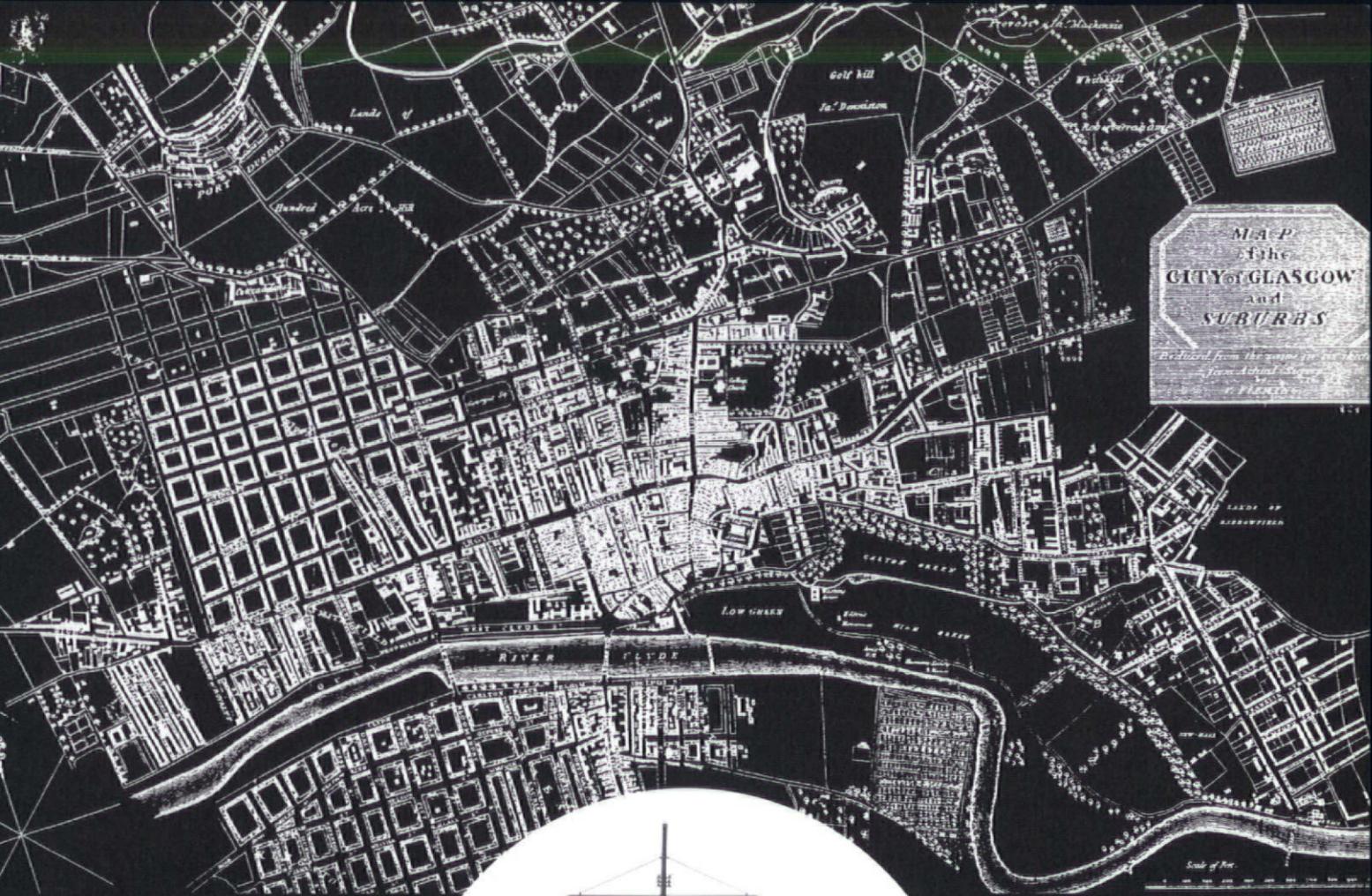
Looking at any historical map of the city, the first "urban artifact" (to borrow Aldo Rossi's term) that one sees is the ancient cross of Glasgow, off which runs a pattern of secondary roads and myriad tight closes and wynds. By Thomson's time these were the worst slums in Britain. Much of this area was demolished between 1868 and 1877 under the City Improvement Act, for whose trustees Thomson produced the scheme, a "renewed" urban block, that I will discuss as my first example.

As its second urban artifact, to the west of that center of gravity, we see Glasgow's first formally planned "new town." The western end of this development, centered on Buchanan Street, soon became the central commercial area of Victorian Glasgow. My second Thomson example, the Egyptian Halls, is in here.

The third urban artifact by the time of Thomson's birth is what most clearly stands out as the Glasgow grid: the rigid gridiron, discontinuous but unified, both north and south of the River Clyde. Thomson designed many tenement blocks (almost all now demolished), whose strength, appropriately, is that they quietly reinforced the city-dwelling form, the Glaswegian blocks of four-story walls. But my third example, St. Vincent Street Church, shows how, where appropriate, Thomson does articulate the urban form, reinforcing those tenement walls by punctuating them with civic monuments.

With these three urban structures, the story of Glasgow reaches Thomson's lifetime. He lived within this gridiron until 1856. By then the bourgeoisie was looking for housing in the more picturesquely laid out terraced and tenemented streets as well as, to a lesser extent, in areas of detached suburban villas. At mid-century pockets of this new suburban pattern were developing, and my fourth example is Thomson's early and prototypical contribution: the "Double Villa."

If the dwellings of high-Victorian bourgeois Glaswegians were as likely to be spacious flats as small villas, their other less dominant expression was the terraced house. Thomson's Moray Place, an early, perfect terrace of small houses, is my last example. Taking my examples in the chronological order of Glasgow's development (rather than in their order in Thomson's biography), we will see how they fill out an image of the city.

The City Improvement Housing Block

Victorian Glasgow's response to "the housing question" was uniquely extreme. By the 1850s and '60s, the hammer and chisel of the "maker-down" (who divided and subdivided substantial terraced dwellings) sounded in recent tenements[2] as they long had in older, spacious dwellings. Now a new phenomenon appeared: blocks of tenement buildings, which to the street appeared almost identical to each other and kept the similar basic common-stair design, were being designed as one- and two-room dwellings.

Thomson built many streets of tenements, containing dwellings that ranged in size from reasonably spacious to tiny. Despite irrepressible efforts to articulate the street face, he never broke the morphological rules that would force an inappropriate architecture out of this city building. His respect for this distinction and for building an appropriate urban hierarchy is clearest in his proposal for renewing a working-class area that was one of the oldest and most notorious corners of the city.

Glasgow's City Improvement Act of 1866 argued "that in connexion with the Reconstruction of these portions of the City provision was made for Dwellings for the Labouring Classes who may be displaced in consequence thereof... ."[3] The Improvement Trust, which the act set up, asked the Glasgow Architectural Society for "suggestions on how improvements should proceed." The society set up a subcommittee that involved Thomson and, among others, James Salmon, J. J. Stevenson and John Honeyman.[4] Nothing is known of the subcommittee's response; only Thomson's proposal, of which we have but confused newspaper reports, survives.

Thomson responded to the city's morphology. That this was unfashionable is clear from the positions of his colleagues on the subcommittee: Salmon, deploring the tenement, preferred English-style terraced housing; Stevenson favored conservation of the Old Town; Honeyman favored conservation and tall, flatted blocks like those being built in England as philanthropic model dwellings. The strongest sense beneath this range of views is the new conventional wisdom of "romantic nationalism."

Thomson clearly stands apart from these voices; in tune with a different Glasgow, he responds not to sentiment but to city form. He is neither repairing nor remembering the forms already demolished for the new mass housing. But with an urban strength and at a scale of Glasgow's real urban patterns imposed by his predecessors, his proposal echoes with its idealized city block the Glasgow grid rather than the taste of his colleagues.

Thomson started with a huge grid, 330 feet wide and 1,104 feet long. He laid two major cross streets, 80 feet and 60 feet wide, and strung between them ladders of tenements, offering only the ends of the buildings to the main streets. Blocks were paired; a narrow entrance between them opened to enclose 32-
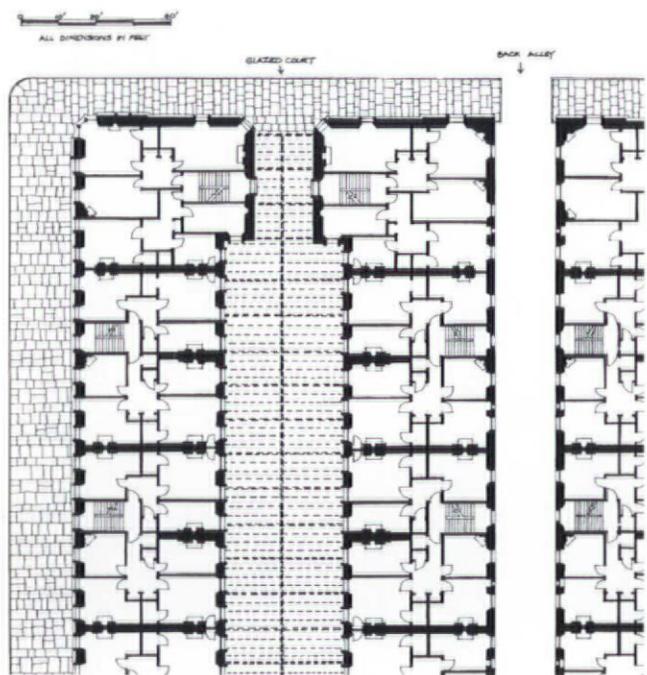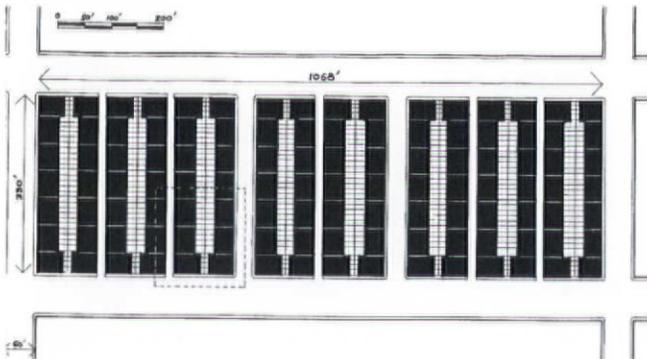
Top: Block plan of Thomson's City Improvement scheme. Bottom: First-floor plan of a part of the scheme. Reconstruction of plan by author, based on Queens' Park Terrace (now demolished), Thomson's tenement block most near in scale to this project.
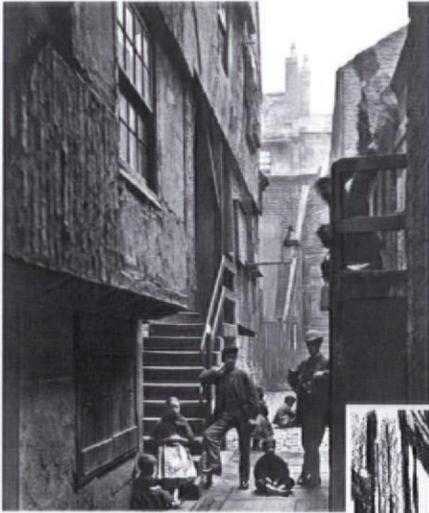
Left: A slum off the High Street, photographed before demolition in 1868 for the City Improvement Trust. Photo by Thomas Annan. Below: Glass-covered gallery of Thomson's proposed tenement block. Drawing by John McKean.
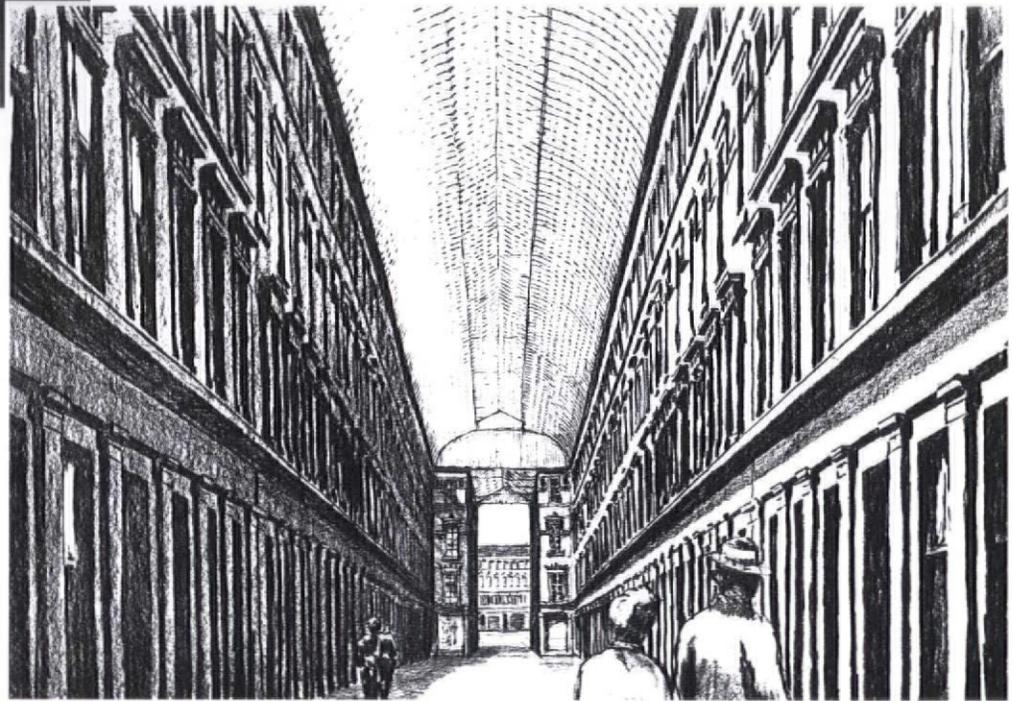
foot-wide courts from which dwellings in the dozen tenements off each court are entered. The startlingly original idea was that these courts became atria covered with a veil of glass, open at both ends and permeable to the city streets. Each great galleria would provide a warm, safe, healthy social environment.

The public face (the ground floor on the main roads and the two cross streets that divided the city block) was lined with shops and pubs, encouraging an adult public street life. The courts offered a temperate environment — in Thomson's words, "playgrounds for the young, where they may run about under shelter. Glasgow is notorious for the mortality amongst children. But the warmth which would result from this method of building would be conducive to the health and comfort of all."[5]

Such a scheme presented an increased density of meaning over the traditionally monovalent clarity of tenement morphology; for example, it offered a variety of types of urban place and ambiguity about fronts and backs. But at the same time it clearly offered separate places for domestic urban life (centered on women's talk and children's play); for public urban life (the more purposeful necessities of getting and spending as well as the pubs where men met); and for service.

Beyond that, the detail is my reconstruction. The huge city block is developed as eight pairs of typically sized and shaped tenements spaced along the two long sides, the parallel main streets. As the paired rungs of a ladder, double rows of five tenements, between which the space widens into the long, glazed court, join the end tenements on the main streets. Dividing the block are two cross streets. Each tenement is about 40 feet by 50 feet on plan, and four stories high. Facing all the surrounding streets, the ground floors are given to shops, two per tenement. On each floor are six or seven rooms (Thomson says each is at least 10 feet by 10 feet), which might constitute one two-room flat and one four-room dwelling; some, as Thomson says, are one-room homes.[6]

The remarkable strength of this rational housing plan — its order, its scale (it was designed as housing for more than ten thousand people), its potential to create a really new urban artifact out of housing for the poor — is difficult to appreciate from this reconstruction. For it is the link with actual topography and real lives, the making into actual substantial building, its detailed reality working out, that breathes life into these dry bones. And that opportunity never came.

Early experiments with a new building type, the urban commercial block. Above: An unbuilt Thomson project for a corner block, dating probably to the mid-1850s. Courtesy Mitchell Library, Glasgow. Below: Early twentieth-century student's measured drawing of the Cairney Building, Thomson's finest built commercial block, destroyed in the 1930s. Courtesy John McKean.

The Egyptian Halls

The urban warehouse and office building was a new type that took form, in the cities of Europe and eastern U.S., in the third quarter of last century. Until then the grand ones had taken their form from town hall, market hall or palace, the smaller from urban domestic blocks.

But by the 1850s, suddenly, a new urban commercial architecture of cast iron and glass was beginning to appear in New York, Glasgow and other industrial centers. Over the next two decades, Thomson built a considerable number of warehouse and office blocks deep in the first Glasgow artifact of gridded streets, around the edge of the Merchant City. In Glasgow's third urban artifact, the Blythswood grid, he built a few more.

The Egyptian Halls was designed in 1871. Fully glazed, wide bays face a ground floor of shops; there are three main commercial levels and an attic lit by a continuous row of sloping skylights; floors are interrupted only by the necessary cast iron columns and central staircase. There is no exercise in planning, nor any attempt to divert the blank plan from being undifferentiated lettable space, a direct response to speculative capitalism.

The street and the city, however, are enriched by the exuberant and richly articulated facade, a great area of glass set within a complex masonry frame. From the light and fully glazed ground floor, the building becomes heavier with each story, ending in squat stone columns that bulge under an immensely heavy cornice. There is an urban sense of indeterminate length; unambiguous, horizontal layers pile precariously one colonnade on top of the other, the details a highly personal invention. Capitals could have vegetable inspiration, but whether in cast iron or (as here) carved masonry, Thomson makes them his own. The eaves gallery (in front of the continuous glazing) supports a gigantic entablature as deep as itself, producing an effect of sublimity only comparable to Chicago a generation later. The Egyptian Halls glorifies the strutting promenade of high Victorian commercial Glasgow.

From their perspective of traditional architectural history, Walker and Gomme rightly observe, "the peculiar triumph of Egyptian Halls is to combine a sense of personal style unexcelled by any other Scottish architect with the detachment from mere idiosyncrasy which not only gives the building a compelling visual logic of its own but makes it so convincing a part of the street and city in which it stands."[8] Just as clearly, we can see it representing the city's developing meaning. Here is no articulation of architectural form (as we see in the next example) but an enrichment of the street that clothes a new building type — undifferentiated commercial space whose only meaning is in its public presentation.

Above: The Egyptian Halls with
its original neighbors. The
ground floor is long destroyed;
the whole building is now
under threat of demolition.
Courtesy National Monuments
Record of Scotland.
Below: Elevation, Egyptian
Halls. Photo by John McKean.

St. Vincent Street United
Presbyterian Church on its site,
looking from the south. The tem-
ple, which encloses the upper part
of the church, sits atop its vast
artificial acropolis. (The adjoining
tenement housing, also by
Thomson, is now demolished.)
Below: St. Vincent Street church,
interior. Courtesy John McKean.

St. Vincent Street Church

Next we move half a mile west to a less rhetorical context, to
the gridded city of dwellings, with its evenness of image. Here
individual buildings silently mass into walled streets. Apart from
the clue of a rolling topography, we locate ourselves in this grid
primarily by abstract processes — reading, thinking, remem-
bering — that are all in the head.[9] Embedded in this pattern but
articulating a unique form out of the amorphous grid, the St.
Vincent Street church puts the body back into the gridded city.

Virtually at the same moment, from 1856 to 1858, Thomson
designed three remarkable churches for the dissenting church to
which he belonged, the United Presbyterians. Despite their
obvious family resemblances, they remain unlike any other
building before or since.[10] In each, a given urban corner is
exploited as Thomson "builds the site" (if with a rather different
rhetorical strength than that of Mario Botta, who originated
that felicitous phrase). Thomson's theme is the romantic–classic
one, whose image was the entire Athenian Acropolis rather than
only the Parthenon atop it. On each site, Thomson builds his
own acropolis, yet each composition is dominated by a tall
tower that manages to diminish the dominance of the main
temple mass and, with a leap of scale, address the town directly.

Above: Caledonia Road United Presbyterian Church, photographed by author after its gutting by fire and touched up to resemble the form of its earlier urban appearance. Right: Caledonia Road church sits at a point where two grids meet. Thomson used nearby tenements, which he also designed, to help knit the church into the city.
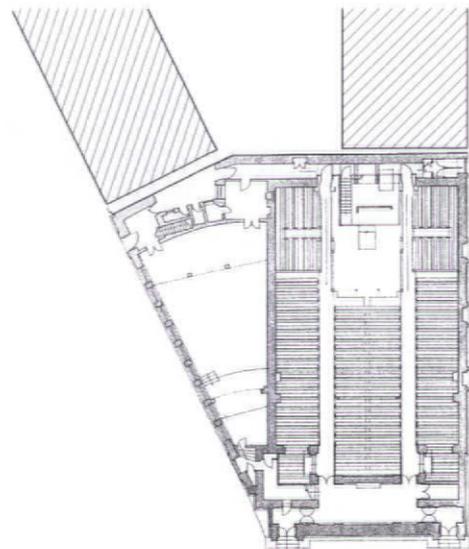
At St. Vincent Street, the steeply sloping location is handled with spectacular drama. This corner site on the Blythswood grid slopes steeply down to the west and even more dramatically down to the south. Here Thomson builds up a square plinth to 20 feet above the highest point on the site, making a gigantic substructure 40 feet tall to the south. On this plinth, freestanding and with a portico at each end, stands a mighty Ionic temple. Its form is seen from the south (to quote a friend of Thomson) "as in a Turneresque picture dominating a series of streets rising above streets like rock-hewn steps of some titanic staircase."

The interior is powerful and architectonic. The large square auditorium, perfectly fulfilling the Presbyterian liturgy, is uninterrupted save for six slender cast-iron columns rising through the space to carry the gallery and then the roof. Buried in the artificial hillside, its upper galleries appear from the outside to be low buildings that flank the temple that sails above. This magnificent, light and powerful interior is far from a reflection of the architecture of the city that it builds on the outside.

The exterior scale is quite different; the form is majestic without being monstrous. The tower, placed with unerring compositional care on the highest point, helps set the church apart and balances rather than overstates the street corner itself. Where one great mass, reflecting the interior, would have drowned the tenemented streets, Thomson's composition has a grandeur that is appropriate rather than overwhelming.

With this work, Thomson has added a recognizable and particular physiognomy to the city grid. Sited with the eye of a J.M.W. Turner or a Capability Brown, Thomson's church grows from its ground as a punctuating figure responding to both the steeply rolling topography and the dominant morphology of the street-lining walls. As if to reinforce the unity of this figure to its ground, to make the church/city transition more smooth, the first tenement blocks on each side are also designed by Thomson. The church animates the soulless grid; it articulates the town, not by contradicting it (wounding, disfiguring or amputating it), but by giving it memorable form.

Thomson's churches are what Aldo Rossi calls "primary elements," in that "they characterize the process of spatial transformation in an area.... They play an effective role in the dynamic of the city, and as a result of them, and the way they are ordered, the urban artifact acquires its own quality, which is principally a function of its placement, its unfolding of a precise action, and its individuality.... they are characteristic or, better, that which characterize a city."[11]

The Double Villa within the context of Glaswegian suburbia.

The Double Villa

My last two examples are rather different, being what Rossi calls "dwelling elements." Each, like the tenement I began with, is an attempt, more or less, to propose a particular type for the town. While the urban fabric of residential Glasgow was being renewed and, of course, from the mid-century onwards enlarged beyond the grid with fine streets of four-story tenements, a new suburban fabric was beginning to be strung together by the proliferation of villas.

In the mid 1850s, when Thomson built his Double Villa, the detached suburban ideal was still the exception, town street housing still the norm, in the cities of Europe.[12] But from mid-century, the European bourgeoisie's flight from their mercantile and now industrial city centers can also be seen here. This pattern, of course, invokes anti-urban memories right back to Vitruvius, who talks of the *villa suburbana* as the urban man's resort. The first century A.D. Romans, with their clear urban types of *domus* and *insula*, invented the villa as an escape from their teeming city of a million inhabitants, a city seen as unhealthy and dangerous, nineteenth century Glasgow exactly.

The new Victorian suburb of villas had the twin aims of show and separation, of pomp and privacy. In his Double Villa, Thomson precisely reflects those goals, and (exactly as Alberti prescribed) he forms the building picturesquely to appear more grand and more imposing than the size of dwelling war-

rants, sitting on its arcadian terraced gardens. He provides the dwelling place, where the culturally anxious nouveau riche merchant and his family can relax and assume the social role that the architect's costume so appropriately suggests.

The concept is very simple: the two dwellings are not paired with bilateral symmetry, mirrored about a party wall as became typical. Instead, the double unit is made up in a rotational symmetry of two identical left halves; the plan of one, rotated, joins the party walls to the right of each unit. As the published account said, "The effect of each of the fronts is that of a villa of good size... . In this way each house looks much larger than it really is, greater variety is imparted to the design, and greater privacy is gained for the occupiers of the houses... . The front of the one house faces east, and the other west, and the views from them are equally good in both directions."[13]

Once again, Thomson's dynamic composition, precisely geometrical[14] yet picturesquely satisfying, fulfills the urban — or, rather, suburban — task brilliantly. The smaller ("back") windows fit a geometric order rather than respond to the varied occupation behind them — for that is all of minor importance. His major ("front") rooms, by contrast, have not windows at all but rather are formed by colonnades, sealed from the Glaswegian weather as unobtrusively as possible. It is both these together, of course, that form the identical opposite, elevations.

Inside, there is nothing particularly striking about the layout: a compact and directly arranged three-bedroom house, on a two-story plan about 33 feet square, with a little single-story service extension. The main rooms, the dining room to the left of the hall and the drawing room above it, are treated with lavish care in articulation and definition of surface and space. The other, lesser rooms are formed with a plainness that can be forcefully, brutally direct.

The Double Villa, speculatively designed for unknown inhabitants, is a proposed type, meant to colonize the suburban landscape with a low-density carpet of objects, potentially building a new "suburban artefact." But if it is generalized, that does not make it just a background for bourgeois life to fill out. Thomson, in his domestic interiors, considers architecture to be total design, inside and out.[15] Leaving little to the imagination, or, indeed, their action, was exactly what his clientele wanted. Thomson's *gesamptkunstwerk* responds to the dominant need of a culturally deprived client group for stable respectability, of the socially insecure merchant for instant culture, for a persona behind which he can relax. In his interiors, Thomson takes the role of provider of culture, he is valued more for his sensibility than his skill: It is a central problem of the nineteenth century. The crisis of urban unity, from which the villa fled, feels a correspondence in its need to endow the individual dwelling with such emblematic significance.
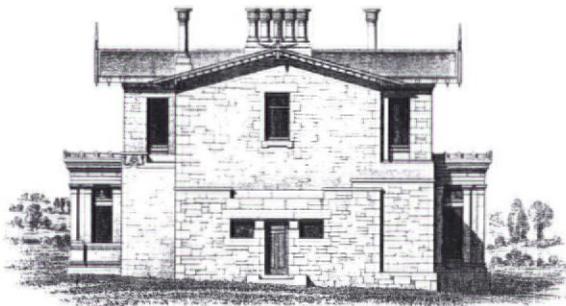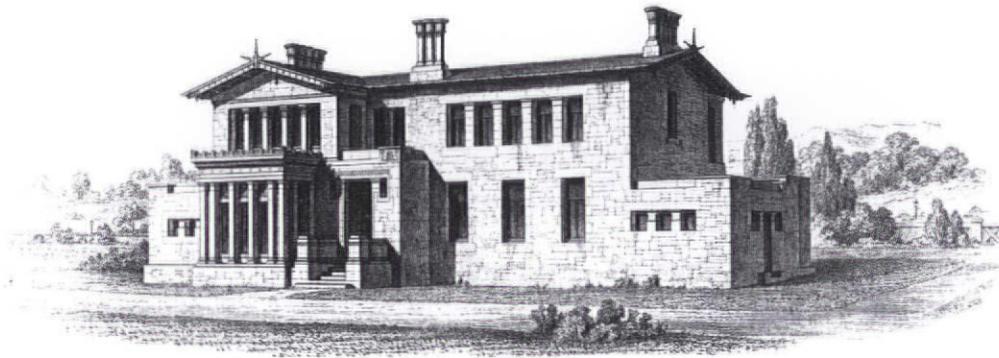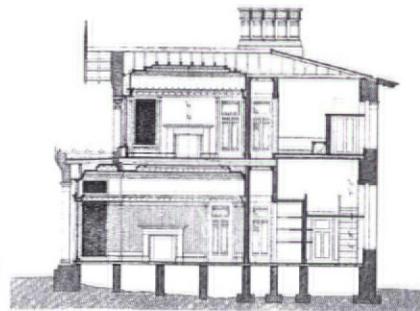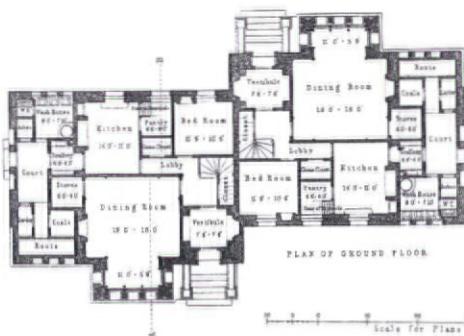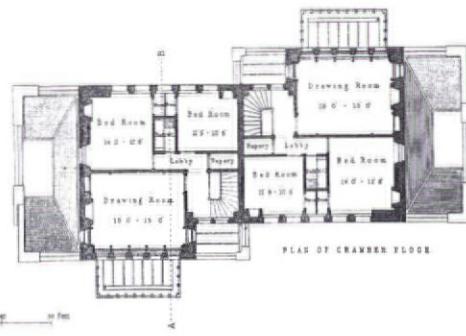
Perspective, elevation, section and plans
of the Double Villa. From *Villa and Cottage
Architecture* (Blackie, 1868).

Moray Place

Down the bosky hill on which stood the still isolated Double Villa, toward the city center and just beyond the new Queen's Park, Thomson next built Moray Place. Here was a rather different statement on the central tension of the time, between the social city and the private family. A tiny, perfect terrace of houses, it is formal, geometrically uncompromising, yet delicately suburban. Moray Place is quite unlike the known morphological pattern of Glasgow, where two-story terraces were almost unknown. The new sense of scale he explores, coherent yet intimate, midway between the communality of the four-story urban walls and the individuality of suburban villas, is quite original.

Between pedimented pavilions, with their delicately incised detail and still domestically scaled double-height order, runs an even colonnade. The weighty ground floor pattern, with its equal steps of solid and void, is surmounted by an elegant row of 52 sharply-cut square columns. It is all scaled to obscure the eight modest dwellings that this plane encloses. The individual dwellings are indistinguishable in perspective as the severe simplicity of openings masks, on the ground floor, the difference between the deeply set windows and doors and, on the first floor, the difference between the deep-set windows and the almost identical blind panels covering party walls between the dwellings. The shallow pitched roof and concealed rainwater removal allows a precise and simple low cornice to mark the edge with the sky.

Inside are small dwellings.[16] Outside, the effect is of calm, of the precise and remarkably well-proportioned colonnade — humanized as so often in Thomson's work by utterly appropriate, linear, decorative patterning. It is less a front individual privacy, more a cover to a community; the "stoa" memory, after all, refers to a public, social place. It offers a potential form for a new suburban balance between the household and society. But it is one that was not developed.

The City of Alexander Thomson

The Glaswegian form of the stern, classic city of four-story walls was adhered to right up to 1914. Indeed it was in the 40 years from Thomson's death to 1914 that the city of today's Glaswegians was formed.[17] There was still urban coherence, good manners and order in the town making, if more bombast than refinement in the monuments to capital's self-confidence. The difference is that no one again made the transformations that gave definition to the ordinary pattern, that offset and identified the city for their moment, as Thomson so brilliantly had articulated Glasgow in the earlier generation.

Thomson received very little press coverage in his lifetime, and soon after his death in 1875, building work in Scotland virtually stopped for a decade during an economic depression as deep as that of the early 1990s. Just as it was picking up again in the later 1880s, an English architectural magazine first hinted at my theme. It wrote of Thomson: "The strong influence of his work is apparent in nearly all Glasgow architecture, giving to it — the city — a character unique among the large cities of the country."[18] Thus Thomson did not stand against the city, but his work gave the city character. And that is why we can fairly call this essay the city of Alexander Thomson.

Notes

This is part of an essay that appears in a collection about Thomson edited by S. McInstry and G. Stamp and published by Edinburgh University Press in 1993.

1. Charles Rennie Mackintosh comes to mind in this regard.

2. "Tenement" in Glasgow specifically means a group of dwellings off one, shared staircase giving direct access to the street. They were built in city blocks four stories high.

3. From *The Minute Book of Trustees under the Glasgow Improvements Act*, 1866, "Anno Vicesimo nono Victoriae reginae, Cap.LXXXV."

4. Each a well-known, and very different, Glasgow architect; Stevenson was later to launch a famous career in England.

5. From Thomson's talk to the GIA as quoted in *The Morning Journal* (17 March 1868). I have reconstructed the project from this brief report. There are clearly misprints (yards for feet at one point), and it is equally clear that other information does not tie together. It is obvious from the description that Thomson had worked out the project in drawings of considerable detail. My proposed layout seems best to fit the clues given; my detail planning and imagery is based very conservatively on various tenements that Thomson built; I expect Thomson's design would have been startlingly original.

6. This arrangement almost precisely fits the few figures we have from Thomson, such as 3.83 sq. yds. per person or 124 shops per superblock.

7. Edward l'Anson, "Some Notice of Office Buildings in the City of London," lecture at the Royal Institute of British Architects and published in its Transactions, 1864-5, p. 31 et. seq.

8. David Walker and Andor Gomme, *The Architecture of Glasgow* (London: Lund Humphries, 1968), 149.

9. As Camillo Sitte put it, "A [grid] network of streets always serves only the purposes of communication, never of art, since it can never be comprehended sensorily, can never be grasped except in plan." Camillo Sitte, *City Planning According to Artistic Principles*, trans. George Collins and Christine Crasemann Collins (1889; London and New York: Random House, 1965), 91.

10. These are the Caledonia Road Church (designed early in 1856, built 1856-7), St. Vincent Street Church (designed towards the end of 1856, built 1857-9), and an unbuilt project for St. Georges' Church Edinburgh (designed in 1858).

11. Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1982), 87, 99.

12. In Britain, this was especially true north of London and particularly in Glasgow, where the commuting pattern was to become almost a reverse of the convention, in that the inner-city tenement house remained the norm for all classes while the new heavy industries were located further out. "Glasgow itself was the dormitory, the Singer works at Clydebank, or the various steelworks at Newton and Coatbridge were the work destinations." See John R. Kellett, *The Impact of Railways on Victorian Cities* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969)

13. *Villa and Cottage Architecture* (Blackie, 1868), 45. The preface, pp. viii and ix, explains that the written material was "furnished by the architects."

14. Thomson's geometric obsession, with 3:5 proportions and with root-two geometry, is clearly seen in plan, elevation and perspective of this building.

15. See Thomas Gildard, "Obituary: Alexander Thomson," *The British Architect* (16 April 1875).

16. Similar in arrangement to the 2,200 sq. ft. Double Villa, here the 1,600 sq. ft. terraced houses have a dining room below a magnificent full-width drawing room, one large and one small bedroom, a kitchen and maid's room.

17. Or more precisely those of us whose memories stretch earlier than the destruction of the l960s and '70s

18. *The British Architect* (28 September 1888), p. 222.

Moray Place, demonstrating a new sense of scale between the urban and suburban, coherent yet intimate. Photo by Thomas Annan, courtesy John McKean.
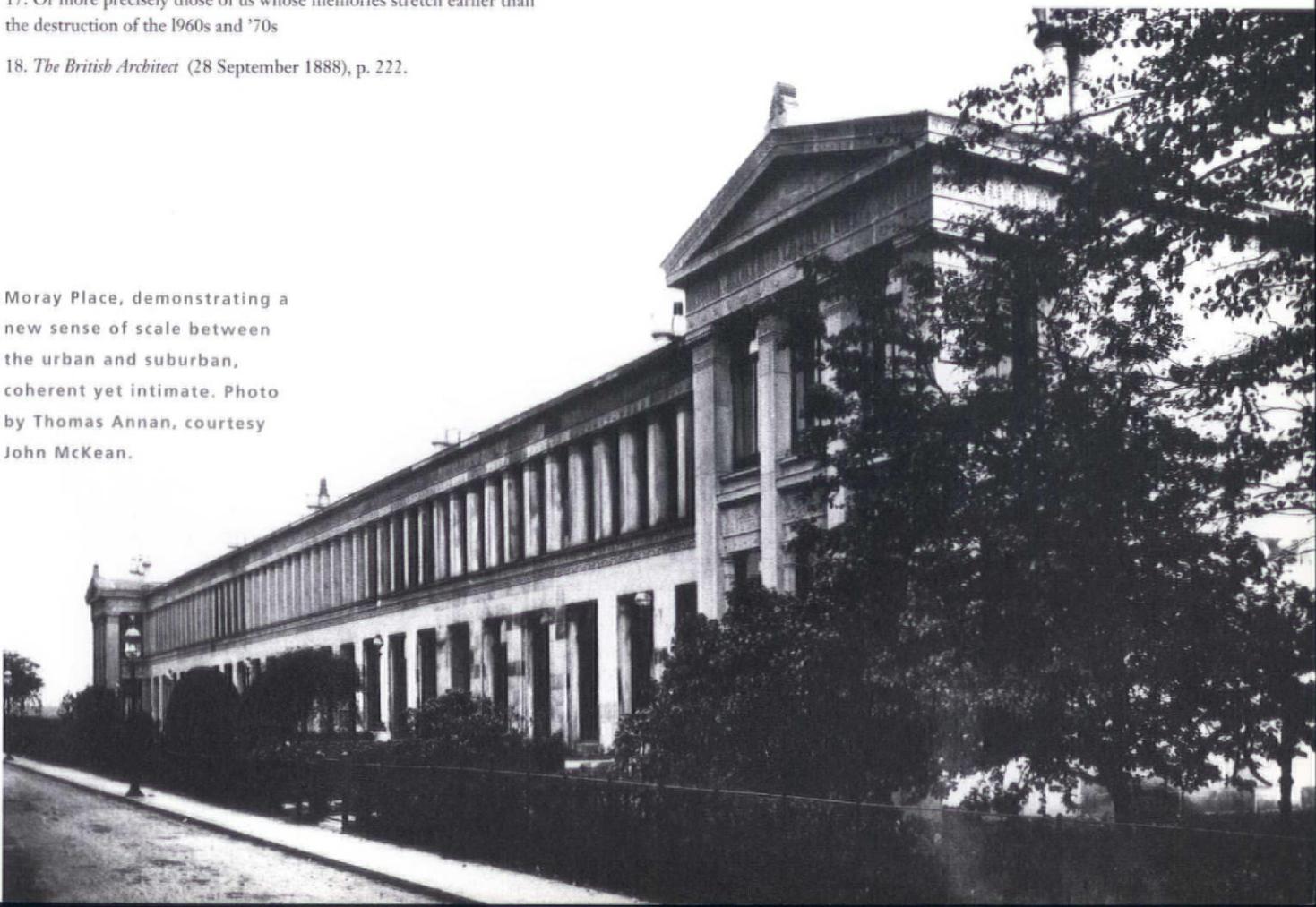
Fond Memories of Place: Luis Barragan and Ricardo Legorreta

Wayne Attoe

Nostalgia is the poetic awareness of our personal past, and since the artist's own past is the mainspring of his creative potential, the architect must listen and heed his nostalgic revelations. (Luis Barragan, 1980)

It is hard to imagine designing without engaging one's memories. No matter how powerful zeitgeists or the imperatives of timeless design principles might be, experiences registered in memory would seem inevitably to have a place in designing. But memories of what? And what sort of memories?

Contemporary Mexican architecture offers lessons about a way of designing that depends on memory as much as on design ideologies. Two of Mexico's leading designers of this century, Luis Barragan and Ricardo Legorreta[1], have drawn upon potent personal recollections in fashioning buildings and landscapes. While their design methods are complex, and as do other architects, they depend on both intuition and rationality, a striking feature of their discourse about designing is the role of memory as an impetus for and a measure of design quality. Memories provide inspiration and a standard for evaluation.

Needless to say, fond memories are not sufficient as a basis for design, and sentimentality has its dangers. I do not offer this interpretation as a foolproof or universal method for design, but as an insight into the work of these Mexican architects that could be of value to sensitive designers everywhere. Places are registered in memory, and the power of those memories in turn infuses designs with special qualities.

Top left: Folk art in Legorreta's office. Courtesy Lourdes Legorreta.
Top right: "Solana," Westlake/Southlake, Texas, Ricardo Legorreta, 1986. Courtesy Lourdes Legorreta.
Bottom left: House, Oaxaca. Courtesy Wayne Attoe.
Bottom right: Bathing area, Hotel Camino Real, Ixtapa. Ricardo Legorreta, 1981. Courtesy Lourdes Legorreta.
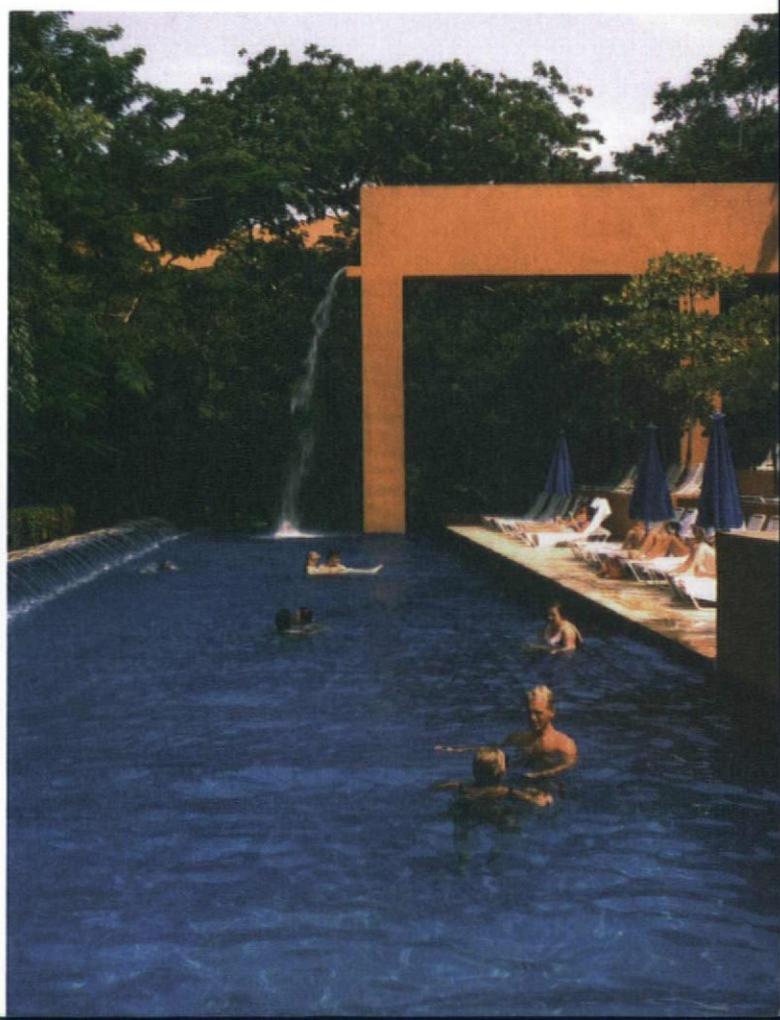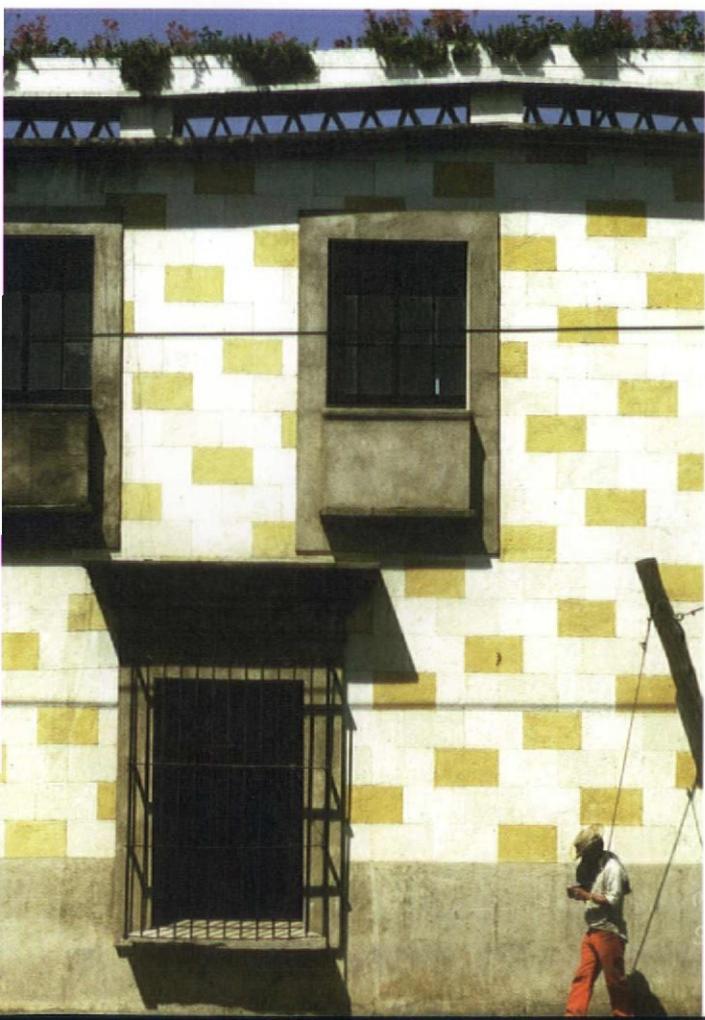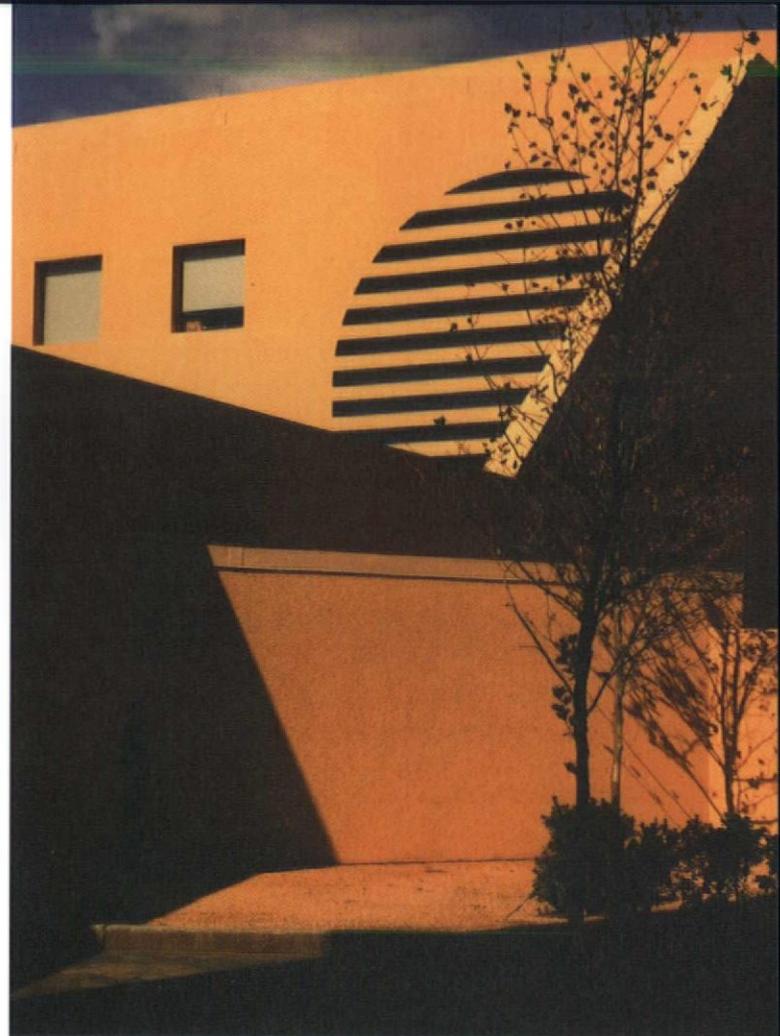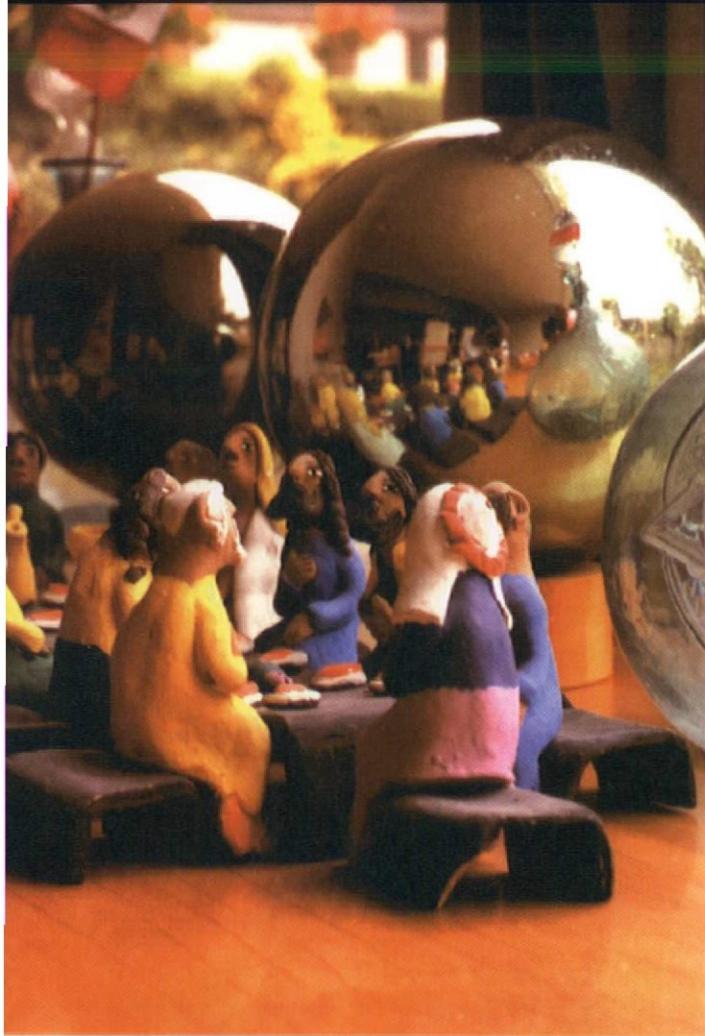
Barragan's and Legorreta's fond memories cluster around several themes: childhood memories of agrarian places, villages and village life, monastic buildings, Moorish design, walls, and particular individuals. These are the "what" of their memories. As to the sorts of memories they draw upon, it is not replicable elements, but qualities, and in particular qualities that evoke emotional responses.

Childhood Experiences of *Ranchos* and *Haciendas*

Barragan: *Underlying all that I have achieved — such as it is — are the memories of my father's ranch where I spent my childhood and adolescence. In my work I have always strived to adapt to the needs of modern living the magic of those remote nostalgic years.* (Barragan, 1980)

Legorreta: *When I was a child my family went to* haciendas *for lunch. Haciendas had been great agricultural complexes sometimes employing hundreds of people all living as a single economic and social unit, so the scale of the buildings and spaces among them was often grand. There were many rooms to hide in, especially at haciendas that were somewhat abandoned, which made them all the more intriguing for us kids. The spaces I remember most were particularly mysterious, large and somewhat empty, and suggestive of so much that had happened in them.* (Attoe, 1990)

Villages and Village Life, Expressions of Popular Culture

Barragan: *My earliest childhood memories are related to a ranch my family owned near the village of Mazamitla. It was a pueblo with hills, formed by houses with tile roofs and immense eaves to shield passersby from the heavy rains which fall in that area. Even the earth's color was interesting because it was red earth. In this village, the water distribution system consisted of great gutted logs, in the form of troughs, which ran on a support structure of tree forks, five meters high, over the roofs. This aqueduct crossed over the town, reaching the patios, where there were great stone fountains to receive the water. The patios housed the stables, with cows and chickens, all together. Outside, in the street, there were iron rings to tie the horses. The channeled logs, covered with moss, dripped water all over town, of course. It gave this village the ambience of a fairy tale.*

No, there are no photographs. I have only its memory. (Ambasz, 1976)

Barragan: *The lessons to be learned from the unassuming architecture of the village and provincial towns of my country have been a permanent source of inspiration. Such as, for instance, the whitewashed walls; the peace to be found in patios and orchards; the colorful streets; the humble majesty of the village squares surrounded by shady open corridors.* (Barragan, 1980)

Street elevation, Pátzcuaro, Michoacan. Courtesy Wayne Attoe.

Barragan: *Likewise I can tell, especially to people that know Mexico, about the beauty of streets lined with walls and fountains, like Pàtzcuaro, where one finds the attraction of the streets opening and leading into open spaces and plazas with trees and fountains that increase the beauty of the streets.* (Barragan, 1952)

Legorreta: *When I go to markets, when I see the things people weave, everywhere color seems to be the way people like it . ... On the way to my father's ranch in Texcoco I found a house with walls painted in opposite patterns. While I was photographing this intriguing sight, the owner appeared. I asked him, "Why did you paint it this way?" He was surprised by the question, for there was no special reason. He said, "I just enjoyed painting it like that."* (Attoe, 1990)

Legorreta: *I love folk art. It is naive, fresh, intelligent and deep. Ever since I was a child I have been attracted by it. I can see all aspects of life in folk art. I enjoy being surrounded by the figures. I don't like to collect them; rather, I buy them, live with them, and they disappear. Through folk art I continuously learn the freedom of color. There are no rules, just pure emotion and freedom. The results are fantastic.* (Attoe, 1990)

Monastic Cloisters, Patios and Courtyards

Barragan: *Being a Catholic, I have frequently visited with reverence the now empty monumental monastic buildings that we inherited from the powerful religious faith and architectural genius of our colonial ancestors, and I have always been deeply moved by the peace and well-being to be experienced in those uninhabited cloisters and solitary courts. How I have wished that these feelings may leave their mark on my work.* (Barragan, 1980)

Legorreta: *Courts, which figure so importantly in Pre-Hispanic architecture, are one part of our rich heritage of places bounded simply. Moorish gardens, another heritage, are lush enclaves hidden away, the source for the Mexican courtyard which is a refuge. Most intense, both spatially and in its place at the heart of buildings, is the patio.* (Attoe, 1990)

Moorish Design

Barragan: *To the south of Mexico City lies a vast extension of volcanic rock, and, overwhelmed by the beauty of this landscape, I decided to create a series of gardens to humanize, without destroying, its magic. While walking along the lava crevices, under the shadow of imposing ramparts of live rock, I suddenly discovered, to my astonishment, small secret green valleys — the shepherds called them "jewels" — surrounded and enclosed by the most fantastic, capricious rock formations wrought on soft, melted rock by the onslaught of powerful prehistoric winds. The unexpected discovery of these "jewels" gave me a sensation similar to one experienced when, having walked through a dark and narrow tunnel of the Alhambra, I suddenly emerged into*
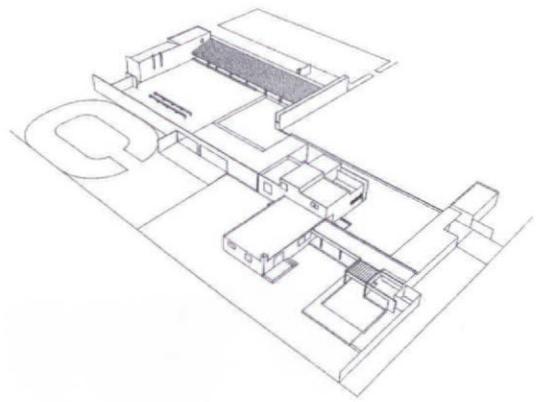

Top: San Cristobal (Egerstrom complex), Los Clubes, Mexico, D.F. Luis Barragan, 1967-68. Courtesy Gordon Cameron.
Center: Molina House, Mexico City. Ricardo Legorreta, 1973. Courtesy Julius Shulman.
Bottom: Patio, Courtesy Ayres and Ayres Archive, Architectural Documents Collection, The University of Texas at Austin.

Pool, Casa de Rancho, Calif. Ricardo Legorreta, 1987. Courtesy Lourdes Legorreta.

the serene, silent and solitary "Patio of the Myrtles" hidden in the entrails of that ancient palace. Somehow I had the feeling that it enclosed what a perfect garden — no matter its size — should enclose: nothing less than the entire universe.

This memorable epiphany has always been with me, and it is not by mere chance that from the first garden for which I am responsible all those following are attempts to capture the echo of the immense lesson to be derived from the aesthetic wisdom of the Spanish Moors. (Barragan, 1980)

Barragan: *In the case of Morocco, I was greatly impressed by the Casbah. Its plain walls speak of a very agreeable interior life. It is very interesting to notice the integration of this kind of architecture with the landscape. It is difficult to define where the Casbah ends and the landscape begins because there is such an effective fusion.* (Salvat, 1980)

Barragan: *The Casbah is, I believe, the structure which most closely reflects the way its inhabitants live and dress, their custom, dances, the surrounding landscape.* (Ugarte, 1989)

Fountains, Aqueducts, Water Channels

Barragan: *While awake or when sleeping, the sweet memories of marvelous fountains have accompanied me throughout my life. I recall the fountains of my childhood: the drains for excess water of the dam; the dark ponds in the recess of abandoned orchards; the curb-stone of shallow wells in the convent patios; the small country springs, quivering mirrors of ancient giant water-loving trees; and then, of course, the old aqueducts — perennial reminders of Imperial Rome — which from lost horizons hurry their liquid treasure to deliver it with the rainbow ribbons of a waterfall.* (Barragan, 1980)

Barragan: *With the exception of Paris, Spain interests me more than any other place. The sight of the Alhambra in Granada with its spaces, fountains and water channels affected me greatly. I would define these spaces as magical.* (Salvat, 1980)

Legorreta: *I wanted a very discreet and mysterious entrance sequence for the hotel, something to be discovered little by little as you penetrated the building. Part of the first discovery would be water, so I thought of a fountain — like many patios in Mexico, there would be a fountain. Then the concept grew in my mind of an aggressive fountain, one that provoked a reaction — vigorous, thrashing water there within the shelter of the hotel.* (Attoe, 1990)
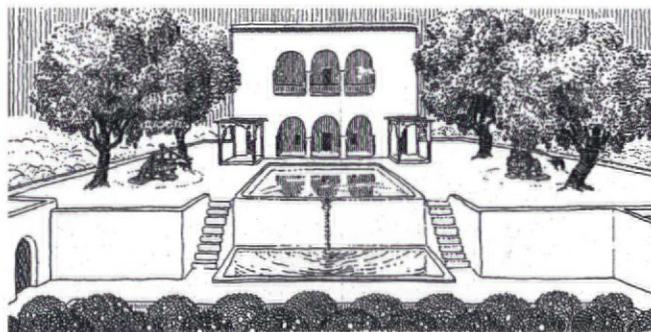
Moorish garden. From Jean Gallotti, *Moorish Themes and Gardens of Morocco* (New York: William Helburn, 1926).

Lomas Sporting Club, Mexico City. Ricardo Legorreta, 1980. Courtesy Julius Shulman.

Door to the mysteries beyond. Courtesy Ayres and Ayres Archive, Architectural Documents Collection, The University of Texas at Austin.

Walls

It is noteworthy that at one time Barragan and Legorreta planned to collaborate on a book about Mexican walls. In the end, Legorreta completed the project on his own.

Barragan: *A landscape has less value when seen through a plate of glass; through familiarity, by your own constant presence, you reduce its value. I enjoyed Michelangelo's dome most when I saw it, once, through a keyhole. So why open a whole wall to bring a garden into a house? (Rodman, 1958)*

Barragan: *[Mystery] cannot fail to be used in the art of garden building, and so we may recall the pleasure of walking in some of the streets of Florence, limited by the walls of its large villas and gardens; in the streets of Rome and in so many other cities bounded by private gardens, the beauty of which goes out from walls and gates, bringing forth a greater beauty and attraction than many of the streets with open gardens that one finds in America and Mexico City. (Barragan, 1952)*

Legorreta: *Walls reflect our Mexican history. The Pre-Hispanic wall — strong, ancient, stark and sometimes colorless — conveys the dignity of its makers and the magnificence of that civilization. The Colonial wall has a different spirituality, not Spanish or Indian, but mestizo, the blend of two races and religions. The mystery, fantasm and sensibility of the Indians is married to the confidence and aggressive religiosity of Spain.*

Sometimes the wall rises to protest outside influence and the forces which repress Mexicans. With walls our great muralists depicted both the sources of our pain and our struggle and hope for freedom.

When other cultures influence Mexico, the wall almost disappears, as though it is embarrassed and has gone to hide. Under French influence in the last century, and American influence today, the wall does not shout — it hides and cries. Yet always there is a constant, humble, discreet wall that does not die but serves the true Mexican, the glorious vernacular wall, a source of unlimited inspiration, strong, sweet and romantic, full of color — decidedly Mexican. (Attoe, 1990)

## Ferdinand Bac, French Landscape Architect, Writer

Barragan: *Then there was my discovery of the magical gardens of Ferdinand Bac, a discovery which was in fact a kind of liberation because it allowed me to see the importance of the imagination and to free myself from a lot of traditional ideas. (Ugarte, 1989)*

Barragan: *My experience with Pedregal goes back to my fondness for gardens, which I first found in the work of a French writer, rather than in the gardens themselves. The literature that describes them enhances the magic in those places. In this way, I acquired a taste for landscape and put it into practice here, originally on my own projects. (Bayon, 1976)*

Barragan: *The work by Ferdinand Bac . . . was important in this respect. There was a Mediterranean and Spanish element here which we believed was applicable to Mexico. Nacho Diaz Morales, Rafael*

IBM Technical Center, Mexico City. Ricardo Legorreta, 1977. Courtesy Legorreta Arquitectos.

Entrance, Prieto Lopez House, Mexico City. Luis Barragan, 1949. Courtesy Tim Street-Porter.

Urzua and myself began to see the importance of endowing a place, a patio or a garden with an air of bewitchment, of establishing a relationship between the house itself and the garden, putting something of the garden in the rooms themselves. The inspiration for all was due to Bac. (Ugarte, 1989)

Barragan: *Ferdinand Bac taught us that "the soul of gardens shelters the greatest sum of serenity at man's disposal," and it is to him that I am indebted for my longing to create a perfect garden. He said, speaking of his gardens at les Colombiers, "in this small domain, I have done nothing else but joined the millenary solidarity to which we are all subject: the ambition of expressing materially a sentiment, common to many men in search of a link with nature, by creating a place of repose of peaceable pleasure."* (Barragan, 1980)

Jesus (Chucho) Reyes Ferreira, Mexican "Naive" Painter

Barragan: *It is essential to an architect to know how to see: I mean, to see in such a way that the vision is not overpowered by rational analysis. And in this respect I will take advantage of this opportunity to pay homage to a very dear friend who, through his infallible aesthetic taste, taught us the difficult art of seeing with innocence. I refer to the Mexican painter Jesus (Chucho) Reyes Ferreira, for whose wise teachings I publicly acknowledge my indebtedness.* (Barragan, 1980)

Commentary

There are several noteworthy observations about how these memories as an impetus for designing. First, recollections are not transposed literally into new designs, but offer qualities to be sought. Only in one case does Legorreta speak of a literal transposition: *I used the proportions of the flight of steps at [Hacienda] Pipioltepec as a model for the broad staircase at Hotel Camino Real Mexico City. I hope it is not only the measure, but something deeper, that I borrowed.* (Attoe, 1990)

Barragan summed up the sentiment against literalness: *We should try to produce with modern architecture the same attraction that is found in the surfaces, spaces, and volumes of pre-Columbian architecture as well as colonial and popular architecture, but it has to be done with a contemporary expression. Obviously, we cannot repeat these forms exactly, but we can analyze the essence of these elements. So that, without copying the same gardens, patios and plazas, we can transmit to people the experiences of centuries which may make their lives a bit more pleasurable. It is exactly what modern cities lack the most.* (Bayon, 1976)

Instead of literal, the relationship between memory and design is analogical:

Barragan: *From corral to corral one goes, from one discovery to another, as in the patios of the Alhambra in Granada, which had a strong influence on me.* (Toll, 1981).

Barragan: *I ask myself if, beside gardens for private homes, we may be able to build gardens of a private nature for housing groups. I believe it can be done if we study these community gardens — like those of the Generalife in Granada — as a common garden with such characteristics that the individual may feel in those partial and separate garden areas — with intimate nooks and corners — in his own garden. Of course one must be careful to have the character and atmosphere of these gardens modern and functional in their planning and design and in their plastic beauty.* (Barragan, 1952)

Legorreta: *The plan of Camino Real Mexico is organized with interior courtyards and gardens which offer rooms a great deal of privacy and make the hotel a true refuge from the city, not unlike the monasteries of earlier centuries. In fact, during the design phase we called the courtyards "missions" and named them accordingly: "San Francisco," "San Juan," "La Palma" and so forth. These residential courts are removed from the public areas of the complex, ensuring quiet.* (Attoe, 1990)

Legorreta: [The scheme for Southlake/Westlake, Texas] *is inspired by* haciendas. *When my [fellow architects] visited Mexico I took them to see the Convento Desierto de los Leones on the edge of Mexico City. And we looked at photographs of walls and I talked about what walls mean to me. The concept was to enclose a series of compounds with walls. Inside of each the architectural character could be unique; each architect could design somewhat independently.* (Attoe, 1990)

Another point is that while the memories are personal, their sources for the most part are not. Villages, popular arts, monasteries, fountains and so on are experiences shared by many Mexicans, and thus their use in designs can have wide recognition and significance. The architect's memories actually provide for cultural continuity. This is in contrast to the more solipsistic approach of architects whose sources are entirely personal or arcane, and which few people recognize or understand. Barragan speaks, above, of heeding nostalgic revelations. This, in conjunction with the idea of fond memories of places, clarifies the distinctions between these architects' accessible memories, and other sorts of memories which might be too personal, less readily understood by others. Barragan's nostalgia reveals, so it is not what is remembered that is so important as are the qualities revealed by the nostalgic recollection. Similarly, it is fond memories of places, not personal events, that these architects speak about. Again, it is qualities that are recalled and that inspire subsequent design.

What are the implications of such a feature of the design method? One would be wary of crediting any and all of an architect's memories of places as a basis for design decisions. Memories and places are qualitatively different, and their appropriateness for a time and place varies. Yet fearing the use of memories in the creation of architecture, or embracing a design ideology that prohibits them, is just as dangerous. Barragan lamented: *It is astonishing that modern architecture has not produced an example of work which expresses the attraction of a place. This would fulfill spiritual desires and create confidence in the inhabitants.* (Bayon, 1976)

It would be unfair to compare these architects' work to that of lesser American practitioners, and I am sure that some American architects are just as passionate as Barragan and Legorreta, albeit passionate about other matters. But it is the quality of places fondly remembered that matters to me and that I miss in much contemporary architecture. I'd rather have to live with the embodied memories of these architects than the preoccupations of most other architects.

Notes

1. Luis Barragan (1902-1988) was awarded the Pritzker Architecture Prize in 1980. Ricardo Legorreta (born 1931) has offices in Mexico City and Los Angeles.

Photographs by Tim Street-Porter of Luis Barragan's work are from the exhibition "Luis Barragan: The Architecture of Light, Color and Form." A catalogue, edited by Estelle Jackson, is scheduled for publication under the auspices of Montage Journal, Inc.

Sources

Ambasz, Emilio (1976) *The Architecture of Luis Barragan*, New York: Museum of Modern Art.

Attoe, Wayne, ed. (1990) *The Architecture of Ricardo Legorreta*, Austin: University of Texas Press.

Barragan, Luis (1952) "Gardens for Environment, Jardines del Pedregal," *AIA Journal* 17, April, 167-72.

Barragan, Luis (1980), *Pritzker Architecture Prize 1980*, Chicago: Hyatt Foundation.

Bayon, Damian (1976), "An Interview with Luis Barragan," *Landscape Architecture 66*, November, 530-33.

Rodman, Selden (1958) *Mexican Journal*, Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 96-97.

Salvat, Jorge (1980) "Luis Barragan," *Archetype 2:1*, Autumn, 20.
Toll, Marie-Pierce (1981) "Good Architecture is Beautiful," *House and Garden* 153, September, 140f.

Ugarte, Alejandro Ramirez (1989) "Interview with Luis Barragan," *Luis Barragan*, Clasico del Silencio, Enrique X. de Anda Alanis, ed., Bogata: Escala-Colombia, 240-243.
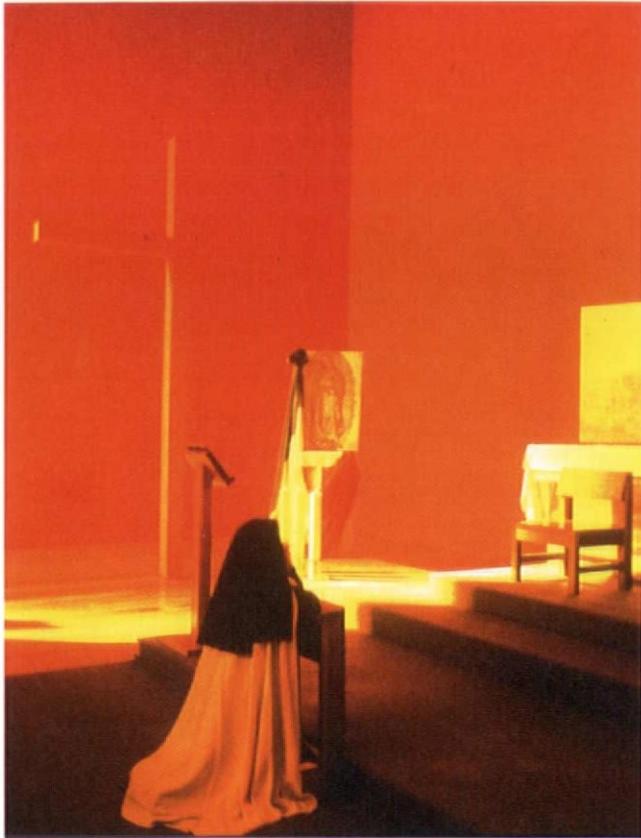
Left: Chapel at Tlalpan, Mexico, D.F. Luis Barragan, 1952. Photo by Tim Street-Porter; courtesy Montage Foundation. Right: IBM building, Solana, Westlake/Southlake, Texas. Ricardo Legorreta, 1986. Courtesy Lourdes Legorreta. Below: Hotel Camino Real. Ricardo Legorreta, Ixtapa,1981. Courtesy Wayne Attoe.

Map legend:
Cathedral and Monastery of Carmo
Praça Da Figueira
Elevador De Santa Justa
Former Grandella Department Store
Black Area = Fire Reconstruction Project
NORTH
0 M   250 M

Lisbon's Chiado: Attentive Restoration, Gentle Innovation

Gregory Tung
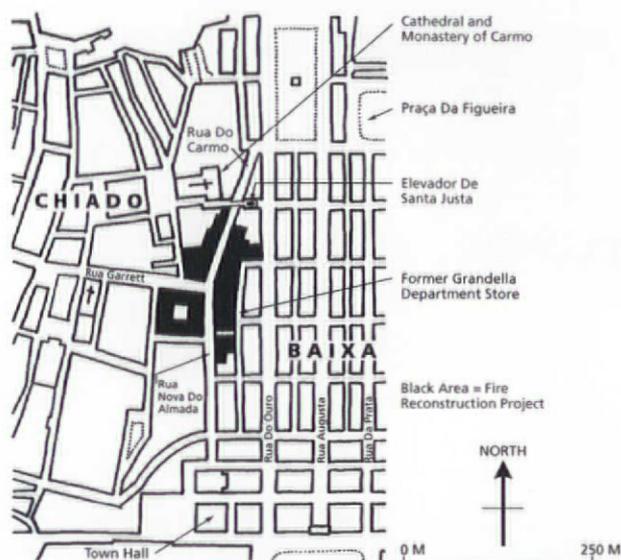
Above: Map of Lisbon. Background: Panoramic view, looking west, of Lisbon: Baixa (foreground), Chiado reconstruction (center), Barrio Alto (top center and right). Illustrations courtesy Gregory Tung.

Lisbon's picturesque reputation is a lot like San Francisco's. Streets carpet the hillsides, creating views of charming buildings, turn-of-the-century streetcars ascend steeply into neighborhoods, a spectacular red suspension bridge presides over the harbor and its residents have a penchant for slightly indulgent living.

Like San Francisco, too, Lisbon has known earthquake, fire and reconstruction. After the great earthquake of 1755, which killed 40,000 inhabitants, the Baixa district (Lisbon's center) was given the most extensive urban restructuring Europe had ever seen.

Sadly, both urban areas have had to relearn painful lessons with fire in recent years, Lisbon with the immolation of its beloved Chiado (pronounced key-ah-doo) neighborhood in 1988. Set at the base of the Bairro Alto district and bordering Baixa, the Chiado was a romantic hillside neighborhood containing favorite coffeehouses, old shops, trendy boutiques and two of Europe's oldest department stores, the Chiado and the Grandella. The fire began early on August 25, burning for 10 hours before fire crews prevailed. Altogether, 18 buildings and 40 businesses were lost, though with only two fatalities.

Though the traditional Lisbon architecture of red clay roof tiles and glazed ceramic wall cladding appears deceptively like Mediterranean mason-

ry construction, the structural system of choice since the great earthquake has been flexible timber frames and foundation piles. Consequently, burning floors and interior walls collapsed, leaving only masonry street walls standing. Two of these building shells were demolished for safety, but the remaining 16 provided a basis for reconstruction.

The twisted wreckage left Lisbon residents in shock and anguish, as if New Yorkers were to encounter Fifth Avenue as a smoking ruin. Architect Alvaro Siza was immediately selected to lead the planning and design team. A lengthy sequence of investigations, recriminations, proposals, arguments and revisions eventually resulted in an official reconstruction strategy in January, 1990.

The overwhelming mandate was to mend the city's wound and use the opportunity to strengthen the Chiado's social and economic vitality. Over the decades, it had lost nearly all of its residential population, and former residences and courtyard spaces had been taken by small businesses for expansion and storage. Busy with shoppers by day, the Chiado emptied at night, a factor in the fire's destructiveness.

The planning team concluded that the Chiado functioned as a "hinge" district between the Baixa, the Bairro Alto and Rossio neighborhoods, and its reactivation was essential for the vitali-

Ruined Gothic vaults of
the Cathedral of Carmo,
destroyed in the 1755
earthquake and left as a
monument.

ty of central Lisbon. A restored residential population and new uses would be necessary to diversify and extend the district's cycle of activity.

The reconstruction plan retains all blocks, buildings and ground floor commercial activities. The internal arrangements of buildings will be changed, however, by clearing away accumulated additions from interior passages and courts and reducing the depth of apartments to enlarge the courtyards. The Grandella and the Chiado department stores, whose businesses were weak before the fire, will be converted to new uses (such as a hotel, movie theaters and a supermarket) while retaining their original walls and institutional character. All buildings will have small residences, configured mostly for young singles and couples, on their top two floors. These uses are intended to diversify and extend the district's daily cycle of activity.

The plan combines an ambition to create more public space in the densely built blocks with a reconstitution of formerly embedded or erased streets. All of the reconstructed buildings will have midblock passages with prominent openings centered in their street facades, often leading to interior courts. The passages and courts will comprise a new, secondary network of pedestrian passages to supplement the narrow sidewalks and auto-choked streets.

They also promise to open the hidden block interiors to the life of the city.

The facades of the first reconstructed buildings show subtle manipulations in storefront composition. New shop doors and windows have taller proportions than their undestroyed counterparts up the street. They reveal higher first-floor ceilings, yet retain the preexisting cadence of storefront openings. While the composition of window lights, door stiles and frames are traditional in spirit, the new elements are spare and simple, as if anticipating the encrustations of returning shopkeepers, window dressers and poster hangers. It appears that in this combination of attentive restoration and gen-

tle innovation, the Chiado is to be healed and rediscovered without denying its immense loss.

Sources

Giacomo Borella and Ermanno Ranzani, "Progretto di recupero per l'area del Chiado, Lisbona," *Domus* 714 (March, 1990) 48-55, XXIV.

Paul Delany, "Lisbon Journal — A City's Heart in Ruins: Now to Put it Together," *New York Times* (19 September 1988), p. 4.

Alan Riding, "Lisbon Journal: City's Heart, in Ashes Now, to Beat as it Did of Old," *New York Times* (30 April 1990), p. 4.

New shop facades in a reconstructed building on
Rua Garrett, with courtyard entrance in center.

Penang's Shophouse Culture

Patricia Tusa Fels

The appearance of many Southeast Asian cities has changed dramatically in the last 20 years, reflecting the region's rapid economic transformation. The size and population of these cities have expanded at a rate unknown in Western cities, and there has been little time to consider existing structures and their possible reuse. International businesses and eager governments are busy replacing indigenous architecture and thus sweeping away the rich life of the street — the traditional marketplace of the people.

Consequently, few Southeast Asian cities show recognizable signs of eighteenth-, nineteenth- or even early twentieth-century buildings, except for isolated palaces, temples and colonial buildings. Hong Kong and Bangkok have been almost completely rebuilt in the image of modern international finance and business centers. Singapore, which once possessed a visual history of migration, seasonal celebrations and cross-cultural relations, is now characterized by the near anonymity prevalent in cities around the world.

But tucked away off the west coast of Malaysia and moving at its own pace is Penang Island. Although the island is home to Penang, one of Malaysia's oldest cities, its role has been secondary to that of Kuala Lumpur, the capital, for the past 50 years. Yet the city is not a backwater; the urban area has a population of more than 500,000, a vibrant economy and a well-educated and prosperous citizenry. It is the bustling hub for an area that includes the mainland portion of Penang State (another 500,000 citizens) and the entire northwest region of Malaysia.

Much of Penang's business is still conducted in the traditional buildings of a tropical Southeast Asian city — buildings that date from a time when

A typical roofscape in the shophouse district of Penang.

The Campbell Street Market, where fresh vegetables, fruit, fish and meat are sold daily. Most stands are set up in the morning and disappear by noon. At night the area is transformed into a hawker center, with carts selling prepared food, and each hawker setting out tables and stools.

Tiled pattern and carved wooden doors are representative of decoration found on shophouses and of the continuation of the crafts of yesterday.
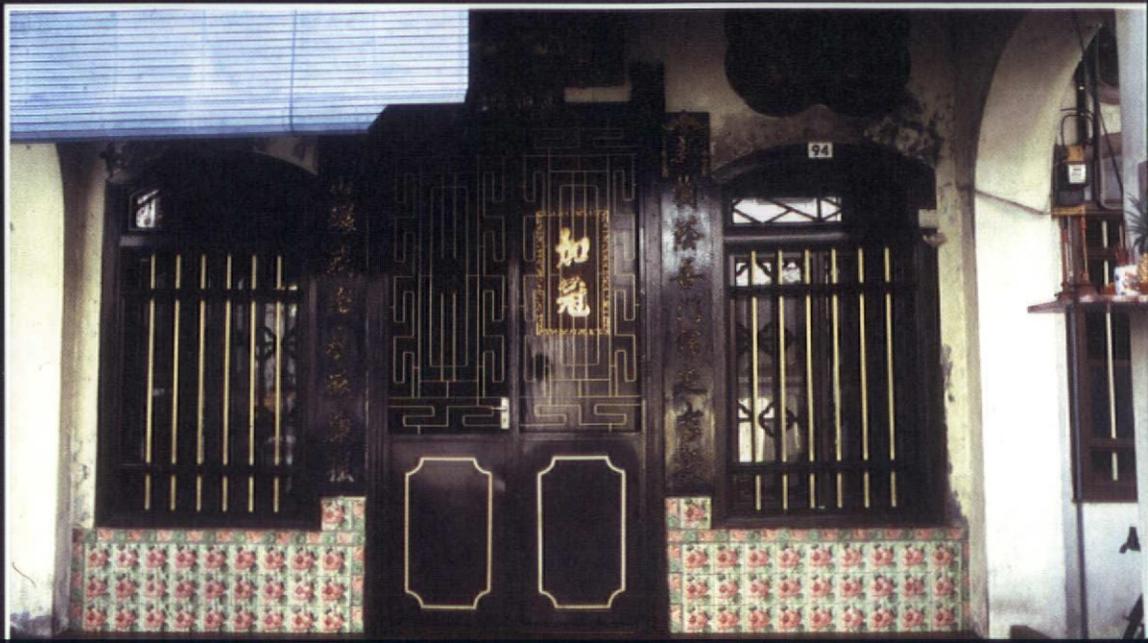
Map by Rahul Aggrawal.

local climate and customs influenced design. In Penang, the dominant form is the shophouse, a two- or three-story building with a "five-foot way" in front that provides an open arcade and sheltered walkway. Cafes and stores spill out to the streets, which are filled with the activity created by a plethora of open markets, mobile food hawkers, workshops and small stores.

Penang's shophouses are repositories of stories, reflecting people's tastes, needs, lives, hopes and dreams. They are integral to a way of life in which small-scale workplaces, shops and residences are located near (sometimes even above or behind) each other, and they comprise an image unique to Southeast Asia. The historic shophouse landscape is threatened by many forces, including the successful Asian economy (which was, ironically, nurtured by this shophouse environment). Taken as a whole, these neighborhoods offer intriguing lessons for how conservation can be coupled with economic and social stability.

The Shophouses of Penang

George Town was the original settlement on the island, and this historic core still serves as the city center. Founded by Francis Light in 1786 for the British East India Company, George Town was a trade center from the very beginning. Light, an English naval officer and trader, laid out the town in typical colonial rectangular blocks with 30- to 40-foot-wide streets, but this grid was never expanded. The city grew along radial arms

Two of the streets laid out by Francis Light. The depth of the shophouses allows for a series of light wells and courtyards.

that reached out to the grand spice (pepper, nutmeg and clove) and fruit plantations. Intermediate parcels evolved into a series of alleys and lanes densely packed with houses.

The city's port activities have always attracted a wide mix of people. In 1794 Light listed the settlers in the new town: Chinese, Chulias (Southern Indians), native Malays (from Sumatra, Java and the Malay peninsula), Siamese and Burmans, Arabs, Buggesses (from Celebes) and Europeans; today a similar ethnic cross-section exists. The city's economy continues to be based on trade, although its commerce is now dominated by electronics and textiles, rather than rubber, tin and spices. Much of this commerce operates out of the old shophouses of George Town.

Shophouses have been built in Penang for 200 years. This unique type of structure clearly shows the influence of Chinese, Malay, Indian and European styles, merged and matured in response to the local environment. From the Chinese came the courtyard plan, the rounded gable ends and the fan-shaped air vents; from the Malay came the carved timber panels and the timber fretwork; from the Indians, urban construction techniques, including a hard-wearing plaster; from the Europeans, French windows and decorative plasterwork. The tropical climate dictated a need for shelter from the sun and the rains; thus evolved the continuous, covered walkway or *kaki-lima* (literally "five foot," although many are wider). As the city prospered, styles became more ornate, and a group of artisans developed. The fruits of their labor — created in wood, stone, tile and plaster — can be seen everywhere.

The culture of the settlers can be found in shophouses. Structures still exist where spice auctions were once held, where Dr. Sun Yat Sen hid out before he helped create the
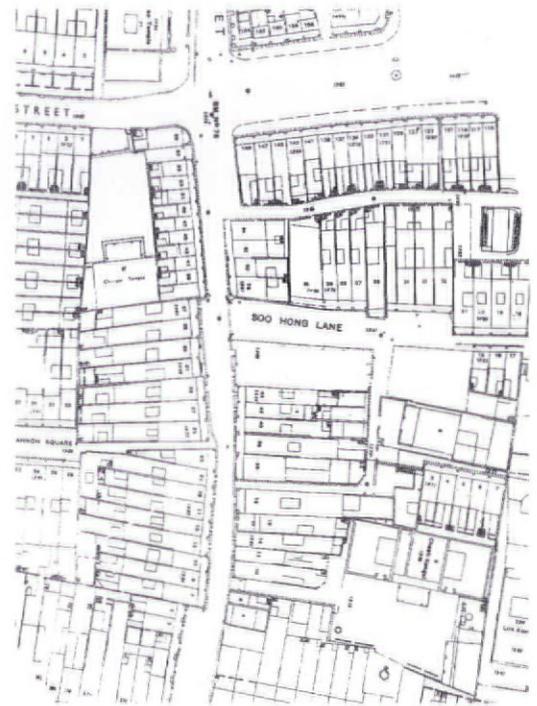
Map and plan of part of shophouse district.

Kapitan Kling Mosque, built by the first Indian Muslims in the early 1800s and continually added on to over the years, speaks of Penang's historic cultural diversity.
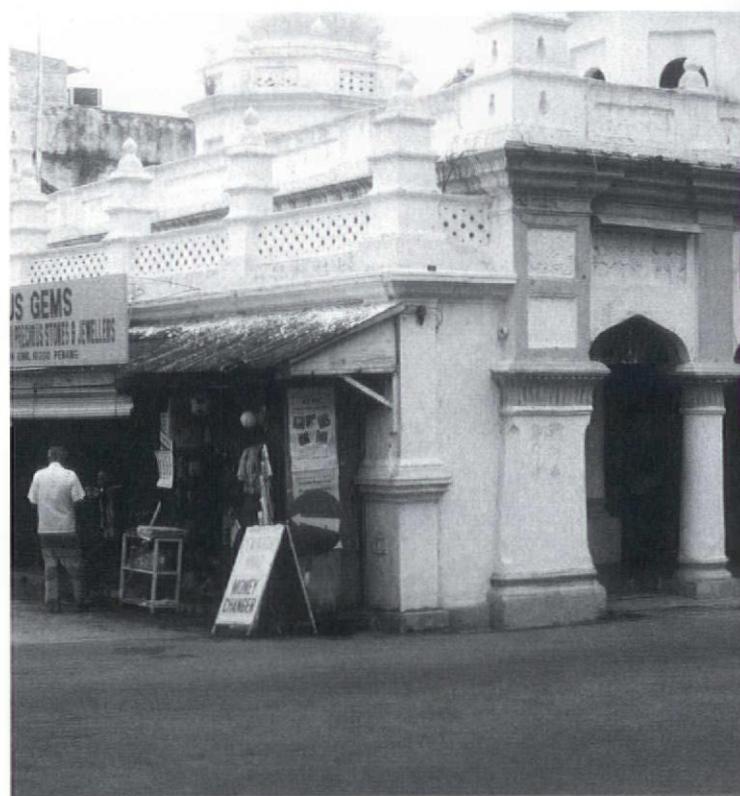
Chinese Republic or where pilgrims lodged before going to
Mecca. Shophouses were residences of wealthy Chinese mer-
chants and repositories for trade from Sumatra, Arabia and
China in spices, cloth, opium and bird nests. Variations on the
shophouse serve as Chinese clan houses.

Streets were known by the trades they housed; there were
centers for activities like fish selling, tinsmithing and stone cut-
ting. Many of these activities continue on the same streets in
the old shophouses; many of the ethnic traders remain in pre-
mises occupied by their forefathers. Shophouse neighborhoods
still center around mosques or clan temples built one hundred
years ago. Here can be found the stories of immigration, eco-
nomic success and accommodation among diverse cultures.

Although detached structures exist in George Town,
85 percent of the buildings are either shophouses or their
purely residential form, the terrace house. That this large
stock of functioning nineteenth- and early twentieth-century
buildings still exists is noteworthy. Even more remarkable is
how these buildings, standing together, create an outstanding
urban form.

Street after street of two- and three-story shophouses generate a profusion of complimentary architectural elements. Today's business is displayed through a medley of signs while the facades present the crafts of yesterday — carved wooden doors, intricate tiled patterns, ornate grillwork and elegant plaster decorations.

The pedestrian scale endures — the shophouse widths of 14 to 20 feet provide a comforting rhythm of changing columns, arches and materials. Walking down the street one perceives the latitude, feeling the variations in light and temperature from the cool covered walkway to the hot street.

Characteristically, the shophouse has a shop on the bottom floor and a residence above, the top floor extending out over a covered veranda/walkway at street level. The narrowness of the building maximizes the number of shopfronts on the street, while the elongated shape yields a series of interior courtyards. Since all the buildings are attached, a continuous arcade is created along the street.

With the expansion of the city new types of buildings appeared, but shophouses continue to be built, and residential and commercial uses continue to coexist. Penang has been spared the rigid segregation of uses common in places where Western zoning predominates. Throughout the city, workshops, stores and homes share the same streets.

The shophouse combination of business and home has allowed for trade to continue without incurring many of the costs of doing business today. With the owner always nearby, security is not a problem, hours can be flexible, child care is in-house, the workforce can be expanded with family members when required, and food and drink are always close at hand. Not surprisingly, a 1980 survey revealed that 47 percent of Penang's commercial activity, and over half of small-scale manufacturing, is located in pre-war shophouses.

Threats to the Vernacular Landscape

But the shophouses and the rich street life they have helped create are endangered in Penang, for a number of reasons.

Rent control, in effect since 1948, provides landlords with no incentives to maintain their buildings. Many owners are

waiting for their shophouses to fall down so they can build new five-story shophouses (the limit under present regulations).

Large-scale urban redevelopment, bringing with it the modern business center, poses another danger. Development pressures continue to grow in Penang as prosperity expands; so far, development has meant demolition and not renewal of the existing shophouse neighborhoods. The country's campaign to clean up the cities has favored demolition, missing the opportunity to celebrate existing vernacular architecture.

One project, Komtar, sponsored by the state government, required the destruction of a large area of shophouses. The original rationale was that Komtar would solve the demand for new commercial space, thus leaving the remainder of George Town intact. But the 65-story building sits in stark contrast with its surroundings, a self-contained, erect fortress with no link to the life of the street, a model that purports that architecture should be the same everywhere, disregarding any specific sense of place. City and state governments have located offices there to utilize the space. No figures are available for the ongoing cost to the city or state, but the question certainly arises as to whether a renewal and expansion of existing structures might not have proven less costly and resulted in a more innovative city center.

There has been little recognition of the inherent value of the shophouses, which have served the city as warehouse, home, workshop, store and office. While the workability of the shophouse form is proven daily by the construction of modern shophouses (bland concrete copies), there has been little effort to maintain the existing stock. Yet shophouses can be modernized easily; their open, simple structure simplifies installation of utilities and facilitates change (houses along a row can be combined for expansion and individual units seldom have interior obstructions).

Local leaders speak highly of conservation and heritage, but the only renovation projects ever completed have been of the old colonial administration buildings; sensitive remodels of shophouses are few, with most owners replacing wooden shutters with aluminum windows, decorative plasterwork with smooth stucco, and tile roofs with asbestos sheets.

Future city plans include conservation areas, but no incentives to private owners exist; only one model renovation project involving a house has been set up (by the city with assistance from the French government). Moreover, the conservation areas are small in size compared to the actual areas of architectural significance. City and state officials are timid in legislating restrictions for fear of arousing the opposition of developers and landowners.

The idea that conservation must be associated with architectural significance seems to be a major stumbling block. The

Komtar, in stark contrast with its surroundings, and an abandoned shophouse.
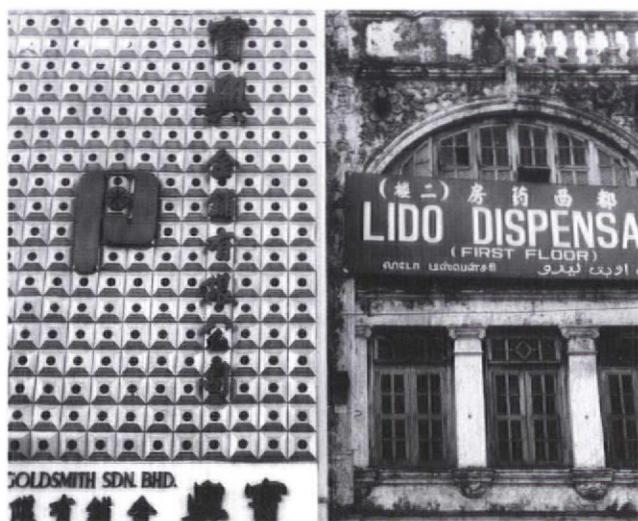
Above: Five-story shophouse replacements rarely try to reflect existing architecture. Right: Behind such modern false facades the old shophouse awaits rediscovery.

history, urban form and ongoing vitality of the city are based on the way that its many individual structures continue to function together. The value of the whole greatly outweighs the importance of individual components.

When an owner characterizes his shophouse as rundown, modified over time with various elements like jalousies and aluminum front, it is hard to argue about architectural significance. However, if he pulls down his shophouse and his neighbors follow suit, the rich mix of arched and louvered openings, the fine craftmanship, and the active street life might never be seen again in Penang. The holes that develop affect not only the unity of this magnificent streetscape, but also the economic and social welfare of the local population.

There are people in Penang who appreciate the value of the unique George Town streetscape. Some are interested in developing the heritage tourism opportunities that historic cities offer, some have positions of power in the city and state governments, some have influence through the media. But their numbers are small and their goals diverse, and they have trouble rousing broad public attention.

Meanwhile, the majority of Penangites carry out their business in the streets, looking infrequently at the city's architecture or urban form. On a subconscious level, their memories may be jogged by the sensory qualities of the street, and they may recognize a comforting familiarity to the daily routine and physical characteristics of George Town. But many people speak only of the open drains, crowded walkways (often taken over by motorbikes) and crumbling plaster.

Conservation Possibilities

George Town's unique shophouses and vibrant streets await their fate. In one sense there is hope, because everything moves slowly in Penang. Complex property ownership patterns in George Town offer some protection against private large-scale development. But the weather will not change. The humidity, heat and rain will continue to inflict damage on the shophouses. The streets will stay alive only as long as businesses thrive and customers come.

Innovative ways must be found to restore occupied buildings for existing tenants and to instigate new uses for vacant properties; while many residents want to maintain links with the past, few want to live in a museum or a shophouse theme park. At the same time, basic infrastructure (water, sewers and roads) must be maintained and improved to insure that population (young and old) and businesses remain in George Town.

Politicians often state that Malaysia is a developing country; thus, before tackling conservation they must first deal with employment and housing. But these issues can not be separated from each other: It is in the inner city of George Town where much of the employment of Penang exists, and it is in the inner city where many of the low-income earners reside. Even in the poorest neighborhoods, 76 percent of the residents prefer to stay where they are and 82 percent stated in a recent survey that their neighborhood was safe.

Although many people speak of increasing economic opportunities, one need only look at industrialized nations with their countless unemployed and homeless to conclude that there will

Above: Eating on the street
in "parking spaces."
Below: The historic shop-
house district.
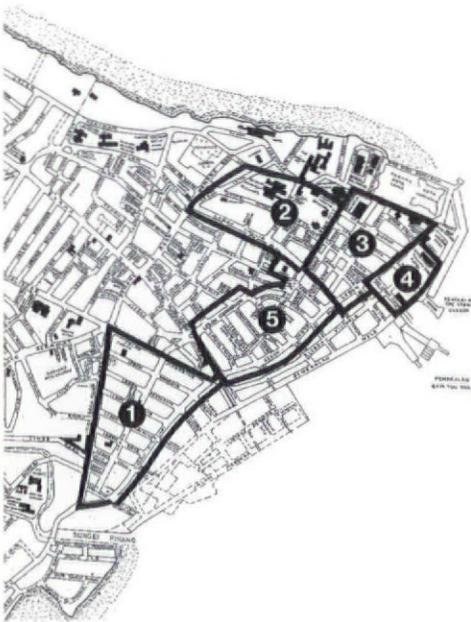
always be a need, no matter how developed a nation is, for marginal small businesses. A variety of trades, stores and people must be sustained. In George Town, basketmakers, tinsmiths, spice shop merchants and noodle-makers are all at work; many proprietors are low-income and run marginal business, but they are housed and employed, their pride intact.

George Town's shophouses offer opportunities for growth; they have provided the nursery for many of Penang's successful businesses. Similarly, what has been termed the "bazaar economy," the indigenous economic activity and the streets and surroundings in which it functions, should be seen as an ongoing and valuable component of Southeast Asian cities. Bazaars provide many people with their first business opportunities.

The city of Penang has taken a tentative first step towards maintaining its shophouse culture by establishing conservation guidelines and completing an inventory of heritage buildings for the inner city, an area of 1.5 square kilometers with a population of 32,000. This work will record the variety of buildings, their unique characteristics and their contribution to the streetscape, and it will set standards for renovations.

In an effort to increase awareness of the local resources, the Penang Heritage Trust was formed in 1987. This organization has now joined with similar groups in Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Bangkok and Jakarta to form a Southeast Asian network of conservation groups. They have begun the process of focusing the eyes of local government on conservation potential.

But additional action will be required. The tax code could be amended to include incentives for renovating properties and to recognize the historical value of all pre-1940 structures in the inner city. This would reduce the tedious work of rating the historic value of individual buildings and the interminable haggles with property owners who want special exceptions. Although rent control cannot be simply abandoned (it sustains house and shop for many low-income people), few low-income tenants need their rents frozen at 1950 levels.

The real issue is finding ways to insure the maintenance of structures and services. For example, rent control could be lifted for any property that is renovated. A portion of state low-income housing funds could be spent for restoration, instead of building new units. Maintenance programs could instill an awareness that clean buildings are not necessarily new buildings.

Tourism, which the state government encourages in the historic center, could provide jobs and income for the city without supplanting its current economic and social life. Penang could champion its wealth of cafes, vibrant street life, markets, temples and variety of small hotels. Tourists would observe the city's vibrant life, not a dead shell.

The inevitable conflict between tourist economy and local economy could be avoided by banning large-scale development and by insuring that a certain percentage of low-income properties remain. A strong local population base would insure that the business of making things and providing services is not overrun by the selling of tourist trinkets. There is a difference between restoring one block for the look of how things used to be and the idea of maintaining an entire area's social and economic texture.

Towards a Southeast Asian Aesthetic

Penang today is awash in clutter, a sheer profusion of things, reflecting a contented but disorderly life force. The Western-trained Malaysian planner (the majority of architects and planners were educated in the West) knows his country but has been taught to clean up clutter, to organize.

Acknowledging a Southeast Asian aesthetic implies acceptance of and sensitivity to the natural confusion of the streetscape. Indeed, decay, disorderliness and complexity can be of value. The typical streetfront displays an eclectic mixing of styles, with a healthy lack of purism. The styles derive from the history of Southeast Asia as a trading center, overrun by waves of immigrants, colonialists and traders. All have left their marks which have been integrated into the local vernacular, with an un-self conscious manner.

The street collage that until recently characterized all Southeast Asian cities was an ongoing creation. New building design can only be part of this process if value is given to what exists, with new structures not dominating the streetfront but maintaining the existing sense of scale and the extroverted life of the street.

The shophouse culture of Penang is more than just buildings, and conserving that culture involves going beyond traditional building preservation. The approach must combine social, economic and cultural health with building conservation. Some European cities have been very successful in "integral conservation," where the health of neighborhood and buildings are equal goals. A more Asian solution would combine individual flexibility and entrepreneurship with an overall agreement on neighborhood stability.

Penang is a city too rich in history, visual surprises and lively streets to be allowed to be buried by concrete skyscrapers. Considering that so much visual evidence of history and indigenous architecture has been lost throughout in Southeast Asia, Penang offers a unique opportunity to maintain part of the region's cultural wealth. Conservation efforts here could serve as a model for newly developing areas, such as Cambodia and Vietnam, where areas of heritage architecture still remain.

Is it necessary that Southeast Asian cities be rebuilt for these countries to join the twenty-first century? Certainly, in Penang history can continue to be made in existing streetscapes and buildings, indeed, the old can become a part of the future.
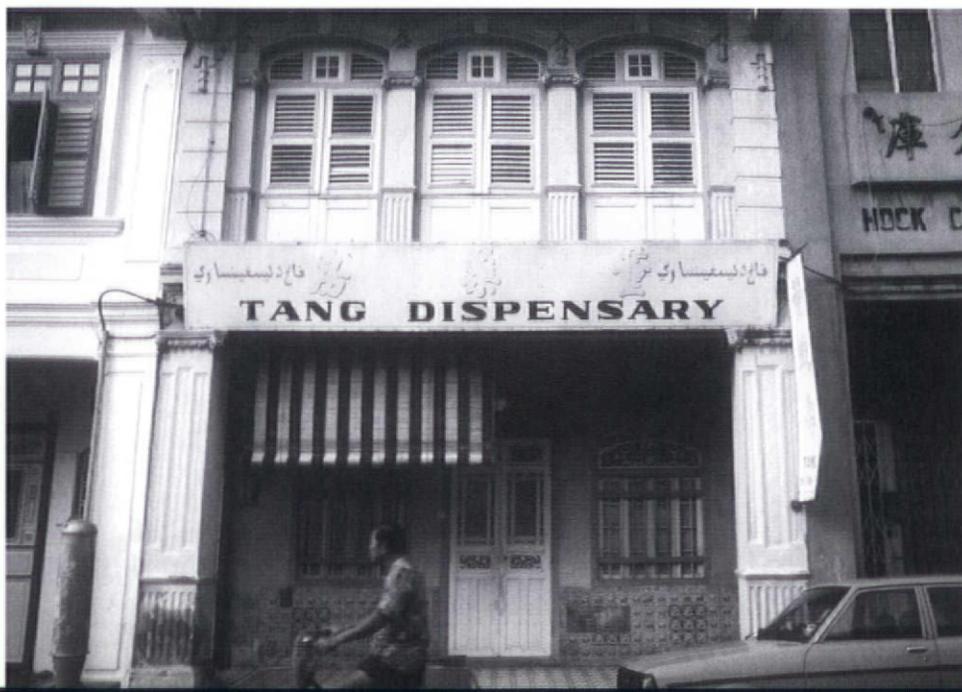
Most shophouse facades date from the 1890s to the 1930s.

The Guilford Green

Nona Bloomer

Above: Drawing by Charles Hubbard.
Courtesy Guilford Free Library.
Opposite page: Aerial view of
Guilford Green, 1981.
By Joel Helander.

New England town greens are a classic American image and the quintessential expression of a regional vernacular landscape tradition. From their earliest beginnings they have provided a central place for public gatherings, ceremonial rituals and practical functions. While the specific uses of greens have evolved over the years as the needs and values of their communities have changed, the role of greens as places of gathering, individual repose and central importance for towns has endured.

Many greens, however, have been encroached upon or fragmented beyond recognition. As development continues to threaten their existence, it becomes increasingly important not only to work for their protection but also to examine their historic and cultural roles and the unique contributions they make to the quality of life in a town.

The evolution of the green in Guilford, Connecticut, exemplifies the marvelous flexibility of this open space. In its early days it was used as a communal ground for grazing cattle, burying the dead and drilling the militia; it contained a saw pit, a whipping post, a gravel pit, hay scales, churches, schools and the town hall. Today it is a parklike setting that accommodates high school graduations, seasonal celebrations and town parades. For more than three and a half centuries, the Guilford Green has adapted to changing spiritual and societal patterns while retaining its role as a center for the town.

Sketch of Guilford Green in the nineteenth century.
Drawing by Charles Hubbard. Courtesy Guilford Free Library.

An "All-Purpose Utility," 1639-1814

Guilford was settled in 1639 by a small company of landed gentry and yeoman farmers from the rural counties of Sussex, Kent and Surrey, England. After purchasing land from the Native Americans, they settled on a fertile plain lying between two rivers that run to the Connecticut shore of the Long Island Sound.

Following the general practice of Puritan communities providing common grazing lands, Guilford planners set aside a communal ground of sixteen acres, around which they distributed their home lots. Although the nine-square plan of nearby New Haven, where the settlers spent their first few months in the New World, may have inspired their orderly plan, Guilford's central space differed from New Haven's in size, shape and appellation. It was smaller, more rectangular and, from the beginning, called "The Greene."[1] New Haven's central square, by contrast, carried the name "Market Place," reflecting the mercantile cast of its urban London founders.

The green, surrounded by privately owned land, functioned, in the words of architectural historian Elizabeth Mills Brown, as an "all-purpose public utility"[2] — serving as a drill field, cemetery and grazing ground. The green was unoccupied by buildings for the first four years of its existence, until Guilford Colony combined with New Haven Colony for mutual protection against the Dutch, French and Native Americans. Because New Haven's theocratic government

restricted voting privileges to church members, a church had to be established quickly. In colonial New England communities it was standard practice to locate the church on the green, and in Guilford a Congregational "Meeting House" (a term expressing the use of the building for town meetings as well as for religious purposes) was constructed on the northwest end of the green in 1643.

Concern for the green was recorded as early as 1646, when cutting down trees in front of the meeting house was forbidden.[3] But the green was not yet sacred, and it eventually lost some of its turf. In 1670, when the town needed a blacksmith, the town leaders sliced off land from the south side to offer as a home lot. Unfortunately he did not stay, and in 1676 they took a second slice from the east side for another blacksmith. These excisions cost the green four of its original 16 acres. Its shape was still rectangular, but the town inherited clumsy jogs in the streets that now adjoin the southwest and northeast corners.

In this early period there were no streets around the green; the entire space was regarded as a public passageway. An official survey taken in 1729 measured the area of the green to be twelve acres (today, the grassy part within the street curb is only eight acres). The survey signaled the pressure for development and the importance of the green as a thoroughfare and multi-use space, and it protected the green from further subdivision:

*to accommodate the Several Lanes that Center in Sd Green to pass
from one Lane to the other as well to the meeting House burying
place School House: and being the usual & necessary place of Parade
for the Train bands [militia] we find the whole of sd Green is neces-
sary for highway, for the use aforesd and will not admit of any Lands
to be there Laid out to any person as fifth Division or otherways
without prejudicing of highway, and thereupon we have set out &
Stated the Whole of Sd Green for highways.*[4]

By the beginning of the eighteenth century Guilford and
New Haven colonies were under the jurisdiction of
Connecticut Colony, and church membership was no longer a
requirement for voting at town meetings. As life became
increasingly secularized, two more institutions appeared on the
green, one reflecting the prevailing spirit of religious tolerance
and the other a practical need for a non-denominational meet-
ing place "for the purpose of transacting the public business of
the town."[5] In 1750 a small Episcopal church was built on the
southeastern end, and in 1775 a two-story clapboard "town
house," the ancestor of today's town hall, was constructed on
the northern end. This building also served a commercial pur-
pose, as the lower floor was regularly leased as a store.

Although Guilford prospered comfortably in the eighteenth
century, the green remained somewhat disheveled. It was "an
unkempt area of public land," far from level, with pond holes
and a gravel pit. "There were no trees, no walks, no fence and
disorder prevailed. Here, for nearly two centuries, the towns-
people had pastured their domestic animals."[6] They had been
burying their dead also, as noted by Timothy Dwight who
travelled by in 1800:

*This square, like that in New Haven, is deformed by a burying
ground, and to add to the deformity is unenclosed. The graves are
therefore trampled upon and the monuments injured both by men
and cattle. ... Nor is it unreasonable to suppose that the proximity of
these sepulchral fields to human habitations is injurious to health.
Some of them have, I believe, been found to be offensive and will
probably be allowed to have been noxious.*[7]

The green was as cluttered above ground as it was crowded
beneath, with four buildings inside it — two churches, a
schoolhouse (called the Academy) and the Town House.
Assorted farm animals were running loose, and paths criss-
crossed in all directions.

By the time Dwight was writing the green was also open to
more than local traffic. The southern section of the stagecoach
mail route between New York and Boston passed through the
green on a diagonal. A remembrance of the passage of the
Boston Post Road remains in the name of Boston Street, which
runs along the south side of the green.
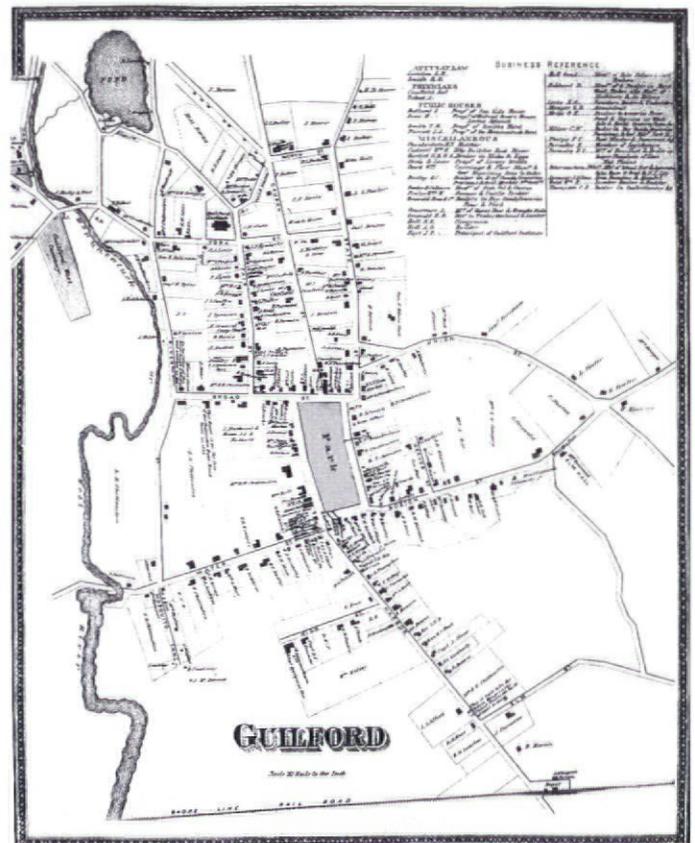
Guilford town center, 1868. From *Beers Atlas of New Haven
County, Connecticut*. Courtesy Guilford Free Library.

Beautifying the Green, 1815-1873

The turning point in the life of Guilford's green came with the organization of the town borough in 1815. Inspired perhaps by New Haven's example of relocating its own central burying ground, or responding to Dwight's criticism, or sensing that the green should begin to serve different public needs, borough officials assumed the difficult task of beautifying the green. The warden and burgesses planted trees "for shade or orniment" in the "shadeless streets," restricted swine and geese from the "Publick Walks" and officially christened the green a "Publick Square."[8] This new designation suggests a social motive behind the transformation of the green, one that envisioned a reinterpretation of the use of the green as a public place.

Two new cemeteries were opened in 1817 and the green was no longer used for burials. By 1824 the gravestones were removed and the mounds denoting the graves were levelled. Horses could no longer be fastened to trees, and only cows that were registered with the borough clerk and wore straps bearing the owner's name were allowed about. But the vision of the borough officials extended beyond planting trees, relocating cemeteries and controlling animals; it called for making a thorough and clean sweep of the green.

The Congregational church, dissatisfied with the condition of its building and nudged by borough officials, decided to relocate from inside the green to the edge. In 1829 it purchased a property across the street to the north and sold the house upon it. The house was carried away and construction then began on the imposing new edifice for Guilford's earliest ecclesiastical institution; the commanding presence of the church still dominates the green's central axis.

In 1830, after the Congregational church's old building on the green was razed, the Academy and the Town House were moved to properties on Church Street. This effort to purchase new properties, raze and move old buildings and construct new ones speaks highly of Yankee stamina and local financial support.

Only the Episcopal church remained standing on the green. The white rail fence that was constructed around the green left an opening to allow carriages access to that church until 1838, when a stone gothic building was completed on the east side of the green. The old church on the green was then dismantled and sold, and the railing could be closed.

Even then the green was not completely empty. An old-timer reminiscing on the appearance of the green in 1844 recalled: *The green of this period was used as a cow pasture, very convenient for the dwellers in the vicinity, and they strenuously opposed this privilege being taken from them and deemed it perverted taste to convert a useful cow pasture into an ornamental park, which is now the pride and glory of this old, historic town.*[9]

The cows were finally evicted in the 1860s.

Bird's-eye view of Guilford, 1881. O.H. Bailey & Co. Courtesy Guilford Free Library.
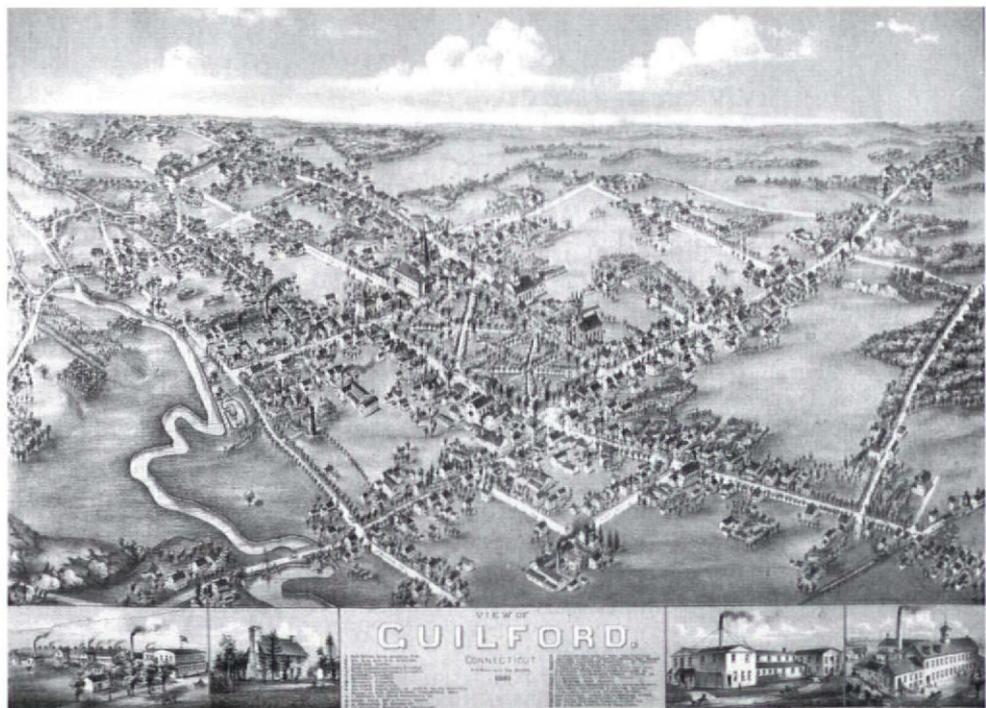
United Workers for Public Improvement at the Guilford Fair, 1897. Courtesy Guilford Free Library.

In 1868 the green was dignified with a new appellation, "park," in the *Beers Atlas of New-Haven County*. The Guilford Agricultural Society also named it Guilford Park on the cover of its premium lists from the 1870s on. The word "park," which is today part of the common vocabulary of public space, was relatively new at the time. For example, it first appeared as a topic in an American encyclopedia in 1863 when Frederick Law Olmsted (who had been schooled by North Guilford parsons and had his first farm in Guilford at Sachem's Head, by the seashore) contributed an essay to *Appleton's New American Cyclopaedia*. Mid-nineteenth-century parks were conceived as a relief from the evils of urban life, as pastoral landscapes and as "great pleasure grounds mean to be pieces of the country, with fresh air, meadows, lakes and sunshine right in the city."[10]

The transformation of the green to what we consider a park today was very gradual. Without the benefit of being cropped by cows, the green in the latter part of the nineteenth century must have looked more like a country meadow than a manicured urban park. Crops of hay were raised on the green and sold to the highest bidder until 1894, when thrift finally gave way to aesthetics and the town purchased a horse-drawn lawn mower.

The new name did not stick, perhaps because the green never directly fulfilled the social role or physical form envisioned for parks. However, it remains in the name of Park Street, which runs along the east side of the green.

The Village Improvement Society Makes its Mark, 1874-1931

The transformation of Guilford's green speaks not only of the introduction of ideas about park space into the nineteenth-century town but also of the formation of village improvement societies, which sought to improve the residential character of towns. The concept began in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, in 1853, spread throughout New England and become a national movement. Writer George Waring formulated the goals of these groups:

to improve and ornament the streets and public grounds of the village by planting and cultivating trees, establishing and maintaining walks ... lighting the streets, encouraging the formation of a library and reading room, and generally doing whatever may tend to the improvement of the village as a place of residence.[11]

In 1874 Guilford women organized themselves into their own exclusively feminine society, "The United Workers for Public Improvement." They intended "to raise funds to repair the walks, light the streets, improve the condition of the green" and extend the work of beautifying and improving the village.[12] They had one hundred lampposts erected in the streets about the green and paid a man to keep them lighted. They encouraged the planting of trees and supervised the beautification of the green. They gathered each spring to rake the green, a rite heralded by the celebrative ringing of church bells and the shooting of the cannon.
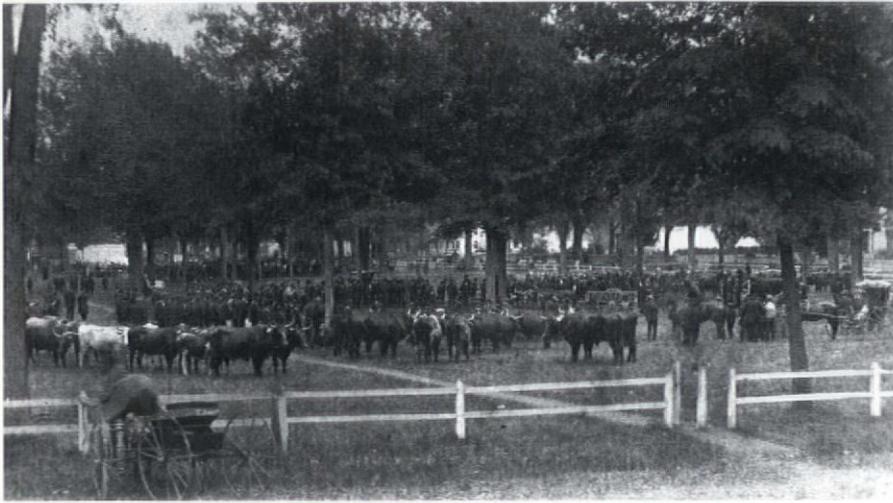
Above: Cattle show on the green during the Guilford
Fair in the 1890s. Courtesy Guilford Free Library.
Right: For a time, the green was called a park, an appel-
lation that did not last.

Civil War monument on the green.
Courtesy Guilford Free Library.

The local papers enjoyed reporting on this festive event:
"Every day one may see some new thing under the sun if he
keeps his eyes about him. On Saturday we saw something new,
eighty ladies with eighty rakes freshening up Guilford Green."
The women, dressed in big bonnets and ruffled headdresses,
carried rakes patriotically decorated with red, white and blue
streamers, while "the Guilford band played to cheer the work-
ers on their way."[13]

Concerts, parades and sporting events were held on the
green during this period. It was used for football and baseball
games, lawn tennis, winter skating and evening promenading.
Fire drills were demonstrated and election parades celebrated
with the "booming of battery cannons." A bandstand was
placed near the center, the dilapidated fence was removed
and handsome granite curbing was installed along the edges
of the green.

The green also assumed a memorial role. In 1877 the
granite foundation for a Civil War monument was placed in
the center of the green just above the old cemetery. Between
1903 and 1928 cement walks, contributed by townspeople in
memory of loved ones, replaced the green's muddy paths.
One reporter, however, disapproved: "Surely the common
Green should be kept in character. Running loud white side-
walks across it is like taking the ancient sunbonnet from a
fine old country grandmother and substituting a forty-cent
flapper beret."[14]

Today the green is used for diverse activities, such as political gatherings, memorials and monuments, fairs ...
Credits: Left, *Shore Line Times*; center, Mark Bloomer; right, Barbara Kleutsch.

With the advent of the First World War a new Liberty Flagpole and an honor roll appeared on the green. Trees were planted in memory of Guilford's war dead, and in 1931 a boulder for a permanent memorial was set into concrete. Since then five more monuments, four of them war memorials, have been placed on the green.

The United Workers for Public Improvement disbanded in 1931. Without the care of the women the green fell, once again, into a disheveled condition. Rossiter Snyder, Warden of the Borough, pleaded for contributions to revitalize and fertilize its greenery, acquire suitable benches and fund a "creditable band" to play in the bandstand. He also recognized that the green performed an important symbolic role, in addition to its recreational and commemorative one. It was a "monument to the town" and a historic presence of national significance:

The saving and beautifying of the Green means more to this town than any other public improvement at present. By the Green the town is known and remembered. It is starving to death and we want to revive it. The borough allotment for it will go only a limited distance. The Green is an inheritance of three hundred years and it must go on for that many more. It is a source of interest and pride beyond the limits of the town. Its value reaches the entire state, and the New England states, and, for that matter, the United States, for it is true that these old New England towns are the background, the foundation, the sources from which most of this nation grew. And we cannot let the foundation of our house crumble.[15]

The Guilford Green Today

Originally at the core of the settlement, Guilford's green is now geographically dislocated as a central place, not only regarding habitation, but also business. The straightening and relocation of the Boston Post Road in 1927 took the town's main commercial activity to a strip north of the village, leaving the area around the green for smaller businesses. The houses facing the green have been adapted for business uses and rental apartments, but residential streets lined with trees and fences fronting antique houses lead immediately off the streets around the green.

After the borough consolidated with the town, in 1941, responsibility for supervising the green passed to the Board of Selectmen. The selectmen have repeatedly affirmed its use as a public place for public assembly on condition that whoever is using the green take care of it.

The green today plays a ceremonial and celebrative role in the town, serving as a location for events from Memorial Day celebrations to Christmas tree festivities. It sustains a vivid public life for town residents, who attend graduations, concerts, festivals, strawberry socials, ecumenical gatherings and peace vigils there. The care and appearance of the green is a widely accepted community responsibility supported by several local organizations, although not always with complete agreement about what should go on the green or how the space should be used.
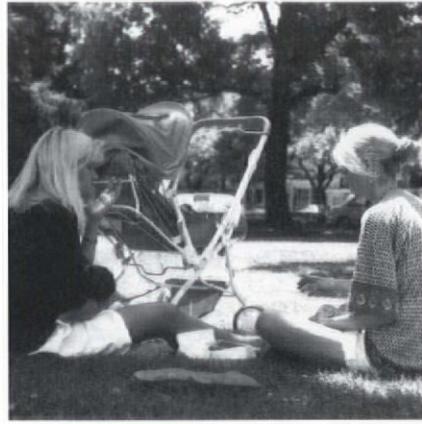
... the town's annual "strawberry social," quiet moments of relaxation and high school graduation ceremonies.
Credits: Left and right, *Shore Line Times*; center, Mark Bloomer.

Before the hurricane of 1938 the green had so many trees it was always dark. There is disagreement today, however, about the kind and number of trees to be planted on the green, and some people are unhappy about the trees that already block the vista of the Congregational Church.

The last bandstand on the green was removed in 1945 and has not been replaced. Apparently the bandstands had provided opportunities for mischief and vandalism. When a proposal for a new bandstand was decisively rejected in a special town meeting in 1965, opponents contended that "a bandstand would be an anachronism on old Guilford Green, that a portable shell would offer greater flexibility, and that the bandstands previously on the green never contributed to the cultural atmosphere of Guilford."[16] This issue is alive today with the recent formation of the Bandstand Committee of the Guilford Foundation, which is asking for contributions to build a portable shell.

The Guilford Agricultural Fair, which was first held on the green in 1859, outgrew this traditional location and in 1969, after years of argument, had to move to larger fairgrounds a mile away. Its opening parade, however, with floats, fife and drum corps, school marching bands and a procession of war veterans and town officials continues to make its way around the green before heading toward the new grounds. A large handcrafts exhibit is held annually on the green, inciting discussions about the use of the green for an event that draws more than 15,000 people from miles around — causing much wear and tear on the green's turf and paralyzing surrounding traffic. The colonial scale of the green may be able to accommodate the people, but not the cars and trucks that bring them.

Guilford's fire department has the dubious distinction of having provided the proverbial last straw regarding monuments on the green. The local paper reported that, after much controversy, a firefighter's monument would be placed on the green temporarily. It still happens to be there, but beyond the issue of its not being a war memorial is the question of whether another monument of any kind should have been placed on the green. When the first selectman commented with exasperation, "I didn't realize the Green was going to be such a controversy," he received the telling reply, "It's an emotional hot bed."[17]

Although the Guilford Town Center, embracing the green, was listed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1976, it took decades to give this place a local historic district designation protected by state statutes. A proposal for a historic district study was rejected by town meeting in 1962. Finally, in 1987, after much hard work and public education, the district was approved by a majority vote of property owners. The newspaper's recognition that the "concept of the state's historic district has its roots in Guilford" is a tribute to those who wrote the enabling legislation and worked to protect the green and its historic surrounds.[18]

As Guilford has grown from a few hundred settlers to a town numbering more than 21,000 inhabitants, the green has evolved from a utilitarian square to a dignified presence of enduring social importance. The significant role the green plays for the townspeople is underlined by the comment of David Dudley, president of the Guilford Savings Bank, which faces its southeastern corner: "It symbolizes the way people relate to the town."[19]

To appreciate today's reverent and sometimes impassioned responses to the simple, silent and now urban space of Guilford's beautiful green, one must evoke the ancestral cultural sensibilities of the town itself. The green as the heart of the community does indeed represent a collective remembrance of its historic place at the center of the original colony, even as it functions as an open space that serves the citizens of today and their ongoing activities.

Notes

1. For a discussion of the resemblance of this plan to the bastide design of French medieval towns built for defense, see Anthony N. B. Garvan, *Architecture and Town Planning in Colonial Connecticut* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1951) and Robert Blair St. George, "Bawns and Beliefs: Architecture, Commerce and Conversion in Early New England," *Winterthur Portfolio* 25:4 (Winter 1990) 241-287.

2. See Elizabeth Mills Brown, "Architectural Development," in *Survey of the Historic Architecture of Guilford, Connecticut* (Guilford, CT: Guilford Preservation Alliance, 1982), 23-68; and *Guilford, Connecticut: Its Green and Its Historic Buildings* (Guilford, CT: Guilford Bicentennial Committee, 1975) for the place of the green within the architectural framework of Guilford.

3. Bernard C. Steiner, *History of Guilford and Madison, Connecticut* (Baltimore, 1897; reissued by the Guilford Free Library, 1975), 259.

4. Guilford land records, 1729, 4:120.

5. Steiner, 221.

6. *Shore Line Times*, 29 November 1928.

7. Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York*, edited by B. M. Solomon (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1969), 2:360.

8. Guilford Borough Records, 1815-1847, 31-73. See also Joel E. Helander, *Guilford Long Ago* (Guilford, CT: 1970).

9. *Shore Line Times*, 16 June 1910.

10. Galen Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1982), 4-5, 24.

11. John Brinckerhoff Jackson, *American Space: The Centennial Years, 1865-1876* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1972), 102.

12. *Shore Line Times*, 4 June 1931.

13. Mary Gay Robinson letter dated 30 April 1877 to the *New Haven Journal and Courier*, in the Mary Hoadley Griswold Scrapbook, p. 12, Guilford Free Library.

14. *Shore Line Times*, 2 December 1928.

15. *Shore Line Times*, 7 May 1931.

16. *Shore Line Times*, 15 April 1965.

17. *Shore Line Times*, 21 March 1985.

18. *Shore Line Times*, 9 August 1989.

19. Tim Clark and Stephen O. Muskie, "This New England: Guilford, Connecticut," *Yankee Magazine* (May 1989), 136.

The Guilford Green, 1993. Photo courtesy Mark Bloomer.

From Bus Route to Urban Form: L.A.'s Electric Trolley Bus Plan

Todd W. Bressi
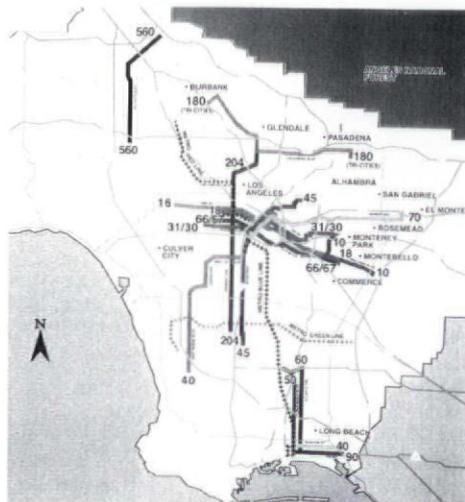
Above: Los Angeles' proposed 200-mile trolley-bus network. Below: Electric trolley busses require extensive investment in power cables, support wire, poles and electric substations. Photo by Todd W. Bressi.

In 1989, the little-known agency that monitors Los Angeles' air quality issued a set of rules that aimed to bring L.A.'s perpetually smoggy air into compliance with federal clean air requirements and promised to affect everything from bakeries to driving patterns to backyard barbecues. One of the most intriguing outcomes was a proposal to redesign some 200 miles of boulevards — a network of main streets stretching from the San Fernando Valley to Long Beach and from Beverly Hills to East L.A. — into friendly transit and pedestrian environments.

The proposal came about because the air-quality rules require the region's busses to emit no pollution, one third of them by 2000 and all of them by 2010. RTD, the regional bus agency (now merged into the Metropolitan Transit Authority or MTA), concluded that the only reliable and economical technology for the first phase was electric trolley busses, which had plied L.A. streets into the 1950s.

Electric trolleys, which draw power from overhead electric cables suspended from poles and buildings, require extensive investment in power cables, support wire, poles and electric substations. This infrastructure would not only be expensive, costing several million dollars a mile, but also would have significant visual impact on the streets where trolleys would run. From the outset, the RTD realized it would have to pay special attention to the trolley's design if the project were to win support.

The design program evolved from what design consultant Doug Suisman of Public Works Associates called a "camouflage strategy" to a comprehensive streetscape project. "With this capital investment we could rethink the boulevard as an integrated transit environment, of which the bus, poles and wires would be components," he said.

The success of the trolley system, in fact, would rest on the success of the streets. "The bus rider, by definition, is also a pedestrian," noted Paul Diez, chief project designer for consultant ICF Kaiser Engineers. The urban design would "reconfirm the boulevard, the street and the sidewalk as indispensable urban settings on which the Electric Trolley Bus system will depend," the project's Urban Design Handbook stated. Similarly, the work of upgrading the streets would provide an opportunity for groups concerned about the project — public agencies and community groups alike — to help in planning it.

Ultimately, the urban design program was incorporated within the project's environmental impact study as part of the mitigation plan, making it inseparable from the rest of the project. Ten percent of the $1 billion cost, or $500,000 per mile, was allocated for urban design.

Creating the Electric Trolley Boulevard text continues below. The diagram shows labeled street segments: Residential Street, Metropolitan Boulevard, Parkway, Metropolitan Boulevard, Parkway, Metropolitan Boulevard, Viaduct, Downtown Avenue, Industrial Road, Viaduct, Viaduct, Parkway, Neighborhood Main Street, Viaduct, Neighborhood Main Street, Parkway, Neighborhood Main Street, Metropolitan Boulevard, Parkway, Viaduct, Neighborhood Main Street, Automobile Strip, Metropolitan Boulevard. Regions labeled: MIDWILSHIRE, DOWNTOWN, BOYLE HEIGHTS, EAST LOS ANGELES.

Creating the Electric Trolley Boulevard

The urban design plan envisioned the trolley project would result in no less than a new type of street, the "Electric Trolley Boulevard," which would help reclaim Los Angeles' public realm for pedestrians. Systemwide elements like poles, cables, bus stops, graphics, lighting and planting would establish a continuity of scale and visual character throughout the 200-mile network. They would unify the disparate elements on every street and give the trolley network a regional presence and coherence.

At the same time, the designers realized the streets that trollies would travel were anything but unified in their urban character, which tended to break into segments. The designers decided not to impose a unified infrastructure throughout the entire system or even along each route. Rather, the design would acknowledge the segmenting of the boulevards and routes, making each segment "more intensely what it was" and heightening the contrast between different sections, Suisman said.

The designers studied the trolley routes and concluded that most segments could be characterized as one of eight types — automobile drive, downtown avenue, industrial road,

Each trolley bus route was divided into segments based on their general type, for example, metropolitan boulevard, parkway or neighborhood street. Specific urban design guidelines were established for each type. From *ETB Urban Design Guidelines*.

metropolitan boulevard, neighborhood main street, parkway, residential street, or viaduct. For each type the team noted possible variations of the systemwide elements and suggested enhancements that would address the character of local communities. "Some aspects of the system had an overall identity, like signage. But human-scale elements — luminaires, poles, colors, paving — would be more neighborhood related," Diez explained.

"The Metropolitan Boulevard was the most pervasive type, but also most elusive," Suisman said. "It is the classic L.A. boulevard, a hybrid between a commercial strip and an urban avenue, an eclectic mix of old and new, high and low, streetwall and setback. It was never going to be dominantly pedestrian, but the trick was to develop a better
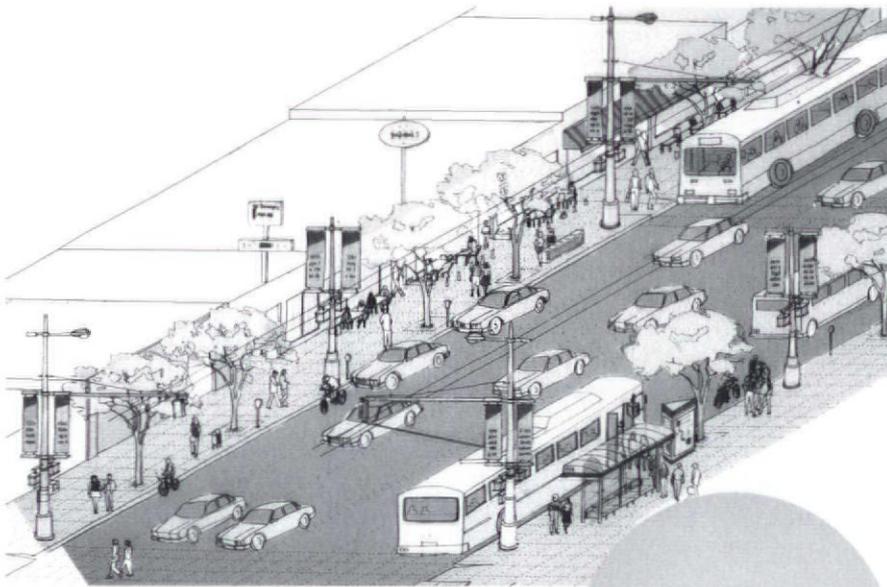
Neighborhood Main Street. Typical existing segment (inset) and illustrative example of street with trolley-bus system in place.
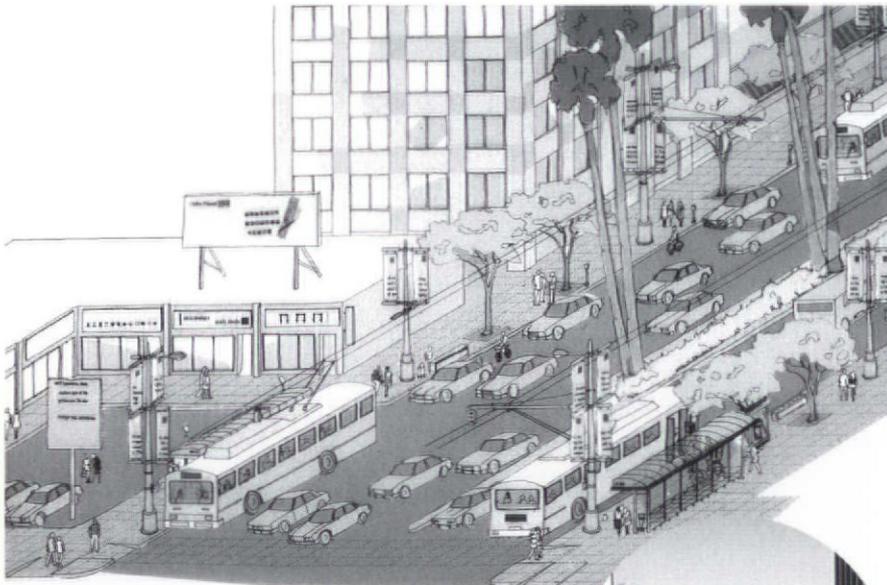
Metropolitan Boulevard. Typical existing segment (inset) and illustrative example of street with trolley-bus system in place.

balance between through traffic and pedestrian environment."

The guidelines did this, for example, by recommending that street trees be planted along sidewalks (following existing species and spacing patterns, where possible) and that palm trees (better appreciated from moving cars) be relegated to medians. Also, they recommended that parking or turning lanes be removed to create additional pedestrian or planting space.

The key component of the trolley infrastructure was the "flexipole," which could accommodate not only support wires but also street lights, signals, pedestrian lights and banners. A pallette of pole bases, pedestrian lights, banner lights, street lights, brackets and caps were offered, and communities could further customize poles by adding planters, street signs and banners. The design would be consistent through each segment, and the scale would be consistent throughout the system. The designers were inspired by the poles used on the Vancouver, B.C., trolley system: "By the time you got done with banner, color and pedestrian light, the pole appeared to be there to give character and identity to a community, and only incidentally to hold up the trolley wire," Diez said.

As the project progressed, it took on even broader implications, Suisman noted. The trolleys would run on fixed routes, like streetcars, providing an opportunity for land-use planning to be coordinated with transit routes. Discussions began about incorporating the bus corridors into the city's new general plan. "There is a significant increase in pedestrian traffic along the Blue Line (a light rail route connecting downtown to Long Beach), and more small businesses are opening," noted one planner. "Anytime you go in and make a solid, firm commitment to a given route, its something you can take to the bank."

Stopped in its Tracks

The trolley project always had its critics, particularly those within the MTA who felt the money should be spent on operating costs. Their hand was strengthened as the recession hit California and depressed the MTA's funding, which depends on sales tax revenue. Last December the MTA board, facing a shortfall of more than $100 million and believing less expensive fuel cell technology would be available soon, cancelled the trolley project. At the time, detailed design was beginning on routes in Long Beach and downtown L.A.

Still, trolley backers think the project helped open some eyes. "Some people are used to thinking of a bureaucracy as a 100 pound canary that can sing anywhere it wants," one MTA insider said. Others are becoming more sensitive to the fact that in our area, where public is not the normal way of getting around, we have to make things pleasant safe and desirable to attract people to ride public transit."

"The point of any kind of large public works project isn't just to move people or hold water. It's to improve the quality of life," Diez concluded. "More and more agencies are starting to think in those terms. More and more agencies are realizing that they just can't put a freeway through the heart of the city anymore."
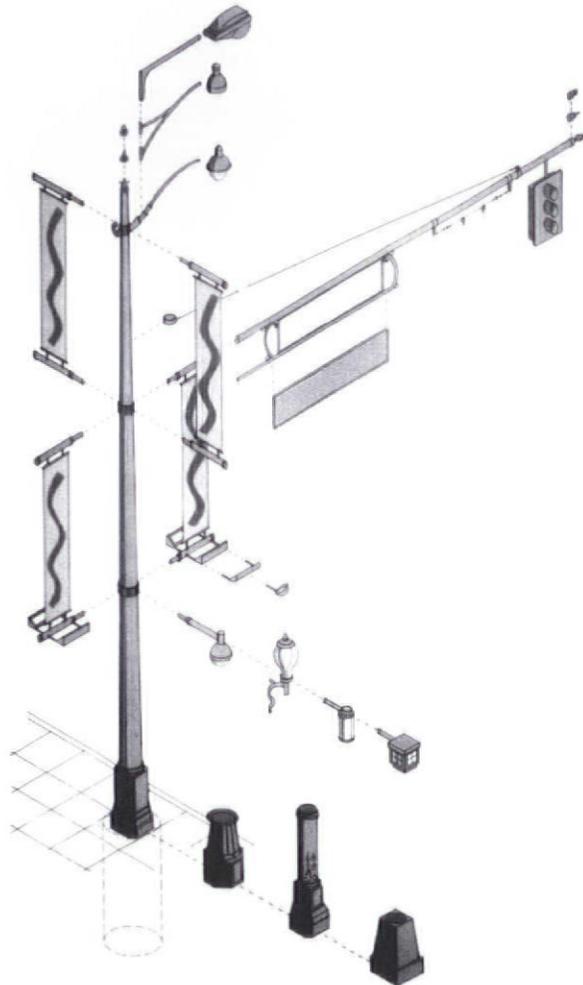
Conceptual diagram of flexipole and examples of how poles could be configured on various street segments. From *ETB Urban Design Handbook* and *ETB Urban Design Guidelines*. Graphics courtesy Public Works Associates and ICF Kaiser Engineers.

System-Wide Pole   Enhancement A   Enhancement B

System-Wide Pole   Enhancement A   Enhancement B

OCTOBER DIARY: IN SEARCH OF THE CONTEMPORARY CITY

Ken Greenberg

I attended three important city design meetings that took place in rapid succession last October — Urban Design, Reshaping our Cities; Portland's Fourth Annual Regional Growth Conference and the first Congress for the New Urbanism.

Reflecting on my kaliedoscopic exposure to case studies, projects, papers, speeches and panel discussions, I have concluded that it is now possible to discern a larger pattern in this collective outpouring, one that suggests that an important *prise de conscience* has occurred.

We face the awesome powers of change, dislocation, the loss of the social contract, the erosion of place, the explosion of big box retail on the strip, the proliferation of gap-toothed and depressed urban streets and gated enclaves at the end of the latest highway; we are challenged by the expanding virtual space of the video screen and the make-believe hyperspace of theme park attractions.

Nonetheless, there is a surprising mood of resolve, determination and will to keep faith with the city and to make it work. There is a growing group of seasoned urban idealists who are struggling valiantly to define, forge and bring into being viable models of urbanity, old or new. They are exhibiting a pragmatism that defies easy ideological classification; they are enthused about the preservation of authentic existing urban places and the possibility of creating new ones; they are eager to form new alliances and to make use of new tools.

Reining Regional Growth in Portland

In Portland, for example, 800 people came out in shifts to a one-day event to hear from a combination of experts, politicians, officials and activists about options for accommodating future growth. Should Portland, they asked, grow up and be more urban, or grow out and embrace continued sprawl?

The planners and elected officials of the new Metro government eloquently and persuasively pressed the audience members to face fundamental contradictions in their own value systems. What are the implications, for example, of calling for preservation of natural areas, on the one hand, and no limitations on personal mobility, on the other?

Most interestingly, the audience expressed a strong skepticism about relying in the future on smart cars and

highways to forestall more fundamental choices about urban form. One might expect people to embrace technological fixes that will keep the status quo going. Although some light rail lines also fall into the category of technological fixes, Portland's MAX system has the potential to be different because there is a strong interest in planning for denser development around stations. Unlike smart highways and rail systems being built elsewhere, MAX might inspire significant changes in the urban fabric.

Testing the New Urbanism

The Congress for the New Urbanism was a gathering with a point of view and a mission. Every aspect, from the careful selection of speakers and participants, to format of assembly, reviews of projects and papers, to the choice of venues (Alexandria's Athenaeum and Lyceum), was designed to reinforce the central message of the movement to reform American urbanism.

Numerous versions and forms of pedestrian and transit-oriented communities were compared and began to be critically evaluated. Serious questions were raised about the impact of these, especially where they occur on greenfields sites, rather than in cities or suburbs. A quite justified concern was that without vigilance, this movement could be co-opted by marketers as simply justifying another style of retreat and withdrawal, bypassing the essential goals of diversity, openness and connectivity.

Many serious questions arose for which there are as of yet no satisfactory answers. For example, none of the recent attempts to forge new hybrids of main street and shopping center are entirely convincing, but historical analysis presented of the evolution of these types was rich and provocative. The audience itself became the subject of discussion. The almost complete absence of non-white faces was a glaring omission, which must be addressed in upcoming congresses.

Nevertheless, the Congress was an extremely auspicious start that holds great promise for the next congress, to be held in Los Angeles this spring, and the two others that are expected.

Postscript

After immersion in these relatively friendly waters, one is left with a sense that we urbanists may have won (at least the battle for) the hearts and minds of many in the design and planning professions, the schools and the media — and a small group of progressive developers whose presence in Alexandria was most heartening. And there can be no doubt that the body of concepts and ideas expressed at these gatherings is gaining credence in such circles.

Yet this victory is still an illusory one. We still have to come to terms with the limited ability of this rudder to turn the ship — the fundamental inertia and intractability of the status quo, whose explicit and implicit assumptions imbue every statute, zoning ordinance, building code, engineering standard, lending decision and marketing strategy across this continent. The tentacles of this status quo may lack the fervor of any conviction attached to ideas, but they are still spreading lifeless and rarely challenged across the globe.

At the same time, decades of strenuous promotion and institutionalization have ensured that the suburban dream of dispersal, mobility and conspicuous consumption of resources and land maintain a powerful pull on the collective North American psyche. This dream remains the barometer of personal and familial success, as the basis for the major monetary investment of one's life and as the preferred vehicle for escaping involvement with society's ills. A Herculean effort is still required to gain control of the vast and partially unpiloted machinery of control and regulation on the one hand, and to influence the complex nexus of individual and collective choices about living patterns on the other.

In the end, if North Americans are truly to be offered at least the option of more sustainable communities, powerful arguments and tools from outside the traditional arena of design are needed to broaden the critique and clarify the choices. These must combine a rigorous understanding of the real costs to society and individuals of the status quo and a renewal of communitarian values of responsibility, connectedness and concern for health, safety, well-being education and prosperity. We must learn to do this for the whole place and the entire population, not just for me and mine.

URBAN DESIGN TEACHING AND PRACTICE:
A QUIET REVOLUTION?

Doug Kelbaugh

If conferences are any indication, interest in urbanism is waxing in America. A sabbatical this fall enabled me to attend five conferences on urbanism, community design and sustainable design, providing an unusual opportunity to check the temperature and pulse of several professional bodies simultaneously.

Judging from these events, the design professions and schools are ready to get serious again about urban America. After two decades of neglect (corresponding to the 30-year cycle of war, prosperity and reform that has uncannily repeated itself in U.S. history since the Civil War), schools are more interested in solving social than theoretical problems.

The most memorable talk at "Urban Design, Reshaping Our Cities" was architect Jaime Lerner's review of urban initiatives taken while he was mayor of Curitiba, Brazil. This growing city of 1.5 million people may be shorter on capital than its North American counterparts, but it is longer on political will: Its expanding very-high-volume bus system carries 50 times as many passengers as 20 years ago, two-thirds of the city's trash is recycled and the city's green space has expanded ten-fold since Lerner took office.

The first Congress on the New Urbanism was convened a week later. As opposed to a conference, a congress is a compelling idea in this age of exploding information. A congress tends to be serial, strategic and focused rather than open-ended, divergent and expansive. This invitational meeting of 200 people proved able to debate the fine points of urban design as well as to hatch the beginnings of a movement with an overt and heady political agenda.

If future congresses are to bury the lingering ghosts of CIAM but resurrect its spirit (the admirable and ambitious goal of the organizers) they should be open to a broader range of invited experts and, ultimately, to more members at-large or appointed representatives of design professions and institutions. Closed meetings are effective and even necessary for developing an early consensus but, like the gated subdivisions that the new urbanism abhors, they are not sustainable in the long run. But as Andres Duany said, we must be mindful to keep strident debate in-house if we want to be more effective in the political arena than in the past.

"Sustainable Strategies for Community Design and Building Materials" was not as focussed. It spanned from the molecular to the planetary scale, from unsettling to frightening. Paul Hawken's keynote talk pointed out, eloquently and correctly, that we don't have a chance to survive if marketplace pricing of everyday products does not better reflect their external costs, such as transportation, manufacturing, disposal and recycling. The market is a genius at establishing price but an idiot at figuring in true costs. This perspective should not be lost on our analysis of land development patterns.

"Building with Value" was not about urbanism per se; it directed the attention of some 400 architects and builders to more energy- and resource-efficient construction techniques. The surprisingly large product exhibit was truly consciousness raising. While the architectural academy has been splitting ever finer theoretical hairs, an entire industry of recycled and environmentally clean products has quietly taken root and is about to flower.

"Urban Leadership: Architecture in Service of Community," was a show and tell about community outreach and civic values in architecture schools. Many of the presentations, most notably Ron Shiffman's discussion of Pratt Institute's Center for Community and Environmental Development, detailed community design centers and other forms of outreach. These centers have both survived from the 1960s and been revived in recent years in greater numbers than may be generally realized.

Civic values, however, must permeate design and planning schools in more pervasive ways than storefront

operations and topical charrettes; a general academic migration to loftier moral ground is needed. As John Meunier asserted, we need to develop and debate theory and ideology to clarify and undergird our urban overtures. This is especially true in suburbia, where rigorous typologies and paradigms are spectacularly missing, but less so in cities, where two millennia have arguably provided ample theory on how to create coherent places.

A New Era of Reform

If it is time to replay the 30s and the 60s, there are some differences. For one thing, the spirit of reform is more international. Green architecture, for instance, aspires to be a worldwide movement. Although fouling the planet is always of local origin, the results are increasingly recognized as consequential on a global scale.

Another difference is that the new initiatives in the inner cities, often on behalf of the disadvantaged, are driven less by a sense of social and psychological guilt than the initiatives of the 1960s. There is less *noblesse oblige* because rich and poor alike are beginning to realize that everyone is in this jam together. Joblessness, homelessness, air and water pollution, traffic congestion, crime, AIDS, lack of affordable housing and international competition cut across society. There is simply not enough time or money for society, the design professions or disciplines to solve these problems one at a time.

Fortunately, there is a growing consensus among architects, urban designers and planners about what to do — at least what to do about suburban problems. Admittedly, sprawl is an easy and fat target for social, environmental, planning and architectural critics. But what is also becoming clear is the economic albatross that it represents. Sprawl has been encouraged by decades of government subsidies, some obvious and some veiled (for example, fighting wars to secure stable oil supplies and cleaning up tanker spills). Suburbia is a very expensive proposition that artificially cheap energy and land has fooled America into thinking it can afford. Now state and local governments are increasingly bankrupt; even the federal deficit may be more a product of the suburban economy than recognized.

Placemaking, townmaking and citymaking should be our central mission. We need comprehensive approaches, rooted in place, to address society's chronic and interdependent problems. This strategy turns the government's modus operandi on its side — a 90-degree shift that addresses problems vertically rather than horizontally. A city might have a department of neighborhoods rather than a housing or social service agency, and the federal government might have a Department of Appalachia rather than (or in addition to) the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Lerner, for example, described how Curitiba gives people either food or transit tokens in exchange for bags of recyclable wastse.

This place-specific, as opposed to problem-specific, approach represents nothing less than a sea-change in our way of making and managing cities. And, a society could do worse than to create good cities.

Seven Precepts of the New Urban Vision

There has been a quiet revolution going on in town planning and architectural circles over the last decade. Established urban design ideas are being stood on their heads. The new movement has taken various forms and names, but in general seeks to reform design and planning in ways that converge on certain basic principles:

1. A spatially coherent and cohesive sense of place, neighborhood and community that builds on what is locally unique and enduring must replace the anonymity of suburban sprawl.

2. Dense, more compact and clearly bounded communities that preserve open space, agriculture, natural systems and natural habitats must replace continuous, undifferentiated suburban development.

3. A richer and finer-grained mix of land uses, household and building types, and socio-economic groups must replace the single-use zoning that has spawned the monoculture of housing subdivisions, shopping malls and office parks and over-dependence on automobiles.

4. Walking, bicycling and public transit on an interconnected network of streets, alleys and paths that enhances mobility, connectivity, efficiency and health needs to replace the automobile for most trips.

5. Because their social, physical and institutional infrastructure is in place, conserving, revitalizing and infilling existing urban centers and towns needs to be given higher priority than building new communities.

6. The rekindling of the public realm, with face-to-face interaction in public places, must be given higher priority than electronically mediated reality (television, computer, fax, virtual reality, etc.) and to life spent primarily in privatized spaces (the mall, club, etc.).

7. Sustainable environmental, economic and cultural practices, traditions and mythologies must replace the commodification and consumption of natural sources and resources.

RALLYING AROUND THE NEW URBANISM

Daniel Solomon

"Urban Design: Reshaping our Cities" and the First Congress of the New Urbanism took place within a week of each other. I attended only one day of "Reshaping Our Cities" and I was one of the organizers of the Congress so I am hardly an informed or objective reporter. I have only impressions: "Reshaping Our Cities" was polite and uptight, like a faculty meeting, while the Congress was high spirited and intense; "Reshaping Our Cities" was pluralistic to the point of confusion while the Congress was focused to the point of evangelism.

For me, the "Reshaping Our Cities" gathering demonstrated precisely why the Congress on the New Urbanism is necessary: It is important for a group that is not too small or too big to come together to articulate principles based upon common experience and common purpose.

The Congress was like a meeting of the company commanders at Guadalcanal, the ones who have seen the blood close up and have and idea how to win the next battle. Speakers reminded us of what the American city is up against — smart roads, clean cars, an information superhighway, a crumbling economic foundation fueling ever more dispersal, privatization, polarization and fear. Project after project was presented, showing that there are more than a few skilled and savvy makers of urban places whose works have common technique and convictions.

Some of the argument at the Congress came from predictable quarters, other from surprising ones. Vincent Scully opened with a passionate address about the fragile legacy of American urbanism and the destructiveness of the 1960s and 1970s. He canonized Robert Venturi as the person who unlocked the forbidden treasures of history for our use and pleasure. James Kuntsler, author of *Geography of Nowhere*, debunked Venturi's role (causing Scully to stomp out briefly) but he reminded us vividly, bitterly, hilariously why we had convened — to help one another fight the beast of urban collapse.

Elizabeth Moule, Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk and Peter Calthorpe made statements about design principles extending from the scale of individual buildings to blocks, streets, districts, towns and regions. While these statements may have seemed like truisms, it is probably the first time since CIAM at Otterloo in 1959 that several hundred top practicioners and academics have seemed willing to stand behind such a large, specific and embracing statement.

One evening, five remarkable traffic and transportation engineers indicted their own profession for its myopia and social irresponsibility in contributing to the collapse of American towns. They showed in detail how traffic design can accommodate pedestrian townscapes, urban space and connectivity. They reaffirmed the usefulness of the classic American grid as a basis of town structure and they established a clear, statistically documented correlation between the configuration of towns and automobile usage.

The next evening there was a very odd and controversial event. Marketing consultants who have been involved with the few "New Urbanism" projects that have built — The Kentlands (in Gaithersburg, Md.), Harbortown, Seaside, Fl., and Laguna Wast (south of Sacramento) presented the principles of "New Urbanism" in their own language, like a rug commercial on the late show. Some (Calthorpe, Andres Duany) thought of these hard-sell spiels as necessary and useful propaganda. Others (Ken Greenberg, Stefanos Polyzoides) argued that if "New Urbanism" stands for anything, it is a better physical structure for American society, not the selling of a new brand of suburban real estate. Significantly, this debate was about tactics, politics and packaging — not about the shape of the world.

One left the Congress with the feeling that the road ahead is very treacherous, full of danger and possible catastrophe. But none of us need venture alone, and the travelling company is amusing, good spirited and very smart.

CAUTIONARY NOTES ON THE NEW URBAN VISION

Todd W. Bressi

A growing number of designers and planners are reconsidering the viability of the urban and suburban development models their professions have been advocating for more than half a century. They are fearful that the postwar landscape has precipitated a metropolitan crisis as severe as and more intractable than the urban conditions that launched reform professions like city planning a century ago.

The Urban Design: Reshaping Our Cities conference and the first Congress on the New Urbanism provided an opportunity to take the pulse of this thinking. Some participants remarked that a new consensus is emerging about the principles that should motivate urban design. That begs a number of questions: A consensus about what? A consensus of whom? And if a consensus exists, what happens next?

A Consensus about What?

The principles that form the core of this emerging consensus are simple: Development should be concentrated in compact arrangements in which a mix of households, businesses and institutions can locate close to each other and in which people can accomplish most everyday trips by walking or transit. New buildings should reinforce public and social spaces like streets and squares and should follow prevailing patterns of building type. These princi-

ples are notable for their democratic, humanist and urbanist orientation and because they consider the integration of planning and architecture at the building, neighborhood and regional scales.

Judging from the scores of projects presented at the Congress, there are other elements of commonalty that have not been articulated so overtly. For example, urban design practice and education continue to be associated primarily with large-scale interventions, such as urban redevelopment or planned new communities.

Yet other design problems and urban issues deserve the attention of this emerging urbanist, humanist consensus — including the design of infrastructure (such as water, waste disposal and recycling systems), subdivision rules, zoning text in established places where change is likely to occur in small increments, failed open spaces and declining older suburbs. New York's contextual zoning rules, for example, have quietly undone much of the city's 1961 tower-in-the-park zoning code. In Los Angeles, changing the rules that govern the site planning of supermarkets and mini-malls would have more impact on the urban fabric than projects like Playa Vista ever will.

Perhaps a greater diversity of clients would broaden the new urbanist perspective. The dialogue might include clients like communities that want to design neighborhood parks, public

housing residents who want to improve the places they inhabit, or agencies that do not always consider the impact of their programs on urban form, like school systems. Designers might find new clients in coalitions — universities and the towns that surround them, superstores and main street businesses, transit agencies and property owners near a station.

This consensus is silent on other issues. It says little about design as a process or a means to empowerment. What role should people with a stake an area have in shaping development that will affect that area? Can a participatory design process be a method of giving people investment in and control over their environments — and thus be a means to urbanism? Whatever the design principles, many of the projects discussed at these conferences were planned through "top down" processes similar to those that have historically alienated designers and planners from people in the communities in which they work.

A Consensus of Whom?

Most of the people who attended these two meetings were architects and planners who consult on public and private projects, scholars and students, and public officials from local planning, housing and development agencies. Notably, elected officials also showed

interest — Seattle Mayor Norman Rice and Jaime Lerner, former mayor of Curitiba, Brazil, offered keynote talks at Reshaping Our Cities; Milwaukee mayor John Nordquist participated in the Congress.

However, this group constitutes only the barest nucleus of people whose support will be necessary to advance a humanist, urbanist design agenda. More people from various components of the development industry must be involved. Investors (often banks) establish the criteria a project must meet to obtain financing; developers cultivate and respond to demand for housing, shops and offices; builders use practices and technologies that often favor one type of development over another. Together, these forces can have more impact on the design of places than local zoning, design regulations and the vision of urban designers.

The countless grassroots efforts to rebuild cities and communities are another untapped resource. In recent years, citizens and professionals who advocate causes like historic preservation, community development and environmental quality have forged creative alliances among themselves. Preservation and community development advocates joined forces in 1970s and '80s "back-to-the-city" movements. Parks and preservation advocates have collaborated on "cultural parks" in places like Lowell, Mass. Reshaping Our Cities suggested how designers could join with these groups in a broad-based movement; the Congress, even with its pointed political agenda, was relatively mute.

Beyond Consensus: What Happens Next?

If Reshaping Our Cities and the Congress were inspiring, they also were sobering. Inevitably the execution of visionary plans requires compromise and results in smaller-scale, more humble accomplishments. Both victories and defeats must be aired and analyzed, as they were at the Congress.

This new consensus must continue developing strategies for action. Andres Duany and Elizabeth-Plater Zyberk realized early on that they must embed their ideas in the codes of the communities they plan; Peter Calthorpe seeks to inject his transit-oriented development proposals into county and regional plans in Sacramento, San Diego and Portland.

But both have experienced setbacks. In Kentlands (in Gaithersburg, Md.), Duany and Plater-Zyberk designed a mall with one side connected to the fabric of a new community at a pedestrian scale. The developer scrapped the design when the retail market changed; current plans are for a standard strip shopping center anchored by a large-scale retail store. In Laguna West (south of Sacramento) Calthorpe proposed reduced parking ratios on the basis of transit and pedestrian accessibility, but retailers rejected the idea.

Any action plan will depend on the support of a thorough research program, neutral and rigorous, freed from the agendas of both retail consultants and visionary designers. The central question is whether compact, walkable communities can deliver on the designers' promises. How do various approaches to land-use mix, density and street and building design affect people's decisions about where they live, work, shop and relax — and how people move from place to place? Both

existing communities and completed new urbanist projects should be tested and assessed by a range of talents — geographers, environmental psychologists, planners, sociologists and others should examine these relationships.

The most important issue to consider — through planning, research and political agendas — is why such a fundamental mismatch exists between the types of places this new consensus advocates and places that are built. After World War II, design and planning theories converged neatly with popular visions for home and community life and with the evolution of financing and development into large-scale, national industries. The result was the atomized, standardized landscape against which the people at these meetings were reacting.

Today's new urbanist consensus finds little resonance either in the practices of the development industry or the vision of the public at large. The greatest challenge, therefore, is to build alliances and find opportunities to demonstrate how a vision really can make a difference.

Wayne Attoe

has taught architecture at Louisiana State University, the University of Texas at Austin and the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. He lives in San Luis Obispo County, California.

Nona Bloomer

is the Historical Room and Reference Librarian for the Guilford Free Library. She is also an organic gardener with a background in intellectual history and philosophy.

Patricia Tusa Fels

runs her own architecture practice in Seattle. She has lived and worked abroad, primarily in Italy and Malaysia, and recently completed a book about cities and change.

Ken Greenberg

is a principal of Berridge Lewinberg Greenberg in Toronto and former director of the architecture and urban design division of Toronto's planning and development office.

N.John Habraken

has researched adaptable housing design. He was founder and chair of the architecture department at Eindhoven Technical University and later came to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology as head of the department of architecture, where he taught design, design methods and theory. Recently he joined a partnership to develop an infill system for housing.

John McKean

is head of interior architecture in the School of Architecture and Interior Design at the University of Brighton, England.

Doug Kelbaugh

is professor of architecture and urban design at the University of Washington and principal in Kelbaugh, Calthorpe & Associates. He is a BA and M.Arch. graduate of Princeton, and his work has won twenty design awards/ competitions and been published in more than 100 books and periodicals. He edited *The Pedestrian Pocket* book, a best-seller that resulted from a charrette he led. He is Fellow of the American Institute of Architects.

Charles W. Moore

was an architect and designer with a long career in teaching and practice, most recently at the University of Texas, Austin, and Moore/Andersson architects. His energy and imagination inspired countless students and fellow architects. He is author, with Donlyn Lyndon, of the forthcoming *Chambers for a Memory Palace* and was awarded the AIA Gold Medal in 1991.

Dan Solomon

is principal of Solomon, Inc., in San Francisco and professor of architecture at the University of California, Berkeley. He is author of *ReBuilding* and has contributed to numerous architectural and commercial publications, including *The Pedestrian Pocket Book*.

Gregory Tung

is an urban designer and partner of Freedman, Tung & Bottomley, urban design and town planning, San Francisco. He has taught architecture at the University of California, Berkeley, and has participated in several regional Mayors Institute on City Design sessions. He studied architecture at Yale and Berkeley.

ISSUES back

6:2
Giving Purpose to Change

The International City Design Competition; streets as landmarks; Allan B. Jacobs defends street trees; surrealist Paris; excerpts *from The Waste of Place*; more.
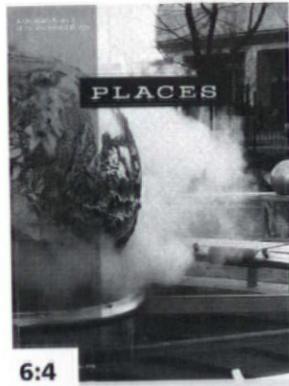
6:4
Holding Steady

Public art in steam and sunlight; Grady Clay sizes up the football field; redesigning a railroad corridor; St. Louis' persistent civic vision; are beautiful images of ravaged places ethical?

7:1
Vision, Culture, and Landscape

Discovering landscapes created by groups that are not politically or economically empowered — comments from Dolores Hayden, Wilbur Zelinsky, and others.

7:4
Patterns and Personality

How user participation, artist collaboration, and Christoper Alexander's *Oregon Experiment* shaped The University of Oregon science center expansion; more.
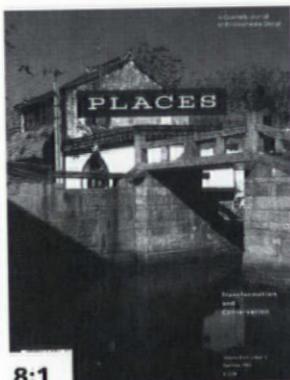
8:1
Transformation and Conservation

Preservation around the world — the politics of history in the U.S.S.R., architecture versus tourism in the Carribean, street bazaars in Bombay's historic core, and more.
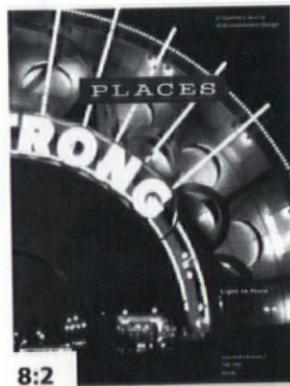
8:2
Light in Place

Focus on light, design, and the art of making places — how architects can organize places in light; the civic imagery of streetlights; essays from Paris, Seattle, Los Angeles, India, more.
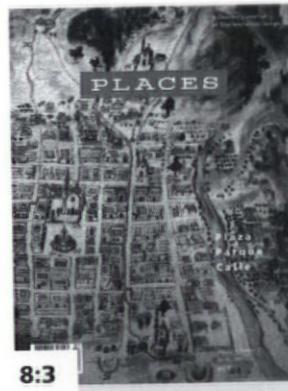
8:3
Plaza, Parque, Calle

Profiles of places where Anglo and Latino culture meet — and prospects for streets, squares, and parks in our increasingly diverse cities. Reports from Miami, Los Angeles, Morelia, Havana, more.
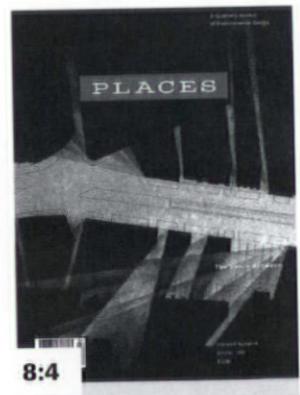
8:4
The Space Between

Rethinking public housing: a place profile of Boston's Harbor Point; thoughts on the new rural landscape; Italian-American neighborhood landscapes; documenting the space between; more.

Winner ASLA Merit Award

FIND OUT WHAT YOU'VE BEEN MISSING
Use the handy order form on the opposite page to complete your collection of **PLACES**!

To Our Readers

With this issue, *Places* commences publication on a three times a year basis, rather than a quarterly basis. We also introduce reduced prices for subscriptions and single issues. The terms of some currently paid subscriptions will be extended to reflect the pricing change. For questions about your subscription, please contact Business Manager Dana Forio at (913) 843-1221.

Submission Information

Places encourages submissions from its readers. Please submit five copies of each manuscript, along with illustrations, to our editorial office. Color transparencies, black-and-white prints and line drawings are acceptable. Copies of our current Call for Submissions and editorial guidelines are available from our editorial offices upon request.

Articles published in *Places* have been reviewed by at least four people, including consulting and contributing editors and other scholars and/or professionals with specific background and expertise in the subject matter. All final editorial decisions are made by the editor.